

# IKPIK JOURNAL

## A Brief Overview of the Ethnogeography in the Piling Lake Area

### Central Baffin Island

#### Part 1, July-August 2001

#### Part 2, July August 2002

Norman E. Hallendy

### Foreword

Dr. Marc St-Onge, GSC project coordinator and leader of the Central Baffin Project invited me to join the field party for a brief period during the summer of 2001. With Marc, were co-leaders Dave Scott of the Canada-Nunavut GeoScience Office in Iqaluit and David Corrigan, GSC. The invitation provided an opportunity to look around in the area for possible traces of human habitation. A considerable amount of detailed scientific information exists related to the area in general and to the Barnes Ice Cap, in particular. A cursory search on the Internet easily yields over 144 entries indicating studies in such fields as: physical geography, ice conditions, lichenology, weather conditions including paleoclimatology, glaciology, paleobotany, geochronology, geochemistry, geomorphology, synoptic meteorology and hydrology to mention a few.

There is however, a noticeable lack of references to studies of human habitation and activities associated with hunting and living in Uadlinerik, Piling Bay area. An account of starvation by Graham W. Rowley, *Arctic Circular* 1950, and an account titled Eskimo stone houses in the Foxe Basin, Manning T.H. *Arctic*, v.3, no. 2 Aug. 1950 are both worth reading. Manning's map of the area published in the *Geographic Journal*, May/June 194 illustrates how little we knew about the place a mere 58 years ago. The single most informative study of the human geography of the northern Foxe Basin is titled "A Cultural Geography of North Foxe Basin", NSRG 69 -2, written as a Master's thesis in geography at the University of British Columbia by my colleague, Keith Crowe. It is certainly well worth reading as is Meldgaard's work in archaeology and Dumas' study of Eskimo Kinship.

Rhoda Inuksuk, an interesting woman born on an island in the Piling area informed me that there are many very old Inuit sites in the region and that her ancestors hunted there as long as anyone can remember. The logical next step was to contact the Igloodik

Research Centre so as to obtain information from their impressive database about the Piling area. The results proved disappointing. On the other hand, the finds made in the Piling area were extraordinary.

### **Background:**

This brief overview is a narrative of how certain areas were picked out for exploration and the results. The actual working period in the field was a mere 12 days, which includes a day in camp to catch up on writing notes. Starting from zero as it were, one had to make an educated guess as to where it was possible to find some traces of human presence in the area. The educated guess I speak of is based on where hunters would have likely set up seasonal camps, fly camps, build caches and potential hunting areas. The term 'inigijuminaqtun' in the Dorset dialect means favoured locations. The term 'utirnigiit' refers to traces of coming and going, found at favoured locations.

Searching for 'inigijuminaqtun' pronounced... inigi -yumin - aqtun requires looking for places having some or all of the following:

- \* fresh water nearby
- \* natural shelter from the prevailing wind
- \* convenient access to the sea
- \* a safe landing place
- \* nearby rocks which can be arranged to make caches, shelters fireplaces, etc.
- \* hauling out places where large sea mammals can be conveniently butchered

One should also be observant of the surrounding vegetation particularly the lack or abundance of it as well as its colour and concentration. Lush patches of grasses, sedges and brightly flowering plants may indicate where faunal remains are present or the sunken remains of an ancient dwelling may exist. 'Nunarait' is a general term in Inuktitut once used to denote faun and flora of little relevance. In southwest Baffin it referred to the abundant flora which grows upon old sites. The presence of bright orange lichen, *Xanthoria elegans*, likes growing on bones and rocks white washed by birds and can indicate hauling out places or where animals were butchered.

Looking at a large-scale geological map of the Piling Lake area one sees what appears to be a series of finger like points between the fresh water of Piling Lake and the salt water of Piling Bay. One of the points is appropriately named Index Point. This location

is approximately 72km east of our base camp located on a river no doubt having a name in Inuktitut but not as yet in English. Speculating that the points of land between Piling Lake and Piling Bay would have the characteristics of a favoured location, eight of the field days was spent looking about in that area. The first area visited however, was the Ikpik River area some 64km NNW of Index Point.

### **Ikpik River - T-1**

The Ikpik River flows out from Lake Gillian whose source begins with the melt water pouring out from beneath the Barnes Ice cap. The water along the course from the ice cap to the sea is cold, turbulent and where confined by the steep banks of the river, has powerful currents. It is at least 350 m wide near its mouth. It is a river one can hear as well as see as it rushes toward the sea. Near its mouth, it has carved deeply into the south bank creating a fascinating panorama by exposing a vertical expanse of ground ice. It is one of several rivers in the region supporting a seasonal population of Arctic Char. I found no traces of a 'sappotit' a traditional stone fish weir, probably because the strong currents made building them impractical. I named the place Killinga simply meaning... the edge, for future reference.

The Ikpik site is both bizarre and beautiful. Its bizarre side is close to the sea and next to a natural landing strip where aviation fuel is still cached. A row of abandoned stone buildings and a small derelict stone church give the place an eerie feeling. The architecture is unique. It slightly resembles the indigenous architecture of the American Southwest. It reflects what inexperienced builders working with nothing more than boulders and hand mixed cement attempting to impart some semblance of traditional style, would create. The buildings are so out of place that they create a curious, strange, fanciful, eccentric and fascinating place, hence...bizarre. The reason for the existence of these buildings is far from bizarre.

By the early seventies most Inuit had been living in communities established by the Canadian Government. The negative side of life in these communities was becoming a constant reality. Social stress, alcohol, soft drugs, abuse and other maladies were becoming a familiar condition. Father Louis Fournier, the Catholic priest in Igloolik, had the idea that it would be of real benefit to the people of Igloolik, especially the young, if they could get out of the community for a while and get back in touch with the land. Ikpik River was a perfect site to establish such a retreat. It was about 250 km east of Igloolik. It was close to a Dew Line base which could provide help in the case of an

emergency and most importantly, it was believed that there was sufficient game in the area to fully support a small group of people.

In the spring of 1973 Father Fournier set up his camp and the project was begun. The old priest was to spend five winters at Ikpik River, two of them alone. During the other three years one to three families including several youths spent various times at the site. Five years after the project was begun Father Fournier was instructed by his Bishop to leave and seek medical attention. The six small stone buildings and the chapel were to remain empty and silent for seven years. In 1985 Rhoda Inuksuk who was the president of the Inuit Tapiriksats of Canada chose the site for a youth camp to coincide with the UN International Year of Youth. Much was discussed and learned during that short stay at Ikpik but unfortunately the experiment had a short life. An excellent account of the project appears in the publication "Eskimo" Fall/Winter 1985, written by John Bennett who was the Assistant Coordinator, Youth Councils Inuit Tapiriksats at the time.

Twenty-eight years after Father Fournier set foot at Ikpik River, I carefully stepped into his now deserted chapel. Pews, bibles and hymnbooks lay scattered about. Lemmings now inhabited his house of God. A boot here - a sock there - and pieces of machinery lay scattered about among Arctic flowers and unfulfilled dreams. Further up river another place of reverence lies hidden. It is much older. Its age I could not determine. It was surely defined before the idea of Christianity ever came to this place.

### **Killinga -T-2**

Ikpik River derives its Inuktitut name 'Ikpik' from the high prominent hill dominating the area. About 300 m up river from the Father Fournier site you begin to encounter small undistinguished inuksuits generally in a line leading inland. Another 120 m along a ridge paralleling the river takes you to Killinga. This is the first site I found during the 12 days in the field. It is a beautiful place to behold.

One faces the rushing river with a 10m high backdrop of exposed ground ice on its other side. The patterns on the ground ice face are striking and tempt the imagination with all manner of fanciful imagery. The roaring and rushing river in the foreground creates the illusion that you are swiftly moving. I mentioned earlier of favoured locations albeit related to habitation and hunting. There is another type of favoured location where one goes to find solace, wonder about things or pay

respect to the entities embedded in one's belief. At Killinga, if you look very carefully, a circle about 4.5 m in diameter can be discerned surrounded by several small and simple inuksuk-like structures. To the left of and very close to the circle is an obvious sitting place with a small 'Iga' fireplace. Nearby, are two separate little 'Piqattarviit' child's play areas no larger than one's outstretched arms. Small stones of various colours and little pieces of bone representing things in the children's imagination have been placed there. Close by was a very old tent ring flush with the ground and only large enough for a single family. About midway up the slope of the 'Ikpik' the high hill, is a large caribou cache with the antlers placed upon its top. It is here where one can hear the roar of the torrent up river. On the particular day I was at the Ikpiik River site the sea was glass calm. Large flocks of Pitsiulaaqs, sea pigeons or black guillemots were drifting about upon their own reflections and far out upon the horizon one could see a thin white line. It was the sea ice that never completely disappears, moving to the pull of tide and push of wind.

Flying SSE from Ikpiik to the Piling Lake area takes you across some of the most interesting terrain in the entire region. It has valleys, steep cliffs, worn down mountains, numerous rivers and Flint Lake whose opaque and emerald green waters originate at the Barnes Ice Cap. It is possible to see caribou trails along some of the valleys from the air. There are some inuksuit in the area whose locations suggest trail indicators when traveling in winter. We did find one site of particular interest. It consisted of a narrow valley about 1 km in length. The site was flanked by steep ridges on each side and tapered to a narrow passage, about 35m wide. Strung across the narrow end were several, evenly spaced inuksuit which were about the size of a human. The lichens growing across, where the stones of the inuksuit contacted one another suggested that the site had been used when caribou were hunted with lances and bow and arrow. It was the practice in those times for women and children to frighten the caribou so that they would flee toward the waiting hunters. The valley with its steep sides and a gate of inuksuit at its narrowest point formed a perfect corral confining the caribou for slaughter.

Scanning the landscape from Ikpiik River southward, past the Dewar Lake's area and examining various sites in the region suggest that caribou though not as plentiful as further south in the Foxe Peninsula, was the main food supply in the Piling lake region. The caribou not only provided meat. Tools were made from its antlers. Clothing, boots,

mitts, sleeping bags, tents, kayak covers and dog traces were made from its skin. Its sinew provided incredibly strong thread to fashion these necessities while its fat provided light and heat during the dark days of winter. Records indicate that the caribou population throughout Baffin was in serious decline in the early 1900's. By the mid- 1930's - 40's the only region to support a reasonable supply of caribou was the Baird Peninsula area. For that reason hunters from Igloolik and Clyde River made the long journey to the Baird Peninsula and Piling Lake region to get caribou.

Snow geese are very plentiful in the low marshy areas leading toward the sea. We saw large flocks of them in practically every pond we flew across. More than 10 snowy owls were observed closely associated with the ponds inhabited by snow geese. Perhaps the owls developed a hunting technique that went beyond securing a diet of mere rodents. The hunter's families would have also herded large flocks of snow geese, which would have been in molt during July, into pens constructed of rocks. Two such pens about 6 m in diameter were found near Inuksulik Lake at site T-9. Though the caribou was by far the most important food supply in the area, strangely enough the people who spent much time there were referred to as the 'Qaqliviniirmiut', people of the place of snow goose remains.

From an ethnogeographic perspective, it is the behavior of caribou that defines the patterns of human activity in the Piling. Having spent spring and early summer in the vicinity of the Barnes Ice Cap they move toward the coast in mid summer and fall. Further down the coast from Piling, they tend to move back and forth along the coast. Sixty-nine caches were examined in the Piling area ... all were empty. Very few caches were hastily built. The majority of them were carefully constructed to protect their contents over a long period. This indicates that the caribou were hunted mainly in the fall when the animals were in their prime. Those killed earlier would have been quickly consumed and their skins fit only for sleeping upon. Caribou cached in the late spring and summer often become infested with maggots the meat is then fit only for dog food.

I have thus far used the name Piling. Its correct name is Pilik pronounced Pee-lick. Isaac Irngaut makes reference to the place during an interview in 1993 with Maurice Arnattiaq, both from Igloolik.

*"Inland Kingarjjuuaq there is a large lake with a river flowing into it, in that area is a plain that dips into this lake. In this plain are a few hills where the name Pilik is derived from, according to my grandfather. This is where the caribou have their routes and the reason why it is called Pilik (abundance of) caribou. The caribou pass through this plain all the time. People used to live in that area when they were hunting caribou. I believe there are three or it might be two rivers that flow into this big lake, these two rivers have strong currents that you cannot cross but caribou would swim at the bottom of the river to cross the lake. Sometimes there would be a heard of caribou that would swim all at once. In those days the hunters used to hunt them in a qajaq."*

Inuktitut place names can be very helpful in trying to understand the nature and character of place. For example, in the area where we were, was a place named Amaroktalik meaning "where the wolves are". This would indicate an area with a sustainable caribou population. A reasonable extension of this logic would lead one to speculate that hunting activity took place in the area over a considerable time. In turn, caches, temporary camps, hunting blinds and inuksuit would likely be found in the area, and as it turned out, they were. Inuksulik Lake was the first place I visited because Inuksulik means "the place of the important inuksuk". I was not to be disappointed. The Barnes Ice Cap is called Auyuittuq, "the land that never melts". The name is the same as the one given to the Penny Ice Cap on the Cumberland Peninsula of Baffin Island.

### **Aqquti - T-3**

'Aqquti' is the abbreviated term I've used for 'aqqutipaalummut' meaning a pathway to many caribou. I came upon 2 inuksuit, standing side by side, on a very small island in the MacDonald River while accompanying Dr. Alan Jones, who was conducting magnetotelluric surveys in the area. In southwest Baffin, inuksuit so placed tend to indicate an area where there is particularly good hunting. This pair of inuksuit was just before a fork in the MacDonald River a mere 15 km from the edge of the Ice Cap. A change of direction to the right just past this point would take the hunter away from the boulder fields at the edge off the Ice Cap providing a river valley route eastward toward Blanchfield Lake. When looking at a topographic map of the area, Fig. 1, one can discern a 250 km loop beginning at Ikpik River taking the traveler to Gillian Lake, preceding up to the mouth of MacDonald River. Continuing on up the river to the inuksuit, then staying to the right, and taking the river valley, leads toward Blanchfield Lake. Two inuksuit, were spotted from the air between Blanchfield Lake and Flyway

Lake, which indicates travelling in that area. It is possible to take a convenient route back toward the west coast of Baffin from Blanchfield Lake following a river valley leading to Flint Lake then to Piling Lake and ultimately to the impressive T4 a-b, T-6, T-7 a-b and T-8 sites in the Piling Bay area. The other route back to the west coast of Baffin takes the hunter from Flyway Lake eventually, to the unnamed river valley where our GSC camp is located and from there to Straits Bay and the sea. Located between these travel routes and nearer to the coast, the impressive T-5 site is found on Inuksulik Lake. Only an elder with knowledge about its exact purpose could determine whether T-5 was strategically located or a coincidence.

### **Inuksullarik - T-5**

About 35 km SSW from base camp is Inuksulik Lake. On the north shore, at near the mid-point of Inuksulik lake is an extraordinary site. As the name of the lake in Inuktitut implies, it is the place of the very important inuksuk. From a distance this stone figure standing about 2.5 m high upon a ridge resembles an 'inunnguaq', the figure in human like form rather than an 'inuksuk', that which acts in the capacity of a human. Upon examining this remarkable figure I realized that it was indeed an inuksuk. What was unique about its construction was that it was constructed of long fairly regular unworked stone, which was not just stacked but carefully cribbed, as one would construct a crib for a dock. Of the hundreds of inuksuit I have documented I have never come across an inuksuk constructed in this manner. What at first resembled arms, were pointers, one pointing inland and the other toward the sea. Lying about the base of the inuksuk were other pointers. Because the inuksuk was built in a crib fashion, one could insert a pointer in any one of the four points. These pointed toward the sea, toward the caribou trails inland, southward to the caribou trails along the coast and northward to the places of importance at Piling and to Satorssuaq, the Baird Peninsula. This inuksuk is referred to as an 'inuksullarik' because of its importance, and with its movable pointers was indeed a remarkable construction. Looking carefully into the crevices of the inuksullarik I could find no 'tunnijait', gifts usually in the form of a few cartridges or perhaps an interestingly shaped stone etc. left by hunters or some member of the family.

Off to the northern side of the inuksullarik were two large 'napatait' single stone inuksuit. They ranged in size from 2.1 m to 1.8 m in height. Examining the *Rhisocarpon* growing between the joints of the inuksullarik suggested that the construction was at

least 200 years old. A small temporary shelter made of rocks less than 2 m in diameter was found quite close to the inuksullarik. If one walked from the inuksullarik down a slope and across the tundra to a small outcrop 91 m distant, you would discover a single line of inuksuit each about knee high as if connecting a landing place to the inuksullarik upon the ridge. This connection was unfamiliar to me but I was to see it again on another major site a few days later. I believe that the Inuksullarik site was a major coordination point. Standing at the site one can see other inuksuit far in the distance. In turn, the Inuksullarik can be seen from a considerable distance from all directions. It is situated between three main travel routes leading inland to where caribou were hunted.

### **Nugluk: Goose Hunting Site - T-6**

There is an assumption that it's easy to spot inuksuit and other features from the air, especially from a helicopter. Often it's about as easy as spotting a pebble in a boulder field. We came upon the Nugluk site completely by accident. We found it, lost it then found it. The next day we couldn't find it, then ignoring our GPS, found it again by skimming over the water so that we could detect any irregularities on the horizon. This remarkable site is part of the Piling Lake group of sites. There are over 100 inuksuit on this site. It is about 4.5 hectares in size and consists of several freshwater ponds, goose droppings and feathers. It is unquestionably a great place to hunt geese. 'Nugluk' is the Inuktitut word for a goose. The inuksuit at Nugluk have various shapes as determined by the stones used in their construction. Generally they are in two sizes, one group is approximately 1.5 m in height (the height of a standing hunter) and the other group is approximately 88 cm, about the height of a seated figure. This is not by coincidence.

The 'standing figures' tend to be in a long line up on a ridge, facing the lake. The 'seated figures' tend to be close to the various ponds where the geese nest and raise their young. Inuit hunters have told me that geese are very sensitive to any change from how they remember the landscape. Those who hunted long ago in this area knew this. They built 'replicas' of themselves both standing about and seated near the ponds. Over time these intruders were perceived as part of the landscape. This brilliant deception worked. The geese returned. Some of the inuksuk like figures moved in the twilight and silently captured and killed the unsuspecting birds, season after season. I had seen an example of this hunting technique on a much smaller scale at a very old site in the Dorset area several years ago.

Facing one of the ponds is the remains of a very old dwelling. The traditional stone walled tent ring and the sleeping platform are quite evident. There are no visible faunal remains in and around the feature. I suspect that the dwelling would have been used by caribou hunters before and possibly after the geese were in the area. By the beginning of August I noticed that not a single Canada Goose (*Branta canadensis*), was in the area and that the ponds had been taken over by squawking Glaucous Gulls, (*Larus hyperboreus*), who delighted in dive bombing me. At the Eastern end of the site were two interesting objects. The first was a cube shaped rock about a cubic meter in size. It was tilted on its end into a small crevice. I could not determine if this was the work of man or a very unusual glacial erratic. Very close to the cube was the only 'Inunnguaq' I found during my entire stay at Piling. The little human like figure often referred to as an inuksuit was about shoulder height and well constructed. One could see inuksuit on the distant hilltops surrounding the area. One curious thing about the Nugluk site is that although it was a very convenient place for people to gather, perhaps to wait until favourable conditions to go inland, I found no middens, caches, or features other than the numerous inuksuit and the bits of bone left by the hunters who for a short time, sat quietly among the inuksuit waiting for the arrival of the geese.

#### **Kattimavik: The Ceremonial Site - T-4a**

On the north side of the tip of Index Point between Piling Lake and Piling Bay is an impressive site occupying about 85 m<sup>2</sup>. It has numerous features, the most prominent being two separate stone walled meeting places, hence the reason for naming the place Kattimavik. The stone walls are about shoulder high and each structure is approximately 7.6 m in diameter. Curiously, every structure of this kind that I have come across whether in south Baffin, or in the Keewatin have been (give or take a fraction of a meter) between 7 and 7.8 m in diameter. Given the location of the site straddling the sea and a lake, elevated enough for adequate protection, having abundant loose rock that could be moved easily and facing the setting sun made it an ideal location for gatherings, feasts, ceremonies and games.

The following features were recorded: 5 inuksuit, 1 work or meat drying platform, 7 unknown stone structures, 9 single upright stones (napataq), 4 qajaq (kayak) or kamutik stands, 1 fireplace (iga), 61 tent rings, 78 well constructed caches with three containing a few caribou remains and the 2 meeting places. In all, we recorded 168 features in the immediate vicinity but I'm certain several more are thereabouts. Down by the water's edge, a small midden contained a few seal bones and several broken caribou bones. All the bone matter has lichen growing upon it, mostly xanthoria. The most notable bone

material found on the site was the upper part of a small Bowhead whale's skull. In all probability, the whale became stranded in the nearby shallows and would have occasioned much feasting as well as providing material for sled runners, snow knives, fuel for oil lamps, rafters for dwellings, cutting boards, ulu handles etc. etc. I was continuously visited by caribou that showed no sign of alarm when they saw me, throughout the time I was documenting the site. The caribou became such a nuisance that I often had to fling a stone at them to get them out of view in my viewfinder. Had I had a rifle, I dare say not one would have been seen. As you walk around the tip of Index Point heading in a southerly direction you come upon another site which is very different and not connected to Kattimavik. It is a hunter's seasonal camp.

#### **Tupiqarvik: The Hunter's Camp - T-4b**

'Tupiqarvik' in Inuktitut refers to a seasonal site. 'Tupiq', the root of 'tupiqarviq', literally means a tent. As with the other sites found in the area, Tupiqarvik is as it was when the last hunter left it. No one had been mucking about disturbing its features. It is a small site, about 60m along the shoreline. The site is situated on an old beach line elevated about 6 m above sea level which tends to indicate that its a fairly recent site, perhaps no more than 5 or 6 generations old. It is unprotected from the winds coming off the sea, which leads me to believe that it was probably used for a short duration during the summer.

There are at least 12 caches in the immediate area ranging in size from 1 -3 m. None contained any visible faunal remains though the plant life in most of them indicates they were well stocked at one time. I suspect that the caches like the tent rings were used time and again. Although bits of caribou, goose and seal bone were present, the scarcity of bone material, especially seal and walrus surprised me. There is bone from a small Bowhead whale. I suspect it is from the same animal whose partial skull was found around the point at Kattimavik, the ceremonial site T-4c. Short pieces of whale rib were found which may have originally been used as sled runners but later cut up into pieces for some other purpose. There are 8 distinct tent rings on the site ranging in size from 2 - 4.5 m in diameter. Bits of sawed wood, a smashed aluminum tea kettle, a broken plane, bits of canvas and an assortment of metal pieces from a variety of objects clearly indicate recent occupation. Three interesting items found, were a fragment of a dinner plate with the coat of arms of the Hudson's Bay Company, a British 303 shell

casing indicating that a ranger had been here, and most important, an enameled chamber pot. Those of you who have traveled in the old days know the dexterity required, when urged to hover over an Old Chum Tobacco tin, in an igloo at 3 o'clock in the morning.

This site was visited by entire families as indicated by the presence of two beautiful little 'Piqattarviit', a play area made by children. These were about 1 m in diameter and resembled miniature tent rings. Multi-coloured stones representing different objects e.g. tea, meat, bird's eggs etc. were placed within them along with bits of wood and bird bone whose meaning was known only to the children who found them. About mid way on the point between this site and the Kattimavik site, T4c is a very nice qajaq (kayak) 'straightener'. It is easily missed if not viewed dead on. One can clearly see where the bow and the stern of the qajaq were held in place and the other stones placed along the sides. Obviously there were no dogs about when a qajaq was kept here, the two just don't mix.

### **The Initiation Site: T-7a**

Of the sites discovered, this was the site that beguiled me. It too is located on one of the points in the Piling Lake area. Sitting atop a ridge about 30 m from the water's edge on the north side, 15 inuksuit form a circle approximately 23 m in diameter. There is one particular inuksuk from which one sees clearly the form of an almost perfect circle. From this perspective one also sees the opening to a small enclosure situated in the middle of the circle. Nearby is a large flat stone at table height with a small inuksuk standing on top at one end. The uncovered enclosure made of stone is only large enough to contain a seated figure. Three small inuksuit stand side by side from the end of the 'table'. Close by and within the circle, are two objects resembling very small graves. I don't know what they are for or what if anything lies hidden within. The inuksuit varying in size from 1 -1.5 m in height, are well constructed and include 'napataq' a single upright stone which give the place an eerie appearance from a distance. The site is absolutely clean. I've noticed sites in southwest Baffin and in the Keewatin where one is required to be respectful. These 'saqqijaaringialik' or revered sites were always left clean except for perhaps a fragment of bone left by a fox. Whether I had discovered a saqqijaaringialik or an 'angakkuksarvik' a shaman's initiation place I was not absolutely sure. I am sure it is one or the other and probably the latter. I lean toward this conclusion because the site resembles an angakkuksarvik I was taken to at

Arviatjuaq in the Keewatin several years ago. The T-7a site at Piling is interesting because of the enclosure at its centre, the table like structure and a series of strange parallel markings in the surface of the granite, all of which are encircled by inuksuit. There is a distinct and well-worn pathway leading to the site and opposite to this pathway and parallel to it, is another less traveled pathway.

There are several 'inuksuviniq', remains of old inuksuit in the vicinity. What is most interesting is an alignment of inuksuit running over 350 m from the 'Initiation' site to yet another site as if connecting the two sites. I could determine no other reason for this alignment, as the inuksuit there appeared to have no functional purpose.

### **Igloksoak Site: T-7b**

'Igloksoak' simply means a house. Connected to the Initiation site by an alignment of inuksuit was a remarkable site at the water's edge consisting of three stone houses built in the Thule tradition. They ranged in size from 2.4 - 3.4 m in diameter with walls 1 - 1.2 m high. They were in very good condition and traces of moss chinking between the stones suggest that though probably ancient they were occupied in recent times. A few bits of metal tools lay about as well as a few caches. Since there was no sign of roofing material, I assume that recent occupants used canvas tarps to replace a roof once constructed of whalebone and possibly covered with a double layer of caribou skins. Inside the houses grew a profusion of flowering plants attesting to the rich pool of nutrients on the floor of each house. The houses were constructed up against a natural wall giving them protection as well as reflecting any heat from the sun. This was a site where one could spend the winter with access to fresh water and the sea and easy travel routes inland to where there were caribou. A large and complete walrus skull was the only sea mammal remains found on the surface next to one of the houses. Otherwise as with all other sites in the area, there was a predominance of caribou bones.

### **Auyuittuq - The land that never melts: The Barnes Ice Cap**

Unquestionably, the most important feature in this part of Baffin is Auyuittuq, the Barnes Ice Cap. It is part of a chain of the largest and oldest glaciers in Canada extending from Ellesmere Island to south Baffin Island. Lying at latitude 70 degrees north and longitude 73.5 degrees west, this ice cap believed to be 100,000 years old is often referred to as the Canadian remnant of the great Laurentide Ice sheet. Its 150km length straddles the backbone of central Baffin Island. This ancient mass of ice is about 58 km at its widest point, estimated to be 550 m thick at its thickest point and covers an area slightly over 5935 km<sup>2</sup>. It's irregular shape, 23 km at its narrowest and 58 km at its

widest point resembles a slab of rising bread dough. Only where it calves off at the several lakes it feeds, does it present a dramatic face. Its vast amount of melt water pours into the river gorges, lakes and eventually the fiords of Baffin Bay and from its east side, feeds a large area of the central Baffin watershed flowing into the Foxe Basin. Undoubtedly this vast amount of fresh water flowing into the sea has a dramatic effect on the marine life in the area. I have no idea if there is some correlation between this condition and the distinct lack of seal, walrus and whale bone material at the sites I found. In comparison, the sites I found in southwest Baffin were almost entirely littered with sea mammal remains.

Every person who has studied the ice cap, undoubtedly sees it in the context of their own discipline. As an ethnogeographer who has learned his skill while traveling with the Inuit, I tend to view Auyuittuq as the shaper of the landscape, the determiner of weather, the source of fast flowing rivers that carved the valleys thus providing caribou trails. Its water floods the western flatlands and fills the ponds where clouds of snow geese return to nest year after year. It pours vast quantities of fresh water into the sea and by altering its salinity affects the sea's ecosystem in this entire region. A very old Inuktitut term comes to mind in describing the nature of Auyuittuq. It is 'Siqqitiqtuq' meaning, the very power of transformation.

On July 20/01 we set our helicopter down on top of Auyuittuq. Looking about, we saw only ice. It seemed as if all the clouds in our sky arose from the shimmering horizon that encircled us. We stood transfixed in a vast brightness. We could hear muffled sounds from somewhere deep beneath us. Torrents of crystal clear water, which had been set free from its icy state burst from the surface carving its way toward the unseen sea. All about our feet were little indentations in the ice about the size of one's cupped hands. Each was filled with melt water. Each indentation had tiny little plant like organisms without roots, stems or leaves... we call algae. There they were, not much larger than specs of dust getting all their nutritional needs from sunlight and as a worldwide group, these tiny little specs of living matter were photosynthesizing the bulk of the oxygen of our planet. We were in the presence of a place that filled us with a lasting sense of awe and wonder.

### **Summary :**

I was surprised by the apparent lack of available information concerning the human experience related to the Piling area. According to the information contained in the

Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project Report, hunters from the Clyde River area on the East coast of Baffin often went inland as far as the SE portion of the ice cap to hunt caribou. While hunters coming down the coast from Igloolik hunted part of the way inland and along the West coast of Baffin Island.

Artifacts ranging from whalebone sled runners, Thule style dwellings, stone fox traps to an enameled chamber pot and other more recent articles suggest considerable activity over a sustained period in the Piling Lake area. Perhaps the stories and accounts if ever recorded, lie in the archives in Igloolik or buried in the files of the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project. The absence of a trading post in the early days and later the presence of a Dew Line site in the area probably had a considerable impact on human geography of Piling, the question is how? The absence of graves nearby any of the sites was somewhat puzzling. Other questions arise not because of insufficient scientific data concerning the ice cap. In this regard, thanks to Christian Zdanowicz, GSC for sharing information on his research on the Barnes Ice Cap. I was provided with an excellent overview of the Barnes Ice Cap written by Gerald Holdsworth, Arctic Institute of North America.

The leading questions in my mind are what is the nature of the big picture? How does Auyuittuq influence the weather and the entire ecosystem of the area including the sea life? Why... would a place so far from home be it Igloolik or Kangiqtugaapik (Clyde River) have: such an impressive ceremonial site, a carefully constructed initiation site, semi permanent dwellings hundreds of inuksuit and countless caches created by a people so dependent on a single source of food, caribou? And what lies to the south of Piling where the caribou move back and forth along the coast? Is there more

## 15      **PART TWO July 2002**

Marc St-Onge once again extended an invitation to join his geological party in central Baffin during the summer of 2002. The brief period of 15 days spent with the geological team turned out to be productive and rewarding as it enabled me to observe a multitude of sites stretching from the west side to the east side of Baffin Island. The duration and time of the season spent in the field in 2002 was almost identical to the length of time spent during the previous year. It was useful to be able to compare weather, wind patterns, temperature, cloud cover, snow and ice remnants, the general

condition of tundra, plant flowering stages and location, species, condition and numbers of wildlife. The observations were casual, much like an occasional hunter comparing one season to another in the same hunting area.

## **Impressions**

The last week of July and the first week of August are the cusp of summer in central Baffin. Wild flowers are beginning to produce seed, female mosquitos are ravenous for blood, snow geese are almost finished their molt and caribou are constantly grazing, building up their fat reserves for winter. Flying toward our base camp from Iqaluit we skirted the east coast of Foxe Basin in the vicinity of Straits Bay. A surprising amount of sea ice usually well out in the Foxe Basin, was observed piled up against the west coast at Piling by the prevailing winds sweeping down from the direction of Igloolik. The shore bound ice provided the ideal condition for producing advection fog which is formed when air moves horizontally over a cool surface and is cooled below the dew point. At one point this condition moved far enough inland that the entire party was weather bound in the field for a day and a half which is describe later. There was a notable increase in moisture during the summer of 02 from the summer of 01 as evident from the verdant condition of the grass lands near the coast stretching from the Piling Lake area to Wordie Bay. Only a few solitary and motley looking caribou were noticed in the previous period of 2001 while in the same period of 02 the greener grass lands were being grazed by small herds of 15 or more healthy looking caribou.

In the region between Piling and Wordie Bay is a place known by the Inuit as Amaroktalik. The very name Amaroktalik means a place of wolves. The increase in numbers of Caribou in the grasslands this summer attracted wolves. On one occasion we saw three young wolves who appeared to be in a very healthy condition stalking a lone caribou. They were so intent that the noise of the helicopter, approximately 275 m away neither frightened them nor broke their fixed attention on the caribou. On another day, in the Flint Lake region below us we saw a hunting party consisting of seven mature wolves on the move. They were not scattered but were in a formation. The two wolves at the head of the hunting party were spread apart to form a pincer, the next three were about 40m behind the pincer in a line and just behind them were two wolves flanking the line. At the bottom end of this Y formation was a single wolf moving at the same speed as the others but some 30m back. They moved with utmost ease across a rugged boulder field as if they were a single animal. We rounded a bend

in the river and there they were, a small herd of about 20 caribou, up wind, contentedly grazing at the bank of the river completely unaware that a drama older than one can imagine was unfolding. With a life span of from 8 to 16 years that small pack of wolves might hunt in an area up to 2000 square kilometers. Their prey would consist of fledgling geese, lemmings and most importantly, caribou.

Though there was an abundance of geese and caribou this summer (2002) there appeared to be a sharp decline in the "Hamburger of the Arctic" (*Lemmus sibiricus*) the little lemming. This condition was suggested by the absence of fox, weasel and snowy owls which had been observed during the same period, the previous summer. Contrary to popular folklore, these little rodents do not commit mass suicide. Breeding rapidly their population reaches peak densities in a given area in 3 to 5 years. When this happens, there is a cessation of breeding, sometimes mass die-offs or mass migration to where there is an abundance of willows and other plants to feed upon. We made 25 sightings of snowy owls between our base camp and the coast at Piling in 2001 but saw only one snowy owl during the summer of 2002. Revisiting old sites discovered the previous year shelters for young foxes and weasels were now devoid of wildlife nor were any seen during my traverses. It was interesting to come upon an account depicting the dearth of animal life (a low period) in this area.

About 63 years ago Tom and Jackie Manning were in this area. The following is a passage from Jackie's book "*Igloo for The Night*":

*"Piling had been our first goal, and we had reached it. I had not expected to find signs of any human occupation, I have never been anywhere that looked so utterly untouched by living creatures. The only birds we saw were two duck hawks who screamed defiance in fierce protection of their young: moss grew in crevasses of the rock and dead appearing lichen upon it: the rock itself had been standing since so long ago, standing with ageless indifference to storms, and frost, and snow, and ice - even to the sun which warmed its scarred and rugged face."*

### **Feast or Famine**

There is a clue to the occasional depletion of the food supply at least for humans in the area. The clue appears in the form of a name of a lake, in the region. Lying about 360 km NE from our base camp is a lake called *Inuktorfik*. The name in Inuktitut suggests a place where people have starved and cannibalism had occurred. Much closer to our base camp on the Baird Peninsula, a similar tragedy occurred several years ago which was recounted to me by Graham Rowley. A small party

traveling by dog team from Pond Inlet to Igloolik were overtaken by bad weather. It was during the storm, their food was being depleted, a group two men and a woman decided to travel south westward almost certain that they would find adequate shelter and more importantly, caribou. It was a fatal decision. They got as far as *Satorssuaq* the Baird Peninsula without encountering a single caribou. Eventually hunger and weakness stood in their path, they could go no further. Huddled under a few skins they had brought on their journey, they were overtaken by the dreaded *kaannaqtuq nalliusimazuq* - starvation time. The remainder of the party who had continued on in the direction of Igloolik arrived safely. After some time a search party set out in the direction of *Satorssuaq* to find their kin. Miraculously they did. But the only survivor was the woman. She appeared to be little more than a sack of bones. It is said that her lips were a purple-blue. There were only disjointed remains of the two men lying about her. This tragedy was by no means unique. It occurred albeit rarely, throughout the Arctic. Rather than be reviled, the woman was admired for *kajusijuq* her will to stay alive. She became a powerful influence amongst her people.

### **Across Qikitaalik ~ Baffin Island**

The physiography of the Baffin Region is divided along north south lines. The northern half of Baffin Island is characterized by a mountain range extending along the eastern coast of the island to the Cumberland Peninsula. Several mountains exceed the 1,524m level and are covered with glaciers and snow fields. The climatic conditions of the central Baffin Region are moderated by the maritime influences of Foxe Basin in the west and Baffin Bay in the east . As mentioned in part 1 of the journal, the Barnes ice cap also plays an important role in stabilizing weather in the region.

If you travel by helicopter from Index Point which lies on central Baffin's west coast to Nudlung Fiord which lies on Baffin's east coast you would travel roughly the same distance as from Vancouver, B.C. to Seattle, Washington or from Ottawa to Timmins, Ontario (315 km.). The journey takes you across some of the most spectacular scenery in the Arctic. You see a micro panorama of the Arctic from the Mackenzie to Baffin Island. It begins with the lowlands with their meandering rivers and countless ponds. Moving eastward the land begins to rise and take the shape of rolling hills reminiscent of the central Arctic. Still further along, rolling hills are replaced by high cliffs, low valleys and a rugged appearance reminiscent of the area around Pelly Bay. The landscape once more levels out until you arrive near the Barnes ice cap. Here one sees immense fields of boulders of all sizes forming terminal or end moraines. If you go

to the face of the ice cap you see melt water bursting out from the ice face. Here, small boulders are hurled out by the force of the water as one would spit out cherry pits. Crossing the ice cap, one enters a truly remarkable region. It is made of mountains, crevasses, slices of glaciers, waterfalls plunging from heights of over 600m, twisting emerald green rivers, serpentine shaped eskers and then some of the most spectacular fiords in the entire Arctic stretching out into the vastness of Baffin Bay. There are places in the Arctic which evoke a sense of infinite space like the endless plains of the Keewatin, there are places which seem to be veiled in timeless mystery like the Foxe Peninsula and places of sheer beauty like Pagnirtung or Pond Inlet but here, on the other other side of the ice cap is a place, a world unlike any other. It is here that one can see a landscape from sea level to ice bound mountain peaks in a single glance. Perched atop a glacier, one sees a rugged landscape appearing to be constantly changing shaped by the play of light and shadow. Except for the occasional gust of wind there is an omnipresent silence. A sense of indescribable wonder fills one's consciousness. Even more astonishing is that this entire landscape lay hidden in total darkness by a vast sheet of ice at the same time hunters in Lascaux, France and in Altamira Spain, were adorning the walls of their caves with images of the world they knew several thousand years ago.

### **Traces of coming and going ~ *Utirnigiit***

Two general terms used in the Ikpik Journal are features and sites. The term site is used to denote a place that appears to have been used for a continuous period of time or visited on various occasions for a number of purposes e.g. ceremonial, feasting, dwelling, seasonal camps, stone houses, children's play areas, landing places, and important coordination points where various parties would meet. Such places are usually determined by material objects found in the vicinity and other evidence of human activity.

**Features:** I use the term features to denote objects that were observed. They include: caches, graves, stone traps, qajaq rests, inuksuit, inuksuk like objects - inunnguait, hunting blinds, goose corrals, stone traps including wolf and fox traps, caribou drift fences, meat caches, meat drying platforms, fire places, qaumatik stands, kayaq stretchers and some strange unidentifiable linear shapes constructed of rows of boulders.

**Sites:** Sites found included the following: Tunillarvik - where gifts are left; Kattimavik - a large ceremonial centre; Tupiqarvik - a hunter's camp; Angaku'habvik - a shaman's initiation site; Nugluk - a goose hunting site; Igloksoak - stone house site; various short term sites (cluster of tent rings); major caribou hunting sites; fishing camp site; major meeting place inland; hauling out site; landing site; and children's play areas. Not having found more than a few scraps of sea mammal bones nor evidence of early permanent habitation, led me to conclude that the entire region was a place frequently visited but not permanently inhabited. I was wrong.

### **Now you see it - Now you don't**

The Arctic landscape with all its textures, shapes and shadows often has a way of making sites and objects difficult to see. The colour and texture of a site or object often blends in with its surround so as to make it appear almost invisible. It has been my experience when traversing that there are times when one comes upon a site or object quite by accident. The converse is true. I have often wondered how many sites or objects have lain just behind that other hill that we never get to. While in base camp I was informed by a bright, young geologist Kathi Dubach that during the previous year she and her professor Dugald Carmichael had come across a site at Index Point consisting of some shelters and whale bone. The approximate location and description seemed to match very closely to the site I found at Index Point. Further questioning reinforced the similarity. Another visit to Index Point was made without finding a second site consisting of shelters and whale bones. Much later when Part 1 of the Ikpik Journal appeared on the Geological Survey's web site, an interesting Email from Dugald Carmichael was received it read:

"Hi Norman! Good talking with you, and hearing your talk (at the Logan Club)! Please send me your postal address; I would like to send you four slides of the Index Point Thule(?) site found by Kathi and me in July 2000.

"Having read your Baffin-website article, I now think you did not walk far enough east to have seen this site. I don't forget where I have been, and I only wish we had overlapped in camp so that I could have taken you there. I counted ruins of 13 stone + whalebone + sod "houses", all dug into the same arcuate raised beach, and nicely protected on the north by a long, near vertical bedrock cliff several meters high. There are many bowhead skulls, vertebrae and ribs. I would think the whale bones you

found in the more recent sites farther west might have been salvaged from this site long after the whales had become too rare to support a systematic hunt.

Cheers, Dugald."

NH's Reply to Dugald:

"Nice to hear from you! Too bad we meet so infrequently and for such a brief time. I'd be grateful to receive any material on the site you found at Index Point along with any comments you'd like to make. A nice sketch of the site would be very helpful even if only generalized. Because of its importance in the area I'd like to include the "Carmichael" site in Part 2 of the Ikpik Journal if that's OK with you. It would be nice to get together at Chez Piggy sometime, Warmest regards Norm."

Dugald back to Norm:

"Hi Norm! As of Thurs, four Index Point slides have been en route to PO Box 1 in Carp. For sure you are welcome to publish whatever you may wish concerning the site, including the pictures themselves. To that end, I have spent an interesting couple of days learning more about bowheads and archaeology.

"It seems widely accepted that Thule and other sites were never far above sea level at the time they were occupied - in fact archaeological radiocarbon dates are used to determine local rates of post glacial uplift. At Igloodik and Hall Beach, the rate is slowing exponentially, from 3m/century 4000 years ago to 0.5m/century 1000 years ago. Obviously, therefore, we would like to know the present elevation of the Index Point site. But there is not yet a 1:50,000 map of Index Point, and the 1:250,000 map tells us only that the site is less than 100 feet above present sea level. Fortunately, my slide #21 shows several offshore islands as well as the sea level horizon. I have used the visual alignment of Akalujuk and Amagok Islands to locate the site on an enlargement of the 1:250,000 map (it is midway between the end of the point and the "I" in "Index"), and using precise measurements of vertical and horizontal distances on the projected slide I have determined my line of sight to be between 22 and 23m above sea level. An independent check is provided by observing that Anderson Point, 17 km distant, appears to coincide with the sea-level horizon. Given earth's radius is 6378 km, this gives 22.7m for the elevation of my line of sight. Then assuming Kathi is 1.5 m tall, the "houses" are 14 to 15m above sea level.

“Thule sites near Igloolik are 6.5m above sea level and have radiocarbon dates 700-1200 years old. All the sites on higher terraces are Dorset or pre-Dorset, ranging up to 4200 years on the 52m terrace. Dorset sites 14-15m above sea level give dates between 1900 and 2300 years. Thus it would seem quite unusual to find abundant bowhead debris in a site so far above present sea level. Noteworthy too is the absence of any of the huge curved mandibles that have been found at some Thule sites - perhaps they were scavenged by more recent people? A "nice sketch of the site" would require a day trip to Ottawa to look at the air photos. Depending on when may be your deadline for Ikpik Journal Part 2, I might be able to manage that.  
Best regards, Dug “

NH's reply:

“The slides of the Thule site arrived safe and sound. If you don't mind I'll have them duplicated when I go to Ottawa next week and then return your originals. The images are very similar to the images of several Thule sites I've documented in southwest Baffin. I'm certain it's a Thule site. You are right, I traversed too close to the shore further to the west and thus missed it, notwithstanding that we must have flown over the damned thing at low altitude, several times.

“I have now revised my thinking about the area. The site which I've taken the liberty to label T38 indicates a permanent site. Previously I had thought of the entire area as a seasonal caribou hunting area. I agree with your suggestion that the whalebone material I found on the other more westerly sites may have been scrounged from T38. The Inuit in the Cape Dorset area removed all the whale bone material from their Thule sites years ago. Whalebone makes good snow knives, goggles, roofing rafters, toggles, sled cross pieces etc. in fact if you were a traditional Inuk you'd think of a whale as a combined food, lumber yard and hardware depot. I'll drop into the GSC offices next week and take a close look at the aerals of the Index Point area.  
Best regards, Norm”

Message from Dugald :

“The slides are a small contribution to the project - I intended for you to keep them and feel free to use them however you will. No need even to send me copies, as my extras of two of them are quite enough to rekindle my joy in finding the site and to illustrate any foreseeable story-telling of mine. Also I see no need to name the site for me and Kathi. Other Thule sites seem mostly to have local geographic names - how

about T38 Piling or Akalujuk? For long I have thought it wrong for Sagarmatha/Chomolungma (Mother Goddess of the World) to have been renamed in honour of a British surveyor who had merely set up his theodolite somewhere far away and pronounced, "That's the highest one."

Message from NH to Dugald:

"Many thanks Dugald. The site has been labeled T38 and named *Saunituqait nuasimajut* pronounced... saunit-tu-hate nu-asi-ma-yoot which means a place of very old bones, an old site.

"The presence of the Thule site T-38 with its semi subterranean "houses" suggests that this was a permanent camp of perhaps 40 men women and children who lived there several hundred years ago. Crowe, in his Masters thesis, "A Cultural Geography of Northern Foxe Basin" states:

*"The eleven Thule villages of the northern Foxe basin are small. During more than four centuries of Thule culture, no single site accumulated more than twelve houses and the average is six."*

It's interesting to note that map 6 in his report indicates that Father Rousseliere claimed the existence of pre Dorset and Dorset sites in the Pilik area which would suggest human occupation as far back as 3000 years. The more one looks at the abundance and context of material at Index Point and the immediate area the more complex and fascinating the Pilik appears to be. Fortunately, this remarkable complex has not yet suffered the scarring of trowel, brush and spade. On the other hand such an important collection of sites in this one area deserves to be carefully mapped, studied and dated, visual archaeology would be appropriate in such a place.

### **Over the Mountains and Back Again**

Twenty eight sites numbered from T-10 to T-38 were documented during 15 days in the summer of 2002. They ranged from places which appeared to be little more than overnight stops where a single tent ring or inuksuk existed - to complex sites where semi permanent shelters, stone traps, meat preparation areas, caribou drives and hunting blinds existed in close proximity. In general, sites in the Piling Lake area are more complex than those found inland as one moves toward the east coast of Baffin. Sites T12 -15 -22 -25 -26 -27 -28 -29 -30 and 31 appear to be stopovers consisting of no

more than one or two circular tent rings with sites T22 -25 - 30 and 31 having an inuksuk nearby. Sites T16 -17 -19 -20 -21 - 24 and 32 consist of one or two inuksuit with site T23 having 6 inuksuit in close proximity suggesting they might be *inutsuliutuinnaqtuq inuksuk*, inuksuit created to shorten the time where one waits e.g. hunting sites, tidal narrows etc. Sites T10 -11 -13 -14 -18 -33 -34 -35 36 and 38 are of particular interest and are dealt with in the notes that follow.

### **Ulagutiit -T-10: Straits Bay Area**

*Ulagutiit* refers to the type of inuksuit constructed to guide caribou toward shooting blinds when the bow and arrow was used. The site was reported to me by Marc St-Onge. It is a very impressive caribou hunting site consisting of over 240 inuksuit which terminate at a "Shooting Gallery." The inuksuit are arranged in a continuous line running from east to west so as to form a "fence" keeping the caribou from going inland as they move westward along the river flatland. The inuksuit are spaced a few meters apart and in all probability when in use, women and children stood in the spaces between and at the appropriate time, shouted and waved their arms thus frightening the caribou toward the hunters. These inuksuit range from knee to shoulder height and simply take the irregular shape of the stones used in each one's construction. On closer examination one discerns that the inuksuk fence is actually made up of three separate levels or tiers of inuksuit running in the same direction. The reason for this unusual configuration I cannot determine except to speculate that the site was expanded over time. The "Shooting Gallery" where the inuksuit came to an end was not made up of blinds or shallow pits but consisted of a natural arrangement of stones large enough to hide a standing man. There is a small hill about 90 meters from the shooting gallery which provides an excellent view of the entire area. Here is an inuksuk looking construction which may be a *qinngummigarvik* pronounced hingu-megarvik. This is where the hunter would wait and watch for the arrival of the caribou. The structure may have been erected long after the site was established because the *qinngummigarvik* was specifically constructed as a platform to rest a telescope.

It was at this place that it occurred to me that perhaps there might be an inuksuk between here at Ulagutiit and Inuksullarik - T-5, to the north which I came across the previous year. On the map the distance looks like a mere jaunt of 7.5 kilometers but as we often discover ponds streams and bogs can turn a mere jaunt into lengthy hike. To my delight about halfway toward Inuksullarik I came upon a prominent boulder upon which was placed a certain type of inuksuk roughly in the shape of a triangle called a

*turaaq*. It serves to point not necessarily toward the shortest route but rather toward the best route to follow.

While documenting the site a few caribou wandered up from the coast and grazed about 40 meters from me quite oblivious to the inuksuit. If a site is abandoned, over time, the caribou are no longer frightened by the inuksuit.

If one paces out the length of Ulagutiit from the shooting gallery to its apparent beginning near two small fresh water ponds in the direction of Straits Bay, the distance is about 591 meters. At this point one picks up a trail leading from Ulagutiit to the mouth of the river at Straits Bay. While this trail is contiguous to Ulagutiit, it could be regarded as another site. It is marked by at least 50 inuksuit placed several meters apart and it is only there, sufficiently distant from the hunting site, where a few meat caches are to be found. In the southwest Baffin dialect Such a place would be called *Aqutipaalummut* pronounced ahuti-palu-mut meaning the pathway to where caribou are hunted. The distance from where the pathway begins in the direction of the river's mouth to Ulagutiit, is approximately 1.1 km. The beauty of Ulagutiit and *Aqutipaalummut* is seeing a landscape upon which is written the score of an ancient drama, as old as mankind.

### **Nunaqarviminituqait -T-13**

Nunaqarviminituqait pronounced nuna-harvi-mini-too-gait, simply means a place where there are very old camps. The site was reported to me by David Corrigan. It lies about 0.7 of a kilometer south of the Nadluardjuk river amidst a cluster of small lakes which are connected to the sea by shallow outlets. It is likely that the site is in fact two sites one older than the other. The older site could be at least 200 -300 years old and the other site 100-150 years old. These sites were likely the main camp of the families whose men hunted in the general area and in particular, at Nadluardjuk -T-14 which is slightly more than a kilometer to the north.

When facing toward the water, the older site lies to one's left and the more recent site lies to the right. The more recent site is on relatively level ground, primarily of gravel and float providing good drainage for a camp site. It is roughly 5.5 thousand square meters. The structures are in the open where as the structures at the older site are nestled against a cliff which protects them from the prevailing north westerly winds. The main feature of the more recent site is a large rock about 2.7 meters high

having a circumference slightly over 9 meters. It provides an excellent look out. What is puzzling is the strange configuration of stones at its base. The stones average in size to that of a large turnip. They are carefully arranged into three parallel lines spaced about 0.75 of a meter apart and each line is the same length of about 2.5 meters. The regularity of the arrangement is puzzling. There are three features in the immediate area of the large rock. They consist of two meat caches. The smaller cache being a *pirujaq* and the large cache a *qimatutivik* would have been used for long time storage of food. Close by is a typical fire place *iga* where slices of caribou were cooked. About 80 meters from the large rock is another rock a little over 1.5 meters high with a smooth flat top. Several small stones roughly the size of a musk melon lie on top of this rock which strongly suggest that this was a *niqikkuvik*, the place where caribou meat was cut into strips weighted down with the small rocks and left to dry. The remains of two small dwellings each being about 2.5 meters in diameter complete the number of features in an area where meat was prepared and stored for long periods.

If you walk about 60 meters southward from the big rock the terrain becomes rocky and by entering a crevasse you come upon the much older part of the entire Nunaqarviminituqait site. There are no caches or signs of where meat was prepared here. A small 3 meter cliff face provides protection from the prevailing wind. There are five small tent rings nestled against the cliff flanked by the remains of two permanent stone shelters. The rich carpet of plants growing around the dwellings suggests a good measure of comfort and food was enjoyed here. There is one object at this site which gives rise to a little speculation. The object is a *tigiriaz*, an old traditional fox trap. A *tigiriaz* looks like a small igloo constructed entirely of stone. The only opening is at its top. You throw in through this opening an old hunk of meat unfit for man or dog. The fox smelling a free meal scampers up the side of the *tigiriaz* pokes his head into the hole and jumps down to get his reward. Later, try as he may, he cannot get out again and dies. Eventually the hunter/trapper comes by, the fox's skin goes south and his remains go to the ravens and dogs. The construction of the *tigiriaz* amidst the remains of the old houses suggests that it was constructed after the site was abandoned as a place to live.

Sitting atop of the ridge behind the old stone house remains and carefully looking about, one could imagine a day in the life of the people who once lived here. One could imagine the hurried preparation to head north to Nadluardjuk. Word had come that the caribou were on their way. Atai! lets go! Issumataq the camp boss, would shout.

### **Nadluardjuk -T-14:**

This site is situated on the west side of the Nadluardjuk river a little more than half way from the sea to Nadluardjuk Lake. It was located by Marc St-Onge during one of his many traverses the previous year. The name Nadluardjuk suggests a “big hiding place.” Here we find another caribou hunting site though quite different from (T-11) Ulagutiit .

Nadluardjuk is an equally large site situated on the bank of the river where it is quite shallow. At the river’s edge can be found the place where gear etc. not needed until departure, is left behind. The site is in the shape of a horse shoe. The crest of the horse shoe is at the foot of a steep cliff which is about 7 meters high. Lush vegetation at the bottom of the cliff and xanthoria streaking down the cliff face signals bird life inhabiting the area for a considerable time. When approaching the cliff one is met with a high pitched “screeeee” as a pair of Gyrfalcons (*kiggaviarjuk*) swoop down to drive you away. At the bottom of the cliff face lie the foundations of seven small circular blinds the largest being 3.6 meters in diameter. The stones are well mantled with lichens and in some places almost obscured by surrounding plant material. Imagine that you are standing in one of the blinds with your back at the cliff face looking toward the river which is about 1.5 kilometers distant. To your right can be seen a small alignment of inuksuit running from the cliff toward the river. To your left can be seen a ridge of boulders upon which is placed over 100 inuksuit creating a “fence” approximately a kilometer long running from the cliff toward the river. The distance between the outstretched arms of the trap formed by the two rows of inuksuit is 275 meters.

Walking about the site, carefully observing the placement of the features upon it and knowing that it lies in the path of spring migration of caribou reveals a hunting strategy slightly different from that which took place at Ulagutiit -T-11.

### **Uqquaq -T-18**

Dave Scott told me of a site he came across while on a traverse just south of the Barnes Ice Cap. On the morning of Friday July 26, 02 I did a *qulirniguulik*, pronounced hulir-nigu-lik which means I took a ride in a helicopter to the place I wanted to go. The site was on a slight, well drained gravel hill with ponds and a nice creek close by. The southern edge of the ice cap was clearly in sight being less than a kilometer to the north. The morning was still and there was an absence of the usual cool wind blowing down from the ice cap. There were at least seven distinct features at this .60 hectare site the

most interesting being an arrangement of four of the six inuksuit erected there. The inuksuk at the apogee of the triangle was very well constructed and stood 1.3 meters high. Three inuksuit formed the base of the triangle. The inuksuk at the centre of the base stands about 1.9 meters high. There are the remains of a small stone shelter 3 meters in diameter to the left side of the triangle. A sleeping platform and hearth is quite visible within the shelter. If you draw a line from the inuksuk at apogee of the triangle to the inuksuk at the centre of the base and continue it for 96 meters you come across what appears to be a perfectly perched boulder about the size of a back pack. In traditional times, an *ittigasimaut* "that which is raised from the ground" a perched boulder, was considered to be a powerful object of veneration. There is an old grave on the nearby hillside which is intact. The site suggests the most northerly place where a few hunters gathered for short periods during the time of the north - south migration of caribou.

About noon, a cold light wind began blowing in from the coast. The sky became menacingly dark. It was time to put away the gear and note book and begin to build an *uqquaq* a small, emergency rock shelter. It's important that it be just large enough that your body does not touch the walls while laying in the fetal position. A ground sheet is used to serve as the roof. It should be arranged so that it not only does not touch the body but is able to cast off the water. Plant material is used to chink the rocks and to lie upon. A decent *uqquaq* can be built in about an hour. As any northern traveler knows, one is more likely to suffer hypothermia in summer than in winter. Becoming wet over a period of several hours in the lightest wind can become deadly. Water conducts heat away from the body up to 25 times faster than air. In a relatively short time one loses their body heat faster than it can be produced and discomfort soon turns into hypothermia.

Relatively snug in my little *uqquaq*, I listened to the rain, and for the catch of the day ate a can of sardines carefully keeping the tin and its oil for future use. I expected that the miserable weather coming in from the ice clogged west coast would last about three days. My strategy was simple, go outside only when absolutely necessary, sleep as much as possible and eat as little as possible. Toward the end of an endless day a single mosquito had somehow found my little shelter. After a brief period of serious contemplation I decided to let the wee buggie live, after all, Penelope was company and unlike the million dollar helicopter that would surely rescue us, she would often amuse me by landing on my ceiling upside down. I recalled the time when a colleague was

weather-bound on an island for 19 days during which time he scurried around trying to keep warm and looking for anything remotely edible. On the other hand, his Inuit companion crawled into his sleeping bag only getting out to have an occasional pee. When rescued, my friend was a skinny, bleary-eyed mess, his bag-bound companion was in fine shape though a little groggy from so much sleep.

Fortunately for all of us, the discomfort lasted only until the next day when the choppers picked us up. However, one cannot just rely on good fortune. Observing that there were tendrils of low lying fog all around, I found that the small flares I carried very useful in signaling the helicopter as to my exact position. The inexpensive mylar “emergency blanket” while providing some comfort during the first few hours was soon torn apart with every movement. Though the small candle didn't giving off much heat it was a welcomed treat to watch and warm the fingertips. Fortunately Penelope avoided its flame. The highly spiced garlic filled dried sausages I had made by my local butcher could have kept me going for at least a week. The sardine tin with its oil which I would have used as a lamp, didn't have to be used.

Notwithstanding all the stuff one has to carry in the field including the latest gadgets, its wise to include the following: The best windproof lighter on the market, a candle made of 100% beeswax which burns up to 70 hours, a Thermolite (trade name) emergency bivvy sack and a few high protein sausages made up by a delicatessen butcher. One can then with a modicum of comfort, use their hi - tech satellite phone to talk to their pilot who is grounded by the same weather condition somewhere else. Uqquaq, the name I gave to this site is the word for the simple structure of stones hastily made by a hunter when overtaken by bad weather.

### **Takussunaittuq - T-33**

Takussunaittuq pronounced taku-soonay-tuk means places of great beauty. It is very close to Tasiujaq Cove at the end of Sarvalik Fiord on the east coast of central Baffin Island. This part of Baffin presents the most spectacular scenery in eastern Canada. Rugged mountain peaks rise to altitudes of over 6000 feet. The entire mountain range being the highest in eastern North America. Many of their jagged peaks and serrated ridges are partly covered under permanent snow fields and remnant ice caps. Here we see glaciers twisting their way to the sea and a myriad of magnificent valleys widening into great indentations eventually becoming fiords rising abruptly from the sea. It is a landscape that can only be described in superlatives. My mentor Osuitok Ipeelee once described places such as this as *Takussunaittuq...* places so powerful that

they are the abode of great spirits. It was at such a place that we landed on a mountain ledge which had a sheer drop of over 1000 feet. From the blue white face of the glacier opposite us, water falls broke free and plunged into a dark valley cloaked in mist. The entire landscape was brilliantly lit by light reflecting off the ice. Seeing such a sight would be described by my Inuit elders as *ujumirapuaq* meaning, when the sun dances and the earth shimmers.

### **Fox Charlie -T-34**

Situated on a mountain top on the south side of Ekalugad Fiord on the east coast of Baffin Island is one of many ghosts of an era known as the cold war. Fox Charlie is one of the 47 Dew Line stations that stretch from Alaska to where I stood on this mountain top on the east coast of Baffin. These listening posts came into being because in 1949, though thousands of kilometers away, the arctic sky of Siberia had turned red with the glow of an exploding atomic bomb. In addition, the USSR in a very short space of time, created a long range bomber force which it upgraded in the early 1950's. Then in 1953 the Soviets exploded their first hydrogen bomb. The weapon of mass destruction and method of its delivery to anywhere in North America, loomed just below the horizon. Dew line stations crammed with the most advanced detection equipment of the day were strung across the Arctic in an incredibly short time. In an equally short time after they became operational, many became obsolete. The stakes in the game had been raised. Now, just below the horizon loomed the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile. The Fox Charlies were no longer useful in the deadliest game in human history. The voices of the men on the mountain top at Ekalugad Fiord were no longer heard by those deep in the heart of a mountain in Colorado. A new bigger and better multi billion dollar game called Star Wars was threatened to begin.

Today, Fox Charlie appears like an open wound upon the face of a wondrous place. Hundreds of steel drums litter the landscape, many oozing their dark contents killing all living things in their path. The buildings and vehicles are all destroyed. Every switch, light bulb, gauge, dial, sink, toilet, chair, table and piece of electronic equipment is smashed to bits. Wind blows through broken windows and rattles open doors. I learned from a colleague in the department National Defense that Fox Charlie had been left, totally intact. Standing there, I was reminded of the words written in 1866 by Charles Edward Smith, surgeon aboard the ice-bound whaler Diana. "We seem to be dwelling in some haunted house filled with unearthly and mysterious noises. We sit like hares, startled and alarmed at the slightest sound, dreading and fearing we know

not what." Fox Charlie mirrors a dark moment in our recent history and hints at what can happen at any time and anywhere.

### **Iqalliarvitsiavait -T-35 & T-36**

Iqalliarvitsiavait pronounced, ikal-i-arvit-see-a-vait means places where there is good fishing. The elevation in the immediate area is 2790 feet above sea level providing spectacular views in all directions. We were flying about 16 meters above the ground heading toward Iqaluallit Fiord when in one breath taking moment, we flew off the edge of a plateau and the ground suddenly dropped 1500 feet beneath us. Descending into the steep sided valley we saw a clear water river winding its way to the sea from an inland lake about 15 kilometers in length . It was only a matter of moments when I saw four small stone tent rings on a gravel bar.

Having landed I walked about and quickly noticed the absence of things often associated with a fishing site. There was no debris, no bits of wood, no scraps of canvas, no pieces of broken implements. No plants grew anywhere which was unusual for such sites often supported an abundance of plant life nourished by the nutrients leaching from organic debris left by previous occupants. The very stones forming the tent rings were polished clean and were devoid of any visible growth of lichen. The snow-melt regime here creates an annual rush of water producing a flushing effect as it sweeps down to the sea. From a material perspective there was very little to see, so one was obliged to look beyond the immediately visible in order to appreciate the significance of this tiny site of four polished tent rings perched on a gravel bar.

Here for a brief period of the year a few families would gather here in August to catch *Iqaluk* Arctic Char. The fish were now fattened by feeding on insects, plankton, algae, small invertebrates including amphipods and mysids not to mention small fish of any kind including their own species. The char were about to migrate up river in great numbers to spawn in the cold clear waters of the lake. Because there was no sappotit (fish weir) built here, fishing would have been done using leisters (fish spears) and later, with nets obtained from the Hudson Bay Co. trading post. Arctic Char are highly nutritious providing: protein, Vitamin A, B, C, iron and omega-3 fatty acids with the skin and head providing a good source of calcium. Char is eaten raw, frozen, dried, boiled and aged. When people lived on the land in the traditional manner the bones of the larger Char were made into sewing needles and the skins were made into small ditty bags for carrying some of the woman's household items. One of the most

ingenious uses of fish skins was tailoring them into water proof jackets for wearing at sea in the kayak.

Sitting in one of the small tent rings I looked at the landscape and wondered about this place and those who once fished here. The stillness, remoteness and elemental nature of the moment took me back in time when many years ago I was with a family in such a place. We had little to eat with only five fish heads remaining in the bucket. The evening before the weather cleared we boiled those remaining fish heads, drank the broth and ate every thing and I mean everything. except the few remaining bones. Leetia took those few fish bones and performed a wonderful transformation. Using only the fish bones, she fashioned a bumble bee, butterfly, gull, murre and with a few remnants made a little mosquito. These she hung from the ceiling of the tent on threads. As darkness fell, our small naphtha lamp provided them with shadows that flew silently about our tent like dreams. Of all the sites discovered along the traverse from the Foxe Basin at the west coast to Baffin Bay at the east coast of central Baffin, this little fishing site had a special significance...It was my *killigiva*...that place at the end of my journey...for now.

Norman Hallendy

December 30/03

## **A Brief Summary**

### **The importance of context**

I've had the good fortune over many years to have known and travelled with Inuit who were born and spent most of their lives on the land and so were *nunaliriniq* meaning totally at one with the land. It was in southwest Baffin Island where I was exposed to how the elders perceived the landscape as a living thing which included the land sea and sky. This great living thing was a physical entity imbued with spirits. It had places that were frightening, dangerous, evil, powerful, inviting, beautiful and sacred. It consisted of a vast network of such places where opportunities for both success and disastrous failure were often in delicate balance. An acute sense of observation, knowledge and precaution increased one's chances for survival and a slip in judgment could mean lingering death. The ability to accurately observe, remember, recall and verbalize information about the land and its ever changing conditions was essential for survival.

I also learned the importance of observing things in context while traveling. During my first long sled journey with my friend Ohito Ashuna and his young son, Ohito carefully pointed out all the significant features as we travelled across the southern half of the Foxe Peninsula. It's interesting to note that "significant features" did not just mean a prominent hill or bend in a frozen river. Ohito was pointing out the relationship of one hill to another and the shapes of certain valleys that were important to memorize. This valley might be in the shape of a kidney, that distant hill resembled a seal lying on the ice and so it went mile after mile, observing the shape of things and their relationship to one another. Even the shape and location of shadows were important to observe for they could tell you how well you were maintaining your course and how fast you were traveling. Carefully observing such subtle things as the colors of distant hills indicated the weather ahead, cloud movement and the patterns of snow drifts indicated the direction of the prevailing wind, a dark and distant patch of sky indicated the direction of the open sea.

The possibility to examine the landscape across the breadth of central Baffin for traces of early human habitation was a rare opportunity. Thirty-eight undisturbed sites and over 800 features across central Baffin were documented in the space of 27 working days during the 2001-2002 field seasons. This would never have been possible without the support of the Geological Survey. It was also an opportunity to see these untouched *inijurniaqtuq*--favoured locations, in a wide context. Such examples as the ancient Thule site, shaman's place of initiation and abandoned church at Ikpik give one a sense of points in time during the human presence in the area. Seeing the vast pattern of caribou trails in relation with the placement of various types of inuksuit and food caches revealed an extensive pattern of hunting activity. It was delightful to learn that the young geologists developed a keen eye for recognizing subtle signs of past human presence and the different types of inuksuit during their daily traverses. Often they returned to camp with notes and sketches of what they had observed which were of great help in my work.

The Piling Lake area of central Baffin was well known to some elders in Igloolik. The few remaining bits of knowledge of the human history of the area are recorded only in the memory of those few elders. It would be neglectful not to document those memories for they would tell us about life amongst a people known as the *Qaquliviniirmiut* who once lived in one of the most remote regions in Baffin Island.

Where they lived, traveled, hunted, danced, sang, feasted, and went to pay respect to the spirits would be brought into light.

## **Inventory**

Thirty-seven places were visited during the 27 working days in July and August of 2001 and 2002. (As noted earlier the 38th place the Thule site (T-38) eluded me.) The visits constituted a traverse by helicopter across central Baffin Island from the Foxe Basin in the east to Baffin Bay in the west. Sites were measured and photographed including photographing the surrounding area. Objects were either sketched or photographed in situ and not touched. Some 400, 35 mm transparencies were shot during the two seasons. Double shooting enabled this researcher to deposit about 200 images with the Geological Survey of Canada.

Of the 38 places, the following sites are of particular interest:

- T-2 **Aglirnaqtuq** - the place where offerings were made at Ikpik River
- T-4a **Kattimavik** - the Ceremonial site at Index Point in the Piling Bay area
- T-4b **Tupiqarvik** - the hunter's base camp at Index Point in the Piling Bay area
- T-5 **Inuksullarik** - the Coordination site at Inuksulik Lake
- T-7a **Angaku'habvik** - the Shaman's initiation site in the Piling Bay area
- T-7b **Igloksoak** - the stone houses in the Piling Bay area
- T-10 **Ulagutiit** - the great caribou drive beside the river flowing into Straits Bay
- T-13 **Nunaqarviminituqait** - the complex between Nadluardjuk River and Wordie Bay
- T-14 **Nadluardjuk** - the complex at Nadluardjuk River
- T-18 **Uqquaq** - the place where the weather turned bad
- T-34 **Foxe Charlie** - the ghost at Ekalugad Fiord
- T-35-36 **Iqalliarvitsiavait** - the small fish camps at Iqaluallit and Nudlung Fiord
- T-38 **Saunituqait nuasimajut** - the Thule site at Index Point in the Piling Bay area

The following features and objects were documented at minor and significant sites during the traverse across central Baffin Island:

- Fishing camps - 2
- Kayak rest - 6
- Kayak stretcher - 1
- Hunter's camps - 3
- Kamutik (sled) rest - 1

Work bench	- 1
Fire places	- 7
Large cache to store materials & equipment	- 1
Meat storage caches	- 159
Fox trap (traditional)	- 1
Meat drying platform	- 2
Goose corral	- 1
Caribou fence (corral)	-1
Caribou drift fence	- 2
Inuksuit (including those that made up the drift fences)	- 532
Hunting blinds	- 11
Tent rings	- 80
Winter houses (Thule-13 & Other - 4 stone houses)	- 17
Stone sided dwellings (low walled)	- 23
Children's play area	- 4
Tunillarvik the stone were gifts are left	- 1
Ittigasimaut an object of veneration (perched bolder)	-1
Inunnguaq - human like figure	- 3
Graves	- 2
Unknown objects	- 18
TOTAL	- 880

The original manuscript of Ikpik Journal will be given to the Geological Survey of Canada. Copies of the text will be made available to: the Nunavut Research Institute station at Igloolik, the Nunavut Science Institute in Iqaluit, the Nunavut Heritage Trust, the Arctic Institute of North America, the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Smithsonian Institution.

### **An Expression of Thanks**

In closing I offer my sincere thanks to Dr. Denis St-Onge who prompted me to consider going to central Baffin in the first place. I am indebted to Dr. Marc St-Onge who so generously invited me to the GSC camp and I'm grateful for the help provided by the helicopter pilots and a fine group of students who were on the look out for sites for me to examine. Dugald Carmichael and Kathi Dubach generously provided information on the important Thule site at Index Point. The drawing of caribou being hunted in the traditional manner was created by Osutchiak Pudlat of Cape Dorset.

Debra Guilfoyle the camp chef and her daughter Kim made each day an epicurean adventure. The satellite images are courtesy of Jaques Descloîtres, Rapid Response Team, NASA. Thanks to First Air and Tom Koelbel publisher and editor of their well read magazine "Above & Beyond" for their help. I am indebted to Glen Elie, Kodak Canada, for his support. I thank Dave Maloley, Polar Shelf Project not only for his generous help but knowing that he is at the otherend of the line in case of need.

## Appendix A

### A Glossary of a Few Inuktitut Terms

The following terms are from an extensive data base consisting of over 1500 words and expressions gathered mainly from the elders of Cape Dorset over a period of 30 years.

Ujaranniaqti	a geologist (ujarak - a stone)
uiakkut	the little spirit (turrngat) who lives in stones
nuna	land (nominative)
nunami	in the land - one the land etc. (locative)
nunamik	the land (used with ) (accusative)
nunamit	from the land (ablative)
nunamut	to the land - toward the land (terminative)
nunatat	like the land (simulative)
nunannguaq	an imitation of the earth - a map
innaarualuit	high cliffs
sinaa	rough coastline
manirattuq sinna	flat coastline
pisuvvisautsiangittuq	places where it is very difficult to walk
tuttunik utaqqiurvik	where hunters gather to wait for caribou
tasalak	the hill that hides the land behind it
aqqutituqait	ancient pathways
pekkallujak	a glacier
attanaqtut ikaarviit	dangerous crossing places
tammarnait	place where one gets easily lost, confused, etc.
nalunaikkutiit inunnunnut sanaugait	messages on the land left by humans
nunaqarviminituqait	where there are very old camps
aglirnaqtuq	the place where traditions, customs etc. were observed (sacred site)
sina	the coastline

anurigajuttuq	where it is often windy
tininnikutaak	a long mud flat
kangiqsuaqjuk	a small bay
kangiqsujuaq	a large bay
tikiraaqjuk	a small point of land
tikiraqjuaq	a large point of land
qikiqtaaqjuk	a small island
qikiqtapaujaq	a large island
niqitsaqanngisiaaqtuq	a place where there is no food of any kind
niqitsaqtalipaaluk	a place where there is plenty of food
naksajatsiak	a beautiful valley
nunanak	a lovely land - a dear land
takussunaittuq	places of great beauty
Ukiuqtaqtuq	the arctic

**Norman Hallendy Tukilik Project 2002 [Tukilik.org](http://Tukilik.org)**

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