Colonial Encounters

Inuit Agency and Colonial Narratives in the Eastern Arctic

By

© Kirstine Møller Gray

A Dissertation submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Archaeology

Memorial University

May 2025

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the cultural encounters, colonial disruptions, and Indigenous agency in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) and Nunatsiavut (Labrador) during the 18th and 19th centuries. The point of departure is the Moravian mission at Noorliit (Neu Herrnhut) and its interactions with Kalaallit Inuit and the Danish colony. This research demonstrates how cross-cultural engagements produced nuanced power dynamics, negotiating traditions, religious conversion, and economic exchange by framing the Nuuk peninsula as a colonial contact zone.

Through an interdisciplinary approach integrating archaeology, historical analysis, and Indigenous methodologies, this research reassesses the impact of colonial structures while centring Kalaallit perspectives. The Noorliit Archaeological Field School prioritised ethical, community-based methodologies, ensuring Kalaallit students actively shaped the excavation process. Emphasising relational accountability and decolonial praxis, the fieldwork fostered the co-production of knowledge rather than extractive research. Discussions on site selection, excavation strategies, and interpretations were conducted collaboratively, reinforcing the principle that archaeology should serve the descendant community.

Beyond excavation, the field school integrated museum days to reconnect with historical material culture, using archival research and tactile engagement with cultural belongings to deepen an Indigenous-centred understanding of the past. This approach underscored the role of museums as sites of colonial memory while simultaneously reclaiming them as spaces of cultural resurgence and critical reflection. The excavation at Noorliit revealed material evidence of structural transformation and Indigenous resilience, shedding light on shifting household arrangements, architectural modifications, and the selective adaptation of European culture.

The theoretical framework incorporates postcolonial theory, transculturation, and the concept of contact zones to explore how cultural entanglements in Kalaallit Nunaat were multidirectional rather than unilaterally imposed. The study critiques the historiography of Arctic colonialism, highlighting the role of colonial amnesia in erasing Indigenous contributions from historical narratives. By recovering some of these suppressed histories, the dissertation underscores the importance of ethical, collaborative research approaches in historical archaeology.

Ultimately, this dissertation challenges conventional understandings of colonial encounters in the Arctic, demonstrating that Kalaallit Inuit actively engaged in resistance and adaptation, strategically integrating and reinterpreting colonial influences to sustain their cultural identity. The findings contribute to broader discussions on Indigenous agency within colonial contexts and call for an inclusive, decolonial approach to Arctic history and archaeology.

EQIKKAANEQ

Ilisimatuutut allaatigisami uani Kalaallit Nunaanni Inuit aamma Nunatsiavummiut 1800-kkut 1900-kkullu akornanni kulturikkut naapittagaat, nunasiaataanerup nassatarisaanik akornutit namminnerlu inuunerminni oqartussaassuseqarnerat isumalluuteqarnerallu misisorneqarpoq. Aallaavigineqartoq tassaavoq Noorlerni Neu Herrnhutimi qatanngutigiinniat ajoqersuinerat, taakkulu kalaallinut qallunaanullu sunniivigeqatigiittarnerat. Nuuk nunasiaataanerup nalaani naapiffittut misissuiffigigakku malunnarpoq kulturit assigiinngitsut naapittarnerisigut pissaanermillu atueriaatsit qanoq ittuussusii naapertorlugit ileqqut, uppertunngortarnerit aningaasaqarnikkullu ineriartornerup pissuserisartagai taartigiissutigineqartarsimanersut.

Misissueriaatsit arlallit tapertariisillugit, tassunga ilanngullugit itsarnisarsiorneq, oqaluttuarisaaneq toqqammavigalugu misissueqqissaarneq nunallu inoqqaavi pillugit misissueriaatsit toqqamavigalugit nunasiaataanerup nalaani aaqqissugaanerit isumaat nutaamik nalilersorpakka, annerusumik kalaallit qitiutillugit. Noorlerni Itsanisarsiuutut Atuarnermik sammisaqarnitta nalaani ileqqussat naapertorlugit najoqqutassat najugarisarlu aallaavigalugu periutsit salliutissimavakka ilinniarnertuut kalaallit assaaqataallutik pilersaarusioqataammata. Misissuiffissaq tikillugu suliaqariartornermi attuumassuteqartutut akisussaaffeqartumik nunasiaataanerullu nalaani pissutsinut pituttorsimanngitsumik ingerlaaseqarnikkut peqatigiilluni ilisimasanik katersisoqarpoq piiaalluni ilisimatusarneq pivallarnagu. Assaaffissaq sumiissanersoq pillugu aalajangiisaarneq, iliuusissanik pilersaarusiorneq nassuiartariaqartullu nassuiarnissaat tamarmik peqatigiilluni aalajangiiffigineqarput, tamatumalu naqissuserpaa itsarnisarsiorneq kinguaanut attuumassuteqartariaqartoq.

Assaanerup saniatigut feltskoleqarnermi katersugaasivimmut alakkartarsimavugut oqaluttuarisaanermi timikkut kultureqarnermut tunngassutilinni sanillersuussisinnaanissaq siunertaralugu. Allagaateqarfinni misissueqqissaarnerit katersaatillu nammineq tigullugit misissorneqarsinnaaneri atorluarneqarsimapput itsaq pisimasut kalaallit paasinnittaasiat qitiutillugu paasisaqarnissaq siunertaralugu. Taamatut periuseqarnerup takutippaa katersugaasiviit nunasiaataanerup nalaani pissutsit pillugit eqqaamasanik aallerfiusinnaasut, aammattaaq kulturikkut uummarsaqqiinermut nalilersuilluarlunilu isummersornissamut katersugaasiviit atorluarneqarsinnaasut. Noorlerni assaanermi nassaat takutippaat inuiaqatigiit iluanni aaqqissugaanikkut allanngortoqarsimasoq kalaallillu qanoq ninngusimatigisut. Tamanna malunnarpoq angerlarsimaffiit ilusiisa allanngorartuunerisigut, sanaartukkat ilusiisa nikerarnerisigut taamatullu europamiut kulturiannut pisariaqartitat naapertorlugit naleqqussartarnikkut.

Allaatigisap teori tamanna aallaavigalugu sinaakkutaata postkolonial teori (nunasiaataanerup kingorna pisimasut pillugit teori), transkulturation (kulturinik akooraluni pilersitsiortartarnerit) aammalu kontaktzoner (naapeqatigiittarfiit) pillugit

isuma aallaavigaa, tassanilu takutinniarneqarpoq Kalaallit Nunaanni kulturikkut allanngortarnerit assigiinngitsunik sammiveqartuusut ataasiinnarmit aallaveqaratik. Ilisimatuutut allaatigisap matuma Issittumi nunasiaataanerup nalaani pissutsit pillugit oqaluttuarisaanermik nassuiaariaatsit (historiografi) nalinginnaasut unammillerpai, nunasiaataanerup nassatarisaanik eqqaamasaarunneq pissutigalugu kalaallit oqaluttuarisaanertik pillugu oqaluttuarisartagaasa nungusarneqartarsimanerat ilanngullugu. Oqaluttuat tamakku naqisimaneqarsimasut ilaasa saqqummiunnerisigut naqissuserpara itsarnisarsiornerup iluani oqaluttuarisaanikkut misissuinermi suleqatigiilluni periutsit ileqqussanullu tunngasut qanoq pingaaruteqartiginersut.

Naggataatigut ilisimatuutut allaatigisap matuma Issittumi nunasiaataanerup nalaani naapittarsimanerit pillugit nalinginnaasumik paasinnittarnerit unammillerpai, takutillugulu kalaallit nalimmassarnermi akerliusarnermilu pimoorussillutik akuusarsimasut. Nunasiaataanerup nassatarisaanik sunnertittarnerit kalaallit pigiliuttarlugillu allatut nassuiaasersortarsimavaat namminneq kulturikkut kinaassusertik attattuinnarumallugu. Allaatigisami inernerit kalaallit nunasiaataanerup nalaani pisimasut pillugit iliuuserisinnaasimasaasa atitunerusumik oqallisiginissaannut ilapittuutaassapput taamatullu Issittumi oqaluttuarisaanermit itsarnisarsiuutullu sulinermi nunasiaataanerup nalaani pissutsit qimallugit akuunerulersitsisumik periuseqarnissamut.

Nutserisoq: Nuka Møller

ABSTRAKT

I denne afhandling undersøges de kulturelle møder, koloniale forstyrrelser og inuits *agency* i Kalaallit Nunaat (Grønland) og Nunatsiavut (Labrador) i løbet af det 18. og 19. århundrede. Udgangspunktet er den herrnhutiske mission Neu Herrnhut ved Noorliit, og dennes samspil med kalaallit inuit og den danske koloni. Ved at analysere Nuuk-halvøen som en kolonial kontaktzone, viser min forskning, hvordan de tværkulturelle møder skabte komplekse magtdynamikker, hvor traditioner, religiøs omvendelse og økonomisk udvikling blev forhandlet.

Gennem en tværfaglig tilgang, der integrerer arkæologi, historisk analyse og *Indigenous* metoder, revurderer jeg koloniale strukturers betydning, mens jeg centrerer kalaallit perspektiver. I Noorliit Arkæologiske Feltskole prioriterede jeg etiske, lokalsamfundsbaseret metoder, hvor kalaallit studerende aktivt udformede udgravningsprocessen. Med fokus på relationel ansvarlighed og en dekolonial praksis fremmede feltarbejdet samskabelse af viden fremfor udvindende forskning. Beslutninger om valg af udgravningssted, strategier og fortolkninger blev truffet i fællesskab, hvilket understregede princippet om, at arkæologi bør være for efterkommerne.

Udover udgravning integrerede feltskolen museumsdage for at genetablere forbindelsen til historisk materiel kultur. Arkivforskning og direkte håndtering af genstandene blev anvendt til at styrke en kalaallit-centeret forståelse af fortiden. Denne tilgang fremhævede museernes rolle som steder for kolonial erindring, samtidig med at de blev genvundet som rum for kulturel revitalisering og kritisk refleksion. Udgravningen i Noorliit afdækkede materielle spor af strukturel transformation og modstandskraft, såsom skiftende husholdningsstrukturer, arkitektoniske ændringer og selektiv tilpasning af europæisk kultur.

Den teoretiske ramme trækker på postkolonial teori, transkulturation og begrebet kontaktzoner for at undersøge, hvordan kulturelle ændringer i Kalaallit Nunaat var multidirektionelle og ikke ensidigt påtvungne. Afhandlingen udfordrer den gængse historiografi om Arktisk kolonialisme og belyser kolonial amnesis rolle i udviskningen af kalaallit bidrag fra de historiske narrativer. Ved at frembringe nogle af disse undertrykte historier understreger jeg vigtigheden af etiske, samarbejdsbaserede forskningsmetoder i historisk arkæologi.

I sidste ende udfordrer denne afhandling konventionelle forståelser af koloniale møder i Arktis og demonstrerer, at kalaallit inuit aktivt engagerede sig i både modstand og tilpasning. De integrerede og omfortolkede strategisk de koloniale påvirkninger for at opretholde deres kulturelle identitet. Resultaterne bidrager til bredere diskussion om kalaallit handlingskraft i koloniale kontekster og opfordrer til en inkluderende, dekolonial tilgang til arktisk historie og arkæologi.

CO-AUTHORSHIP STATEMENT

While this dissertation was written in a manuscript style, some parts of the chapters are in various stages of publication, several of which were written in collaboration with co-authors. I am the primary author of this dissertation and all the resulting publications except the subheadings *Kalaallit Inuit and Social Change in the Colonial Period, Architectural Changes* and *Single Family Units* in Chapter Four, which were coauthored with Dr. Bart Curtis Pushaw (University of Tennessee at Chattanooga) and published in 2024 as "Chapter 5: Contesting the Colonial Illu: Sealing and Social Change in Kalaallit Architecture, 1750-1860" in "Architecture of Extraction in the Atlantic World, 1500-1850" edited by Luis Gordo Peláez and Paul Niell.

Although I am the sole author of Chapter Three, it was only possible to write it because of the discussions and conversations I had with the students during the Noorliit Archaeological Field School.

Parts of the section, *Results and Reflections*, in Chapter Three are currently in press as part of the publication "The Development of Indigenous Archaeology in Two Hemispheres: Research Among Arctic Inuit and Aboriginal Peoples of Australia", edited by Dr. Lisa Rankin, Dr. Oscar Moro Abadía & and Dr. Emilie Dotte-Sarout. The chapter in question, "Towards an ethical archaeology: challenges in bridging the gap between Indigenous knowledge and archaeological practice in Kalaallit Nunaat.", was coauthored with Randi Sørensen Johansen and Angutinnguaq Olsen. However, we clearly divided our sections, and I was the sole author on my part, which is referred to directly in the text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Even before the conception of this project, I have been heartened and warmed by the support and love of numerous people. For many years, I tried convincing students at Ilisimatusarfik to work with the Noorliit site and the Moravian heritage still evident in our culture. It was not until I met Dr. Lisa Rankin and her enthusiastic support and ideas that I braved the PhD route to work on it myself. To Lisa, qujanaq for your kind guidance, for sharing your knowledge and for being a fantastic person. Joining you, Dr. Laura Kelvin, McKinley Winters, Darlene Winters, Vicky Allen, Lena Onalik, Jenna Gilbride, Heather Angnatok, Tienne Johnson and Deirdre Elliot to visit the State Art Collections Dresden / Ethnographic Collections Saxony (SKD/SES), was a joy and pleasure. It was a healing and connecting experience.

To the wonderful Noorliit Archaeological Field School team: Tukummeq Hansen Jensen, Louisa Christina Høyer, Pia Egede, Angutinnguaq Olsen, Suuluuaraq Motzfeldt, Malik Foss, Josephine Holding, and Gill Taylor, you made the field work a dream come true, and I am forever grateful for your company, our discussions and all the things we accomplished together. To Randi Sørensen Johansen, you are the best, and this project would not have been the same without you.

Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu has my utmost gratitude for providing support, space and insightful colleagues. To Director Daniel Thorleifsen, qujanaq for supporting my academic pursuits and ensuring the project could grow and blossom.

Qujanaq to Nunatsinni Ilisimatusarnermut Siunnersuisoqatigiit for funding my research. I am grateful for your support and investment in expanding the

knowledge of our past while providing space to include students in research and knowledge production.

To my supervisory committee members, Drs. Scott Neilsen and Andrea Procter, thank you for your kind advice and suggestions for this manuscript; to the faculty and friends at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador, thank you for your interest, our talks and discussions over the years!

To the examiners, Drs. Pete Whitridge, Tom Gordon, and Lesley Howse, thank you for thoroughly examining my work, insightful questions, and kind comments. I sincerely appreciate and value your time and commitment to this manuscript.

To the students at Ilisimatusarfik, qujanarujussuaq!

To Christina Petterson, thank you so much for sharing your endless knowledge about the Moravian church, for sparring with me and providing access to archival material; the pandemic tried to hinder me from seeing.

To the Arctic Hub, qujanaq for your deep interest and commitment to furthering the Indigenous perspectives in Arctic research. Being part of the Paasisavut competition was a highlight in my PhD journey. Thank you for helping us reach new levels in our science communication (especially thank you to Anders Høeg Lammers!) and get our research out to all the people in Kalaallit Nunaat. I am grateful to you and the work you do!

The faculty and PhD students at the Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History at the University of Oslo have been a great help in preserving my sanity after my move to Oslo. Thank you so much for offering me an office,

excellent people to lunch with, and being part of a community again. Similarly, the Cultural History Museum in Oslo has been a great help, and I am grateful to all of you.

To my friends, who have listened to my ramblings, joined in over the years, and offered their support and friendship, qujanarujussuaq! Sayo Ota, Lísabet Guðmundsdóttir, Penny and Alex How Messerli, Bart Pushaw, Inge Seiding, Jeppe Lorentsen, Hanne Kirkegaard, Liv Meyer Larsen, Ujammiugaq Engell, Silke Reeploeg, Vivi Noahsen, Manumina Lund Jensen, Diego Bravo Pacheco, and so many more, you have kept me sane!

To my family, found and natural, thank you for your love and patience. Nivi Christensen, Simon Westman and your sweet kids; Don and Aisling Willey and the Ginger Ninjas; Hanne and Jesper Winther; Emma Møller and Arbnor Bajrami, to all my family in Kalaallit Nunaat and especially Bent Møller, Niklas Møller, Susanne Møller and Erik Bjerregaard; Maren Olsen and Silvia Olsen, I am forever grateful to you.

I want to thank Andrew Møller Gray for your amazing support and love. Life with you is a dream come true. To Sialuk Møller and Vera Bajrami, may you always have an understanding and appreciation of your rich Kalaallit culture and heritage, and the tippy taps of Rita and Henrik; this is all for you. You are my world.

NOTE ON LANGUAGE USE

In this dissertation, I have chosen not to italicise Kalaallisut words, despite the convention in the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) style guide to italicise foreign terms. The decision to present Kalaallisut words in the regular text reflects a deliberate effort to normalise their use within academic discourse rather than marking them as foreign or other.

Within research concerning Kalaallit Nunaat, Inuit culture, and Arctic history, Kalaallisut is not a foreign language but an integral part of the knowledge system being discussed. Italicisation often serves to distinguish unfamiliar terms for readers, but in this context, it risks reinforcing the perception that Indigenous languages exist outside the framework of academic legitimacy. By keeping Kalaallisut terms in standard formatting, I aim to recognise their rightful place in discussions of Kalaallit history, archaeology, and colonial encounters.

This approach follows broader discussions in Indigenous scholarship regarding the representation of Indigenous languages in academic writing. It aligns with efforts to decolonise research practices and respect the linguistics and conceptual frameworks of the communities discussed. Instead, translations are written in parentheses directly after the Kalaallisut term.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

One day in May 1733, a ship arrived at the port of the colony of Godthåb (Good Hope), located in Kitaa, Kalaallit Nunaat. Onboard were essential goods for the Danish-Norwegian[1] colonists, three Moravian brethren and a young Kalaaleq[2] boy, the only survivor of a group of six Kalaallit Inuit who had travelled to Denmark two years prior (Gulløv 2017: 75-78). Unfortunately, the ship carried an unwelcome passenger, the variola virus[3]. Over the next two years, the smallpox epidemic devastated the Nuup Kangerlua, and it is estimated that 90% of the population died (Egede and Egede 1738: 371). Hans Egede, the Danish-Norwegian missionary known as the 'coloniser and apostle' of Kalaallit Nunaat, chronicled the epidemic's devastating toll in his journal. When smallpox claimed the life of his wife, Gertrud Rasch, he lamented his own role in the unfolding tragedy and expressed deep regret for ever setting foot in the country (Egede and Egede 1738:392-3).

The three Moravian Brethren, Christian David and the cousins Matthäus and Christian Stach, had been promised accommodation at the Colony of Good Hope. Yet, they

[1] The Danish-Norwegian Realm, also known as the Twin Kingdoms, was a union consisting of the Kingdom of Denmark and the Kingdom of Norway, including the Norwegian overseas possessions of the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Kalaallit Nunaat that were later ceded to Denmark. The union lasted from 1537-1814 (Lockhart 2007).

[2] The Inuit Homelands span the entire Arctic and consist of different Peoples in the circumpolar region. Kalaallit Inuit (Kalaaleq is the singular form) are the cultural group that lives on the west coast of Kalaallit Nunaat today. The Inuit culture is a collective term that covers several groups of people who still inhabit the Arctic area known as Inuit Nunaat, covering Kalaallit Nunaat, Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, Nunavut, Inuvialuit in Arctic Canada and Inupiaq in Alaska and Yupit in Alaska and Chukotka (ICC 2020).

[3] The young boy, Avagmak (baptised name Carl) has since been named the carrier of the smallpox decease by Western researchers (see Gulløv 1983; 2017; Jensen, Raahauge, and Gulløv 2012). Having combed through the available archival material, I see no reason why he has been chosen as the culprit, other than it would be an ironic twist. The incubation period is between seven and 17 days of exposure (https://www.who.int/news-room/questions-and-answers/item/smallpox) and it could have been anyone on the ship who was infected.

were ultimately forced to find shelter on their own (Petterson 2024:131). They established themselves about a kilometre from the Colony, initially in a turf dwelling, then in a wooden building, and finally, from 1747, in the impressive mission station of Neuherrnhut that became the seat of the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat until 1900 (Petterson 2024:131). The Moravians, part of the Pietist Awakening in Germany and Northern Europe, initially arrived to assist the Danish Church in Kalaallit Nunaat but soon competed with it (Petterson 2024:2).

However, Kalaallit Inuit were a highly mobile society with deep ties to land and intergenerational traditions. Every year, families would go to specific aasiviit (summer camps) to trade, arrange marriages, and resolve conflicts. The annual caribou hunt in early autumn was a critical event before families dispersed again for the winter to their traditional territories. The devastating loss of the families in the Nuup Kangerlua left great hunting grounds depopulated, creating space for new families, and an influx of people from the south and east coasts moved in (Jensen et al. 2012).

Although the formal colonisation of Kalaallit Nunaat began in 1721 with the arrival of Hans Egede and his family, the 1730s saw profound transformations that altered the daily lives of Kalaallit Inuit more drastically than ever before. The devastating epidemic, the arrival of new populations, and the establishment of a competing Moravian mission in Nuuk alongside the Danish Church created a dynamic contact zone[4] that fostered cultural transformation, subtle resistance, and shifting power relations. Tensions arose between the Kalaallit Inuit and the missionaries and between the Morvians and the Danish colonial

[4] For an in depth discussion of the terms “contact zone”, “cultural encounter” and “culture contact” please see chapter two.

authorities. The Danish trade[5], which controlled commerce in the colony, saw the Moravian presence as a threat to their economic interests, further complicating the colonial landscape.

Research focus and questions

In this dissertation, I examine the cultural encounter between Kalaallit Inuit, Moravian missionaries and Danish colonists in Kalaallit Nunaat, as well as the parallel interactions between Nunatsiavut Inuit and Moravian missionaries in Labrador, Canada. By comparing these two colonial contexts, I highlight the differences in governance, trade relations, and mission strategies and explore how Inuit in both regions actively negotiated, resisted, and adapted to missionary and colonial pressures.

I employ the lens of collective agency[6] to unpack the nuanced histories of both Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut. Unlike many other colonial realities, I approach these colonial contact zones as spaces of mutual adaptation, resistance, and integration, where both Inuit and Europeans shaped, transformed, and appropriated each other's traditions, practices, and worldviews. The main questions guiding this dissertation are:

- How can archaeological, archival, and artistic records challenge dominant colonial narratives that portray Inuit as passive subjects of European missionisation and trade?

[5] The first trading company was initiated by Hans Egede to support the missionary effort. After multiple private trading companies had managed to create the foundations for profitable trade in Kalaallit Nunaat, the Danish State monopolised the trade in 1774 and established *Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel* (The Royal Greenlandic Trade) (Petterson 2024: 133), which will be referred to as the Danish trade throughout the dissertation to underline who benefitted from it.

[6] Inuit agency was predominantly exercised in ways that prioritised collective well-being over individual gain, reflecting deeply ingrained social structures of mutual support and communal responsibility.

- How did Kalaallit and Nunatsiavut Inuit manage the colonial pressures precipitated by the differing expectations of the Moravian mission and the colonial authorities (Danish in Kalaallit Nunaat and British in Nunatsiavut)?

To address these questions, I examine archival material, art, and archaeological collections from the Noorliit area (the Moravian mission station Neuherrnhut) in present-day Nuuk (Figure 1.1). Noorliit is a protected site and functions as both a recreational space and a visible reminder of the colonial past within the urban landscape. The Colony of Good Hope grew out of the area today known as Nuutoqaq (Old Nuuk) or the Colonial Harbour, and when compared with the Moravian mission of Neuherrnhut (Noorliit), the tension between the two colonial forces becomes visible in the contemporary cityscape. Similarly,

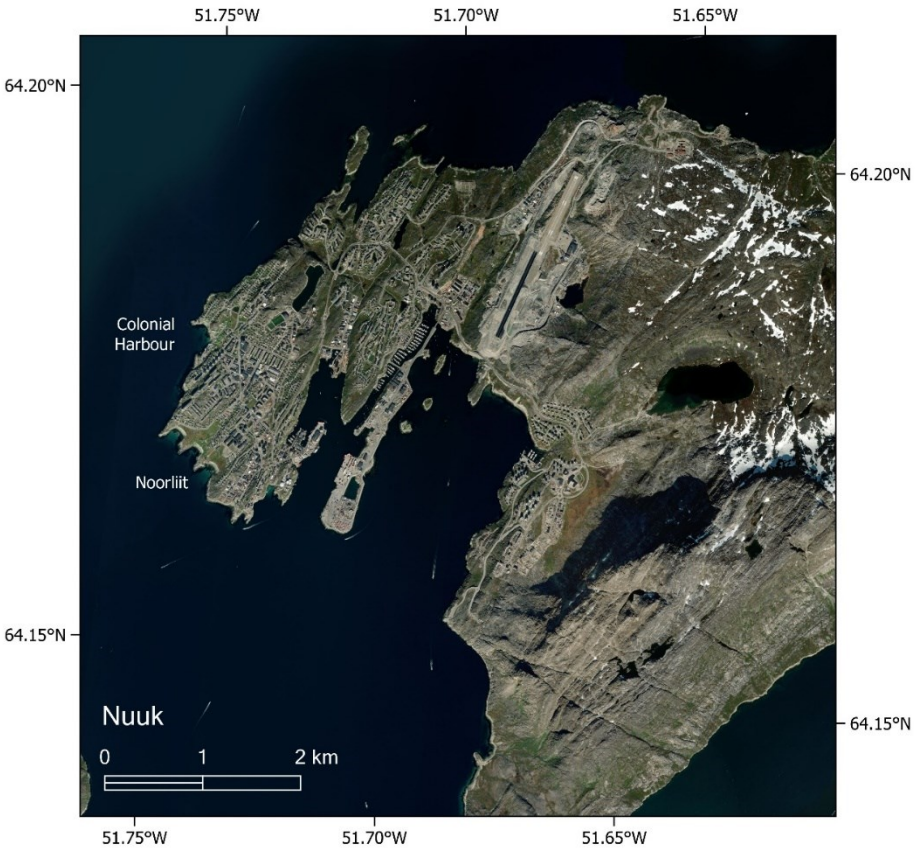


Figure 1.1 Satelite image of Nuuk with the Colonial Harbour and Noorliit

in Nunatsiavut, the Moravian mission was deeply intertwined with British economic and political interests, which uniquely affected Inuit agency. A comparative analysis of Nunatsiavut and Kalaallit Nunaat allows for a deeper understanding of Inuit adaptation, negotiation, and resistance strategies in distinct colonial settings.

Dissertation outline

The colonisation of Kalaallit Nunaat is often presented as a singular, transformative event, typically marked by the arrival of Hans Egede in 1721 (Herman 2021). However, in reality, a few people interacted with each other over several years within a limited space. Instead of thinking about the colonial history of Kalaallit Nunaat as a single history, it is essential to talk about several concurrent histories, some of which are colonial, some of which are about resistance, and some of which are simply just about people living their everyday lives.

Earlier accounts have often misrepresented this complexity. Colonial narratives, particularly those written by Danish scholars and officials, frequently described the colonisation of Kalaallit Nunaat as exceptionally peaceful – a process framed as humanitarian rather than exploitative (Gad 1973:65; Rud 2017:48). This perspective, long dominant in Danish historiography, suggested that Danish authorities acted primarily in the interest of Kalaallit Inuit, rather than the benefit of the colonisers (Poiret 2021). However, critical re-evaluations challenge this portrayal, highlighting that the absence of warfare did not mean the absence of coercion (Petersen 1995:120). Danish missionaries and colonial administrators undermined traditional power structures, particularly the authority of the angakkoq (spiritual leader and healer), disrupting Indigenous social systems in ways that

facilitated colonial governance (Rink 1866:23; Petersen 1995:121). As a result, Inuit agency in navigating these pressures is often overlooked, reinforcing the false idea of rapid and total transformation.

Further compounding these misconceptions is the fact that most historical accounts of Kalaallit Nunaat were written by white European scholars whose perspectives were shaped by their colonial context. The earliest written histories came from Danish-Norwegian missionaries and colonial administrators, such as Hans Egede (1741) and David Cranz (1767), who viewed Kalaallit Inuit society primarily through the lens of Christian missionisation. Later, Danish scholars like Finn Gad (1971, 1973) and colonial officials such as Hinrich Rink (1866) compiled extensive historical accounts but largely framed Kalaallit Inuit history as an extension of Danish policy and missionary efforts. These works provide valuable documentation but were inherently Eurocentric, often portraying Kalaallit Inuit as subjects of Danish benevolence rather than as historical agents in their own right (Rud 2017:50).

To understand why the colonies were placed as they were and when they were (see Figure 1.2), we need to understand these human interactions and the agenda both the colonists and Kalaallit Inuit had at this point. Most publications about the history of Kalaallit Nunaat are based on historical accounts, archival material and archaeological observations, all made by white Europeans. Historical accounts and archival material are all biased, and that bias is sometimes easy to recognise. Archaeological observations, on the other hand, are disguised in clinical, rational observations, yet the interpretation of a site has always been shaped by the worldview of the archaeologist (Lucas 2001). Since the first archaeological observations of Norse ruins by Hans Egede, white men have shaped the archaeological

research in Kalaallit Nunaat, interpreting and presenting Kalaallit Nunaat's past without including traditional Kalaallit knowledge.

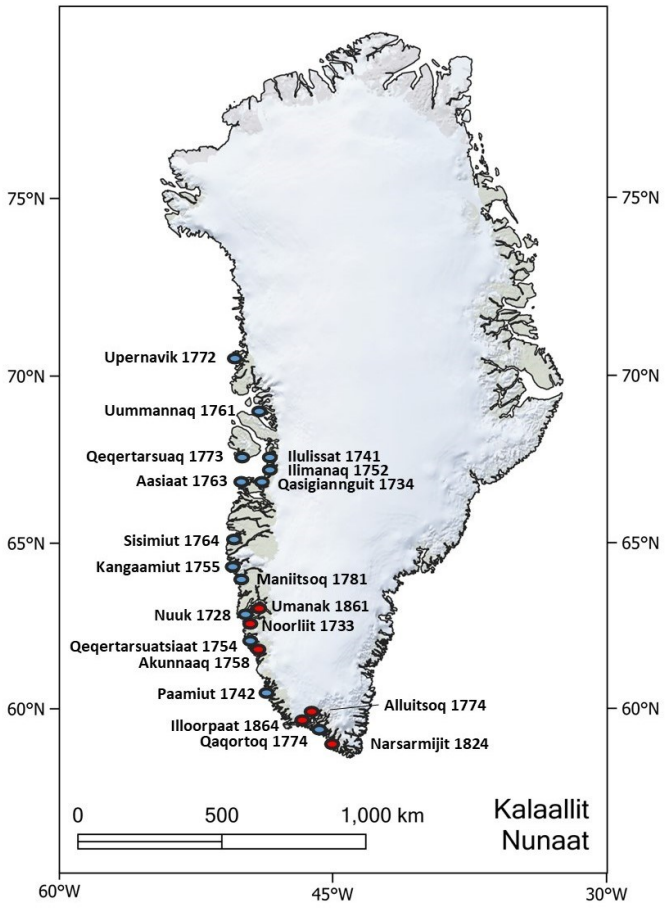


Figure 1.2 Map of Kalaallit Nunaat before 1900. The blue dots mark the Danish colonies, and the red ones mark the Moravian missions.

Chapter two presents the theoretical frameworks focused on Arctic archaeology over the past 20 years, engaging with the chasm of "prehistory" and "historical archaeology" and finally arriving at "contact zones" as a relational and ethical research practice which might provide an alternative archaeological interpretation.

Chapter Three presents Noorliit as an archaeological site that exists differently in terms of social memory than the place called Neuherrnhut. Here, the archaeological field school, methods and data are presented from the two field seasons. The chapter concludes

by presenting the reflections and results of the many hours of conversations and discussions that happened concurrently with the reconnaissance and excavation.

In Chapter Four, I outline the historical background for Kitaa, the west coast of Kalaallit Nunaat, beginning with Kalaallit Inuit migration in the twelfth century and concluding at the turn of the twentieth century. The purpose of the chapter is to provide the foundation of the continuities and changes that occurred during the colonial period and highlight these changes within the framework of contact zones.

In Chapter Five, I provide a detailed description of the comparable colonial histories in the Eastern Arctic. A comparative analysis of household-to-household data within Kalaallit Nunaat is, at best, fragmentary and when upscaling to include Nunatsiavut, the challenge grows exponentially. Most archaeological data from the colonial period in Kalaallit Nunaat is from midden excavations and test pits, which only provide a fragmentary view of the past and are therefore not attempted here. However, a comparative analysis of the economic aspect of the missionary expansion shows interesting findings regarding expansion, relationships and outcomes.

In the final chapter, Six, I situate the different analyses within their historical context and how the results affect the modern Kalaallit understanding of the colonial period. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research that can help broaden current understandings of how the colonial histories shaped the Eastern Arctic and help us reconcile the resulting cultural shift.

Colonial amnesia

Archaeological research into the colonial period in Kalaallit Nunaat has historically received less attention than any other period[7]. Similarly, the achievements of Kalaallit Inuit during this period have been largely overlooked. I argue that this neglect is not incidental but the result of colonial amnesia. This concept shapes how researchers have engaged with and framed their work during this period. My use of colonial amnesia is inspired by Robert Fletcher's 'The Art of Forgetting: Imperialist Amnesia and Public Secrecy' (Fletcher 2012) and the footnotes of Ann Laura Stoler's 'Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France' (Stoler 2011). Both of these works build on Renato Rosaldo's essay 'Imperialist Nostalgia' from 1989 (Rosaldo 1989), which examines:

> "*a particular kind of nostalgia, often found under imperialism, where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed […] imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of "innocent yearning" both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination"* (Rosaldo 1989: 108).

Where imperialist nostalgia casts the past in a romanticised light, imperialist amnesia and colonial aphasia actively obscure and erase uncomfortable aspects of history. I use colonial amnesia to describe how Kalaallit Inuit have either been systematically ignored or had their knowledge so deeply questioned that they themselves begin to doubt its legitimacy, as illustrated in the following examples.

[7] Hans Christian Gulløv has built the archaeological basis for colonial research in Kalaallit Nunaat since the 1970s (see Bibliography for relevant references). He conducted a material culture study of the Kalaallit belongings brought back to Herrnhut by missionaries between 1757-1900 (Jensen et al. 2012) and a small excavation at Umanak island with Peter Andreas Toft in 2007 (report published in 2011 (Toft & Gulløv 2011)). Peter Andreas Toft's dissertation from 2010 presents the use of European wares in a Kalaallit context based on trade at the Danish colonies. In 2016 his work expanded to explore the Moravian Inuit encounters at the Lichenfels and Kangillermiut sites south of Nuuk (published Toft 2017)..

Archaeological and historical research are pivotal in shaping societal memory, discourse, and perceptions of the colonial period. However, colonial amnesia is not merely a present-day phenomenon; it was also actively enacted in the past. Colonial amnesia downplays the uncomfortable realities of colonial histories, narratives, and experiences both from the perspective of the coloniser and the colonised. This phenomenon reflects colonial amnesia, a societal tendency to obscure or selectively forget the exploitative dimensions of colonial rule while emphasising narratives of progress and development (Fletcher 2012). Both historically and today, colonial amnesia manifests as selective memory, where elements of colonialism that challenge dominant narratives are conveniently disregarded or marginalised.[8]

On February 2nd 1861, the second edition[9] of the Kalaallit-run newspaper Atuagagdliutit was published. Among its articles were two reports on the search for the lost Franklin ships, offering perspectives rarely considered in mainstream historical narratives. One account came from Moravian missionary Johann August Miertsching, who had been aboard the *HMS Investigator*, while the other was from Kalaaleq Inuk Christian of Qeqetarsuaq, who had served as an interpreter on the McClintock expedition aboard the *Fox.* The interviews with Miertsching and Christian resulted in a map (Figure 1.3) that not only documented the areas where Kalaallit Inuit lived but also provided a rare visualisation of Indigenous spatial knowledge, offering readers a sense of cohesion across the colonial-

[8] In February 2025, Denmark's public-service broadcaster, DR, released the documentary "Greenland's white gold" exposing Denmark's 400 billion DKK profit from cryolite mining in Arsuk, Kujalleq, Kalaallit Nunaat. Following public backlash over its profit calculations, DR unpublished the documentary, drawing criticism for suppressing free speech and reinforcing colonial attitudes toward Kalaallit Nunaat. In response, DR aired a satirical segment, ostensibly mocking its own handling of the controversy, but it was widely condemned for being racist depictions of Kalaallit Inuit. The Inuit Circumpolar Council Greenland denounced the segment, stating "the racism and demeaning are clear".

[9] Direct link to the second edition of Atagagdliutit: **https://timarit.is/issue/265645** (accessed on 25 March 2024)

imposed borders. The placenames on the map indicate Kalaallit lands, while a distinct marking for “Tornit” suggests the presence of a different Indigenous culture.

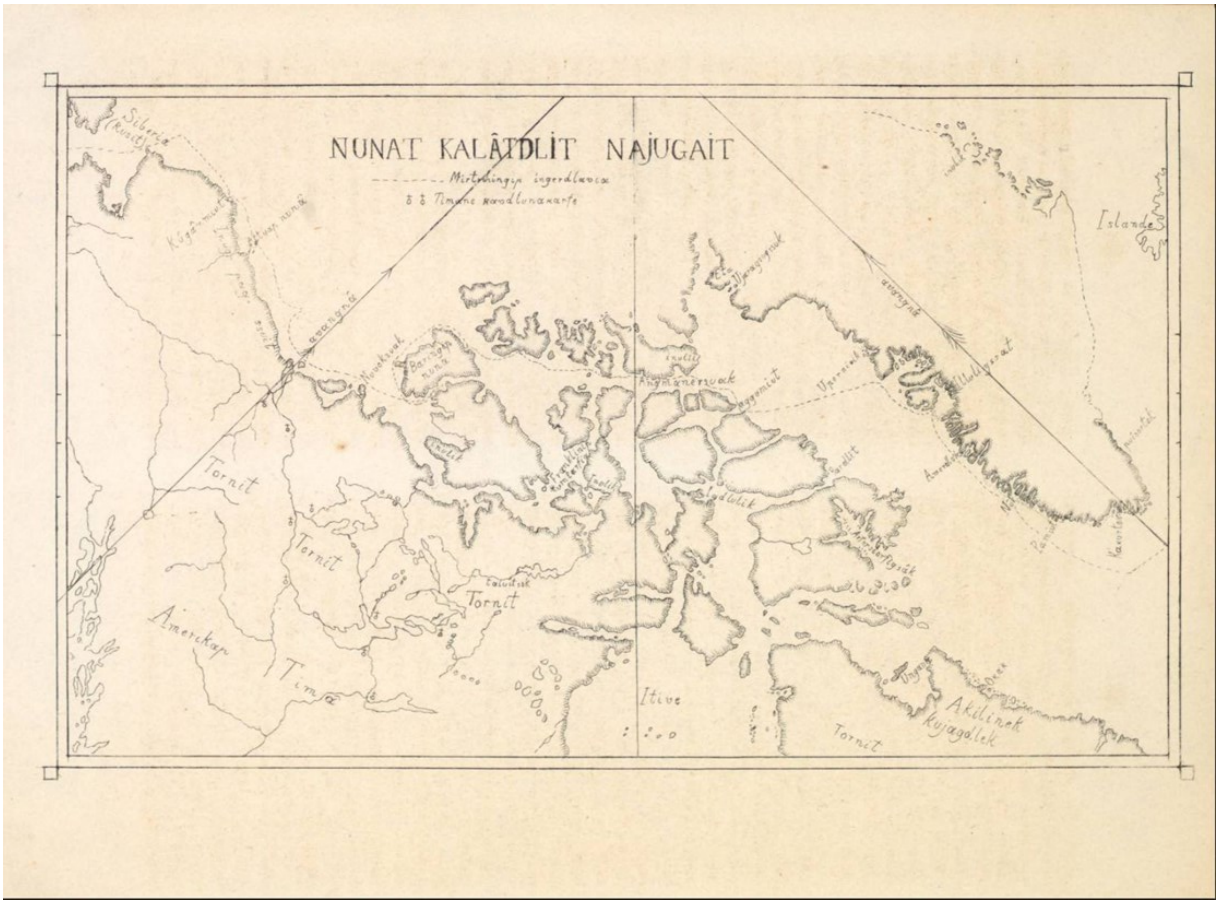


Figure 1.3 Map printed in the second edition of Atuagagdliutit.

Inuit from the circumpolar north have a long history of aiding Western expeditions. Yet, the extent to which their knowledge was acknowledged or credited by expedition leaders and academics remains highly uneven. A powerful example of this erasure is found in the very map produced from the Atuagagdliutit interviews, which includes the approximate location of the missing Franklin ships, HMS Terror and HMS Erebus. Although the marks appear slightly north of where the final ship was located in 2016[10], they are in the

[10] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/12/hms-terror-wreck-found-arctic-nearly-170-years-northwest-passage-attempt (accessed 23.03.24). The article underlines the importance of Indigenous knowledge as one of the main reasons why the ship was located on this particular expedition.

immediate vicinity, reinforcing the likelihood that Inuit oral histories had correctly preserved this knowledge all along. The fact that this information was available as early as 1861 yet dismissed suggests a disregard for Indigenous knowledge systems and a pattern of marginalising Inuit contributions to Arctic exploration.

Similarly, in 1871, Carl Fleischer[11], who was Kalaaleq and the trade manager at Ilimanaq, theorised that there had been other cultures in Kalaallit Nunaat than had been previously presumed. Due to exceptional preservation, pre-Inuit ruins, tent rings and other archaeological features were assumed to belong to either the Norse or current Inuit cultures.

However, Fleischer, who had organised and accompanied several Danish researchers on archaeological fieldwork, was the first to excavate and interpret the midden at Qajaa by the Ilulissat Icefjord (Meldgaard 1996; Jensen 2015). Fleischer devised a typology based on the stratigraphy of the midden, noting clear differences between layers: a lower deposit (kitchen midden no. 1) contained only lithic tools, while a more recent deposit just under the grass surface (kitchen middden no. 2) lacked lithics entirely (Jensen 2015: 10). From this, Fleischer proposed that there had been at least one earlier culture dependent on lithic technology preceding the Inuit and Norse cultures – an insight made decades before Danish archaeologists reached the same conclusion. Fleischer documented the stratified deposits and wrote his interpretation and theory in a letter to Japetus Steenstrup, a Danish archaeologist renowned for his work on kitchen middens. However, this letter was never published, perhaps deliberately forgotten, and only resurfaced in 1953 when Jørgen Meldgaard discovered it while examining the three accompanying boxes of finds (Meldgaard 1996). Rather than acknowledging Fleischer's contribution, Steenstrup used his material and

[11] Carl Fleischer, who also aided expeditions as interpreter and assistant, was the maternal uncle to Knud Rasmussen who famously led several expeditions in the Arctic and is today mostly remembered as a Danish explorer.

Fleischer's commentary in a lecture titled 'Grønlandske Kjøkkenmøddinger, yngre og ældre', presented at the Royal Nordic Antiquarian Society in 1872 – without mentioning Fleischer at all (Meldgaard 1996: 12).

Despite this, Fleischer remains largely uncredited for this groundbreaking observation, which played a crucial role in identifying Kalaallit Nunaat's pre-Kalaallit cultural history. Had he been recognised for his discovery, he could have influenced how we name archaeological cultures in Kalaallit Nunaat today. Instead, the earlier cultures were named according to Danish archaeological traditions, using site-based names such as Independence, Saqqaq, Dorset, and Thule. Because Fleischer's contribution was suppressed, he was also denied the opportunity to shape a naming system that might have reflected a Kalaallit understanding of history.

The examples above illustrate how Kalaallit knowledge could have fundamentally altered historical narratives – not just in Kalaallit Nunaat but globally. Fleischer's early contributions to the archaeological understanding of how different cultures utilised raw materials and structured their lifeways could have reshaped the categorisation of Arctic cultures. Recognising these contributions would have allowed for a different, more locally grounded naming tradition in this part of the Eastern Arctic. His erasure reflects a broader pattern in which naming has been used as a tool to distort or erase Indigenous histories.

Similarly, the map (Figure 1.3) illustrating where Kalaallit Inuit inhabit the Arctic could have not only expedited the search for the Franklin ships but could also have

prevented the repeated revival of the debate[12] initiated by Moravian missionary Samuel Kleinschmidt regarding the term 'Kalaallit' after the publication of his dictionary in 1871.

This debate centres on the origins of the words 'Kalaaleq' and 'Karaaleq', the latter of which is now obsolete. Kleinschmidt theorised that 'Kalaaleq' was a linguistic adaptation of the word 'Skræling', a term the Norse used to describe the Indigenous Peoples they encountered on the North American continent. By proposing this etymology, Kleinschmidt implicitly reinforced a colonial narrative that framed Inuit identity in relation to European contact rather than as an independent cultural tradition. His theory suggested that the Inuit who identified as 'Kalaallit' resided in Kujalleq, where the Norse Eystribygð was located, further linking Kalaallit self-identification to a European colonial past rather than their own historical continuity.

However, Signe Rink[13] (1905) contested this theory, asserting that while 'Inuit' describes a broader group of people recognising one another as human[14], 'Kalaallit' and 'Karaallit' denote specific nations within that group. Rink also questioned why an entire cultural group would have remained unnamed until their encounter with the Norse, suggesting instead that 'Kalaaleq' has Indigenous linguistic origins. (Rink 1905: 149). Her critique directly countered the colonial tendency to define Indigenous identities through

[12] This particular discussion is revitalised every couple of years, when either new scholars or politicians become aware of the Kleinscmidt dictionary or when Kalaallit Nunaat is on the cusp of more independence from Denmark, see for example Arneborg 2024, Thalbitzer 1905, https://www.sermitsiaq.ag/samfund/er-vi-inuit-eller-kalaallit/117333

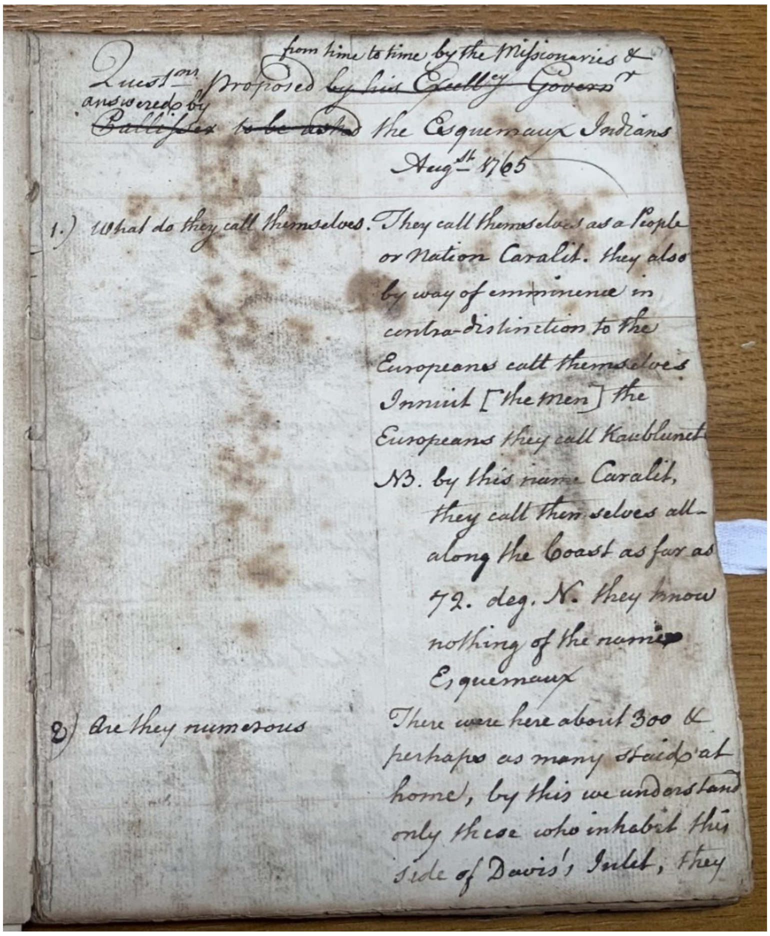
[13] Signe Rink was, like Samuel Kleinschmidt, born and raised in Kalaallit Nunaat and therefor had similar skills in Kalaallisut and deeper understanding of Kalaallit culture.

[14] Reading through the publications by Hans Egede and Poul Egede (Egede & Egede 1738), it seems that Kalaallit Inuit distinguishes Qallunaat from Inuit based on the violence they have witnessed at the colony. According to traditional Kalaallit belief the defining feature that makes us human is our ability to keep our calm in any situation.

European frames of reference, a strategy that often obscured or redefined Indigenous histories to fit colonial narratives.

Rink noted that within her lifetime in Kalaallit Nunaat, ‘Karaallit’ seems to merge into ‘Kalaallit’ on the West Coast[15]. Rink's reasoning is supported by earlier observations by Hans and Poul Egede. Poul Egede used the ‘Karálek’ (singular) in his dictionary published in 1750 (:68) and translated it to ‘indfødt Grønlander; Grænlandus Indigena’, meaning an Indigenous Greenlander. Similarly, in his Labrador journal dated August 1st 1765, Jens Haven noted, "*They call themselves as a People or Nation Caralit. They also by way of eminence in contra-distinction to the Europeans call themselves Innuit (the men) the Europeans they call Kaublunet. NB. By this name, Caralit, they call themselves all along the Coast as far as 72. Deg. N. They know nothing of the name Esquemaux"* (see Figure 1.4).

[15] The various authors use the geography of the word as validation for their arguments, where only Rink considers that there are multiple cultural groups within the Inuit umbrella, Inughuit in the north and Iivit on the east coast.



Questns proposed ~~by his Excelly Governr~~ from time to time by the Missionaries & answered by ~~Pallisser to be asked~~ the Esquemaux Indians
Augst 1765

1.) What do they call themselves. They call themselves as a People or Nation Caralit. they also by way of emminence in contra-distinction to the Europeans call themselves Innuit [the men] the Europeans they call Kaublunet
NB. by this name Caralit, they call themselves all along the Coast as far as 72. deg. N. they know nothing of the name Esquemaux

2) Are they numerous There were here about 300 & perhaps as many staid at home, by this we understand only these who inhabit this side of Davis's Inlet, they

Figure 1.4 The first two questions asked by Jens Haven to Labrador Inuit and their answers. Extract from the journals of John Hill, Jens Haven, Chr. Drachard and A. Schloezer of their voyage to the Coast of Labrador in 1765. The Moravian Archive in London, UK.

William Thalbitzer reaffirmed the linguistic connection between Kalaallit Inuit and Nunatsiavut Inuit as Karaaleq based on the dialects spoken by Kalaallit Inuit living in Kitaa and Kujalleq, which closely resembled the one spoken by Inuit in Nunatsiavut (Thalbitzer 1905: 208). Thalbitzer even suggested that 'Skræling' was a Norse imitation of the Kalaallisut word, acquired following their venture to L'anse aux Meadows around the year 1000 (Thalbitzer 1905: 209).

These records demonstrate that Kalaaleq and related terms were actively used among Inuit long before European linguistic interpretations. The colonial insistence on linking Kalaaleq to Skræling reflects a broader pattern in which European scholars and missionaries attempted to define Indigenous identities through external, often dismissive, etymologies. This not only centred European perspectives in discussions of Inuit identity but also erased the deep Indigenous history embedded in these terms, reinforcing colonial amnesia by prioritising European-derived explanations over Inuit linguistic and historical knowledge.

The significance of names cannot be understated, which is why I consistently use Kalaallit Inuit, even though Kalaallit alone would suffice. This is the cultural group I come from, and therefore, I avoid using the term 'Thule' for the precolonial period. 'Thule' is an archaeological designation, making it inappropriate to use for a culture that continues to exist today. Indeed, archaeological naming conventions often reflect colonial perspectives. The term 'Thule Culture', used to describe the ancestors of modern Kalaallit Inuit, was introduced by Therkel Mathiassen in the 1920s. It has been employed to classify Inuit material culture up to the year 1600, when frequent contact with European whalers was documented, or in 1721 when Denmark formally colonised Kalaallit Nunaat (Møller et al. 2022). However, the designation is problematic. Despite what the name implies – that we do not know what this culture called itself – there was never an abrupt end to it. Instead, it evolved directly into contemporary Kalaallit Inuit society. Continuing to refer to our ancestors as 'Thule' perpetuates a misleading European construct that artificially separates the past from the present.

Terminology matters because it provides crucial historical and cultural context. I employ the concept of colonial amnesia here to highlight some instances where Kalaallit

Inuit have been denied due recognition or where etymology has been manipulated to erase cultural self-identification. The conflation of ‘Karaallit/Kalaallit’ with ‘Skræling’ exemplifies an attempt to obscure the deep history of Kalaallit Inuit’s movement, surviving and thriving in the Arctic by suggesting that we derived our name from a derogatory term.

Furthermore, I also argue that colonial amnesia is one of the primary reasons why so few historical archaeological projects have been conducted in Kalaallit Nunaat. In this case, colonial amnesia is perhaps caused by the discomfort (Figure 1.5) that can arise when dealing with one's own colonial legacy.

Figure 1.5 Harald Moltke's painting "Impending Civilisation" 1903.

Impending Civilisation depicts two horses pulling a chariot driven by an armoured man alongside a nude female figure representing Denmark. The horses trample Inughuit beneath them, leaving nothing but “untouched” nature in their wake. Harald

Moltke, a Danish painter, was part of the literary expedition 1902-4 led by Knud Rasmussen. While on this expedition, Molkte suffered a fever-induced nightmare, which he later described in his autobiography "Livsrejsen":

> "*In this sickly state I had some strange dreams, so clear that I could remember them with all the details and write them down when I awoke from the half-awake slumber in which I experienced them. One of these dreams became a vision over which I called: Impending Civilisation. This dream was so vivid that I awoke with a jolt and startled my hosts by drawing it with great violence in my sketchbook... When Knud (Rasmussen) crawled through the entrance hole after a while and laid down on the platform after taking off his clothes, I told him about my strange dream. We discussed then, as so often before, what was to become of these Polar Inuit, in whose calm, well-balanced natural existence our expedition had brought disturbance. We consoled ourselves that if we had not come, others would have found the way!"* (Moltke 1964).

After completing the expedition, Moltke produced several paintings in his studio back in Denmark. While many depicted traditional Arctic scenes, such as polar bear hunts and Inuit in their customary attire, *Impending Civilisation,* along with his autobiography and the fact that he never returned to Kalaallit Nunaat, suggests that Molkte may have longed for a form of colonial amnesia himself.

Self-positioning

I exist between worlds – Kalaaleq and Danish, insider and outsider. This duality has shaped my life and scholarship, positioning me in a space where I constantly negotiate belonging, identity, and knowledge production. It is this experience of existing between, yet deeply within, cultures that informs the methodology of this dissertation. My work is grounded in an Indigenous research paradigm (Wilson 2008), which prioritises

relational accountability – the responsibility to position oneself within the research areas and to clearly articulate one's ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological perspectives (Wilson 2008: 32-34). This self-positioning is not just an academic exercise but a way of acknowledging who I am in relation to my research and the communities it affects.

My name carries a history that reflects the layered identities I inhabit. *Kirstine*[16] was given to me as part of a family tradition – since Christianity became the dominant religion in Kitaa, my family has always had a Kirstine. This follows the naming tradition called Ateqataa, where a child is named after an ancestor, not necessarily a blood relative. *Eiby* signifies that I have an ancestor from a village defined by oak trees, while *Møller* indicates that I descend from a miller. My name is entirely Scandinavian, a reflection of my lineage – a daughter of a Kalaaleq man and a Danish woman, whose meeting was only made possible by the very colonial encounter this dissertation critically examines.

My siblings and I grew up between Denmark and Kalaallit Nunaat, attending schools in both places and immersing ourselves in local traditions. These experiences granted me insight into the distinct cultures and identities shaped by different towns and regions. In Sisimiut and Ilulissat, I built my relationship with the land and sea through my family's traditions – harvesting food, dog sledding, and exploring the terrain whenever possible. In Denmark, I cultivated a love for museums, climbed trees, searched for amber on the beaches, and dreamed of living in a library.

Yet, despite being deeply connected to both places, I often found myself perceived as an outsider. In Kalaallit Nunaat, I was deemed too Danish; in Denmark, too

[16] Naming people after biblical figures and people at the colonies, when being baptised in the colonial period and then followed by the violent danification process of the 1950s and 1960s resulted in Danish names being used in Kalaallit Nunaat. For instance, the woman I and my ancestors are named after was the daughter of Hans Egede.

Kalaaleq. This paradox of belonging and exclusion ignited my interest in heritage studies, ultimately leading me to work in archaeology and intangible cultural heritage. I became particularly interested in how histories are told, whose voices are amplified, and how cultural narratives shape identity. This led me to critically question dominant academic frameworks and how Indigenous histories are often interpreted through colonial perspectives.

It was not until I moved to Sheffield, UK, that I truly understood my identity and sense of belonging. Living in a culturally diverse community that accepted me without prejudice and preconception allowed me to deconstruct my cultural self-understanding and examine the foundations of my worldview. I realised that the discomfort I had felt growing up was not a personal failing but a reflection of broader historical and structural dynamics. This realisation further shaped my academic approach, reinforcing the necessity of relational accountability in research.

Moving to Nuuk, working at Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu (Greenland National Museum and Archives), and teaching at Ilisimatusarfik (the University of Greenland) became another critical step in my journey. Here, I began the process of unlearning the harmful aspects of academia and embracing a research approach rooted in meaningful relationships. My students, most of whom are Kalaallit Inuit, challenged me in ways that deepened my understanding. Whenever I had an academic *epiphany*, they often responded with a casual "*duh*", a reminder that what seemed revelatory within academic discourse was already embedded in lived experience. These moments sparked rich discussions about the intersection of institutional authority and cultural knowledge and about what it truly means to conduct research that is both academically rigorous and culturally meaningful.

The subheading *Situating Self* in Chapter Two expands on my ontological, epistemological, and axiological positions, demonstrating how they are woven into a methodology that has guided my work in this dissertation.

To sum up, I am a Kalaaleq and Danish woman, an anaana (mother), an ajaaja/sa (aunty), a community member, and a scholar. Others may label me differently because our identities are dialogical and relationally intertwined. We do not exist in isolation – we exist in relation. This understanding does not just define who I am; it also shapes how I approach knowledge production, ensuring that my research remains accountable to the communities it serves.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Like most archaeologies of colonialism, my research is centred on continuity and change. My aim is to understand local experiences of the paradigm shift that affected everyone's lives in colonial Kalaallit Nunaat. In this chapter, I present and discuss the theories I have examined and dissected to provide the theoretical lens I use in my research. The aim of this theoretical framework is twofold: to provide the theoretical foundation upon which my work is built and, most importantly, to provide an insight into how I navigate my research as an Indigenous scholar.

There is a chasm that, although seemingly innocent, in the discipline of archaeology, needs serious addressing: the chasm of prehistoric and historical archaeology. An origin of this chasm can be found in the inherent colonial legacy of archaeology. Although the difference between the two should be found in the absence of historical sources for the former, in reality, the connotations concerning the term "prehistoric" tend to refer to Indigenous cultures even at the time of colonisation. In essence, discounting oral histories as a reliable historical source. Traditionally, Western beliefs and categories have shaped archaeological theories and practices, resulting in a power imbalance among archaeologists and Indigenous knowledge holders.

The theoretical literature on colonialism, cultural encounters, and culture contact is extremely charged and often challenging to navigate. In the Arctic, terminology affects not just archaeological discourse but also includes Indigenous Peoples, European descendants, and the societal structures forged in the colonial period. How can archaeologists

meaningfully engage with colonial themes in the Arctic without reproducing colonial structures?

While the concept of decolonisation and archaeology in theory and practice has been widely researched, the relationship between archaeological theory and Indigenous epistemologies requires further exploration. In this chapter, I examine some of the most predominant theories related to colonialism, cultural encounters and culture contact within archaeology, as well as how these can be problematic for both archaeologists and the affected communities. I emphasise the dialogical nature of culture contact theory and contact zones. I argue that historical archaeology must move beyond the traditional focus on European perspectives and actively engage with Indigenous voices.

Colonialism, Cultural Encounters, and Culture Contact

Cultural encounters and culture contact are terms used to conceptualise the dynamics of cultural changes and the interactions between culturally different groups. In my research, the interactions are understood within the broader framework of colonialism – an ongoing process that involves asymmetric power relations and the impositions of external structures on Indigenous societies.

Although the terms ‘encounters’ and ‘contact’ suggest brief moments of interaction, within archaeology and colonial studies, they refer to structured and deeply embedded historical processes. Colonialism is not merely an ‘encounter’ but a system designed to dominate, transform, and control Indigenous societies, often under the guise of managing cultural differences. Framing colonialism as a ‘cultural encounter’ risks obscuring its inherent power dynamics and the structures of coercion it entails.

Various theoretical models have been used to study colonialism in archaeology, including acculturation, culture contact, transculturation, and world-systems theory. However, much of the scholarship on the Arctic has historically been Eurocentric, treating European states as a single homogenous entity while similarly homogenising the diverse Indigenous cultures they encountered. This tendency erases historical complexity and reinforces colonial hierarchies in academic discourse.

Colonial injustice

The concept of 'colonial injustice' extends beyond the historical realities of inequity resulting from colonialism. Here, I use the term to critique the unilateral influence of Western academia in shaping archaeological narratives about the North American Arctic. This is not a condemnation of individual Western scholars but an acknowledgement of how colonial histories have shaped contemporary archaeological practices.

Colonial injustice affects the entire discipline of archaeology. Acknowledging this does not mean rejecting archaeological inquiry but recognising that all scholars operate with inherent biases shaped by their positionality. It is an injustice that many archaeologists feel the need to justify their interest in Arctic archaeological heritage – just as it is an injustice that Indigenous communities must defend their right to refuse excavations on their ancestral lands. This conversation must also challenge the assumed binary of archaeologist versus community as if these roles are mutually exclusive.

Engaging the Contact zone

The 'contact zone' is a term coined by Mary Louise Pratt (1992) covering "*social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in*

highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (Pratt 1992: 4). A social space is, furthermore, described as "*a space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequity and intractable conflict*" (Pratt 1992: 6).

Pratt developed the concept through her studies of colonial encounters with particular attention to aspects of interaction often overlooked or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination (Pratt 1992: 7). The study of the contact zone, then, is the study of the relations between people, their interlocking understandings, and their interactions – often within asymmetrical power relations (Pratt 1992: 7).

Although at first glance, the contact zone may seem like an inherently colonial and conflict-ridden space, scholars from diverse fields, including archaeology, literature, and social studies, have applied Pratt's framework in less overtly adversarial ways (Bizzel 1994; Lu 1994; Flint 1999; Cooper 2004; Putnam 2006; Zine 2008; Côté 2010; Conway 2011; Peleggi 2012; Toft 2017). These studies suggest that while asymmetry and power dynamics remain central to the contact zone, such spaces can also be sites of negotiation, adaptation, and even collaboration.

In contemporary society, people enter different contact zones throughout the day, both physically and discursively. In a sense, this very chapter constitutes a contact zone: a space where I, as the author, dictate the content you read. While this interaction involves a degree of asymmetry, it does not necessarily create discomfort or coercion – a helpful reminder that power imbalances exist on a spectrum.

However, Pratt's use of the word 'contact' has been critiqued. Jan Cooper (2004) argues that the term carries an anthropological tone deeply rooted in postcolonial

cultural criticism, which can inadvertently reify students or individuals as representatives of monolithic cultures rather than as individuals with fluid, dynamic identities (Cooper 2004: 26). A similar pitfall exists within Arctic archaeology. The contact zone in fieldwork has functioned since the inception of archaeological projects, shaping relationships between archaeologists, local communities, and the land itself. Crucially, the nature of these initial interactions determines the dynamics of participation throughout the project. We must critically reflect on the colonial injustices we may inadvertently reproduce in these moments.

Transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone (Pratt 1992:6). However, more importantly, it is a methodological tool and concept introduced by Fernando Ortiz meant to synthesise the extensive and detailed analysis of the development of Cuban society and culture in his book 'Cuban Counterpoints: Tobacco and Sugar' (Côté 2010:122). Ortiz conceptualised transculturation based on the cultural encounter between the Spanish, Taino Indian and enslaved African cultures and used it to demonstrate how these came to embody the colonial endeavour of Cuba (Côté 2010:122).

> *"I have chosen the word transculturation to express the highly varied phenomena that have come about in Cuba as a result of the extremely complex transmutations of culture that have taken place here, and without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the evolution of the Cuban folk, either in the economic or in the institutional, legal, ethical, religious, artistic, linguistic, psychological, sexual, or other aspects of its life*" (Ortiz 1940: 98 in Côté 2010: 123).

In order to understand the various parts of a society, it is necessary to understand where these parts originate. The kind of transculturation – the meshing of culture – that has shaped Cuba similarly has resulted in other modern former colonised countries as well as in the former colonising countries.

> "*I am of the opinion that the word transculturation better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another because this does not consist merely in acquiring another culture, which is what the English word acculturation really implies, but the process also necessarily involves the loss of uprooting of a previous culture, which could be defined as deculturation. In addition it carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation. In the end, as the school of Malinowski's followers maintains, the result of every union of cultures is similar to that of the reproductive process between individuals: the offspring always has something of both parents but is always different from each of them"* (Ortiz 1940: 102-103 in Côté 2010: 125-126).

To sum up, if we accept that transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone, we also recognise the dialogical nature of culture. In a cultural meeting situation, be it in the past or present, we can safely assume that the contact zone becomes a place of dialogue where cultures can mesh.

Culture contact

Culture contact and acculturation have long been contested fields in archaeology (Lightfoot 1995; Cusick 1998; Silliman 2005; Cipolla in Cipolla & Hayes 2015). One of the main issues with culture contact is that it maintains the chasm of prehistoric and historical archaeology. From a culture contact perspective, the non-European parts of the world only become attractive in the meeting with Europeans.

The acculturation theory further maintains the chasm by often presenting Western people as active agents and non-Western people as passive recipients (Cusick 1998: 134). Initially, however, acculturation within the field of sociology was explained as a willingness to adopt cultural aspects outside one's own culture (Cusick 1998: 129). Acculturation, traditionally, is the process of social and cultural change in which an

individual adopts and adjusts to a new cultural environment. It is a socialisation process in which a group blends the overarching dominant culture's values, customs, norms, cultural attitudes, and behaviours. However, there is not just one concept or one framework of acculturation in anthropology (Cusick 1998: 126-130).

The most common four definitions of the term acculturation resulted from observations made by a generation of anthropologists who studied modernisation during the 1930s and 1950s. They operated with the dichotomy of white and modern as opposed to Indigenous and traditional (Cusick 1998: 127). The four principle definitions ended up being (after Cusick 1998: 128):

1. Loss of traditional lifeways;
2. Adoption of Western values and lifeways;
3. Any changes in lifeways stemming from continuous, direct contact between peoples of different cultures;
4. Acceptance or incorporation of "outside" ideas or technology within a generally persistent way of life.

However, as mentioned above, these are not the only definitions applicable to acculturation. These definitions made a critique of literature difficult. Cusick argues that it was because the attempts to relate culture contact and acculturation to power and resistance had little influence on the significant formulations of acculturation represented in the mainstream academic media (Cusick 1998: 129).

Although Cusick revisits and evaluates culture contact and acculturation in his article, he concludes that acculturation and culture contact, in principle, could work for archaeologists (in 1998). However, he also acknowledges that the prior research is

problematic and not a return we should willingly make (Cusick 1998: 137). Acculturation and culture contact theory have suffered under the early research, earning problematic connotations of racial bias. Non-European, non-Christian, simple people subordinated to the advanced, dominant European Christians (Cusick 1998: 131).

What are culture contact and the contact period? Ideally, it would be the entire school of archaeology – spanning all ages of human existence. Gosden (2004:5) notes: "*As there is no such thing as an isolated culture, all cultural forms are in contact with others. Culture contact is a basic human fact. What differentiates colonialism from other aspects of contact are issues of power*." Unfortunately, the contact period is only used to describe European colonialism, although, within this framework, colonialism is replaced with either conquest or expansion.

As mentioned above, culture contact implies contact between two or more cultures. Typically, culture contact is used to describe colonial contact situations between Europeans and 'others'. Until culture contact studies include 'prehistoric' cultures in a first contact situation with each other, culture contact will continue to be the archaeology of European nation-states' colonial expansions and, to a lesser extent, its consequences on Indigenous lifeways.

Colonial discourse

Cultural encounters between Indigenous Peoples and European nation-states are overarching themes in several disciplines. So far, we have established that the encounters are dialogical; everyone in the meeting is affected. Our modern realities are complex colonial legacies of these interactions; colonialism is the context rather than a defining moment, and

the colonial encounters are the long-term processes on the continuum of Indigenous histories (Silliman 2005; Äikäs & Salmi 2019:1). However, not all colonial legacies are equally acknowledged. Some are strategically forgotten, reinterpreted, or framed as non-colonial, a process I describe as colonial amnesia – a selective silencing of uncomfortable pasts that disrupt the preferred national self-image.

Denmark's historical presence in Kalaallit Nunaat is a case in point. Official narratives often emphasise the modernising efforts of Danish rule, like education, infrastructure, and economic development, while downplaying or outright denying its colonial foundations (Heinrich 2010). In this way, Kalaallit Nunaat's colonial history is reframed as a welfare project rather than a system of control, minimising Kalaallit agency and the disruptions inflicted upon them. Emil Sondaj Hansen (2022) characterises this process as postcolonial gaslighting, where Danish politicians and institutions dismiss Kalaallit grievances as exaggerations, further entrenching asymmetrical power dynamics. This pattern is not unique to Denmark; historical injustices are erased, softened, or recontextualized across former colonial states to maintain national identity and avoid reparations (Kočí & Baar 2021).

Continuously, theoretical literature generalises what it means to be Indigenous and what it means to be European; in my opinion, it reinforces the colonial injustice that permeates historical archaeology. The usual approach has been to investigate how colonialism changes Indigenous culture (Silliman 2009: 211) and how changes in the cultural practices of the colonisers are adaptations, whereas changes in cultural practices of the colonised are losses of identity (Äikäs & Salmi 2019: 3). These frameworks inadvertently reinforce colonial amnesia by assuming Indigenous cultures were always in the process of

vanishing, rather than adapting, resisting, or reshaping colonial influences on their own terms.

Even the use of objects in a new setting has been categorised as misuse by archaeologists; however, new understandings of how things were used in their new Indigenous contexts have been explored by archaeological research (Gosden 2004; Silliman 2005, 2010b; Äikäs & Salmi 2019: 3). This is particularly important in colonial contexts where material culture is often weaponised to support historical narratives of European 'civilisation' triumphing over Indigenous 'primitiveness'. If we consider the case of Kalaallit Nunaat, the Danish administration used material transformations, such as the introduction of prefabricated housing, Western-style education, and missionisation, to assert colonial power. Yet, instead of recognising these as tools of colonial control, Danish narratives often frame them as symbols of progress and benevolence, further reinforcing colonial amnesia (Maegaard & Mortensen 2022).

When we interpret material culture in an archaeological context, it is essential to remember that we speak about a culture – not for it. Indigenous people have long been used as informants in archaeological and historical projects, where Western researchers have exerted control on Indigenous belongings, pushing Indigenous knowledge and concerns to the margins. This, too, is part of colonial amnesia, a refusal to acknowledge how Indigenous Peoples were systematically excluded from knowledge production about their own past.

Within the scope of this research, indeed my overall work, I am not interested in reproducing colonial injustice by shifting the focus entirely to the Indigenous perspective, undermining the complicated relationship and contact zone of our postcolonial society. When we treat 'European' as a homogenous mass, we neglect the cultural differences of

European nation-states, e.g. German, Dutch or British culture. Another example could be Scandinavia. Whereas most can agree on a common Scandinavian heritage and history, any Scandinavian member would strongly disagree with having their nationality be interchangeable with any of the others. My point is that if we want to untangle our cultures after several centuries of entanglement, we need to respect all participating cultures – and more importantly, we must acknowledge where erasure has taken place.

To avoid reproducing colonial injustice, it is essential to untangle colonial influences by reconsidering what we think is fundamental knowledge and how to handle sensitive heritage ethically. Instead of encouraging greater collaboration with Indigenous Peoples while reinforcing the false dichotomy of 'them' as the Indigenous stakeholder community and 'us' as the archaeologists, I propose equalising the platform and including Indigenous stakeholders on the same footing as the archaeologists. The descendant community should inform archaeological projects in postcolonial settings and help establish the scope of the projects. I use the term' descendant community' here to cover both Indigenous Peoples and European descendants on an equal footing.

When archaeological projects are not done by and for the Indigenous community, there is a possibility that the Indigenous community will feel that their intangible cultural knowledge is extracted and taken away from them. Archaeologists must be careful not to appropriate knowledge, particularly in the context of postcolonial erasure. Until recently, archaeologists had almost unquestioned power over the ownership of sites and collections without concern for the rights of Indigenous people (Cipolla & Hayes 2015). Likewise, few Indigenous communities have genuinely benefitted from archaeological excavations in ways that served their interests. This, too, is an extension of colonial amnesia,

where the contributions, concerns, and perspectives of Indigenous communities are systematically marginalised within Western academic institutions.

It is not difficult to understand why some Indigenous Peoples, like Aboriginal Australians, for example, are not willing to share ancestral intangible cultural knowledge with archaeologists or give permission to excavate on sacred lands once we consider how archaeology has been used as a colonial tool against them (McNiven & Russell 2005). The Indigenous communities should not be our collaborators but our principal investigators.

Culture contact, contact zones, acculturation and transculturation are closely related, and although culture contact and acculturation have negative connotations, they all are advocates for dialogical heritage. My aim here is to formulate a research method grounded in ethical archaeology, moving beyond decolonisation as a theoretical exercise and toward practical applications of accountability. Decolonisation and post-colonial studies in archaeology are essential; however, ethical archaeology is missing from mainstream discussions. For archaeology to abandon colonial injustice, archaeologists must be willing to address the uncomfortable parts of their discipline, including the role of academic institutions in perpetuating colonial amnesia.

Ownership of heritage, land, and knowledge may not seem complicated, but in a post-colonial setting, these issues carry significant emotional and political weight for both archaeologists and communities alike. More collaboration is not necessarily the answer; instead, education, academic transparency, and Indigenous-led initiatives must take precedence. If archaeologists cannot justify their work beyond academic curiosity and personal satisfaction, then their research is neither ethical nor sufficient. Colonial amnesia is

a choice that continues to shape public memory, state policies, and academic narratives. Recognising and addressing it is the first step toward ethical, responsible archaeology.

Situating self

Theory provides the lens through which we interpret and make sense of the world. It formalises ideas, perspectives, and assumptions into an analytical framework that shapes how we understand complex phenomena and how we choose to investigate them. It determines the questions we ask, the methods we employ, and how we interpret the answers we receive. As scholars, our positionality – shaped by our identities, experiences, and worldviews – directly informs these theoretical frameworks, thereby influencing the scope, focus, and methodology of our research. As Tuhiwai Smith (2012) argues, positionality determines whether research adopts a strengths-based or problem-based approach. For example, does a study seek to empower marginalised communities, or does it inadvertently perpetuate victimisation through its framing and interpretations? These considerations are critical to ensuring that research is not only methodologically sound but also ethical and impactful.

In archaeology, ontology and epistemology are deeply intertwined, shaping how we reconstruct and interpret the past. Our ontological assumptions – beliefs about the nature of past societies, their structures, and relationships – influence the epistemological methods we use to gather evidence and construct narratives. These assumptions define what we consider valid evidence and how we contextualise and interpret it. For instance, Wilson (2008) and Lucas (2012) emphasise that whether we view past societies as hierarchical or egalitarian, static or dynamic, it affects both archaeological practice and the conclusions

drawn from the material record. Archaeology, therefore, is not just a technical exercise but a deeply interpretive practice fundamentally shaped by philosophical underpinnings.

In my research, contact zones serve as both a methodological and interpretative framework that acknowledges the significance of positionality. Contact zones are dynamic spaces where cultures, ideas, and identities intersect, often producing both collaboration and contestation. Recognising intersectionality within these zones is essential. Kimberlé Crenshaws (1989) defines intersectionality as the overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination and privilege individuals experience based on race, gender, class, and ability. In archaeology, acknowledging these complexities allows us to better understand how identity, kinship, ethnicity, history, and personal experience shape how people engage with the world and, by extension, with the research itself.

Applying an intersectional lens to archaeological fieldwork challenges us to confront issues of bias, power, and privilege. This approach enriches our understanding of the past and ensures that our methodologies are inclusive and respectful of diverse perspectives. For example, integrating voices from underrepresented groups – through community engagement, collaborative interpretation, or participatory methods – helps to counteract the monolithic narratives that have historically dominated archaeological discourse. It fosters a research culture that values accessibility and mutual respect, creating safer and more equitable environments for all participants.

The axiological foundation of my research is grounded in posthumanism, which challenges traditional anthropocentric views by emphasising the interconnectedness of human and non-human actors (Fernández-Götz et al. 2021). This perspective aligns closely with many Indigenous worldviews, as it reconsiders the boundaries between human

and non-human agency, such as the roles of animals, objects, landscapes and even climate. Adopting a posthumanist framework enables archaeologists to explore the complex entanglements between humans and their environments, offering more nuanced insights into past lived experiences.

For example, considering the agency of material culture, like tools, pottery, or architectural features, allows us to examine how these entities shaped and were shaped by human activity. Similarly, recognising natural forces, such as climate or geography, as active agents in history challenges deterministic narratives and deepens our understanding of social and cultural developments. Saidiya Hartman's (2008) method of ‘critical fabulation’, which blends archival research with critical yet imaginative storytelling, provides a powerful model for addressing the silences in historical records. Hartman developed this methodology in order to redress the omission of enslaved Black people’s lives in the archives (Hartman 2008: 11). In an archaeological context, critical fabulation can be applied to the material record to uncover marginalised or forgotten histories, challenge dominant narratives, and promote a more inclusive understanding of the past.

In studying colonial encounters in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut, it is essential to acknowledge the role of colonial amnesia in shaping both historical narratives and contemporary understandings of the past. As scholars such as Ann Laura Stoler (2011) and Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) have argued, colonial histories are not simply forgotten but strategically silenced through selective remembering and institutionalised narratives. In Kalaallit Nunaat, the Danish colonial administration and missionary institutions documented Inuit life primarily through European lenses, often omitting or distorting Indigenous agency. Similarly, in Nunatsiavut, Moravian records emphasised religious transformation while

downplaying how Inuit engaged with, adapted to, or resisted missionisation (Brice-Bennett 1990; Rollmann 2009).

Recognising colonial amnesia as an active force in historical and archaeological discourse is essential to my approach. This concept helps explain why colonial narratives have long portrayed Inuit as passive subjects of European missionisation and trade rather than active participants who shaped and negotiated their own futures (Rud 2017). This dissertation challenges these omissions by integrating Indigenous perspectives, archaeological evidence, and historical sources in ways that illuminate the nuances of Inuit agency, adaptation, and resilience.

By explicitly confronting colonial amnesia, this research also seeks to deconstruct the Eurocentric epistemologies that have dominated Arctic archaeology (Nicholas 2010; Thomas et al. 2017). How scholars engage with the past is inherently shaped by their disciplinary traditions and methodological frameworks. If we do not actively interrogate these inherited structures, we risk reproducing the same historical silences that have long-defined colonial scholarship.

Furthermore, colonial amnesia is not merely a relic of the past; it persists in contemporary historical memory and political discourse. For example, the 2025 Danish documentary *Greenland's White Gold* sparked significant controversy by revealing that Denmark profited approximately 83 billion CAD from mining cryolite in Kalaallit Nunaat. This figure fueled pro-independence sentiments in Nuuk (LeMonde 2025). The backlash led to the Danish broadcasting company withdrawing the documentary, sparking yet another backlash of censoring the tension-filled colonial relationship between Denmark and Kalaallit Nunaat (Berlingske 2025). The absence of Kalaallit perspectives in dominant narratives of

Arctic history mirrors broader patterns of erasure, where Indigenous histories are relegated to the margins. The same can be said of the Moravian missions in Nunatsiavut, where economic, cultural, and religious transformations have often been named solely through European terms. This dissertation engages with these challenges by emphasising Inuit agency in historical encounters and how Inuit communities remember and reinterpret their histories today. As Trouillot (1995) argues, the production of history is shaped by silences at multiple levels, from what is recorded in archives to how narratives are constructed. By centring Inuit voices through archaeology, oral histories and art, and material culture, this dissertation challenges colonial amnesia and the selective forgetting of Inuit agency in missionary and colonial records.

By adopting contact zones as both a methodological tool and an interpretative model, my research embraces an inclusive, equitable, and ethical approach. This framework prioritises relational and dialogical methods that amplify diverse perspectives and challenge exclusionary narratives. Contact zones encourage archaeologists to engage collaboratively with communities, ensuring that research is participatory rather than extractive and that it genuinely reflects the complexities of identity, power, and privilege.

Moreover, critical fabulation underscores the importance of narrative in addressing historical silences. This method enables us to recover histories that have been systematically overlooked or excluded by weaving together archival evidence, archaeological findings, and imaginative storytelling. In archaeology, this approach reframes the past not as a static set of facts but as a dynamic tapestry of intersecting human and non-human experiences.

When combined with posthumanism and intersectionality, critical fabulation helps challenge dominant narratives that often prioritise specific perspectives while marginalising others. By acknowledging the entanglements between humans, material culture, and the natural world, we can reconstruct richer, more nuanced histories that respect the complexities of lived experiences. This process enhances not only our understanding of the past but also the ethical foundations of archaeological research, ensuring that it actively seeks to dismantle systemic biases and create spaces for empowerment and collaboration.

Ultimately, this approach reflects my commitment to ethical scholarship – one that respects the agency of all actors, human and non-human – and values the diversity of experiences and identities that shape our interpretations of the past. Through contact zones, intersectionality, posthumanism, and critical fabulations, my research contributes to a more just, accessible, and equitable understanding of history while fostering a scholarly culture grounded in relational accountability, inclusivity, and mutual respect.

Conclusion

Is it possible for archaeologists to meaningfully engage with colonial themes in the Arctic without themselves reproducing a colonialist structure? The answer is yes – but doing so requires deliberate, sustained effort to confront the inherent challenges of such work. Engaging with colonial themes necessitates a willingness and commitment to have difficult, honest conversations within the discipline and with the communities alongside which archaeologists work. These dialogues are essential for fostering an inclusive, ethical, and culturally sensitive archaeological practice.

First, archaeologists and their communities must acknowledge the legacy of colonial injustice that continues to shape research relationships. Indigenous Peoples are culturally distinct groups whose histories have been profoundly affected by colonial encounters (Äikäs & Salmi 2019:3). Recognising these injustices means understanding that colonial histories are as diverse as the Indigenous groups they impact. Moreover, we must acknowledge that European colonialism, while pervasive, is a modern construct and not a term consciously employed by nation-states during their colonising and enslaving activities. This historical nuance is critical to deconstructing and addressing colonial power dynamics in archaeological practice.

Second, it is imperative to challenge the assumption that archaeologists working in the North American Arctic – or elsewhere – are exclusively of European descent. This outdated perspective erases the presence and contributions of Indigenous and non-European archaeologists, many of whom are members of the very communities where their research is conducted. Failing to acknowledge these diverse voices reinforces colonialist narratives and also mirrors the problematic division between *prehistoric* and *historical* archaeology. This false division distorts not only our understanding of the past but also the role of contemporary Indigenous scholars in shaping archaeological discourse.

Third, I advocate for a fundamental reconceptualisation of archaeological practice. For archaeology to be truly ethical, it must navigate colonial power imbalances without simply inverting them to create new forms of exclusion. Contact zones, as a methodological framework, provide a way forward. By centring positionality, accessibility, and mutual respect, contact zones promote an approach rooted in relationships, dialogue, and nuanced understanding. This paradigm prioritises ethical engagement over extractive practices, fostering a collaborative and equitable research environment.

When practising archaeology in different cultural contexts, we must align the project with local protocols and cultural understandings of the past. Archaeological work should aim to build capacity within communities and deliver findings that hold meaning and relevance to those communities. Business-as-usual approaches lack this vital dimension of cultural significance, resulting in research that is disconnected from the lived realities of the people it affects.

Finally, integrating critical fabulation with contact zones offers a powerful means of bridging the gap between archaeological practice and the deeper cultural meaning of heritage sites. By combining imaginative storytelling with archival and material evidence, critical fabulation can illuminate silenced histories and foster a more inclusive understanding of the past. Together, these methods create opportunities to honour the complexity of heritage while reshaping archaeological practice into one that is equitable, relational, and deeply respectful of the communities it engages.

CHAPTER THREE

NOORLIIT FIELD SCHOOL

Noorliit

Archaeological investigations of Noorliit were first undertaken in the early 1950s, resulting in the site's protected status in 1953 (Buhl, Clemmensen & Gulløv 1983). Since then, the site has been perfunctorily surveyed multiple times for mapping purposes; however, a complete methodological archaeological survey was first conducted in 2020 by the Noorliit Archaeological Field School as part of this dissertation. This survey resulted in the first partial archaeological excavation of a Kalaallit Inuit winter house at the Noorliit site. This chapter focuses on the site history, field and laboratory methodology, and results from the excavations conducted during the summers of 2020 and 2021.

Site background

In 1733, three missionaries belonging to the Moravian Brethren arrived at the Danish colony Godthåb on the southwest coast of Kalaallit Nunaat. Instead of joining forces with the Danish mission, they began their own missionisation efforts by settling in the area they named Neuherrnhut. Their first dwelling was found during an archaeological survey in 1983 by Claus Andreassen and Hans Kapel (1983) from the Greenland National Museum. According to historical sources, the first dwelling was a log house (Crantz 1767), remodelled in 1744 to accommodate the rising numbers of missionaries (from three to six) and then torn down in 1747 and replaced by the existing building some 20 degrees southwest of the original foundation (Andreassen & Kapel 1983).

The Moravian missionaries left Kalaallit Nunaat in 1900; however, the last Kalaallit inhabitants of Neuherrnhut, now only referred to as Noorliit (old spelling Nôrdlît), lived here until the mid-1910s, when the former Moravian congregation moved to the Avannarlerniittoq area in Nuuk (Bugge 1970: 246). The mission building was then used as guest quarters for the Danish church until 1914, when it became the storage facility for artefacts (cultural belongings) for a future museum (Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu 2016). From 1925 to 1948, the area in front of the mission building was allocated to a fox farm. The concrete foundations for the fox enclosures are still visible in the landscape (see Figure 3.1). The mission building continued to house various institutions, first, what would become the Greenland National Museum and Archive, then Ilisimatusarfik – the University of Greenland, and lastly, the office of the Ombudsman for Inatsisartut (Parliament of Greenland).

Figure 3.1 Aerial photograph of Noorliit. Orange marks the ruins that housed Kalaallit Inuit; Blue marks the Moravian Church; Gray marks the former biology station; the dark rectangles at the top of the photo are the fox enclosures. The thick, stippled line marks the border of the heritage site, and the thinner, irregular, stippled line shows the God's Acre (Moravian cemetery) border.

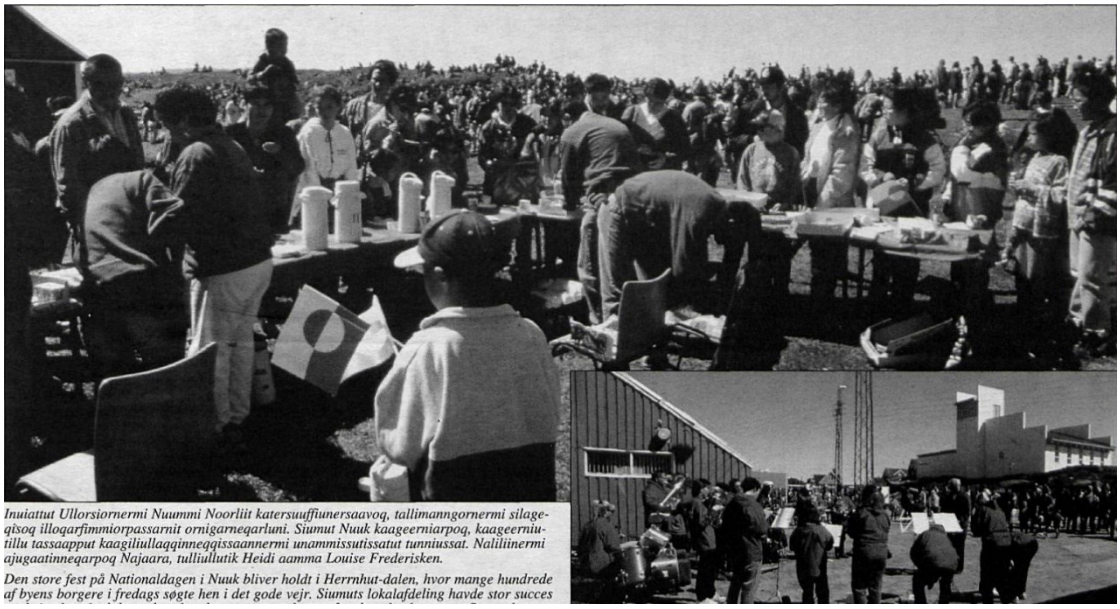
The first archaeological survey of Noorliit took place in the summer of 1952 by the Danish archaeologist Jørgen Meldgaard. The turf houses, where the Kalaallit congregation had lived, were now in ruins, and the cemetery had been unused for decades. Meldgaard restored the walls of two turf houses in the ruin group immediately southeast of the mission garden. The objective was to illustrate the visibility of the ruins in the landscape,

a measure used in Meldgaard's quest to protect the area. His efforts succeeded, and Noorliit was protected under the Heritage Act in 1953 (Buhl, Clemmensen & Gulløv 1983).

Since then, the site has been archaeologically surveyed in 1983 and 2014 and again in 2020. The survey in 1983 was conducted following the archaeological investigations of the mission building's architectural structure (Karsten Rønnows Tegnestue 1984). The team, Erling Buhl, Niels-Christian Clemmesen and Hans Christian Gulløv, recorded 36 ruins (Buhl, Clemmensen & Gulløv 1983). Niels Algreen Møller conducted the 2014 survey with a DGPS over the course of two days. Ultimately, the most thorough investigation of the site was conducted by the Noorliit Archaeological Field School and myself in the summer of 2020, resulting in 88 registered archaeological features, increasing the number of features by 19.

The site is continuously used as a green recreational space in the city. Nuummiut[17] use the recreational space for dog walks and outings. Historically, it has also been used as the site for National Day celebrations with picnics and concerts, as shown in Figure 3.2. The many activities have taken their toll on the ruins. The cemetery has also been the site of looting over the years. Children and young adults have been caught opening graves and taking skulls and bones for unknown purposes (Søndergaard 2016; KNR 2021).

[17] Plural for the inhabitants of Nuuk; Nuummioq is singular



Inuiattut Ullorsiornermi Nuummi Noorliit katersuuffiunersaavoq, tallimanngornermi silageqisoq illoqarfimmiorpassarnit ornigarneqarluni. Siumut Nuuk kaageerniarpoq, kaageerniutillu tassaapput kaagiliullaqqinneqqissaannermi unammissutissatut tunniussat. Naliliinermi ajugaatinneqarpoq Najaara, tulliullutik Heidi aamma Louise Frederisken.

Den store fest på Nationaldagen i Nuuk bliver holdt i Herrnhut-dalen, hvor mange hundrede af byens borgere i fredags søgte hen i det gode vejr. Siumuts lokalafdeling havde stor succes

Figure 3.2 National Day Celebration 1996. The large photograph shows the great number of people gathered at the Noorliit site. Atuagagdliutit 1996. Nr. 48. Page 3.

During our excavation in 2020 and 2021, visitors also shared stories of the old days when they would take turf and soil from the site to use in their private gardens, an activity not strictly belonging to past behaviour, as a 30 cm x 30 cm square of turf was stolen from the excavation in the summer of 2020.

Field methodology

This section outlines two kinds of field methodology: 1) an unconventional field methodology where I describe and explain the reasoning behind the Noorliit Archaeological Field School and the students' agency, and 2) the field methods we employed during the fieldwork.

To initiate the field school I first hired then-graduate student Randi Sørensen Johansen, a proud Nuummioq, who had several seasons of practical experience with Arctic archaeology as a teaching assistant. Second, we discussed how to structure the field school based on our personal experiences. The main objective was to provide interested students with an archaeological toolbox of some theories and practical experience. The field school was structured thus:

- Archival studies focusing on the site and the Moravian Brethren in Kalaallit Nunaat;
- Introduction to scale drawing;
- Archaeological surveying, core sampling, and interpretation;
- Excavation preparation, choosing a site, setting up a grid, and using Pythagoras to open the perfect trench;
- Excavating using the methods single context and multiple context, and dry sieving;
- Documenting the site using scale drawings, photography, and drone;
- Finds processing and photography at the museum.

These components are traditional skills taught at various archaeological field schools worldwide. However, an Indigenous-led field school for Indigenous students in an Indigenous, formerly colonised country should, in my opinion, not reproduce colonial structures regarding both research and archaeology. Instead of the project leader (me) deciding on where and why to excavate, my objective was to teach and guide the students within the school of archaeology and, ultimately, respect their decision of how to approach the project. The scope of the field school was a nurturing, equal learning environment with a focus on knowledge co-production, to ensure they were informed and felt comfortable in

their decision-making skills regarding their heritage and the decision of whether or not we would excavate.

2020 field season

The Noorliit Archaeological Field School began on June 25th, 2020, at Nunatta Katersugaasivia. We spent the first couple of days introducing ourselves to each other, reviewing historical documents regarding the site, finding out about the colonial period, and learning what to expect in the field. We then began an extensive survey of Noorliit, spending two weeks combing through the entire site, discussing ruin shapes, core samples and philosophical questions regarding heritage, archaeology, and colonisation. My team consisted of teaching assistant Randi Sørensen Johansen, graduate students Angutinnguaq Olsen and Suuluaraq Motzfeldt, and undergraduate students Tukummeq Jensen Hansen, Louisa Christina Høyer and Pia Egede, all Kalaallit Inuit and from the Department of Culture, History and Society at Ilisimatusarfik. Our goal for the season was to make a site map with all the archaeological features present, identify ruins of particular interest, and, if in agreement, excavate a 1.0 x 3.0 m trench to better understand the ruin in question's long-term use and occupation.

It took approximately five days to survey each side of the bay thoroughly. Each ruin that showed potential, e.g., had a clearly structured inside space, rich vegetation, or an interesting position, was cored, and the students analysed the core sample together (see Figure 3.3). We noticed an interesting change in the architectural layout of the ruins in the later part of the 18th century. The long subterranean passageways changed to doorways

opening directly into the homes. Moreover, the doorways were not situated towards the sea but towards the church, accentuating the importance of faith.

Figure 3.3 Core sample from Ruin A2. The bottom of the cultural layers shows sandy black soil mixed with mosses, covered with a bright layer of sand, and then a floor layer covered in coarse sand mixed with soft branches and bone fragments. At the top is a 1.8cm layer of modern turf.

Archaeological features, i.e., structures that are clearly human-made yet definitely not a dwelling or a tent ring, were also mapped but not core sampled. At the end of the survey, the team intimately familiarised themselves with the site and discussed whether or not to excavate. As an archaeological excavation is the controlled destruction of a heritage structure, and the Noorliit site is the only complete colonial site from the colonial period in Kalaallit Nunaat, the students discussed the pros and cons of excavating. The main argument against excavation was the uniqueness of a ruin town in the middle of Nuuk. The main argument for excavation was similar – underlining the uniqueness of an excavation in the middle of Nuuk, bringing the colonial period to the forefront of Nuummiut's minds. The core samples also significantly affected the decision, as they all showed clear signs of degradation.

After extensive surveying and discussions, the students decided to excavate. The students listed their top three ruins and debated why they had chosen the ones they had. In the end, the students unanimously chose ruin A2. The two core samples showed clearly defined layers, and the winning factor was an eider duck down feather at the bottom. The decision-making process reinforced the field school's core objective – empowering students to take ownership of their cultural heritage.

Ruin A2 was initially interpreted as a late 18th-century dwelling based on the ruin morphology and coring samples. The ruin form was square, and there seemed to be a dividing wall between two rooms. There was not a long subterranean entrance but what appeared to be an entryway directly into one of the rooms, suggesting a late 18th-century building. Using the Pythagoras theorem, we established a grid over the ruin. We measured out a 3.0 x 1.0 m trench, oriented north-northeast and intersecting the assumed wall between the two rooms (see Figure 3.4). The excavation unit was opened and deturfed by spade; the subsequent layers (contexts) were excavated with trowel and sieved (4 mm mesh). Each excavated context was then photographed and scale-drawn and concludingly referenced to the four profiles that were also scale-drawn.

Figure 3.4 The trench after removing the turf. The white line marks the feature initially interpreted as a wall.

We quickly realised that the ruin had been reused as a midden as part of its abandonment. We excavated using a mix of single context and multiple context methods, i.e., in stratigraphic layers; however, if a context suddenly had a pocket of clay or sand, it was drawn in and described but not given its own context number. Except for some caribou bones at the beginning of the excavation (see Figure 3.5), only belongings interpreted as being in situ at the floor layer were recorded on the drawings.

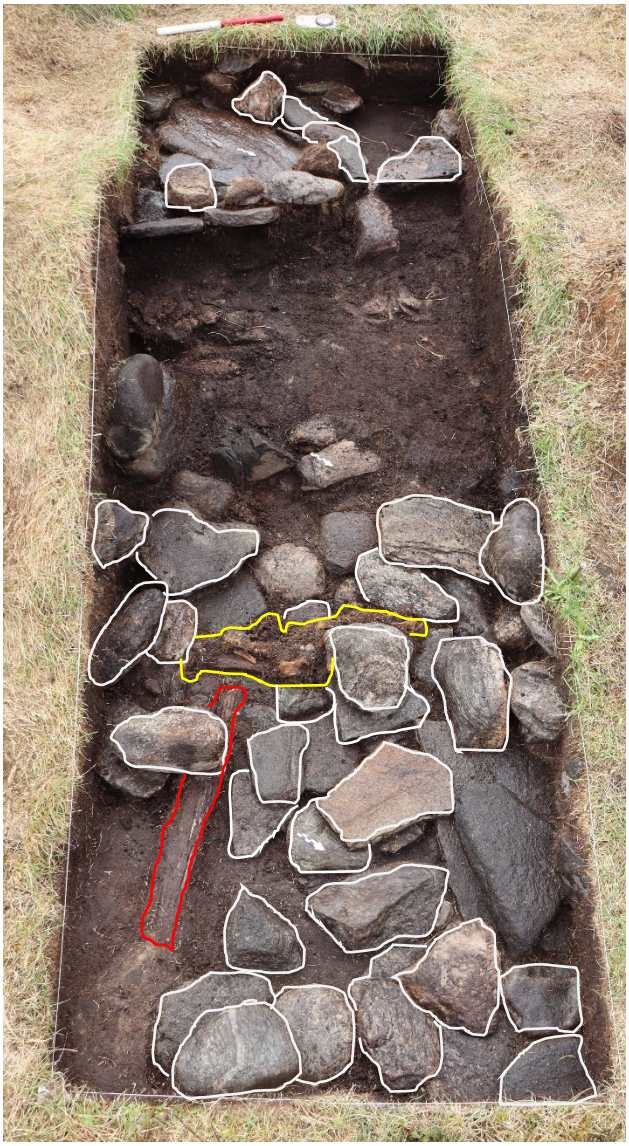


Figure 3.5 The trench after removing the first context. Context 1 was interpreted as the collapse of the ruin. The subsequent contexts, as viewed in the photograph, suggest that the bump in the ruin we initially interpreted as a wall was in the latest stage of the building part of a platform. The stones marked with white belong to the collapse. The wood marked with red is interpreted as part of the door frame. The caribou bones are marked with yellow.

Although excavating a small trench in the middle of a ruin is unlikely to give a clear understanding of everything that has been going on, it became quite clear once we removed the collapse stones that the section we had interpreted as a wall before opening the trench, had indeed been a wall initially, but was repurposed in the ruin's later stage as part

of the platform foundation (see Figure 3.6). Thus, the ruin did not have two rooms, as initially thought.

Figure 3.6 After removing the stone collapse, the trench shows a nice foundation at the same height to support a platform and in front a broken row of stones, likely for the same purpose. The former row is likely a leftover from the double-walled structure that functioned as the back part of an earlier house. This picture is from the 2021 season.

Ruin A2 shared a wall with ruin A1, a much older ruin with a long, winding, subterranean entrance and three niches before entering the main room of the winter house (see Figures 3.7 and 3.8). The entry to the subterranean passage is pointed at the fjord, whereas the doorway to ruin A2 was situated towards the church, a tendency we noticed all the younger ruins shared. The area to the south of the A1 subterranean entrance, behind A2, so to speak, was lumpy without any clear signs of a subterranean passage; however, the long

history of habitation at Neuherrnhut means that A2 was likely built on top of an older foundation and it is likely that the turf from the former passageway was reused for some of the wall construction of A2.

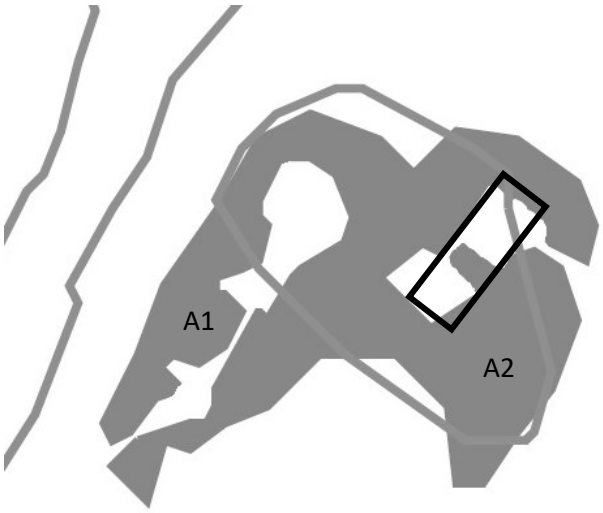


Figure 3.7 The ruin group consisting of A1 and A2. Measured by the students during the 2020 season. The trench is marked in black.

Figure 3.8 3D image of the ruin group A1 (right) and A2 (left). Made by graduate student Gillian Taylor during the 2021 field school season. Here, it is clear that the debris area is unlikely hiding a long subterranean entrance behind A2.

2021 field season

The 2021 field season for the Noorliit Archaeological field school picked up where the 2020 left. Unlike the previous year, the decision had already been made to excavate, and now we had to finish. My team this season consisted of TA Randi Sørensen Johansen, undergraduate students Malik Voss and Josephine Holding, both Kalaallit Inuit and from the Department of Culture, History and Society at Ilisimatusarfik, and with an international addition of graduate student Gillian Taylor from the University of Calgary.

While the scope of the field school was similar to the year before, we spent fewer days familiarising ourselves with the site. Instead, we focused on opening the site to where we had left it the year before (Figure 3.6). The summer of 2021 had more storms than

the year before, and therefore, we spent more time at the museum, engaging in archival research, cleaning, and photographing finds. Ultimately, the excavation did not reach the natural ground in the entire trench due to the weather disruptions. We decided to leave the southwestern part of the trench, where the platform was, in case future excavations wish to explore whether or not there are traces of an older ruin in that area.

Reflections on the Field School

While the overall goal of the Noorliit Archaeological Field School was to give the students the agency and knowledge to make informed decisions regarding their own archaeological (and historical for that matter) heritage, arguably the most important outcome was the discussions and reflections we delved into while excavating closely together. Most of the students had backgrounds as certified Arctic guides or had been in archaeological field schools or fieldwork before, although with a more traditional archaeological approach. Effectively, they (and myself) had previously been part of predominantly Eurocentric groups exploring our homeland. Quite often, the students found themselves in roles as informants instead of the guiding or assistant role they had originally signed up for. Instead, they found themselves in a position where a foreign researcher suddenly exerted control over their cultural knowledge and often in a position where they could not express their concerns because of the power imbalance, resulting in a feeling of sudden displacement and marginalisation in their own home. These experiences became the foundation for our discussions and reflections, which we revisited throughout the weeks we spent together, unpacking how colonial histories have shaped both academic and personal perspectives.

The 2020 field season was unique because of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the Noorliit Archaeological Field School was the only archaeological project that had applied for an excavation permit in Kalaallit Nunaat that year. We knew that we were the only archaeological fieldwork taking place that summer, and this exclusivity added a sense of responsibility and pride, especially because our team was entirely Kalaallit. Although our contact zone was entirely Kalaallit, it was also coloured by our unique experiences based on where we came from in Kalaallit Nunaat, our upbringing, and how our families had shaped our lives. These differences added layers of complexity to our reflections, highlighting the intersectionality within a seemingly uniform group. The cultural uniformity fostered an atmosphere of self-determination and cultural autonomy, allowing the team to openly share their perspectives without external pressures often introduced by Eurocentric academic structures.

In 2021, the discussions and reflections were different, as the team was different too. The addition of a Canadian archaeologist changed the contact zone by adding a foreigner, who could be interpreted as an outsider to the group. However, that was not what happened. The discussions of experiences added a new layer of insight from someone who had dealt with their settler colonial heritage and had some experience with Canadian models of co-production of knowledge instead of the former Eurocentric fieldwork models even the present students had previously encountered. The difference between Eurocentric and Canadian models lies in the years of learning and connecting Canadian institutions have engaged in after the calls to action proposed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012) as well as the Indigenous researchers who have engaged critically with their fields of knowledge and published suggestions for how to do research without causing cultural harm (see for example Watkins

2000; Atalay 2006, 2012; Supernant, Baxter, Lyons & Atalay 2020). Of course, changing the structure of archaeological fieldwork to engage with culture in an ethical and empathetic way does not only lie with the Indigenous archaeologists; just like it is not enough to not be racists, we have to be antiracist actively. Changing the culture surrounding Arctic archaeology, and in research overall, is a way forward, but real change is found in the institutional reckoning of white privilege (Carey 2019).

Reflections on collaborative research

An illustrative example of the complexities surrounding collaborative research can be found in Kalaaleq researcher Vivi Vold's Master's thesis (2020). Throughout the Greenland Science Week of 2019, Vold recorded and interviewed Kalaallit participants in scientific projects to document their experiences. In her documentary,[18] Vold provides a sense of the Kalaallit perspective of these collaborative projects. Through silence and sounds, static, and voices talking over each other or a mix of all, Vold communicates the confusion and misplacement that Indigenous or local knowledge holders can experience at a conference. Their role suddenly is to verify the co-production of knowledge the project has engaged in, yet, at the same time, they are excluded from the scientific community partaking in the conference. Vold explores why there is a knowledge gap between Indigenous knowledge and Eurocentric research through interviews with hunters, scientists, researchers and cultural bearers and by engaging with theoretical literature (Tuhiwai-Smith 1999, 2012; Vold 2020). Indigenous, traditional, and local knowledge are all recognised and valued knowledge systems. They are often used interchangeably but are each situated in a particular

[18] https://bit.ly/3NYq2Ac

space and place. Eurocentric research is also situated in a particular space and place. They are both systems of knowledge with a framework of understanding. The gap between Indigenous knowledge and Eurocentric research lies in language barriers, not necessarily linguistically, but definitely academically. The Greenland Science Week is a conference built on the structures of Eurocentric academia. The vocabulary is scientific, the posters written for other researchers, and the essential but often overlooked dissemination to the general public is lacking. Indigenous knowledge, on the other hand, is relational. It is *ceremony* (Wilson 2008) and *silence* (Vold 2020) shared between people. Indigenous knowledge is shared through experience and thrives in relational settings. When Eurocentric research meets Indigenous knowledge and ways of being, powerful lessons are learned (Møller et al. *in press*). Centring Indigenous, in our case, Inuit, research methodologies within the framework of archaeology and training Western researchers in relational and reciprocal research methods will encourage accountability to the cultures[19] they work with and within, hopefully resulting in more ethical research practices.

Inuit Protocols for Ethical Research

An Inuit approach to ethical research has been underway for a long time. The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) is a non-governmental body that represents all Inuit from Inuit Nunaat, the Inuit Homelands that stretch from Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) over Inuit Nunangat (Canada) and Arctic Alaska to Chukotka in Russia. In 2020, ICC released a policy paper that highlighted how the term "local communities" has been used by state parties and international organisations to group Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples with local

[19] Indigenous, Academic or really any kind of community.

communities that have uncertain legal rights and status (ICC 2020: 2). This is a severe issue, as it diminishes the rights of Indigenous Peoples over time and is in clear violation with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP 2007). By conflating Indigenous Peoples with local communities, both the history of assimilation and cultural genocide enacted against Indigenous Peoples, as well as the distinct rights they have as custodians of their land, become diminished, and the danger of the erosion of those rights imminent (Møller et al. *in press*).

In 2022, the ICC published the *Circumpolar Inuit Protocols for Equitable and Ethical Engagement*, presenting eight Protocols with supporting directives as a roadmap for ensuring equitable and ethical engagement within research, assessments, monitoring programs, decision-making, policy and governance (ICC 2022: 12). These are:

1. 'Nothing About Us Without Us' – Always engage with Inuit
2. Recognize Indigenous Knowledge in its Own Right
3. Practice Good Governance
4. Communication with Intent
5. Exercising Accountability – Building Trust
6. Building Meaningful Partnerships
7. Information, Data Sharing, Ownership and Permissions
8. Equitable Fund Inuit Representation and Knowledge

(ICC 2022: 14).

The ICC stresses that the Protocols are not standalone checklists but interconnected commitments that must be addressed together to ensure meaningful and culturally respectful collaboration. The Protocols are meant to foster the relationship

between Inuit and researchers, managers and anyone who wishes to establish long-lasting reciprocal relationships in Inuit Nunaat (Møller et al. *in press*).

The ICC policy paper and the protocols call for a paradigm shift within research and engagement in Inuit Nunaat. The trend is somewhat similar within the field of Arctic archaeology in Kalaallit Nunaat. The different schools of archaeology, specifically the North American and European schools of thought, have different approaches to archaeological practice and ethics in the field. When it comes to ethical guidelines in Kalaallit Nunaat, they have been dependent on the individual project leader since an ethics council has yet to be established concerning all types of research except in the medical field.[20] Several archaeological projects have had the keywords "community", "community-centred", and "co-production of knowledge" in their project description but have primarily been" business as usual" when it comes to actual fieldwork (Møller et al. *in press*).

An Ethical Framework

The Protocols published by the ICC are meant to assist in maintaining research integrity and contribute to building meaningful and respectful relationships between researchers and various Inuit knowledge holders and communities. Protocols are rigid codes of conduct and should be adapted to the specific culture. On the other hand, frameworks provide a broader conceptual structure and lens on which researchers and knowledge holders alike can support themselves in their collaboration. It can help them understand social dynamics and cultural symbolism and allow a space to understand cultural differences better.

[20] https://nun.gl/emner/sundhedsprofessionelle/videnskabsetisk_udvalg?sc_lang=da

Here, a framework is understood as a guiding set of principles created as a tool to ensure ethical project development in a Kalaallit context (Møller et al. *in press*).

The aim is to create a framework specifically designed for archaeological projects that is adaptable to other Indigenous lands and realities. However, the experience the framework is based on is solely from Kalaallit archaeologists researching their ancestral land. Lene Kielsen Holm et al. (2012) proposed a research praxis based on a combined view of foreigners and locals. Their method advocated one key aspect: that a monitoring system was needed to ensure that research was at all times in compliance with a Kalaallit code of ethics. A framework with that at the centre makes sense from the perspective of relational accountability (Wilson 2001) and reciprocity (Møller et al. *in press*).

First, defining a Kalaallit understanding of ethical conduct would be necessary. Kielsen Holm et al. (2012) suggested that ethical responsibilities would include respect, an obligation to avoid harm and wrongdoing, as well as transparency and active consultation with the individuals and groups the research is affecting. Since an ethical body has yet to be formed in Kalaallit Nunaat, it raises the question of how we would know that the ethical principles are being followed. Who should we report to in case of misconduct? The misconduct could, for instance, violate a cultural protocol, like sharing data or taking samples from ancestors without community consent (Møller et al. *in press*).

Second, it would be necessary to have a body that could handle the increased research attention to the Arctic to help mitigate the research fatigue experienced by many local communities in Kalaallit Nunaat. Since the colonial effort began in 1721, researchers, geographers, ethnologists, geologists, and anthropologists have been extracting local and traditional knowledge of Kalaallit Inuit without regard to intellectual property rights and

relational accountability. Instead, their work has been an enforcement of coloniality and has resulted in research fatigue.[21]

Are we at a standstill when these two key components have not been established yet? Not at all. The framework we, the Noorliit Archaeological Fieldschool, are proposing is relatively simple:

1. **Center relational accountability**: Building on Wilson's (2008) concept of relational accountability, research must prioritise respect, transparency and reciprocity, ensuring that all parties are equally invested in the process and outcomes. It starts with the research idea. Approach the correct people with your research idea before you apply for funding. The ICC saying "Nothing about us, without us" starts with the idea's conception. Is it wanted? Is it needed? This aligns with ICC Protocols 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7.

2. **Establish ethical oversight:** Drawing from Kielsen Holm et al.'s (2012) proposals, establishing an ethical body in Kalaallit Nunaat is vital for monitoring compliance with locally defined standards. Such oversight can mitigate research fatigue and ensure that community consent remains central. However, until such a body is established, it remains the responsibility of the researchers to work **transparently**: Be completely transparent about your research objective and motivation for it. Explain why you have chosen the research design, what you expect to get out of it and how you think it could benefit the knowledge holder. Consultation or proper

[21] Arctic Hub released a dissemination video on Youtube to help mitigate research fatigue in Greenland. There is yet to be produced a report on the subject, however, their creation of this video show that the research fatigue is something to take seriously. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xUjyPpmAbyo

community-centred research are entirely different methods; you must be transparent about them from the beginning. This speaks directly to ICC Protocols 2, 3, 4 and 5.

3. **Defined roles and responsibilities**: Clear delineation of roles within research teams is essential to prevent the exploitation of Inuit researchers and community members. If you cannot define roles and responsibilities definitively in your project, you have to rethink it. Having Inuit researchers on the payroll does not mean that their responsibilities are any and everything related to the project. Differentiating between roles such as researchers, assistants, interpreters, and community associates ensures equitable collaboration. This aligns with ICC Protocols 4 and 6.

4. **Ensure accessible dissemination:** Research findings must be disseminated within Kalaallit communities in accessible and culturally relevant formats. Often, archaeology projects take place away from the towns and settlements. Ensure you have included multiple dissemination outputs with interpretation available in the budget. Projects that fail to engage local audiences perpetuate the neocolonial extraction of knowledge, consistent with ICC Protocols 7 and 8 (Møller et al. *in press*).

While the ICC Protocols provide a broad framework for Inuit-led research governance across the circumpolar North, our principles are grounded in local experience, pedagogical intent, and practical implementation during the field school. Together, they contribute to a growing movement in Arctic archaeology and research that prioritises ethical collaboration and Indigenous sovereignty in both research process and outcomes.

The Noorliit Archaeological Field School thus models a flexible, scalable ethical framework that reflects Kalaallit priorities and engages deeply with the emerging

pan-Inuit consensus on ethical research conduct. It is not a replacement for formal ethics review, but a culturally grounded mechanism to ensure that research done with and within Kalaallit Nunaat is done justly, transparently, and respectfully.

Museum days

During both seasons, the Noorliit Archaeology Field School incorporated "museum days" as an integral part of the program, occurring when the weather conditions – whether stormy or rainy – rendered excavation impossible. These days provided a valuable opportunity for the students to shift their focus from the physical aspects of archaeological work to the intellectual and reflective dimensions of research. Specifically, the students were encouraged and supported to delve into topics of personal or academic interest related to the colonial period. It strengthened their understanding of the broader historical context and allowed them to connect with the archival and ethnographic resources housed at the museum.

The Greenland National Museum's internal library houses a fantastic ethnographic and archaeological research collection on the Indigenous Arctic. However, engaging with this body of work is not without its challenges. Much of earlier research into Inuit cultures reflects the ideological and intellectual frameworks of its time – frameworks steeped in colonial attitudes and often dehumanising perspectives[22]. For those unfamiliar with the prevailing belief systems of the period, the content can be jarring and deeply unsettling. These texts, even when written with seemingly positive intentions towards

[22] Most of the literature in the collections uses the terms *Paleo-Eskimo* and *Neo-Eskimo,* which were introduced by Danish anthropologist H. P. Steensby in 1905. It is important to recognise that while *Eskimo* was a common term in anthropological literature, it never reflected the identity of the peoples it covered. Today, it is considered outdated and offensive. This shift in terminology underscores a growing respect for the self-identification of Indigenous Peoples and a move away from colonial-era terminology.

Indigenous Peoples, are often imbued with racist assumptions that reveal the systemic biases of their authors. Diving into these materials is, therefore, a complex and emotionally charged activity. Many of the students, myself included, found themselves grappling with the affective repercussions of engaging with such texts. The act of reading these materials often evoked feelings of anger, sorrow, or even a sense of moral responsibility to critically interrogate and challenge the narratives they perpetuate. Recognising this, we made sure to create safe spaces for discussion and emotional processing, acknowledging the profound impact that archival research can have on descendants of communities and those committed to ethical and inclusive scholarship. These discussions were not only about understanding the past but also about addressing its lingering effects on how Indigenous histories and cultures are represented today.

Ultimately, the "museum days" underscored the importance of critical engagement with historical materials. They highlighted the need to contextualise early research within the intellectual currents of its time while also advocating for new frameworks that prioritise respect, autonomy and agency for Indigenous Peoples. This reflective practice served as a reminder that the work of decolonising research is not only about uncovering stories from the past but also about reshaping the way those stories are told in the present.

Reflections on excavated cultural belongings

During these "museum days", we also worked with the belongings from the excavation, shifting our attention to post-excavation methods and photography of cultural belongings. These sessions were practical and deeply reflective, as they offered the opportunity to engage closely with the material culture. The students learned technical skills

of documenting these belongings while also delving into their historical and cultural significance. Photographing belongings, such as beads and clay pipes (see Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10), became a way to connect with the past, fostering discussions about their roles within colonial and Inuit daily lives. These moments in the museum emphasised the interplay between technical archaeological practices and the broader narratives of cultural resilience and adaptation.

Examining and photographing the belongings allowed us to reconstruct stories of daily life at Noorliit. Each cultural belonging, now a museum artefact, provided a lens through which we explored Inuit agency, so-called hybridity in objects, and resistance. The collaborative nature of the "museum days" encouraged the students to view belongings in the context of a larger dynamic system of cultural negotiation and survival. These discussions laid the foundation for a deeper understanding of how Inuit communities adapted to and resisted colonial influences through their material cultures.

Figure 3.9 Glass beads from the 2020 field season

Figure 3.10 Clay pipe fragments from the 2020 field season.

The archaeological assemblage at Noorliit provides a fragmentary but compelling narrative of Inuit agency, resilience, and adaptation during the colonial period. The finds are easily divided into two categories: locally sourced and imported. The locally sourced include ukkusissaq (soapstone) fragments, bones, hair/fur, feathers, and down, as well as mussel shells. This category covers objects needed in daily life as evidence of food production or preparing raw materials to trade in the colony. The imported goods include clay pipes, beads, ceramic fragments, window glass and bottle fragments, wood, and metal like iron hardware and copper fragments. The interplay of Indigenous traditions, missionary influence and Danish colonial policies (see Chapter Four) created a complex social and material landscape.

Through selective adaptation and transformation of imported goods and local materialities, such as clay pipes, ukkusissaq vessels, feathers, beads, and coffee, Kalaallit Inuit asserted their cultural identity and negotiated their position within these intersecting systems of power. The Danish trade monopoly, enforced to limit competition between the

colonial authority, the Moravian missionaries and foreign whalers, restricted Kalaallit's access to foreign goods until the 1840s (Bendixen 1917: 9; Toft 2010: 206). Insights from the *generaltakster*, centralised price lists maintained by the Danish Trade, together with the 'Grønlænderbøger'[23], would offer a deep understanding of the trade patterns and constraints for the Kalaallit Inuit living at Noorliit; however, those archives were lost at sea in 1959[24] (Vegeberg 2024). The generaltakster are still helpful and demonstrate the evolving availability of goods and how some goods changed from being 'For Danes only' to being available for everyone with funds around the 1840s[25].

The generaltakster was initially categorised as "necessary for Inuit and Danes" (Nødvendige Vare for Grønlændere og Danske), which covered hunting equipment and tools, wood, coarse fabrics and simple sewing equipment; "useful goods for Inuit and Danes" (Nyttige Vare for Grønlændere og Danske), which covered simple fabrics, better quality sewing supplies, housewares and tobacco; "Luxurious goods for Inuit and Danes" (Overdådigheds Vare for Grønlændere og Danske*)*, which covered silk ribbons, stockings, mirrors, jewellery, toys, and tea sets; and lastly, the category "Goods and Food for Danes alone" (Vare og Proviant for Danske Alene*)*, which mostly covered clothes, buttons, finer English tea pots, finer tobacco pipes, as well as food goods (coffee and sugar!) and alcohol.

When all the categories became available to Kalaallit Inuit in the mid-19th century, Kalaallit consumption practices evolved to integrate these goods while maintaining

[23] In 1792 the Danish trade kept accounts for each Kalaaleq Inuk by entering income, through selling their catches to the Danish trade, and deducting expenses for what they bought, in the so-called Grønlænderbøger.
[24] One third, approximately 3250 kilos, of the archives documenting the colonial history in Kalaallit Nunaat, was lost in a tragic accident when the ship "Hans Hedtoft" sank in a winter storm in January 1959. The archival material onboard the ship was from the Southern Inspectorate, which means from Sisimiut and southwards. It is therefore impossible to directly trace the economic history of Kalaallit Inuit in that region and their relationship with the Danish Trade.
[25] The sample of general takster I was able to access does not cover all years the price list were in use (1783-1965) but the years 1783, 1807, 1827, 1844, 1882 – including a translation of the booklet into Kalaallisut, and 1924 including a translation of the book into Kalaallisut. Available upon request.

traditional lifeways. Especially coffee consumption was rapidly incorporated into communal rituals, blending imported habits with local social dynamics deeply rooted in Indigenous values. This shift is thematically echoed in Figure 3.11 – an 1840 artwork by Sisimiut-based Kalaaleq artist Israil Nichodemus Gormansen, painted in the same year that coffee became officially available to Kalaallit Inuit through the Danish trade (Møller 2018: 102; Danbolt et al 2021: 46).

Figure 2.11 Artwork by Kalaallit artist Israil Nichodemus Gormansen, 1840.

While working with the belongings, it was easy for us to imagine how they used to be someone's belongings, being used in everyday life and settings as illustrated by the Sisimiut-based Kalaaleq artist Israil Nichodemus Gormansen's artwork (Figure 3.11). The artwork illustrates a cosy setting where traditional social dynamics are blended seamlessly with colonial goods. The scene is a communal house, as indicated by the four drying racks suspended from the ceiling, dividing the platforms into four different units, each

with its own sets of qulliit (ukkusissaq lamps), traditional ukkusissaq lamps designed to produce heat and light. In the background, four women are sitting on different platforms: one is nursing her child through the wide opening of her amaat, which is drawn to imitate sealskin with red seams highlighting the style of the amaat. She appears to be wearing a white shirt, as her underarms are covered in white. All the women are wearing ribbons around their topknots, a Moravian custom introduced by Juditha Isseq in the 1740s (see Chapter Four, p. 96). The nursing woman is wearing a blue ribbon, indicating her married status. On the next platform, towards the right, two women are sitting with their legs crossed and their arms bent, looking down as if they are working with either mending, beading or embroidering avittat. They are wearing white ribbons around their topknots, indicating that they are widows. On the next platform, a widowed woman is helping a child with their anorak; next to them sits a woman, whose ribbon shows that she is single and eligible for marriage, who looks towards the two young men sitting on the last platform, looking towards the man who has just entered the house and is being offered a cup of coffee by a boy dressed in brown, while a married woman puts the coffee kettle back on the low table in the foreground.

The text reads ‘Innuit kaffisoton erkiksanetome tipeitsortut’, meaning people drink coffee in joyous peace. The scene is homey and cosy, and the people are at ease. The women are all dressed in traditional garb: kamiit, sealskin trousers, and anoraat, as well as wearing their hair in the traditional topknot. The young men are wearing kamiit and presumably sealskin trousers as well; however, it looks like they are wearing fabric shirts/anoraat with red scarves tied around their necks. The scarves may have been part of the Moravian custom of showing your social status, thus indicating that they are old enough for marriage and single. The entering man is wearing kamiit and sealskin trousers too. Most

interestingly, for the time and place, he also wears a white shirt and a fancy vest with at least six brass buttons.

Although the scene oozes joyous peace, the artwork expresses resistance to the colonial authorities. Coffee, introduced as a colonial trade item and connecting the colonies through time and space, became a cornerstone of Kalaallit social life. Rapidly integrated into communal rituals, coffee drinking offered a space for storytelling, decision-making and collective relaxation. Though viewed as unproductive and frivolous by the colonial authorities (Marquardt 1999), this practice symbolised Kalaallit's prioritisation of community and cultural continuity over economic efficiency, as explained in further detail in Chapter Four.

The scene reflects the social integration of imported goods like coffee into everyday communal life. Though it is set in a Kalaallit home in presumably a Danish colony, and therefore in a different contact zone than that of Noorliit, its domestic setting and symbolism illustrate continuities in cultural practices. The image is particularly relevant because it represents a cultural convergence that was already underway in Noorliit: the balancing of imported and Indigenous lifeways, where objects like qulliit, ribbons, and tobacco paraphernalia co-existed within familiar social frameworks.

The choice to include this artwork is not meant to suggest a direct representation of Noorliit, but to offer a visual interpretation of mid-19th century domestic life that encapsulates broader, longer-term trends visible in the material record – namely, Kalaallit adaptability and the prioritisation of community cohesion over colonial definitions of productivity. Far from being a passing fad, coffee consumption became a durable feature

of Kalaallit Inuit cultural life, and its archaeological traces – like ceramic cup fragments – speak to this embeddedness.

The archaeological assemblage (see Appendix) at Noorliit paints a vivid picture of a community balancing external pressures with internal coherence. Though barred from trade, the Moravian missionaries likely contributed gifts such as beads and ribbons to build rapport. Danish goods such as pipes, ceramics and iron nails were filtered into the community through regulated and informal channels. Kalaallit Inuit were far from passive recipients and actively redefined the use and meaning of these items to sustain their social and cultural fabric. In the assemblage, the practice of crafting and producing ukkusissaq vessels is evident in the many ukkusissaq fragments excavated. The eider duck down attests to the gendered practice of crafting birdskin blankets and selling down to the Danish Trade as a way for women to have their own income. Finding and connecting with all these traces of daily life in a house in Noorliit not only made us feel like an active part of history, it also underscored the necessity of how we navigate how colonial history is talked about, and fueled us to be part of reshaping the narrative.

Conclusion

The archaeological investigations at Noorliit have revealed a rich tapestry of cultural, social, and material interactions, highlighting the resilience and adaptability of Kalaallit Inuit during the colonial period. From its changing roles after abandonment to the Noorliit Archaeological Field School initiatives of 2020 and 2021, Noorliit has functioned as a place of remembrance and historical connection to a living classroom that bridges historical research and modern archaeological methodologies.

Through collaborative efforts, the Noorliit Archaeological Field School has provided a platform for Indigenous students to engage with their heritage, offering a model for ethical and inclusive archaeological practice. The excavation of ruin A2 unearthed material evidence of daily life, from ukkusissaq production to the collection of eider duck down, illustrating how Kalaallit Inuit navigated colonial trade systems. These findings underscore the crucial role of traditional knowledge, labour, and cultural continuity in shaping Kalaallit Inuit's responses to missionary influence and Danish colonial policies.

Beyond excavation, "museum days" played a pivotal role in expanding archaeological engagement beyond the field. These sessions allowed students to critically engage with archival materials, often confronting historical texts steeped in colonial bias and dehumanising perspectives. Recognising the emotional and intellectual weight of these materials, the program fostered a space for critical reflection and discussion, ensuring that decolonisation was not just about recovering Indigenous histories but reshaping how they are told in the present.

Similarly, working with belongings in the museum reinforced the deep entanglement between material culture and identity. Objects such as beads, clay pipes, and ukkusissaq fragments were not simply remnants of the past but tangible evidence of how Kalaallit Inuit strategically integrated and adapted external goods while maintaining cultural traditions. The artwork by Israil Nichodemus Gormansen (Figure 3.11) visually encapsulates this interplay, depicting a moment of communal coffee drinking, where colonial goods are recontextualized within Indigenous social structures, reflecting both continuity and resistance.

Moreover, the field school's alignment with the Inuit Circumpolar Council's Protocols for Equitable and Ethical Engagement demonstrates a commitment to centring Indigenous methodologies, relational accountability, and reciprocity in research. These protocols offer a critical framework for decolonising Arctic archaeology, ensuring that research practices respect and prioritise Inuit sovereignty and knowledge systems.

Finally, the history of Noorliit, from a Moravian mission to a modern recreational space, exemplifies the ongoing and dynamic relationship between heritage, community, and identity. This chapter highlights the transformative power of decolonising narratives by integrating archival research, archaeological practice, and critical reflection. Honouring Indigenous agency in historical interpretation not only reshapes how colonial histories are understood and communicated but also reinforces the enduring presence and knowledge systems of Kalaallit Inuit in shaping their past, present, and future.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In Chapter Four, I outline the historical background for Kitaa, the west coast of Kalaallit Nunaat, beginning with Kalaallit Inuit migration in the thirteenth century and concluding at the turn of the twentieth century. The purpose of the chapter is to provide the foundation of the continuities and changes that occurred during the colonial period and highlight these changes.

In the 1920s, archaeologist Therkel Mathiessen named the excavated material culture, establishing the difference between the earlier cultures and the Inuit. Mathiassen called it Thule culture after the Fifth Thule Expedition, which had been in charge of the logistics for his research. Knud Rasmussen and Peter Freuchen named their trading station Thule in 1910 to reference "Ultima Thule", the northernmost island that classical cartographers had imagined in the fourth century (Rasmussen 1969; Whitridge 2016). Some still use the term "Thule culture" to denote the material culture and life world of the Inuit until either 1600, when frequent contact with European whalers was documented, or 1721, when Denmark formally colonised Greenland. However, an archaeological naming of a living culture is inappropriate, which is why Kalaallit is used throughout this dissertation.

Kalaallit Inuit immigrated and settled in the Avannarliit area around AD 1200. A precise dating has not yet been possible, but preliminary dating and typological development (Friesen and Arnold 2008) indicate an Inuit presence from around 1200 to 1300 (McGhee 2000; Whitridge 2016). Within a few generations, the first Inuit had travelled over 4000 km from the island of St. Lawrence between Siberia and Alaska to Kalaallit Nunaat. They were highly adapted to the Arctic and had the specialised equipment that facilitated

their rapid migration across the Arctic. During summer, they used large open skin boats, the umiaq, for walrus and whale hunting, the qajaq for sealing, and dog sleds, qamutit, in the winter, enabling Kalaallit Inuit to not only hunt over long distances but also quickly inhabit new territories (Møller et al. 2022).

The Avannarliit area was already inhabited by the archaeologically named Late Dorset culture (Figure 4.1), known as Tunit or Torngit according to the Kalaallit oral histories. The oral histories indicate a contact zone that can also be traced archaeologically by unearthing Inuit objects in Late Dorset contexts and vice versa (Gulløv 2004:285). Tunit are described in several myths as inland warriors, incredibly strong and shy people who spoke 'kutattut', which to Kalaallit Inuit sounded like a kind of children's language (Møller et al. 2022).

Similarly, the Norse, who had settled the Eystribyggð (eastern settlement) and Vestribyggð (western settlement) to the south, in Kujalleq, had engaged in a contact zone with the Tunit on their exploratory journey to L'anse aux Meadows around 1000 (Gulløv 2004:285; Kuitems et al. 2022). While the Norse and Inuit did engage in multiple contact zones until the Norse left Kalaallit Nunaat, their interactions lie outside the scope of this research.

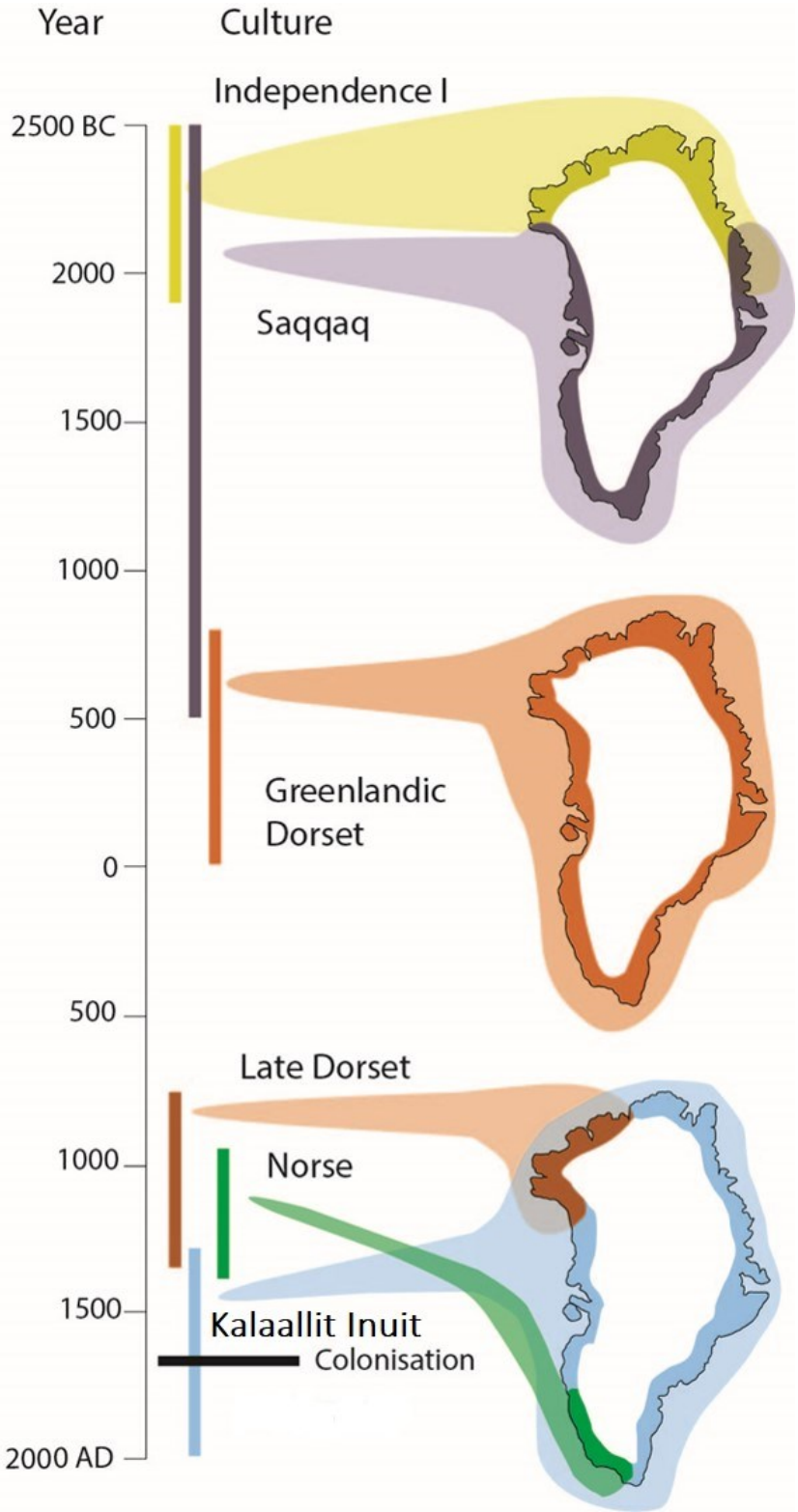


Figure 4.1 Chronology of cultures inhabiting Kalaallit Nunaat

Image courtesy of Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu

Kalaallit lifeways

The subsistence economy and settlement patterns of the Kalaallit Inuit depended entirely on the migratory patterns of the animals they hunted and harvested (see Figure 4.2). In order to better reflect this dependency, I use the term 'lifeways' to encompass both terms. This subheading specifically explores the lifeways of Kalaallit Inuit in Kitaa.

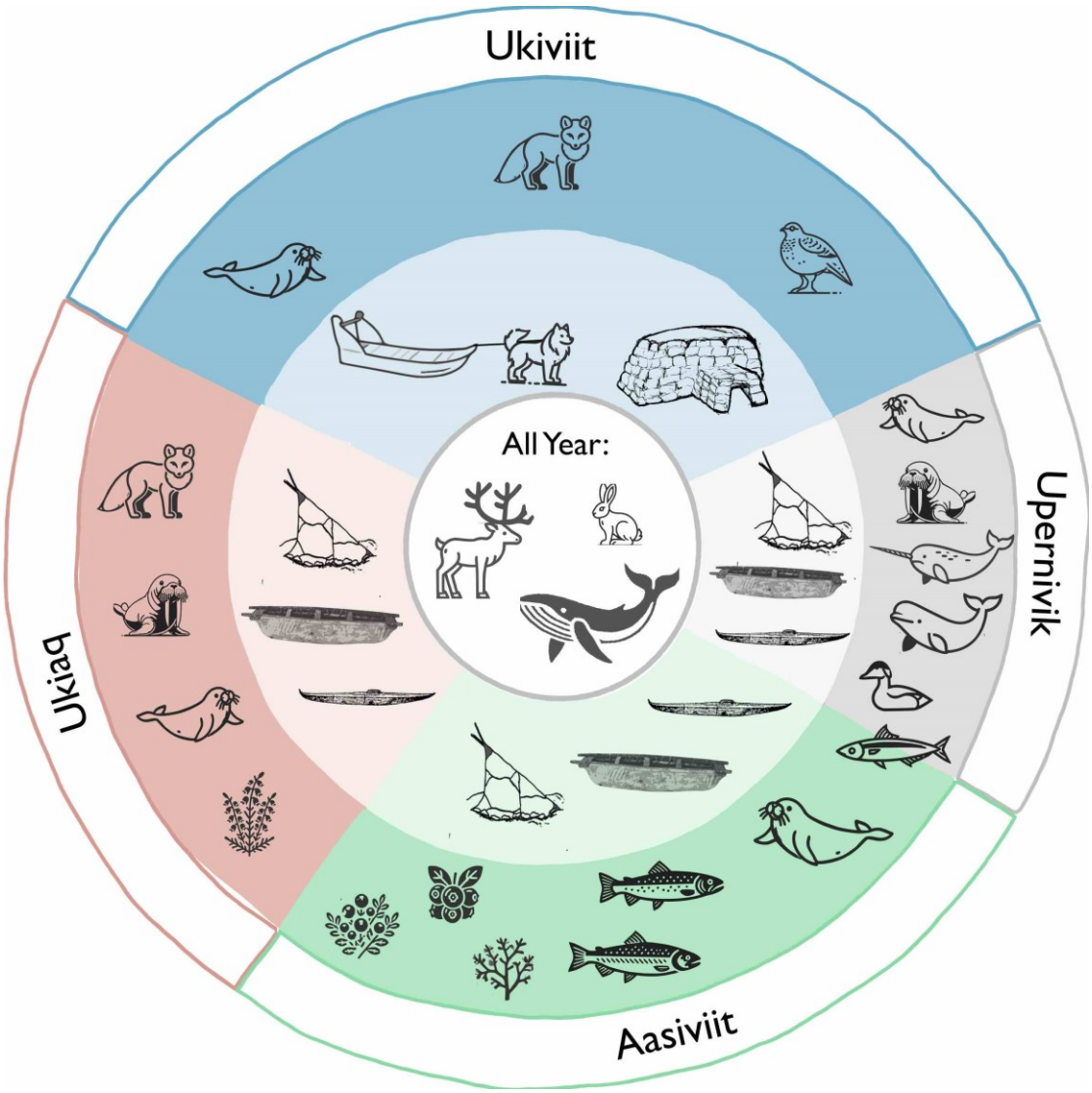


Figure 4.2 The Kalaallit lifeways followed the seasons. Ukioq (winter) is marked with blue, upernaaq (spring) is marked with grey, aasaq (summer) is marked with green and ukiaq (autumn) is marked with pink.

Ukiivik

The lifeworld of Kalaallit Inuit was dictated by the seasons. Ukioq, winter, was the longest season centred mostly on sedentary life. The season was marked by establishing the ukivik, the winter settlement, with the women building the illu (Crantz 1767: 139), the winter house, and setting up for a comfortable winter spent on storytelling, sewing and mending clothes and preparing the skins for the tents, qannat[26] and umiat[27]. The cold was essential to preparing the sealskins and getting them bleached for clothes.

Although winter was the calmest season activity-wise, hunting was still essential to life. Depending on where along Kitaa they lived, ice hunting for seals was predominant; here, they hunted for walrus, harp seals and, later in the season, ringed seals. Going on a day journey on qamutit, dog sledges, to hunt caribou and ptarmigan took place around the middle of the season (Crantz 1767).

> "*Their Winter Habitation is a low Hut built with Stone and Turf, two or three Yards high, with a flat Roof. In this Hut the Windows are on one Side, made of the Bowels of Seals, dressed and sewed together […] On the other Side their Beds are placed, which consists in Shelves or Benches made up of Deal-Boards, raised half a Yard from the Ground; their Bedding is made of Seals and Rain Deer [sic] Skins. Several Families live together in one of these Houses or Huts; each Family occupying a Room by itself separated from the rest by a Wooden Post, by which also the Roof is supported; before which is a Hearth or Fire-place, in which is placed a Great Lamp in the Form of Half a Moon seated on a Trevet; over this are hung their Kettles of Brass, Copper, or Marble, in which they boil their Victuals: under the Roof, just above the Lamp, they have a sort of Rack or Shelf, to put their wet Clothes upon to dry. The Fore-Door or Entry of the House is very low, so that they must stoop, and must creep in upon all Fours, to get in at it; which is so contrived to keep the cold Air out, as much as possible. The Inside of the Houses is covered or lined*

[26] Plural of qajaq, the original word for kayak.
[27] Plural of umiaq, the big communal boat.

> *with old Skins, which before have served for the Covering of their Boats. Some of these Houses are so large, that they can harbour Seven or Eight Families.*" (Egede 1741).

Hans Egede's above description of the average winter house holds true for most of the colonial period. The mention of metal kitchenware reveals an older tradition of Inuit trading with foreign whalers. However, it can also emphasise that trading in the colony of Godthåb had been established and was successful. However, the large winter houses "harbouring up to seven or eight families" belong to a certain point in Kalaallit history. This specific type, where several families lived together, about 40 people, is generally referred to as communal houses by archaeologists and was in use from circa 1600 to the 1930s in the Eastern Arctic region (Schledermann 1976; Gulløv 1997; Møller & Pushaw 2024:74).

The winter house, whether communal or single-family, was built using turf, stones and whale bones in a double-walled structure, where the space between the double walls was insulated using soil and turf (Crantz 1767:140). During the colonial period, the entrance changed from a long subterranean passage that functioned as a cold trap, preventing the cold from seeping into the interior, as Egede described, to a tall entryway that allowed for a door leading directly into the interior that still protected from the elements (Møller & Pushaw 2024:76).

The interior consisted of a platform opposite the entrance where the entire family would sleep, eat, and entertain. In front of the platform, qulliit (ukkusissaq half-moon-shaped lamps) would heat the house and function as a heat source for cooking food in great ukkusissaq vessels hanging above them (Crantz 1767:140). Sometimes, a small cooking niche or storage niche would be built into the long subterranean entrance; however, such

niches could also be built into the house wall or as a separate storage unit (Crantz 1767: 141).

Upernivik

Although spring along Kitaa is still characterised by snow, the travels started around March. At this time, the people moved from their ukivik to their upernivik, spring settlement, by the coast to hunt narwhal, ringed seals, walrus and harvest capelin. Here, they lived in tents despite the cold. The tent's foundation was paved with flat stones in an oblong quadrangle. The stones also supported the poles that formed the tent's skeleton. The poles leaned towards the doorframe, making the tent tall enough for an adult to stand. The tent walls were made of a double covering of sealskins. Larger stones were used to hold the sealskin coverings in place. The door was made of intestines sewn together with sinew to let in light. According to David Crantz (1767), the women made a particular white leather curtain decorated with various figures as a canvas to display their ribbons, pin cushions (and probably needlecases), and looking-glasses (p. 142). This was hardly a newly formed style during the early colonial period when Crantz visited Kalaallit Nunaat and it is probably safe to assume that they had a similar canvas before. The tents usually housed one family unit, and during the early colonial period, Crantz counted up to 20 people living in one tent (Crantz 1767: 143). The tasks were highly gendered, and women took on the domestic tasks of cooking, butchering, preparing skins, sewing, building houses and tents and collecting firewood.

During the spring and summer, cooking took place outside, where most domestic tasks were also performed. Men made their hunting equipment, built qannat and

went hunting. After a successful hunt, the men returned to the camp with their harvest, where the women took over the butchering process (see Figure 4.3) (Crantz 1767).

Figure 4.3 Drawing by Kalaaleq artist Isreal Nichodemus Gormansen 1840s. Although this scene takes place in front of an illu, it depicts the tasks carried out by women, such as butchering the harvest, collecting water and keeping an eye on the children.

Capelin harvest marked the start of summer and was one of the most important food sources all year around, especially during the long winters (Crantz 1767: 143). The capelin arrived along the coast in abundance and is, to this day, an essential part of kalaalimerngit, the traditional country food[28]. The capelin could be dried on the bare mountain, mosses, or crowberry bushes for additional flavour.

[28] The Ammassak project by Kalaaleq Dr. Aviaaja Lyberth Hauptmann explores the capelin's cultural and natural history for the people of the Arctic. https://www.uni.gl/ilisimatuutut-misissuinerit/ammassak-fish-of-life/

Aasivik

Summer marked the following seasonal change in living. Now, the great travels for the aasiviit, the great summer camps, began for some people. As depicted in Figure 4.4, some of these aasiviit travels were quite far, and it could take years to return home (Crantz 1767).

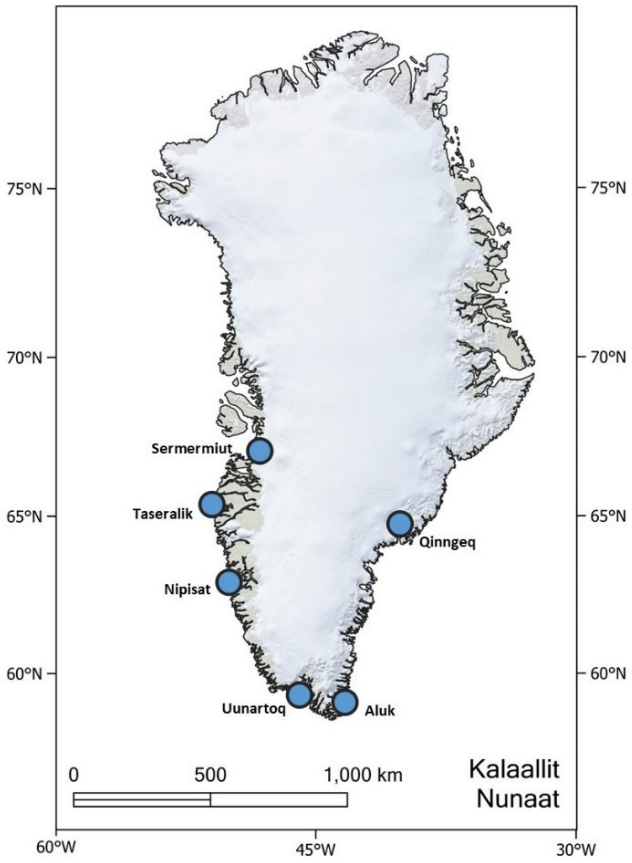


Figure 4.4 The big aasiviit as summarised by Kramer 1992.

On these long travels, the umiaq often functioned as a tent for a single night's stay (see Figure 4.5). Hunting and food preparation were still essential parts of life, and people travelled with all their possessions, including dogs, in the umiaq.

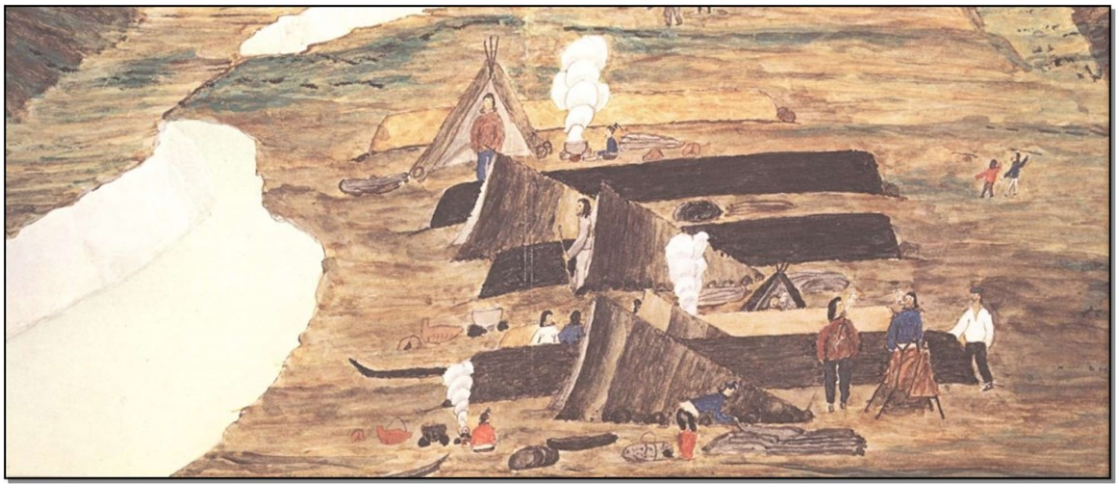


Figure 4.5 Drawing by Kalaaleq artist Aalut Kangermiu in the 1840s.
The drawing depicts a scene with people spending the night on their way to an aasivik. The umiat have been turned over, and the Kalaallit Inuit have erected their tents between them.

These big aasiviit were critical contact zones for Kalaallit Inuit, where they settled disputes by drum dancing, bartered, forged new friendships and connections and generally entertained themselves. The big aasiviit were placed in unique locations (see Figure 4.4) based on what people along the coasts needed. Capelin were the primary bartering goods from Qinngeq on Tunu, the east coast. Aluk was rich in hooded seals; at Uunartoq, fox skins and caribou were the primary goods. Between Uunartoq and Nipisat, people brought driftwood to barter with the caribou and ukkusissaq available at the Nuuk Kangerlua. Taseralik was still close to caribou country, but it was especially halibut which was the desired bartering good here. Between Taseralik and Sermermiut, it was the baleen that attracted people (Kramer 1992: 79-80).

Most people, however, went into the inland to hunt caribou (see Figure 4.6), often closer to their ukivik. Most places still have snow until late June, so hunting by qamutit

was still possible. Caribou hunting was one of the most essential harvesting practices for Kalaallit Inuit, and during summer, there were multiple ways of ensuring success.

Figure 4.6 Drawing by Isreal Nikodemus Gormansen in the 1840s. Family walking to the inland for caribou hunting, unlike most diaries from the colonial period, the mosquitos are emphasised as part of the experience.

Sleeping in the so-called hunting beds was common during these caribou hunts. A hunting bed can be a natural depression in the ground with shrubs growing in them. A small wall might have been constructed to help isolate against the wind, but other than that, the bed would be open, and the people would lie close together for warmth. They would erect their tents or use a natural cave or overhang to make a camp for a more extended stay. The harvested animals needed to be prepared instantly for winter, as every part of them was needed for survival.

The smaller aasivik was usually close to where the family would stay for winter since preparing winter food and storage would be beneficial to have close to the ukiivik, the winter settlement.

The berries ripening marked the end of summer and the beginning of autumn, ukiaq. Now, it was essential to either build a new winter house or assess the damage and repair the old one. If new alliances had been made during one of the big aasiviit, then multiple families could also decide to winter together, and the women would build a large communal house for the winter (Crantz 1767).

Kalaallit Inuit and social change in the early Colonial period

Colonial amnesia, as defined in this dissertation, refers to the selective forgetting or omission of Indigenous agency, resistance, and adaptation in colonial narratives. This is most evident in the historical archives concerning Moravian missions and Danish colonial administration in Kalaallit Nunaat. Written records, predominantly authored by European missionaries and colonial officials, focus on conversions, trade, and governance challenges while ignoring the ways Inuit actively negotiated, resisted, and reshaped these encounters. This absence of Inuit perspectives in archival material has long reinforced the narrative of passive assimilation (Hansen 2017), obscuring the complex interactions that defined the colonial contact zone. However, Inuit artistic expressions, oral traditions, and archaeological material challenge this amnesia, offering alternative narratives that foreground Inuit perspectives and experiences, as demonstrated below.

Although Kalaallit Inuit were a nomadic society and did not have the concept of owning land, they still had familial hunting grounds[29], which other families and groups respected (Dalager 1758: 15-16). The local communities regulated the right to use specific hunting grounds and allocated sealing grounds, salmon and char rivers, capelin drying grounds, and caribou hunting grounds (Petersen 1963; 1965). With the tragic smallpox epidemic in 1733-34, the Nuuk Kangerlua suddenly opened up for new families to use these hunting grounds. Due to the extensive travel between the large aasiviit locations, the people from the southern (Kujalleq) and eastern (Tunu) coasts soon became aware of the available hunting grounds. The Nuuk Kangerlua is rich in caribou, seals, migrating whales, capelin (Dalager 1758:19-20), and ukkusissaq. Hence, this caused a social upheaval with the number of people migrating from Tunu and Kujalleq to Kitaa. The publications (Egede 1741; Crantz 1767) of Danish-Norwegian missionary Hans Egede and Moravian brother David Crantz mainly refer to these newcomers as Southerners; however, given the knowledge of the great mobility and trade networks established at the big aasiviit, it is highly likely that the term "Southerners" is used directionally and therefore also includes Iivit from Tunu, as they all travelled up the coast from the south.

Engaging with critical fabulation and after having experienced the uncertainties of a pandemic[30], it is easy to imagine the kind of fear and anxiety that would accompany such a move. The earliest written sources (Egede 1741; Crantz 1767) after the epidemic do not go into detail about the social upheaval, perhaps because they were unaware of it, but do describe a gender imbalance and violence towards women.

[29] Piniariarfinnut atuisinnaatitaaneq – the right of use to specific hunting grounds still exist today and is now regulated by the municipalities.

[30] The COVID-19 pandemic.

Moravian brother David Crantz directly refers to the lives of Kalaallit women as “hard and almost slavish” (p. 165):

> “*While they are little or as long as they tarry with their parents, they are in an agreeable condition enough. But from their twentieth year to their death, their life is a concatenation of fear, indigence and lamentation. If the father dies, their supplies are cut off, and they must serve in other families.[…] Should any one want to take them to wife (in which they cannot often have their own choice, as was mentioned before) they fluctuate between hope and fear for the first year, lest they should be put away again, especially if they have no children ; should they be repudiated, their character and regard is lost, they must return to servitude or perhaps purchase the support of life at a scandalous price. If the husband retains them, they must often take a black eye in good part, must submit to the yoke of the mother-in-law like common maids or must submit to his having another wife or two. If the husband dies, the widow has no other jointure but what she brought with her, and for her children’s sake must serve in another family more submissively than a single woman, who can go when she will. But if she has any upgrown sons, she is then better off than many married women, because she can regulate the domestic affairs as she pleases. If a woman advances to a great age […] she must pass for a witch […] such a one is stoned, precipitated into the sea, stabbed or cut to pieces. Should she escape this fatality, but still grow a burden to herself and others, she is buried alive, or must plunge herself into the ocean ; the pretended motive is compassion, but the true one is covetousness*.” (Crantz 1767: 165-166).

The part of the quote above about women not having much choice regarding marriage is described in detail by Hans Egede (1741: 145) and David Crantz (1767:159-160). The consensus was that a young man in his late twenties decided on a young woman in the same age bracket and sent his female relatives to convince the woman’s parents of the

match. The man then kidnapped the woman, and even if she wanted to marry him, she had to resist him not to seem indecent (see Figure 4.7). Both accounts also describe that if a woman genuinely did not want the man, she had to escape to the mountains and do everything she could to avoid being caught by him again (and risking her life at the same time as this escape could take weeks), or she had to cut off her hair and thereby make herself undesirable for any to marry.

Figure 4.7 "A Courtship in Greenland" painted by Danish artist Jens Erik Carl Rasmussen in Maniitsoq in 1872. Notice the colourful ribbons the women wear around their topknots, a clear influence from the Moravian mission. In the painting, the woman is pretending to run away from the man, who is trying to kidnap her into marriage. She is dressed in her finest, even wearing a beaded nuilarmiut, indicating that she wants this marriage. Keeping the tradition of the pretend kidnapping is an act of cultural resilience.

Lars Dalager, a Danish merchant who was part of establishing the colony of Frederikshåb (where he stayed between 1742-54), now Paamiut, and managing the colony

by Nuuk afterwards from 1754 to 1767, published a book about his Greenlandic relations in 1758. In this publication, Dalager described the Kalaallit Inuit 'legal' systems and traditions as he understands them through multiple conversations with an old angakkoq[31] (Dalager 1758: 32). Dalager confirmed the statements of Egede and Crantz regarding the lack of rights for women (Dalager 1758: 31,32, 35, 45). When the husband died, the adult son would inherit everything. In a discussion with the Danish missionary Buch about whether or not they should adopt the Danish legal system for widows, Dalager states that if the women were to inherit the tent furs, the umiaq and so on, then they could not receive assistance or food from their peers (Dalager 1758:35). It even extended to the food they had available to them directly after the husband's death. The mortuary practice was to set out all the food for the community to eat after the interment. Once the food was gone, the widow was then able to enter servitude to another family to be able to feed herself and her children.

Dalager also commented on the practice of burying women alive and mentioned experiencing it first-hand, where the victim cried out for water several days after the burial. He pointed out the double standard of the practice by commenting that if the same were done to a man, it would be considered murder of the highest degree (Dalager 1758: 45).

Although all the early accounts agree that women did all of the domestic work, including building the winter house, all the butchering and skin preparation, sewing all the clothes and coverings for the tent, the umiaq and the qajaq as well as all of the cooking,

[31] An angakkoq is a wise person with an inner light that can see the other world that exist within the visible world. Dalager respected this man as a rational and wise man and enjoyed their discussions about Christianity, Sila and the other world, Silap aappa (Dalager 1758: 32).

while the men made their hunting equipment and went hunting, it is impossible to know whether the violence described in these accounts were commonplace before the epidemic.

One of the traces of the newcomers to the Nuup Kangerlua is mentioned in Dalager's publication, where he states that previously, people knew how to cut ukkusissaq so that nothing was wasted; however, now (1752), people wasted ukkusissaq when cutting for a kettle, the equivalent to a hundred qulliit (Dalager 1758: 21).

Another trace is found archaeologically. A site in Angujaartorfiup Nunaa, north of Nuuk in the Maniitsoq area, a rich hunting ground for caribou, was previously excavated and recently reinterpreted as an aasivik for Southerners. The archaeological record consisted of articulated caribou bones, suggesting that the butcher was inexperienced in butchering the animal for optimal use. This suggests that the Southerners originally came from Tunu, as Kitaa and Kujalleq had caribou populations, whereas the southern part of Tunu did not (Meldgaard 1986; Møller et al. *in press*).

While the written records provide meticulous documentation of different aspects of life, as mentioned above, their perspectives remain inherently limited. These records prioritise accounts of religious conversions, missionary struggles, and, to a lesser degree, cultural differences while omitting the voices of Inuit who resisted missionisation or maintained autonomy outside the mission settlements. Moreover, the archival material's language often frames Inuit as subjects for European guidance, reinforcing the colonial notion that Christianisation equated to civilisation. This narrative aligns with broader patterns of colonial amnesia, in which Indigenous agency is either erased or reframed within European terms.

The Moravian mission in the early Colonial Period

The Moravian Church envisioned spreading the Gospel throughout the world, which was made possible after the coronation of Christian VI and Sophie Magdalene of Denmark in 1731. Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, head of the newly reformed Moravian Church, was a distant cousin to the new queen. He used their familial connection to set up two Moravian missions, one in the Danish West Indies in 1732 and one in Kalaallit Nunaat in 1733 (Andersen 1969: 53-54; Gulløv 1978, 1983; Kleivan 1983: 222). Three Moravian missionaries arrived at Nuup Kangerlua and set up the mission station Neu Herrnhut, Noorliit, about one kilometre south of the Danish colony. Their missionisation had slow beginnings, and not until July 1738 did a Kalaaleq Inuk convert. Qajarnaq took the name Samuel in baptism, his wife the name Anna and their son Matthes and their daughter Auuna[32].

However, by 1765, the congregation counted approximately 450 people, more than double the inhabitants of the nearby Danish colony of Godthåb (Andersen 1969: 56). One of the reasons for the sudden success of the Moravian mission is likely found in the repopulation of the Nuup Kangerlua. Before entering the fjord systems, the Southerners moving into this territory had to pass by the Moravian mission at Noorliit and the Danish colony.

Although colonisation was happening rapidly along Kitaa (see Figure 1.2 in Chapter One), the Inuit lifeworld changed slowly due to the colonial strategy. In the beginning, the colonisation of Kalaallit Nunaat was based on missionisation. The aim was to convert as many souls as possible. The Danish mission was partially funded through trade,

[32] https://issuu.com/greenlandnm/docs/i_register_over_de_i_den_evangelisk

and it was in the Danish trade's best interest that Kalaallit Inuit lived as dictated by their lifeworld, as Kalaallit Inuit were excellent hunters and provided the products the merchants were interested in: seal and whale oil, baleen and sealskin (Toft & Seiding 2013:108). Yet, over time, with the intermarriage between Kalaallit women and Danish men, a new group, Blandinger (mixed people), resulted in more people permanently living in the colonies (Seiding 2013).

The Moravian mission was not funded by this system (see Chapter Five for details). The Kalaallit settlement that grew around Neuherrnhut was seasonal and followed the traditional lifeworld of hunting and gathering, except, Kalaallit congregation members agreed to return to Neuherrnhut for the duration of winter. They arrived in early October and left for the capelin gathering in early May (Petterson 2024:153; Diary 14-15 Oct 1747.; Diary 23-29 May 1746 UA.)

One of the most significant influences of Moravian conversion in Kalaallit Nunaat was the arrival of the sisters Pussimeq and Isseq in the summer of 1739. They were part of the Southerners who moved to the Nuup Kangerlua after the epidemic. Pussimeq quickly became an asset for the Moravian Brethren and was baptised Sarah in October 1740 (Crantz 1767: 8). Although Sarah Pussimeq was not the first woman to be baptised, she was considered an *Erstling* together with Samuel Qajarnaq, one of the *first fruits* for the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat (Crantz 1767: 13). Sarah Pussimeq bridged the understanding between the Kalaallit lifeworld and the doctrine of the Moravians especially for women and children and was a huge influence in spreading the gospel (Crantz 1767: 9, 28, 536-537). Sarah Pussimeq married Simon Arbalik, the first Kalaallit couple to marry in the Moravian Church, and their first child, Maria, was the first infant baptism by the Moravian Church in Kalaallit Nunaat.

Isseq, Sarah Pussimeq's sister, joined the Moravian congregation simultaneously with Simon Arbalik on December 26th 1742 and was baptised Juditha[33] (22.06.04: 2).

In 1747, a small contingent of Kalaallit Inuit (see Figure 4.8), Simon Arbalik, Sarah Pussimeq, Juditha Isseq, and the young men Mathes Qajarnaq and Angusinaq, joined Matthäus Stach on his journey to Germany. They travelled directly to Amsterdam, continuing to Herrnhaag, where Mathes and Angusinaq stayed while the rest of the company continued to Herrnhut (Crantz 1767: 123).

Figure 4.8 Die fünf Grönländer by Johann Valentin Haidt in 1747. From the left: Juditha Isseq, Sarah Pussimeq, Simon Arbalik, Mathes Qajarnaq & Johanan Angusinaq. Sarah Pussimeq and Simon Arbalik are sitting together, while the rest of the company stands, underscoring their marital status.

[33] The church ledger states "Judith", however, she signed her letters Juditha, so that will be her name in this work.

Herrnhaag

Herrnhaag existed as a religious community for only 15 years, but it became a focal point of theological controversy within the Moravian Church during the late 1740s. This period, now referred to by historians as the Sichtung[34] (or the Shifting), marked a crisis in doctrine and practice (Peucker 2015: 54-55). Around 1748-50, Herrnhaag was characterised by highly expressive and emotional religious behaviour – what contemporaries described as "childlike behaviour, playfulness, anti-intellectualism, and silliness" (Peucker 2015: 61). Community life was filled with elaborate displays: festivals, music, visual art, three-dimensional displays[35], elaborate hymns, ceremonial garments, garlands, and triumphal arches. These were not merely celebrations but expressions of theological devotion that, to some observers, appeared decadent and unproductive (Peucker 2015: 177).

More contentious than the pageantry, however, was the radical theology that emerged during this time. Influenced by Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf, Moravian leaders began to suggest that the soul's union with Christ could be experienced physically – even erotically. Zinzendorf taught that lust, not sex itself, was sinful. Therefore, sex devoid of lust – rooted instead in pure love for Christ – could be a sacred act (Temme 1998: 452-53; Peucker 2015: 2-3). This reimagining of sexuality challenged traditional Pietist ideals of celibacy and spiritual purity.

[34] *Sichtungen des Satans* (believing that the strength of their faith was being tested by Satan (Luke 22:31)) was the term used for this particular period in the Synod in Barby just four months after the Moravians were given three years to leave Herrnhaag (Peucker 2015:56).

[35] One of the more (in)famous displays was "a giant side wound made of papier-mâché, complete with red fluid flowing out, in front of the brothers' house, and entered the side wound by physically walking through it" (Peucker 2015:125)

The theological climax of the Shifting occurred on December 6, 1748, when Christian Renatus Zinzendorf[36], son of Count Zinzendorf and a prominent religious figure, declared during a ceremony in Herrnhaag that all single men were, in essence, women. He proclaimed:

> *"There are no male souls in the world, not in heaven or on earth. Everything about our bodies that is temporarily male will have ended from the moment that the corpse descends into the earth."* (Zinzendorf 1747: 208; Peucker 2015: 111).

In this view, the soul was inherently feminine, and spiritual salvation required submission, love, and passivity – traits assigned to the female soul. Masculinity, by contrast, was a temporary, worldly condition that would dissolve after death. Salvation depended on both men and women being passive, submissive and loving. This meant that every soul could become a bride of Christ, the divine Bridegroom. Christian Renatus further suggested that sexual union ifself, even outside of marriage, was a sacred medium for mystical communion with Christ (Peucker 2015: 37, 81). Such an erotic spiritual ideology shocked contemporaries: the blending of sexuality and devotion was widely denounced as heretical by outraged outsiders and by alarmed Moravian elders. The scandal provoked internal discipline and external pressure, prompting Count Zinzendorf to dismiss his son from authority, and led to the eventual dissolution of Herrnhaag in the early 1750s (Peucker 2015: 177).

[36] Christian Renatus Zinzendorf also went by the name Christel and proclaimed himself the sidewound of Jesus. The subheading *Religious differences between Sila and the Moravian faith* delves more into the side wound as part of the blood-and-wound worship of the Moravians.

When the Moravians were forced to abandon Herrnhaag, as many as 600 missionaries left for the Caribbean, Kalaallit Nunaat, the Americas and southern Africa to preach the gospel and establish mission stations; undoubtedly bringing with them both the fervent spirituality and lived experiences of this extraordinary period.

Returning to Mathes Qajarnaq and Angusinaq, the stay at Herrnhaag left a profound impression to the point that it convinced Angusinaq to be baptized on January 19, 1748, where he took the name Johanan (Crantz 1767: 123).

The archival record offer little detail about the experiences of Mathes Qajarnaq and Johanan Angusinaq during their almost two-year stay in Europe, though Crantz briefly notes that they travelled by foot through Germany – unrecognised by the locals- but his focus through the retelling of the group's stay in Europe is mainly on that of Juditha Isseq.

Juditha Isseq

While travelling in Germany, Sarah Pussimeq gave birth to a son, Johannes, who did not survive infancy. Sarah Pussimeq died shortly after, in May 1748, and Simon Arbalik followed her in death five weeks later. They were both interred on the *Gottesacker* in Herrnhut (Crantz 1767: 124). In the painting *Erstlingsbild* (see Figure 4.9) from 1760 by Johann Valentin Haidt, the family is reunited and in a position of great honour, directly on the right-hand side of Jesus.

Figure 4.9 The 1760 version of Johann Valentin Haidt's Erstlingbild. Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Erstlingbild depicts the first converts who returned to Jesus Christ in death.

The painting showcases the first fruit, the first baptised from the Moravian missions around the world, who had ripened and been called home, meaning that they had died. In the painting, the women are wearing vibrant ribbons in red or blue, showcasing to which Chor, or choir, they belonged.

The choir system was an essential part of the Moravian organisation of its congregations. The congregation was divided into groups based on age, gender, and marital status (Peucker 2010: 180). Each choir had its own leader. The single sisters, the single brothers, and the widows lived together in choir houses (Peucker 2010: 180), unlike the other

choirs, who lived in their family homes. A vibrant ribbon defined the members[37] of each choir.[38] When a choir member entered a new stage of life, either coming of age, marriage, or widowed, a new ribbon was given as a tangible and symbolic marker of the change (Peucker 2010:189). Before the Shifting, the single sisters' choir wore green ribbons (as seen wrapped around Juditha Isseq's qilerteq (the topknot) in Figure 4.7), a colour of hope and growth (Peucker 2010: 189); however, in 1750, they were told to wear red ribbons, the colour formerly defining the children's choir. Red symbolised the blood of Jesus' wounds (Peucker 2010: 189) and was also the colour of the rose mentioned in the original German translation of the Song of Songs. Within the Moravian context, the rose represented the Bride of the Lamb, where the Bride was interpreted to be the soul of the individual believer who wanted to be one with Christ (Peucker 2010: 191). The Song of Songs played a significant role in the Shifting, and the fact that Zinzendorf chose the symbolism based on the text emphasises that it was not the discourse that all souls are female that was the issue.

The children's choir wore pink ribbons. The single sisters past childbearing age wore a white ribbon with a red border. The married sisters' choir wore blue ribbons, the colour of devotion. Young widows still in the childbearing age initially wore a black ribbon, which was replaced after the Shifting with a white ribbon with a blue border. Older widows wore white ribbons (Peucker 2010: 187-88).

Returning to the painting, Figure 4.8, Sarah Pussimeq has a vibrant blue ribbon wrapped around her topknot. Sarah Pussimeq is dressed in traditional Kalaallit attire

[37] Initially both men and women wore the ribbons, however, after 1750, as a repercussion of the Shifting, the ribbons became an exclusive part of the women's attires (Peucker 2010: 179).
[38] Alfred Toft mentioned in an article in Atuagagdliutit (nr. 24 1978:p 20-21) that the ribbons colour systems was thus: red for unwed girls, green for unwed mothers, blue for wives, and black for widows. Toft does not mention where he has this information from, but it is the colour system many people in Kalaallit Nunaat believes were enforced by the Moravians – I, however, have not been able to find any sources that confirms this alternative colour system.

appropriate for a mother: an amaat, where Johannes, her newborn, is nestled in the hood. She is also wearing kamiit and sealskin trousers. Simon Arbalik (standing next to Sarah Pusssimeq) and Samuel Qajarnaq (standing in the background to the left) are also both wearing what seems to be traditional Kalaallit attire; however, Simon Arbalik seems to wear an incredibly long anoraaq.

After the death of her sister and brother-in-law, Juditha Isseq, now alone thousands of kilometres from home and without any family, moved into the single sisters' house in Herrnhut. While Juditha Isseq knew about the choir system before their travel to Europe, having been made leader of the sisters' choir in Neuherrnhut in 1744 (Crantz 1767: 61), this experience marked her first introduction to living solely with other single women. The structure and community of the single sister's house, designed to provide support and solidarity among unmarried women, deeply inspired Juditha Isseq. This inspiration took on new meaning as she grappled with the patriarchal constraints of the traditional Kalaallit lifeworld and the challenges posed by colonial missionisation.

Juditha Isseq's return to Noorliit in 1750, alongside Mathes Qajarnaq and Johannan Angusinaq, marked the beginning of her efforts to adapt the Moravian models of gendered homes for her own community. She approached the Kalaallit families and proposed the establishment of a sister house in Noorliit, where young women could live collectively. This arrangement would not only shield the women from forced marriage and servitude but also offer a supportive community, mirroring what she had experienced in Herrnhut. The families, recognizing the potential of her idea, supported her, and that autumn, the women built a turf house and moved in (Crantz 1767).

Juditha Isseq's initiative could arguably be interpreted as an extension of the colonial project, introducing European structures into Kalaallit society. However, viewed

through the lens of agency, her actions demonstrate how women, even within patriarchal systems, could adapt colonial frameworks to serve their own purposes (Menara 2024). In this case, the sister house presented an alternative to the limitations imposed by both Kalaallit and colonial norms, empowering women by offering them a measure of control in their lives[39]. Juditha Isseq exemplifies how agency can emerge in constrained circumstances. By securing social and institutional support, her story demonstrates the resilience and creativity of women working within systems that seek to limit their autonomy. In contrast, the Danish colony was not interested in supporting women, whether widowed or fatherless or their children, as they did not want the economic burden (Dalager 1758:35).

Moreover, the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat offered a community distinct from the individualising and abstracting approach of the Danish-Norwegian mission and trade (Petterson 2024: 153). For women like Juditha Isseq, this communal structure provided both inspiration and a practical model for addressing the vulnerabilities faced by Kalaallit women. This narrative challenges simplistic readings of colonial and patriarchal systems as wholly oppressive or entirely empowering. Instead, they reveal a more complex interplay: Juditha Isseq navigated the system strategically, leveraging limited options to create spaces of survival and resilience for herself and her community.

Architectural changes

While the concept of communal housing based on gender and status was new to Kalaallit Inuit, the idea of communal living in large housing was not. Communal houses,

[39] This is mirrored by the experiences of Aymara women navigating transborder mobility in the Andes. For Aymara women, survival often depends on crossing national borders and engaging in labour that, while exploitative, allow them to provide for their children and maintain familial stability. Menara Guizardi presented her project in Oslo in May 2024 and instantly inspired me to see the connection to Juditha Isseq's story.

long rectangular winter houses, were common from circa 1600 until the 1930s (Schledermann 1976:27-37; Gulløv 1997). The communal house served multiple functions, accommodating several families and providing space for working on the umiat and qannaat during winter. Smaller winter houses were also used throughout the period. Whereas Kalaallit Inuit understood their home as a site of community and resilience, the Danish administration chastised communal housing as mired in "*filth and rottenness of every description,"* where "*mephitic exhalations […] render the air in such pestilential caverns poisonous to their inmates*" (Rink 1877:181; Møller & Pushaw 2024:72-73).

The archaeological investigations at Noorliit provide direct material evidence of these architectural transformations and how Kalaallit Inuit selectively engaged with colonial housing expectations. The excavation of Ruin A2 at Noorliit revealed a change in orientation and access: the traditional long, subterranean passageway, previously a key feature of Kalaallit winter dwellings, was replaced by direct doorways opening towards the church, mirroring other ruins at the site. This spatial shift suggests a growing religious influence on domestic life and perhaps a Kalaallit decision to align social practices with new moral geographies introduced by the Moravian missionaries. Rather than top-down imposition, this reconfiguration can be interpreted as a form of Inuit agency – restructuring their homes on their own terms.

Beyond layout, the Noorliit assemblage offers evidence of selective architectural hybridisation. The reuse of turf from earlier ruins in constructing Ruin A2 points to resourceful adaptation rather than full replacements of traditional forms. In addition, the excavation yielded 25 fragments of window glass. This shows that the house was outfitted with windows instead of the traditional gutskin, elaborated on further down in this text. This supports the interpretation that Kalaallit Inuit modified their homes

incrementally, incorporating new elements when useful, but retaining core features suited to Arctic living.

Moreover, the excavation of ukkusissaq fragments, caribou bones, and eider duck down indicates that even as houses changed in form, Kalaallit Inuit practices within them persisted. The persistence of local materials and domestic technologies within a changing architectural envelope speaks to a strategy of cultural adaptation. Although the Danish authorities sought to replace traditional structures with wooden prefabricated houses (Sveinstrup & Dalgaard 1945:328), Kalaallit Inuit families modified existing homes to integrate select new materials while maintaining cultural continuity.

The Noorliit assemblage affirms that Kalaallit Inuit homes were not simply replaced, but reconfigured, through adaptation, resistance, and resilience. Materially, this is seen in the juxtaposition of Danish window glass, Inuit ukkusissaq cookware, and reused turf. Socially, it reflects a negotiation between introduced values and enduring Inuit lifeways. Far from passive recipients, the Noorliit inhabitants were active agents, selectively incorporating new technologies into an enduring cultural framework.

Meanwhile, whale oil and baleen were essential energy resources in the rapid expansion of European colonialism. Seeking to monopolise this lucrative market, the Danish-Norwegian kingdom regarded the Kalaallit Inuit trade with European whalers and expeditions as threatening their tenuous sovereignty over Kalaallit Nunaat. It established rules to control and, later, criminalise Kalaallit Inuit interactions with foreigners (Møller & Pushaw 2024:72).

As early as 1820, overhunting had depleted whale stocks near Kalaallit Nunaat, the primary resource that had lured Europeans to the Arctic Americas since the sixteenth

century. Meanwhile, the nineteenth-century world was weaning off of its consumption of whale oil as a fuel source for lamps and streetlights (Zallen 2019:53; Møller & Pushaw 2024:75). The primary focus of the colonial economy shifted from whaling to sealing (Oslund 2016:81-90). As a result, the Danish trade[40] demanded that Kalaallit Inuit become frugal and almost eliminate their use of seal oil as fuel for the qulliit; instead, coal was introduced as an alternative energy source that required the transformation of the Kalaallit home (Møller & Pushaw 2024:75). This transformation was an attempt to colonise the domestic sphere, maintaining control in those intimate spaces beyond the walls of the mission, school, and church. Danish authority figures wishing to reform Kalaallit housing described working towards the goal of 'order and cleanliness', in part because Wilhelm Graah, director of the Danish trade, had painted a dire picture of Kalaallit housing conditions:

> "*Up to 30 to 40 people live together in a single, dark, restricted space, humid with urine and the stench of spoiled food, where health must suffer. This wretched nature of the Greenlandic house is at least partly the fault of the inhabitants themselves, who build their homes quite carelessly*." (Sveinstrup & Dalgaard 1945:326; Møller & Pushaw 2024:76).

Three elements became essential to the Danish perception of improving Kalaallit homes: metal stoves, glass windows and wooden floors. These changes would cultivate "*more sense for order and cleanliness among the Greenlanders*", whose "*economic conditions will benefit at the increase of the prices of the products of the country."*

[40] The Danish Trade was officially called *Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel,* The Royal Greenlandic Trade, but the word Greenlandic can give an impression that it benefitted Greenland. Therefore, the KGH is referred to as the Danish Trade throughout this dissertation.

(Sveinstrup & Dalgaard 1945:326). Improving the household was paramount to improving the productivity of the colonial subject.

What Europeans perceived as "restrictive space" and "low ceiling" were an Indigenous architectural response to Kalaallit Inuit lighting and heating technology, the qulleq. The hearth of the home, the qulleq, provided light in the darkness and warmth in the cold. The qulleq's low flames invited intimacy, fostering a sense of community and resilience. Since Kalaallit Inuit utilised the qulleq to heat ukkusissaq cookware, it was also vital to preparing food. Burning oil rendered from marine mammals, the lit qulleq created a distinct olfactory sensation, a comforting smell for those who grew up with it. However, outsiders described the odour as an indicator of negligence. The qulleq became a cardinal point in colonial debates about the future of Kalaallit housing in the Danish colonies in the 1830s and 1840s (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 76).

In 1838, Ludvig Fasting, a government official, penned an open letter to Kalaallit Inuit claiming that he had witnessed Kalaallit families "who had never even used Greenlandic lamps" – an absurd and propagandistic claim (Fasting 1838:8; Møller & Pushaw 2024:76). Instead, they burned coal, turf, and driftwood in their stoves. He continued,

> "*With coal mining, which will be carried out on a large scale from now on, care has also been taken to provide you with the necessary fuel at a cheap cost, so you can thus heat your homes, cook your food, and dry your skins and clothing over the stoves as you would otherwise over lamps; but the most important advantage is that you can sell all of the blubber that had to burn in the past*." (Fasting 1838: 4-6).

While coal mining had been taking place on Qeqertarsuaq in the Disko Bay since 1775 and several smaller mines opened further north in the region in 1782, the calorific

value of the coal was lower than European coal, meaning that the coal burned more quickly and a household required more for heating when using locally sourced coal (Dinsdale 1955:62, 64); a royal decree soon after led to Danish ships hauling tonnes of imported coal across the Atlantic to heat the metal stoves in Kalaallit Nunaat. Doing so forced a shift in energy resources from small-scale sustainability (families harvesting seals for food, blubber, and clothing) into a new Indigenous dependency on the global expansion of the fossil fuel industry (Møller & Pushaw 2024:76).

Installing glass windows at the front of the house would supplement what the metal stove could not provide in the absence of the qulleq, a source of light. Glass replaced the traditional material for windows, gut skin, a preparation method of the seal intestines that Kalaallit Inuit had developed to create a kind of textile that was lightweight, waterproof and translucent. It had formerly also been used to provide a barrier against the weather, like a glass window, but now it was only used for making waterproof clothing (Møller & Pushaw 2024:76). The transition from qulleq heated homes to metal stoves was a fundamental shift in energy resources and domestic life with far-reaching implications.

In a push for Europeanising Kalaallit housing, prefabricated timber houses were proposed to be shipped from Denmark[41] to Kalaallit Nunaat. First, it was prioritised for Danish men who married into Kalaallit families.[42] These new houses would serve, the Danish trade hoped, as examples to encourage hunters in the sealing endeavour (Sveinstrup & Dalgaard 1945:328; Møller & Pushaw 2024:77). The prefabricated houses were part of

[41] The Twin Realms of Denmark-Norway separated in 1814 after the Treaty of Kiel decreed that Norway was to be ceded to Sweden. Denmark gained costudy of the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Kalaallit Nunaat.
[42] Intermarriage had been heavily frowned upon by the Colonial administration, yet natural marriages persisted between Danish and Norwegian men and Kalaallit women. With the "Instrux for Greenland" from 1782, the rules regarding intermarriage changed a bit but with an already growing population for the so-called *Blandinger*, mixed Kalaallit and European, getting permission to marry was more straightforward (KGH 1782: 8)

the arsenal in the Danish trade's ongoing aim to destabilise Kalaallit kinship patterns that sustained the large communal houses partly because they were convinced that this living arrangement had permitted "the lazy and lethargic [to hide] among the best hunters," who unfairly profiteered from the skills of a few. "The newer houses would counteract this and create a better distribution at the hunting sites, whereby **production** and health would **increase**." (Sveinstrup & Dalgaard 1945:336; Møller & Pushaw 2024:77), and partly because the Moravian missions encouraged communal housing based on the choirs.

Kalaallit Inuit were not interested in the prefabricated houses once they saw that their clothes could not dry appropriately over the metal stoves, that the metal stoves caused a higher humidity in the house while cooking, and that since the metal cooled as fast as it heated, it did not retain the slow dispersion of heat as the qulliit did (Sveinstrup & Dalgaard 1945: 337, 339; Møller & Pushaw 2024:77). For these reasons, Kalaallit Inuit resisted the advertised prefabricated houses. Instead, they selectively incorporated the new elements of their choice into their homes. Some families embraced wooden floorboards, others metal stoves or glass windows (see Figure 4.10). As the Kalaallit homes began to reflect the individual preferences of Kalaallit Inuit families, the Danish trade had to change its focus from the construction materials to the moral character of the people (Møller & Pushaw 2024:77). The Noorliit assemblage shows a continued reliance on ukkusissaq cookware, despite the Danish push to replace qulliit based cooking with European stoves. The resistance to metal stoves, which did not provide the same slow-dispersing heat as the qulliit, mirrors the broader reluctance among Kalaallit Inuit to adopt prefabricated housing.

These archaeological findings provide tangible evidence of the negotiation between colonial pressure and Inuit autonomy in domestic spaces. The Danish trade aimed to discipline Kalaallit homes, linking architectural transformation to the broader colonial

project of reshaping Kalaallit Inuit society. However, rather than conforming entirely to colonial expectations, Kalaallit Inuit families reconfigured and hybridised their homes, blending European materials with traditional architectural logics. This selective incorporation of colonial elements demonstrates that while Danish authorities sought to transform Kalaallit Inuit homes into symbols of order and productivity, the actual lived spaces remained sites of resistance, adaptation, and continuity.

By examining the built environment at Noorliit, we can see how Kalaallit Inuit challenged, reinterpreted, and actively reshaped the colonial vision of their homes, asserting their own agency even within structures intended to control them.

Figure 4.10 Photograph by H. J. Rink in 1863 of the single sisters' choir[43] *at Neuherrnhut. Kulturhistorisk Museum, Oslo. The house illustrates that Kalaallit Inuit at the Moravian mission were also afforded the agency of choice by mixing the traditional turf house with a metal stove, as the chimney showcase, and the glass windows.*

Single-family units

In 1852, the Danish doctor Christian Rodulph published 'Aksillisæt Innuin Nunajnnit', directly translated to "Images from Inuit Country", aiming to "give the People [innuit] a pictorial depiction of their own land and customs, and in an instructive way awaken the interest of both young and old" (Rudolph 1852: 2). The book was meant to guide Kalaallit

[43] *Missionairenes Tjenerindehuus, Nyherrnhut* directly translates to the "missionaries' female servants' house". Yet, it housed single women. The term *Tjenerinde* referes to the women's previous need to serve other families in order to survive without a father or husband.

Inuit to live in a way considered morally good, and while it was unsuccessful[44], it provides a significant window into the propaganda the Danish trade utilised to disperse Kalaallit families to improve sealing profits and at the same time weaken the Moravian mission (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 78).

The book consists of exhortations in the guise of factual statements written in a way that was meant to convince the reader that if they did not live the same way, they were immoral and wrong while simultaneously leaving out the Moravian presence in Kalaallit Nunaat altogether. However, it is clear that Rudolph targeted the Kalaallit congregation hence the image of dancing (Rudolph 1852: 9), highlighting the benevolence of the Danish trade, allowing the Kalaallit youths to use their buildings and therefore giving them access to "*express with their movements their natural grace and decency*" (Rudolph 1852: 9). The Kalaallit congregation at the Moravian mission were not allowed to partake in the dance parties at the colony due to its sinful character. Yet, at the same time, on page 14, Rudolph expresses (perhaps a personal preference) disdain at the Kalaallit parents bringing their children to church service, where they (the children) "*inappropriately […] interrupt the devotion*" (Rudolph 1852: 13), implying that church service should focus on quiet contemplation and devotion. In contrast, "*An air of gaiety was inseparable from the (Moravian) Brethren's meetings*" (Gad 1973: 327). The services at the Moravian church included instrumental music and polyphonic choir singing. In the early years, the instruments included violins, flutes and zithers, and later on, brass instruments like the French horn and trumpet accompanied the hymns (Gad 1973: 327).

[44] In the introduction, Rudolph promises to publish a sequel with even more images and longer texts the following year if "the Good is achieved as the book aims for" (Rudolph 1852:2).

> *In his section regarding Kalaallit homes, Rudolph states: "[…] If the Wives*[45] *would be proficient, Many's Houses would be far cleaner than they are now and since Cleanliness is such a necessity for the Upkeep of Health, many Illnesses, whereof the inhabitants of the unclean Houses are now haunted, would disappear by themselves*" (Rudolph 1852: 2-3).

Referring to the houses as unclean (ureenlige) instead of dirty shows that Rudolph is targeting the (lack of) morality of the people living in communal houses nourished by the Kalaallit kinship practices, that the Danish trade wanted to disband (Møller & Pushaw 2024:78). Danish doctors described their shock at the fact that platforms were shared sleeping spaces, where "they all lie, young and old, married and unmarried, strangers and dwellers among each other in a fashion that is just as harmful in respects to hygiene as well as morality." (Petterson 2014: 65-66). Therefore, promoting single-family square homes as the ideal living arrangement suggested by Rudolph was a solution to establish "order and cleanliness" by influencing Kalaallit families to want the lifestyle and home that the morally chaste Kalaallit Inuit family was depicted to have (see Figure 4.11).

[45] The text in Kalaallissut does not use the word for wives but for female servants/housekeepers.

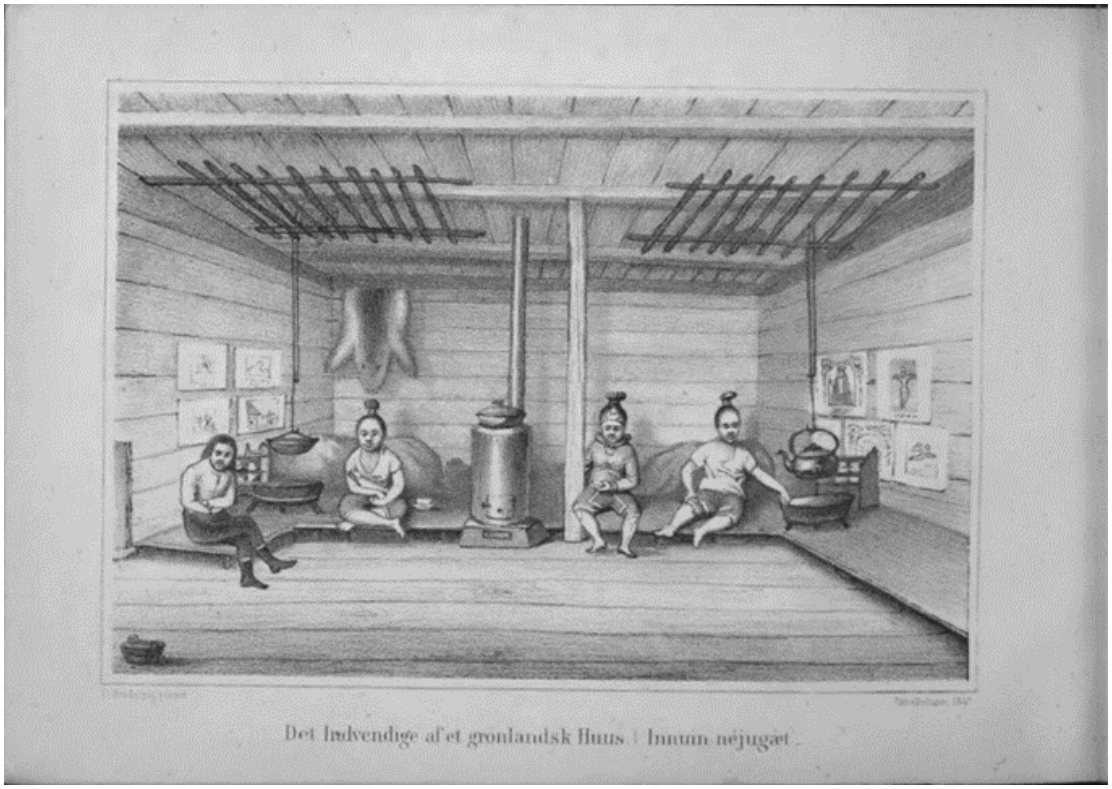


Figure 4.11 Drawn by Christian Rodulph in Jakobshavn (Ilulissat) in 1847. Det Indvendige af et grønlandsk Huus | Inuuin néjugæt | the interior of a Kalaallit house.

The drawing (Figure 4.11) depicts the interior of a wealthy Kalaallit household. The wood-covered floor, walls and ceiling illustrate a Kalaallit family that has shown "Appreciation" (Skjönsomhed) of the "Benevolence" (Velgjerning) of the Danish Trade, which Rodulph states: *"[...] has in the later years shipped cheap Metal Stoves and Wood materials for the contribution of the Betterment of the Houses* (Rudolph 1852: 6). In order to afford the wood planks, the stove and the fuel to burn in the stove, as well as the kettle and pictures on the wall, the Kalaallit family has acted as good colonial subjects and traded in almost their entire seal catch[46] to the Danish trade. The house is a prime example of the

[46] Notice the singular seal skin on the wall. It is presumeably to underline the importance of the shift to sealing that the Danish Trade relied on for profits.

contact zone, reflecting the individual preference of the Kalaallit family by mixing colonial goods with Kalaallit traditional ware, like the two qulliit framing the platform. However, an essential but subtle pictorial detail creates dissonance between the colonizer's ideal and Indigenous reality. Two figures are fully dressed indoors, while the other two are still wearing pants and what seems to be an undershirt. Kalaallit winter houses were built to guarantee warm insulation, rendering most clothing unnecessary indoors. Bare skin was an obvious choice to stay comfortable in the heat. Missionaries, however, rejected this most practical custom, as they were unable to ignore Christianity's condemnation of the naked body for its potential to provoke sin and corrupt morality. Rudolph's representation of fully-clothed people indoors might express pious morality, but it also hampers the efficacy of promoting new single-family houses to Kalaallit audiences (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 79).

In 1860, the Kalaallit bookmakers Lars Aqqaluk Møller and Rasmus Berthelsen published 'Kalaallit Assilialiait or Woodcuts, Drawn and Engraved by Greenlanders'. In this book, the juxtaposition of the moral and immoral homes became explicit. These two woodcuts offer an insight into how Kalaallit Inuit envisioned their homes and partook in the colonial debate about housing (Møller & Pushaw 2024:80).

'Kalaallit pigigsut' (see Figure 4.12), wealthy Kalaallit Inuit, was carved by Aalut Kangermiu (Aron of Kangeq). Aalut was a catechist for the Moravian mission in the settlement of Kangeq. Like all other Kalaallit, he was also a hunter, until he was forced to retire due to tuberculosis. While on bed rest, Aalut explored his artistic capabilities and, supported by H. J. Rink, painted aquarelles, drawings and cut xylographs to illustrate the rich Kalaallit myths and legends, of which he transcribed more than 56 (Møller 2023: 83-84).

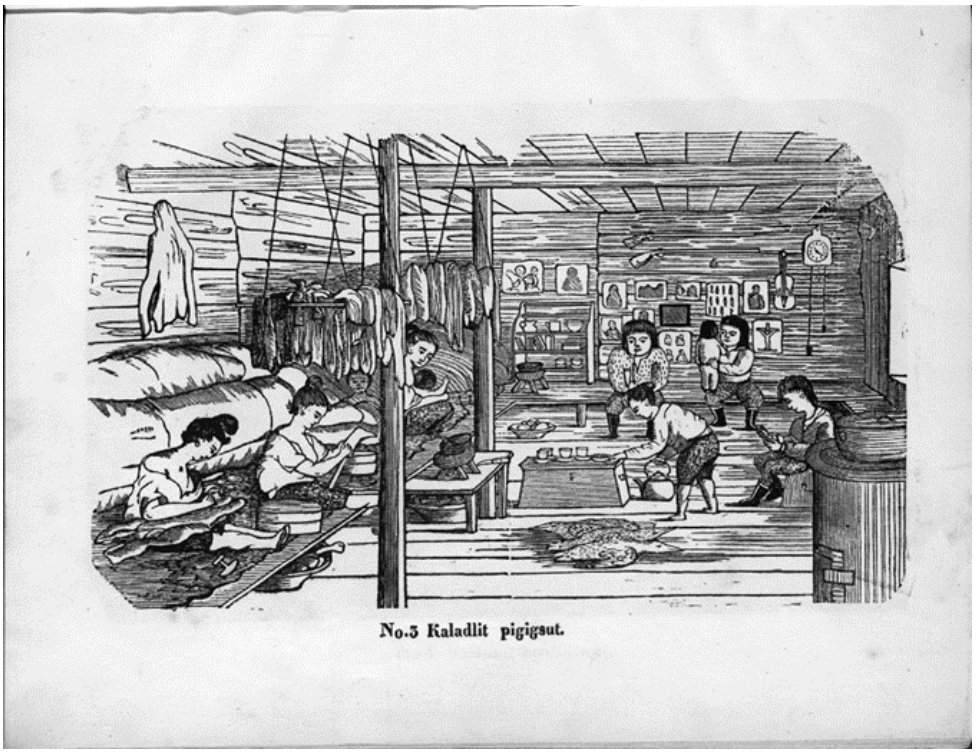


Figure 4.12 Aalut Kangermiu's depiction of the interior of a rich Kalaallit house. The interior is theorised to be that of his own home in Kangeq, 1860.

The detailed interior of the home shows remarkable wealth through the consumption of colonial goods. The interior is covered with wooden planks, and the back wall is decorated with pictures, a clock, a violin, and shelves filled with ceramics and books. In one corner is the metal stove, opposite a long platform with two qulliit marking boundaries on the platform. The house is bustling with people. Women are keeping busy on the platform: one is working on an anoraaq, one is stretching sealskin for a kamik, and the last is sitting with a small child. On the floor, a woman is preparing coffee on a small table with three harvested birds lying next to it. Men are sitting on the smaller platform along the walls: one is smoking a tobacco clay pipe, one is playing with a child, and the last is reading a book – perhaps out loud.

At a glance, this home shows an abundance of wealth and could be interpreted as a single-family home, yet the sheer size of it and the number of people suggest that it is, at the very least, a double-family home. Given that Aalut belonged to the Moravian church, it is very likely that he depicted the interior of a Moravian Kalaallit home he either often visited himself or even his own family home that he shared with his father.

In sharp contrast to this wealth, a woodcut by Rasmus Berthelsen meets the reader on the next page (see Figure 4.13). Pale, emaciated bodies huddle together on a turf-built platform in an all-encompassing inky darkness. Gnawed bones litter the dirt floor (Møller & Pushaw 2024:81). The turf walls are uncovered, and skinny pillars keep the roof in place, yet it seems it may collapse at any point. Berthelsen's writings make his politics clear. He blamed fellow Kalaallit Inuit for their dire circumstances, alleging that coffee consumption "induce[d] wretchedness and misery," leading families to "incur illnesses from the lack of the necessities of life."

> Elsewhere, he opined, "*A badger's den is ten times more comfortable than the homes and lodging [of most Kalaallit]. A skilled hunter's house is worse than a pigsty – a great example for future generations*." (Blume 1865: 260; Møller & Pushaw 2024: 81).

His rhetoric and sarcasm seem to mimic the politics of the Danish mission that had shaped his colonial worldview. His opinion is that even the families of good hunters struggle in squalor, which suggests that 'Starving Kalaallit' makes a visual argument for the

imminent misery of those Kalaallit Inuit who choose to remain in multi-family communal housing. This argument was implicitly anti-Moravian (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 81).

Figure 4.13 Rasmus Berthelsen, Kalâdlit perdlilersat. Starving Kalaallit, 1860.

Inuit artistic practices serve as a powerful counter-narrative to colonial amnesia. Unlike written records, which prioritise the writer's perspective, in this case often a colonial figure of power, Inuit artistic traditions provide an alternative archive that preserves Indigenous perspectives through symbols, imagery, and storytelling. While the images above contrast with each other, they still highlight the ways Kalaallit Inuit have selectively integrated, or not, the colonial influences while maintaining their cultural foundations. These artistic expressions resist the erasure imposed by colonial archives, asserting Inuit agency in narratives often shaped by colonial forgetting.

The Moravian mission was viewed as threatening to the Danish trade[47] in the mid-nineteenth century for two reasons. The first related to Moravian expansion, as the mission at Neuherrnhut welcomed so many new converts that the church established the satellite mission at Uummannaq further into the Nuup Kangerlua in 1861 and a full mission at Illorpaat in 1864 (Jensen et al. 2012: 88). The second reason was the fact that most Moravian missionaries were German. The mission in Kalaallit Nunaat was funded by the main Moravian town Herrnhut in Saxony, Germany (see Chapter Five for details). In 1848-52, a civil war erupted in Denmark over nationalism and the sense of belonging for the people living in the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, the borderlands between Denmark and Germany. The civil war grew to include the German states allied with the duchies. The war ended when Russia and Austria pressed for a cease-fire. After the Constitutional Act was passed in 1849, which made Denmark a democracy, a second Slesvig War broke out when Denmark tried to incorporate Slesvig into the so-called November Constitution of 1863. This constitution was an attempt to strengthen the Danish claim to the border at the river Ejder. The outcome of this second war led to Denmark's diminishing by losing the two duchies to Germany (Frantzen & Pajung 2024). This animosity towards Germany informed how the Danish administration viewed the Moravian mission and how they framed it to other Kalaallit Inuit (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 82).

[47] Jacob Severin was granted trading monopoly in Kalaallit Nunaat in 1733-1749 and had tried to ban and restrict the Moravian mission several times during this period. One of the reasons was the Moravian missionaries' close ties to Kalaallit Inuit and the perceived threat of trading, and the other was the fact that Dutch ships carried Moravian supplies between Neuherrnhut and Amsterdam (Olsen 1954: 353). However, the Moravian mission was in Kalaallit Nunaat by royal permission (Gad 1973: 256).

The most vicious opponent to the presence of the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat was the Danish administrator and later Royal Inspector of South Greenland, as well as director of the KGH before retirement (Brown 1894: 66), Hinrich Johannes Rink[48].

In 1857, two small printing presses arrived at Godthåb, one for the inspectorate and one for Neuherrnhut. Rink used the printing press at the inspectorate to publish official letters and educational and entertaining reading materials for the colonies in Kalaallit Nunaat (Møller 2023: 290). In 1861, Rink founded the illustrated journal *cum* newspaper, Atuagagdliutit, which, in the beginning, was printed once a month and was exclusively published in Kalaallisut. The articles were predominantly about Kalaallit Inuit identity, and for many years, it was the only window to the global world for the majority of Kalaallit Inuit[49] (Møller 2023:290). While Rink did introduce measures that spoke to a beginning democracy in Kalaallit society (for men at least) with the Guardian Councils (Steenstrup 1893: 165), which also had Moravian representatives, it is also possible that he instigated Atuagagdliutit as a means to influence Kalaallit to leave the Moravian mission. In a later text directed towards a broad international audience, Rink decried the "sad reality [at the] Moravian stations," where there are "nothing like human dwellings," but instead "dunghills scattered over the low rocks." (Rink 1877: 181-182). Rink's demeaning discourse about Indigenous architecture functions to convince international readers of the superiority of the Danish trade over the eternal strife of the Moravian mission (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 82).

However, the Kalaallit Inuit who grew up at Moravian missions rejected this demeaning discourse circulating about their lives. In an 1864 editorial for the Atuagagdliutit,

[48] Hinrich Rink's parents were both from Holstein, which can explain why he felt such great animosity towards the German Moravian Church (Steenstrup 1893: 162).
[49] Kalaallit Inuit who belonged to the Moravian congregation had access to global news and stories through the Moravian communication network of letters and Extracts of diaries, sent between the missions on a global scale (see chapter Five).

Hansêrak, a Moravian Kalaaleq Inuk, penned a stirring defence of the communal homes. He argued that the Danish Mission's demand for Kalaallit to adopt small, single-family homes was "the cause of [Indigenous] shortcoming." Invoking classic Moravian rhetoric, he hoped that Kalaallit "may reflect well on again congregating together and mutually loving and assisting each other," a collective practice already nourished by the customary structure of the home:

> "*The decline of the Greenlanders is the result of their having given up their former mode of living together in big houses, [though others believed that when] they commenced to make use of European dainties and articles of clothing, the housemates did not like joint possession and mutual assistance as regards these things… [Bearing] witness [to] others leading a luxurious life, they would grow angry and take offence, and this is perhaps the reason why they separate [into smaller houses]. But this we disapprove of, because such people do not take into consideration what follows after rejoicing and what follows after need*." (Hansêrak 1864).

Hansêrak's desire to locate a third space "after rejoicing [and] after need" rejects the binaries of the rich and poor homes, as illustrated by Aalut Kangermiu and Rasmus Berthelsen. He emphasises community as the driving force for nourishing the potential of the Kalaallit home. As shifting extractive regimes now exploited the hunter's abilities in sealing, new conditions of scarcity forced the transformation of Kalaallit Inuit architecture and the "Europeanisation" of the communal home. The materiality of Kalaallit homes began to change, from whale to seal, blubber to coal, and gut skin to glass. So, too, colonisers hoped, would houses become smaller to reflect successful Indigenous conversion to "order and cleanliness". However, the colonial house was not solely a space that changed with the empire's addiction to capitalism. Hansêrak reminds us that there were always other possibilities for community and that the agency of the community spurred which changes they wished to incorporate. For Kalaallit families, the home remained a locus of continuity

and care, sustaining Indigenous priorities despite the dictates of colonialism (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 83).

Traditional Inuit religion and Moravian theology

While Juditha Isseq's single sisters' home must have attracted more women to join the Moravian mission, similarities in the traditional Inuit religion and Moravian theology must have been a significant factor, too.

The traditional Inuit religion was deeply rooted in the relationship with the natural world. The religion emphasised maintaining harmony between humans, animals, and the environment, a balance crucial for living in the Arctic. Central to this religion was the notion that when you lived in harmony with the world, the animals offered themselves to the hunters, ensuring survival. In turn, the hunters welcomed and thanked the offering animal, giving them fresh water to drink so the soul could be reborn. This held a practical and spiritual significance, symbolising life, renewal, and the reciprocity between animals and humans (Møller et al. 2022:105).

Sila and the souls

The word Sila has multiple meanings. It means the world, the weather, the outside, air, mind, sense, and consciousness. In the context of the traditional religion, Sila is the visible world we live in, and Silap aappaa, the "other world", coexists with this world. However, it is only visible to those with the inner light (Dalager 1758:43) and is where the

spirits live.[50] Sila connects everything and everyone to each other and, therefore, needs to be in balance (Rosing 1998:168). Balance is sought in living by a code of conduct. The rules are sharing the harvest, supporting the community, and not losing your temper. However, for women, more specific rules applied. Women had the potential to create life, and the female reproductive cycle meant that they were closer to Sila aappaa. The rules women had to observe were different from place to place, and by observing the rules, she helped ensure the survival of her community. Everything from the tattoos on her skin, the patterns of her clothing, and the way she handled her needlework were part of maintaining the balance of this world (Møller et al. 2022:105).

Inua is the inherent being of everything and everyone. The inua of the specific animal gives an amulet its power, which is then transferred to the human carrying the amulet (Engelbrechtsen & Thomsen 2013: 17)

Tarneq is typically translated as the word soul. However, it is not a soul that corresponds to the Christian idea of a soul. Tarneq is a kind of main soul comprising several smaller souls, such as the individual joints, the breath, anernera, and the shadow, tarraa. If one of these souls fell ill, and the human could not heal it, the specific soul would leave, and, for example, a specific joint would stop working (Thalbitzer 1909:450; Zackel 2008:93).

Lastly, ateqataa, the name soul, contains the personal characteristics of everyone who has had the name before. It continues to link us through time and space to our ancestors and descendants, as the tradition of naming our children is still a living practice.

[50] Spirits here are not the same as ghosts or souls. https://da.nka.gl/immateriel-kulturarvsfortegnelse/sila-aamma-silap-aappaa/

When the missionaries came to Kalaallit Nunaat, Kalaallit Inuit already had a comprehensive understanding of spiritual matters and that souls were important. Equally important was the drum dancing and singing for Kalaallit Inuit. Drum dancing was used as a governing tool. If people had an argument or were engaged in a more severe conflict, they settled it through iverneq, a drum duel. During the iverneq, the opponents would sing pisit, degrading lyrics, at each other until one of them either lost their temper or was settled by the audience's laughter (Jørgensen 1979). The drum was also used in regular entertainment such as tivaneq, dancing, often accompanied by inngerutit, songs. The inngerutit were also sung when a returning hunter wanted to let people know of his bountiful catch while they were still paddling into shore in their qajaq (Jørgensen 1979). Within the religious sphere, the drum was used to communicate with Silap aappaa. Kalaallit Inuit use the frame for percussion and not the drum head, even today, because the drum skin is the window into the other world (Petersen & Hauser 2012).

However, blood and the rich hymnody were potentially one of the winning factors in Kalaallit Inuit's choosing to convert to the Moravians' theology as discussed in the next section.

The Moravian theology

One of the most controversial and unique aspects of Moravian theology in the 1700s was the intense worship of the physical suffering of Jesus Christ, particularly his wounds, as the central element of Moravian faith. This blood and wound worship became a defining characteristic of their devotional practices during the height of the Shifting in the middle of the 18th century. Moravians believed that Christ’s wounds, particularly the side wound inflicted by a Roman soldier during the crucifixion, were not just symbols of sacrifice

but the very sites of divine grace and human salvation (Atwood 1996; Fogleman 2008). The Moravians expressed their wound-centred devotion through hymns, art, and liturgical practices. This devotion often took a profoundly intimate and even erotic expression (see Figure 4.14). Zinzendorf, while initially supportive of the wound worship, began to perceive its excesses as damaging to the Moravian Church's reputation and theological coherence. In 1749, he issued a reprimand to all of the communities in the Moravian Church (Atwood 1996). Although wound worship declined after the reprimand, it left a lasting imprint on Moravian theology. The focus on Christ's suffering as a source of empathy and devotion remained central to their piety.

Figure 4.14 Moravian devotional image by Marianne von Watteville, 18th century. Embroidery and watercolour on cardstock. Unitätsarchiv, Herrnhut. The image depicts a hill covered in grass and flowers. On the side of the hill is Jesus Christ's bleeding side wound, in which Marianne kneels, while being showered in blood. The text reads "o, ich erfreu ich

erfreue mich sehr, das ich gefünden das meer der Wunde da bin ich ein seeliges Sünderlein (…) ich habe alles." Translated: o, I rejoice, I rejoice so much that I have found the sea from the wound where I am a blessed little sinner […] I have everything.

The early Moravian emphasis on blood and wound theology must have resonated deeply with Kalaallit Inuit's traditions and lifeworld. Both religions shared an emphasis on blood and redemption. Blood was a life-giving force. While Moravians viewed Christ's blood as the ultimate atonement for sin, Kalaallit Inuit framed blood, through hunting, as the essence of life exchanged in sacred reciprocity (see Figure 4.15).

Figure 4.15 Wound plugs. Hunters carried "plugs" such as these when hunting. The plug minimises the blood loss after removing the harpoon head from the prey. The blood has many calories and is part of the Kalaallit cuisine. Nunatta Katersugaasivia KNK1287

For Kalaallit Inuit, the suffering of animals during the hunt was viewed with deep respect and reverence. Hunting was a religious act imbued with rituals to honour the life taken and ensure that the soul would be reborn again (Engelbrectsen & Thomsen 2013). As animals had inua, their sacrifice was seen as a gift to the hunter and their community. Kalaallit Inuit performed rituals and observed taboos designed to show gratitude and minimise the animal's pain, ensuring harmony in the world. These religious acts of respect created a framework where suffering was not meaningless but transformative, a sacred exchange that upheld the cycle of life (Dalager 1758:4-5). This perspective closely aligns with the Moravian focus on Christ's suffering. The Moravians cultivated a spirituality of

empathy, encouraging believers to meditate on Christ's wounds to understand his love and grace more intimately (Peucker 2007). In both religions, suffering was not the end but the means to renewal, whether it was the renewal of life through the return of inua or the renewal of humanity's spiritual life through Christ's sacrifice.

Moravian worship practices were deeply communal, emphasising shared rituals, collective singing, and a physical connection to faith. Hymnody played a central role, with emotionally charged songs focusing on Christ's suffering, redemption and love. These hymns used vivid imagery that made theological concepts accessible and immediate to believers (Peucker 2007; Atwood 2009). This communal and visual approach mirrored the interconnectedness of Kalaallit society, where life depended on collective efforts and shared resources. Kalaallit life was organised around the family group with larger aasiviit fostering cooperation and solidarity through drum dancing and – singing. Kalaallit rituals were inherently communal, reinforcing social bonds while addressing spiritual needs (Dalager 1758:5). For Kalaallit Inuit, the Moravian approach to worship may have felt both familiar and accessible. Unlike the abstract doctrines of the Danish Church[51], Moravian practices engaged directly with the senses and emotions, offering a spiritual experience that felt grounded in lived reality. The communal focus of the Moravians, coupled with their tactile and emotional expressions of faith, provided a natural alignment with Kalaallit cultural values.

[51] The Danish Church required prospective converts to demonstrate thorough knowledge of biblical teaching before they could by baptised. This was part of a broader effort to ensure that Kalaallit Inuit not only accepted Christianity but also adhered to its moral and social codes as defined by the Danish clergy. Catechism instruction was central to this process, and only those who could recite key doctrines and exhibit proper Christian behaviour were deemed ready for baptism (Gad 1973).

Conclusion

This chapter has examined a transformative period in Kalaallit history, focusing on the interplay between their traditional lifeways and the changes brought about by colonialism. Through this exploration, it is clear that Kalaallit society, deeply rooted in the rhythms of the Arctic environment and guided by a religion of balance and reciprocity, demonstrated remarkable resilience and adaptability in the face of external pressures.

Kalaallit lifeways were dictated by seasonal migrations and subsistence needs and were imbued with profound spiritual significance. Hunting, for example, was not just a practical act but a reciprocal exchange: animals offered themselves as gifts, and, in return, humans observed rituals and taboos to honour their sacrifice. These practices reflected an understanding of suffering as transformative and sacred, a concept that would later resonate with the Moravian emphasis on Christ's suffering as a source of grace and renewal.

The arrival of the Moravian missionaries in Kalaallit Nunaat introduced a theological framework that, while foreign, aligned significantly with the existing Kalaallit Inuit religion. The Moravian focus on Christ's wounds and blood as sites of redemption mirrored the Kalaallit religion of renewal through the life and, consequently, the blood of animals. Similarly, the communal nature of Moravian worship, with its emphasis on shared rituals and emotional expressions of faith, parallelled Kalaallit practices of communal living and seasonal gatherings such as the aasiviit. These parallels allowed Moravian theology to connect with Kalaallit Inuit in ways the abstract doctrines and rigid structures of the Danish Church could not.

This alignment is, perhaps, best illustrated through the history of Juditha Isseq, whose leadership and vision exemplify how Kalaallit women navigated the complexities of

colonial influence. Her establishment of the Single Sisters' house at Noorliit created a space that empowered women within the constraints of both Inuit and colonial patriarchal systems. By adapting the Moravian choir system to address the vulnerabilities of Kalaallit women, Juditha Isseq demonstrated how external structures could be reimagined to align with Kalaallit Inuit values and needs. Her work highlights the potential for agency and innovation even in restrictive circumstances, as well as the enduring importance of community,

The architectural transformations of this period also reflect the negotiations between colonial pressures and Inuit agency. While the Danish administration sought to impose European-style housing as a symbol of moral and economic reform, Kalaallit families resisted these changes when they conflicted with their lived realities. Instead, they selectively incorporated new elements, such as metal stoves and glass windows, blending them with traditional architectural forms that supported communal living and cultural continuity. Their choices reveal a deliberate and pragmatic approach to adaptation, where external influences were integrated on Inuit terms.

This chapter highlights that the interactions between Kalaallit Inuit and the Moravian missionaries were not simple stories of imposition or assimilation but mutual influence and negotiation. The Moravians engaged with Kalaallit Inuit culture in a way that allowed for meaningful connections, fostering a sense of shared understanding rather than erasure. In contrast, the Danish colonial strategy, focusing on individualisation and economic exploitation, often failed to resonate with Kalaallit communities.

Through these narratives, the resilience and adaptability of Kalaallit Inuit become evident. Faced with profound social and cultural upheaval, they navigated the challenges of colonialism by maintaining their identity and traditions while selectively

embracing change. The convergence of Inuit religion and Moravian theology underscores the power of shared symbols, such as blood and suffering, as bridges between cultures. As Kalaallit Nunaat underwent waves of transformation, the ingenuity and strength of its people ensured their cultural identity and lifeways endured.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPARATIVE SITES

The Moravian Brethren, also known as 'Unitas Fratrum' or simply the Moravians, played a prominent role in the religious and cultural transformation of the Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut. Their mission spanned 272 years, concluding in 2005 when the last Moravian missionary was called home (Rollmann 2009: 11). This chapter examines the Moravians' history in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut[52], focusing on the differences in colonial regulations, trade relations, and missionary strategies, which ultimately shaped their interactions with Inuit in these distinct areas.

The Moravian mission in the Arctic began with the establishment of Neu Herrnhut in 1733, in present-day Nuuk, Kalaallit Nunaat. By the end of the 19th century, the Moravians had founded a total of 13 mission stations among Inuit communities, five in Kalaallit Nunaat and eight in Nunatsiavut, in Northern Labrador (see Figure 5.1). While the missions shared overarching goals of evangelism and community-building, the colonial contexts in which they operated significantly influenced their methods and outcomes. In Kalaallit Nunaat, the Danish Trade imposed strict trade monopolies and regulations that limited the autonomy of Moravian missions, forcing them to depend on external support. In contrast, the British colonial administration granted the Moravians substantial freedoms in Nunatsiavut, including a large land grant and the ability to trade directly with Inuit. This

[52] While the term Nunatsiavut, meaning "Our beautiful land", was formally adopted in 2002 following the ratification of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, I use it throughout this dissertation in respect for the Inuit living there today. Historically, Inuit in Northern Labrador referred to themselves as Labradormiut, and the region was not officially regonised as Nunatsiavut until the establishment of the self-government in the early 21st century. I acknowledge that using Nunatsiavut anachronistically may not reflect historical terminology, but it aligns with contemporary Inuit political and cultural identity.

divergence in governance and economic policies offers a valuable lens through which to analyse the nuanced relationships between Europeans and Inuit in different colonial contexts.

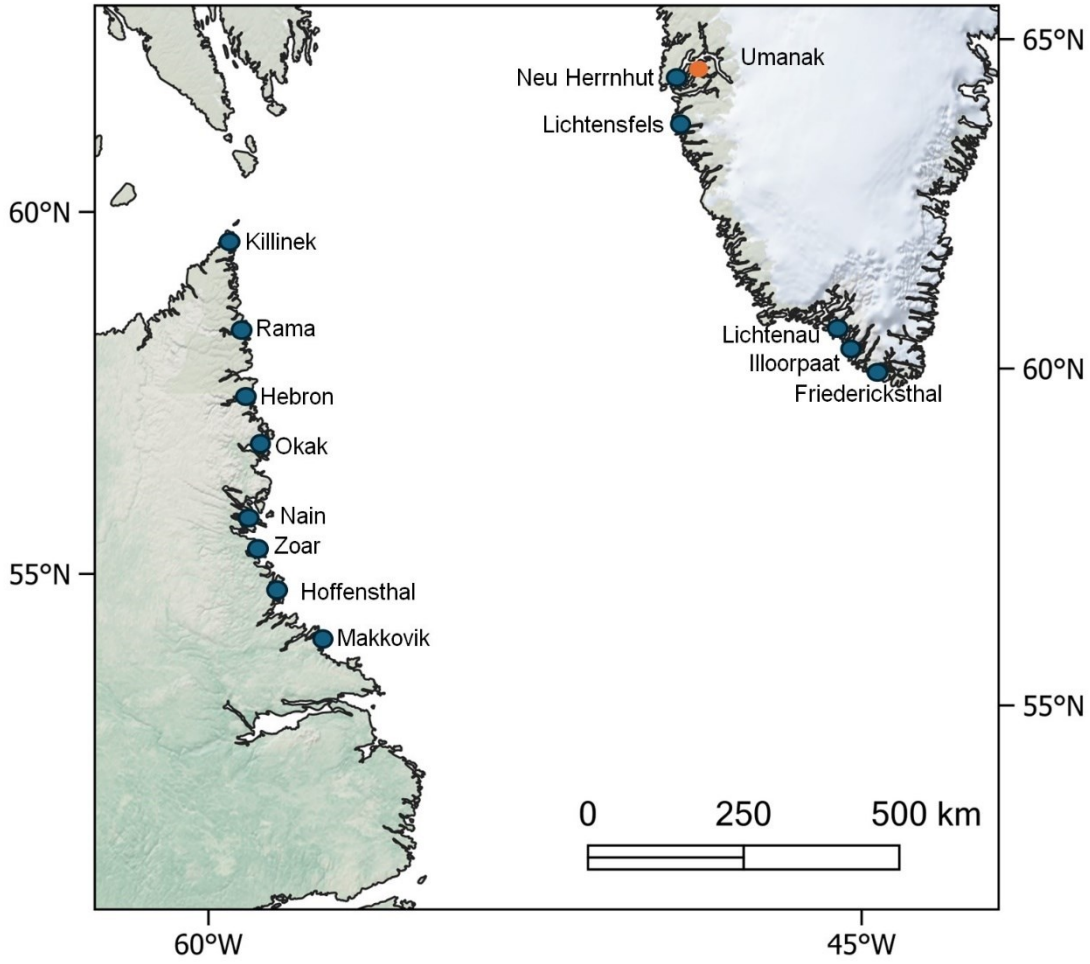


Figure 4.1 Map of the Moravian mission stations in the Eastern Arctic. The mission sites are marked with the original German names and does not reflect modern spelling. The orange dot, Umanak, was a satellite station belonging to the jurisdiction of the missionaries in Neuherrnhut.

This chapter argues that the distinct colonial regulations and trade systems in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut fundamentally shaped Moravian missions' development, relationships with Inuit communities, and their long-term legacies. Through a comparative

analysis of these two regions, it becomes clear that while both missions left permanent marks in the cultural landscapes of the Arctic, the conditions of colonialism created markedly different experiences for the Moravians and the Inuit they sought to convert.

In this process, Inuit women played crucial roles in shaping the missions. While Juditha Isseq was instrumental in integrating Moravian structures into Kalaallit society and thereby likely attracted Kalaallit Inuit to the mission, Mikak – a renowned Inuk woman from Labrador – was pivotal in negotiating the Moravian settlement in Nunatsiavut. Her diplomatic efforts in Britain directly influenced the establishment of the first Moravian mission in Nain in 1771, making her a key historical figure in this colonial encounter.

Eastern Arctic

The Moravians were initially driven by a vision of global evangelism, inspired by their leader, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Their mission was to spread Christianity to marginalised and isolated communities, including enslaved Africans, Indigenous Peoples in North America, and Inuit in the Arctic. While they claimed not to seek total cultural assimilation or be tied to economic or political colonial endeavours, their mission strategy ultimately required a significant transformation of Inuit lifeways, moving them from their traditional nomadic practices toward stationary, obedient Christian communities (Hiller 1971: 843; Arendt 2011: 111).

In Kalaallit Nunaat

The Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat followed the architectural and social model of Herrnhut, Germany, where the communities were divided into choirs (see

Figure 5.2). These choirs separated members by age, gender, and marital status, with separate choir houses serving as both living spaces and communal hubs. For example, the single sisters, under initiative by Judithe Isseq, lived in choir houses until 1783, and similar houses for Single Brothers and Widows were established earlier in 1753 and 1772, respectively. These houses provided space for community, shared labour, worship and daily life (Petterson 2023).

Figure 5.2 The layout of Neu Herrnhut as David Crantz documented it in 1759. The legend reads: 1 common house, 2 provisions house, 3 choir houses for the Single Brothers, 4 Single Sisters, 5 winter houses, 6 tents, 7 God's acre for the baptised and unbaptised.

This kind of social structure resonated with aspects of Kalaallit communal living. Kalaallit families shared resources, hunted together, and systematically distributed the food, reflecting a deeply ingrained sense of interdependence. The Moravian choir house system paralleled this approach, fostering collaboration and mutual support among its

members. This overlap helped Moravian congregations flourish in Kalaallit Nunaat, reaching 1222 members by 1782 (Andersen 1969: 56; Petterson 2023).

However, over time, the missionaries began questioning the practicality of the choir house system in the Kalaallit context. By 1781, debates arose about whether the separate housing arrangements were hindering, rather than helping, the mission's goals. The strict division of men and women disrupted traditional Kalaallit Inuit labour practices, which relied on cooperation between genders. Unmarried men, for instance, often depended on women for essential tasks such as food preparation and clothing production. The separation imposed by the choir system interfered with some Kalaallit cultural norms and seemed to undermine men's ability to develop the self-reliance the Moravians valued. Recognising these challenges, the missionaries ultimately concluded that the choir house system was unsustainable in Kalaallit Nunaat (Gulløv 1978: 83-84; Jensen et al. 2012: 90; Petterson 2023).

Therefore, in 1784, the choir houses were abandoned. When winter houses at the missions needed to be re-constructed or built anew, it was without the single sisters' or single brothers' houses.[53] Despite this structural shift, the communal spirit of the Moravian mission persisted. Daily and weekly assemblies continued to play a central role in fostering community cohesion. These gatherings, which included biweekly morning meetings, midweek assemblies, and Sunday services, offered both spiritual guidance and practical opportunities to address the congregation's needs. The Moravians' emphasis on documentation ensured their decisions and activities were meticulously recorded, providing insights into everything from daily chores to larger organisational strategies. For example,

[53] The widow's house was kept, and the single sisters' house morphed into the *Tjenerinde* house, for the serving girls, who did not marry.

letters and reports reveal debates about issues as mundane as purchasing sheep or chickens, and more significant questions about the mission's long-term sustainability (Petterson 2023). This extensive communication network reflected the Moravian commitment to maintaining order and connection within the Kalaallit missions and across their global network of missions (see Figure 5.3).

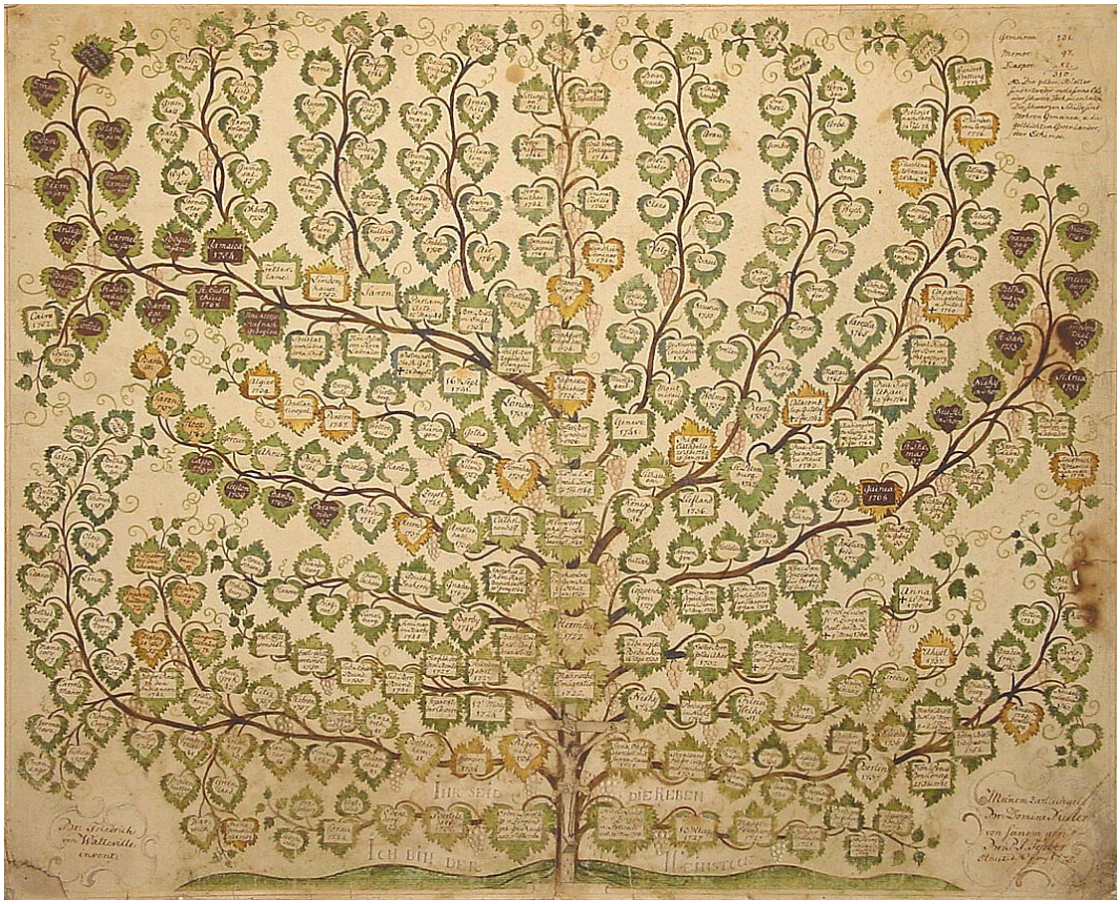


Figure 5.3 Allegorical painting by Jakob Philipp Ferber. The artwork reads, "Ihr seid die Reben, Ich bin der Weinstock", meaning "You are the branches, I am the vine", and shows the global network of the Moravian missions with location and year every Moravian congregation was established as of 1778. Unitätarchiv Herrnhut. TS Mp.380.1

While the Moravians prioritised their communal and spiritual goals, they faced significant external pressures, particularly from the Danish administration. The Danish trade controlled all commerce in Kalaallit Nunaat, prioritising economic exploitation. The Danish trade policies required Kalaallit Inuit communities to remain scattered across hunting grounds to maximise resource extraction, especially seal oil, for export to Europe. This directly conflicted with the Moravian efforts to centralise their congregations at mission stations, creating ongoing tensions between the mission and the Danish authorities. The Moravian mission had to adhere to the requirement that Kalaallit Inuit had to live scattered for the sake of resource utilisation and that areas with a high concentration of people, like the Moravian mission stations, be dismantled into smaller groups (Jensen et al. 2012: 92-93). Because of this, the Moravian mission, on several occasions, felt harassed by the Danish trade and complained to the Danish administration. To further complicate the relationship between the Moravian Brethren and the Danish colonies, Denmark and Germany fought two wars during the nineteenth century, with Germany being the victor (Jensen et al. 2012: 94). The wars with Germany also impacted the Danish trading ships' ability to leave port in Denmark. The ships that were providing for the Moravian Brethren, which was not a German national church, had no such issues. During the wars, the mission stations in Kalaallit Nunaat had a steady supply, unlike the Danish colonies (Andersen 1969). This put an extra strain on how the Danes interacted with the German missionaries.

By the late 19th century, the financial and logistical challenges of maintaining the mission had become insurmountable. Despite their efforts, the Moravians found it increasingly difficult to sustain their activities under the constraints of Danish colonial policies. In 1900, the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat was formally handed over to the Danish Church. Although the physical presence of the Moravians came to an end, their

legacy remained embedded in the Kalaallit culture, from the architectural and linguistic influence of the missions to the continued impact of their communal and spiritual practices (Jensen et al. 2012: 96).

In Nunatsiavut

The Moravian mission in Nunatsiavut followed a different trajectory from its counterpart in Kalaallit Nunaat, shaped by the colonial context of British governance and the mission's comparatively greater autonomy. While the Moravians arrived in Kalaallit Nunaat under strict trade regulations of the Danish administration, their entry to Nunatsiavut was supported by substantial land grants and freedom to trade with Inuit. These favourable conditions allowed the mission to establish a lasting presence along the coast of Nunatsiavut, leaving a significant cultural and economic legacy.

The Moravians' first attempt at establishing a mission in Nunatsiavut came in 1752, with the dispatch of five missionaries to Nisbet Harbour (Cary 2004; Arendt 2011: 117). This endeavour ended in tragedy when the missionaries were caught in a conflict between French colonists and local Inuit, leading to their deaths (Rollmann 2009: 53). This failure was primarily due to the lack of prior relationships with Inuit leaders and the missionaries' misunderstanding of the local political landscape. Unlike later missions, where Moravians gained support through established trade and diplomacy, this early attempt was isolated and perceived as an intrusion by both Inuit and competing Europeans (Rollman 2009). Despite this initial failure, Inuit diplomacy played a crucial role in shaping the success of the second attempt.

That turning point began in 1765, when Mikak (see Figure 5.4), a prominent Inuk woman from the region, first met Jens Haven at Chateau Bay. Haven was on an exploratory journey to assess the viability of establishing a Moravian mission in Labrador. This meeting marked the beginning of a complex relationship between Mikak and the Moravian mission. This early encounter laid the groundwork for her later capture-turned-diplomatic visit to England. Captured during a conflict near Chateau Bay, Mikak and her young son, Tutauk, were transported to England under the orders of Governor Hugh Palliser (Rollmann 2015). Unlike previous Inuit taken to Europe as captives or exhibits, Mikak was treated as a diplomatic guest and introduced to London's elite (Stopp 2009). She quickly gained fluency in English and formed relationships with influential figures, including Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales (Whiteley 1979).

Figure 5.4 Painting of Mikak and her son Tutauk by John Russell, 1769. The painting is currently at the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Georg-August University of Göttingen, Germany.

Mikak's presence in London was significant because of the fascination she generated among British high society and her direct political impact on British-Inuit relationships. She actively advocated for Moravian missionaries, believing they could provide stable trade and peace in her homeland. This advocacy was key in securing British support for the Moravian mission. Encouraged by Mikak's testimony and eager to maintain control over Inuit trade, the British government saw an opportunity to use the Moravians as intermediaries. The British administration's primary concern in Labrador was protecting its lucrative fishing industry. Informal trade between Inuit and individual fishermen often disrupted operations, and tensions between the two groups sometimes resulted in violence and accusations of theft (Stopp 2009). British officials believed that granting the Moravians a large landholding could encourage Inuit to settle away from the fishing grounds, thus reducing conflicts and exerting greater control over economic activities in the region (Hiller 1971). In May 1769, the British government officially granted Moravians 400,000 acres of land along the Labrador coast – one of the largest land grants ever given to a missionary group (Brice-Bennett 2002: 34-35; Rollmann 2009: 105; Arendt 2011: 120). The grant effectively allowed Moravians to oversee Inuit trade and limit direct interactions between Inuit and British fishermen. While this strategy did not fully succeed – many Inuit continued to travel south to trade weapons and goods – the land grant solidified the Moravian presence in Nunatsiavut.

Upon her return to Labrador, Mikak's experiences abroad set her apart from the other Inuit leaders. She wore the elegant gold-laced dress gifted to her by Princess Augusta and demonstrated a deep understanding of British expectations and power dynamics. While this enhanced her standing among the Moravians and some Inuit, others regarded her suspiciously, fearing that her ties to Europeans had changed her loyalties (Stopp

2009). Despite these tensions, Mikak remained a key intermediary, helping the Moravians navigate local customs and build relationships with Inuit communities.

To formalise their claim to the land, the Moravians engaged in ceremonial "purchases" of the land they built on from Inuit, where they announced the consequences of the purchase – that they would have complete control of the land afterwards (Rollmann 2009:118). The implications of the purchase were to cement the Moravian ownership of the land and get the approval of the British government as a legitimate Christian group (Rollmann 2009:119; Arendt 2011:121). However, the significance of these land transactions for the Inuit remains unclear. If the Inuit of Nunatsiavut had the same understanding of land ownership, which did not exist, as their Kalaallit counterparts, then these ceremonies held little to no importance in their worldview (Rollmann 2009:118-119).

Unlike the Danish colonial administration in Kalaallit Nunaat, which strictly regulated all trade, the British government granted the Moravians freedom to manage their own trading operations. This autonomy allowed the Moravian mission to become economically self-sustaining while simultaneously encouraging Inuit settlement at their mission stations.

The Moravians established mission stations at key locations along the coast of Nunatsiavut, beginning with Nain in 1771. Over time, Okak, Hopedale, and Hebron were built to expand their reach. Here, the Moravians incorporated trade as a central aspect of their operations. Mission stations stocked desirable goods, such as firearms, ammunition and canvas sails, encouraging Inuit to settle nearby. In exchange, the Moravians relied on Inuit contributions to the sealing and fishing industries, particularly in rendering harp seal fat into oil for export to European markets (Arendt 2011: 131). This trading relationship fostered

economic stability for the missions while integrating Inuit labour into the colonial economy. The economic model supported the mission's financial needs and helped the Moravians establish strong interpersonal relationships with the Inuit communities. By managing their own trade and offering goods tailored to Inuit preferences, the Moravians created an economic and social environment that encouraged Inuit participation in mission life.

Trade relations in Nunatsiavut

While the Moravians successfully built trade relations with Inuit, they had to compete with southern traders. In British policy, the *Labrador* trade was seen as a counterpart to the profitable *Greenland* trade[54], which had long generated substantial revenue for the Danish Crown through commerce with Kalaallit Inuit. This comparison reveals how both colonial powers viewed the Arctic trade not as peripheral, but as central to colonial economic strategies. In the case of Denmark, the so-called Greenland trade referred to the extraction of wealth – particularly seal oil, skins, and other natural resources – from Inuit communities under a tightly controlled state monopoly. British officials hoped to replicate this model in Labrador, envisioning the region as a lucrative frontier for fur and oil extraction (Fay 1953: 458). By referring to these systems using the English names for the regions – Greenland and Labrador – I highlight the colonial asymmetry embedded in both systems, where Inuit resources and labour were redirected to support European profit structures.

Although Captain George Cartwright's trading operations were geographically limited and short-lived – his presence along the Labrador coast was largely confined to the

[54] Greenland trade here refers to the huge profits the Danish kingdom earned on trade with Kalaallit Inuit. I have chosen to use the English words for the two regions to show who benefitted from the trades.

early 1770s – they nonetheless offer insight into the economic and social dynamics in which the Moravians operated. A British trader, Cartwright was one of the few non-Moravian traders to establish relationships with Inuit in this early period. Although he struggled financially, his approach posed a notable, if temporary, challenge to the Moravian trade. Before any other trader, including the Moravians, Cartwright traded and loaned weapons, shot and powder to his Inuit 'friends' (Hay 2017: 47-48). Cartwright believed in the power of 'imaginary wants' and used 'luxury' goods as a means to attract trade with Inuit (Hay 2017: 38). Part of Cartwright's economic strategy was to form familial bonds with Inuit, referencing Inuit men as 'friends' and Inuit women and children as 'family' (Hay 2017:48, 53).

Cartwright's approach to increasing trade with Inuit was similar to that of the Moravians regarding conversion; it was:

> '*necessary to learn their language and mate interpreters; to gain their confidence; to establish an influence over them; to attend to the preservation of their lives and health; to improve their morals; to teach them to be industrious, […], to supply them, not only with such goods as they have hitherto required but also with others that will add to their comfort and be likely to become absolute necessaries in due time*' (Cartwright 1792: 93; Hay 2017: 49).

Where Cartwright likely meant commercial goods as the unforeseen wants, the Moravians could entice with a worldwide communication network and the different kinds of life stories (Gemainnachrichten and memoirs) that included, amongst other intangibles, spiritual guidance and a sense of connection (Mettele 2006: 57-58; Vogt 2006: 23).

Although Cartwright's trade with Inuit stopped almost as quickly as it began in 1773, perhaps as a side effect of the smallpox outbreak (Hay 2017: 56), an extensive

trading network that had been developed before the eighteenth century continued unaltered (Rollmann 2011:6-7; Fay 2015:143). During the nineteenth century, independent traders and, more noticeably, the Hudson Bay Company began competing against the Moravian trade in Nunatsiavut, prompting the Moravian mission to establish more mission stations and thus completing the European presence along the entire length of the Labrador Coast north of Hamilton Inlet (Fay 2015:143).

The Moravian trade was centred on personal relations with Inuit, and the surplus financed more missionary activities. The Moravian trade initially also helped the missionaries shield their potential converts somewhat from what they perceived as negative influences of southern traders and other unbaptised Inuit (Hiller 1971:844; Fay 2015:144). Initially, the Labrador Moravians were not allowed to sell alcohol or firearms. However, as southern competition rose, eventually, the Moravians were pressured to supply firearms and ammunition in 1786 (Rollmann 2011:5). Due to non-restrictive trade conditions imposed on the Moravians by an Order-in-Council of 1769, Moravians could not restrict Inuit from being employed or supplied by non-Moravian Europeans or from engaging in business relations with fellow unbaptised Inuit (Rollmann 2011:6).

The Moravians adapted to the contact zone by managing their own trade and offering goods tailored to Inuit preferences. Thus creating an economic and social environment encouraging Inuit participation in mission life. The introduction of commercial fishing and trapping as part of Moravian-led trade altered traditional Inuit subsistence strategies. While Inuit had long relied on marine resources, such as seals and whales, for sustenance and materials, the shift towards trapping for fur, like foxes and martens, and participating in cod and salmon fisheries or trade marked a significant transformation

(Rollman 2011). These activities tied Inuit closer to European markets, often prioritising commodities that Moravians and British traders valued over traditional subsistence needs.

While this adaptation provided access to firearms, textiles, and other goods, it also affected seasonal mobility. Trapping required Inuit to maintain traplines in fixed locations, leading to longer stays at specific sites than previous seasonal movements. Likewise, participation in commercial fishing encouraged more frequent interaction with Moravian missions and British traders, integrating Inuit into the colonial economy in new ways (Arendt 2011). However, not all Inuit participated equally in these shifts. Many continued to balance these economic opportunities with traditional hunting and fishing practices, maintaining a level of independence from European-controlled trade networks.

Moravian economy

The Moravian missions in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut were shaped not only by spiritual objectives but also by the economic systems that supported them. From the outset, the Moravian Church sought to create self-sufficient communities to sustain their evangelical work while minimising external interference. However, the unique colonial and economic contexts of Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut required the Moravians to adapt their strategies, resulting in divergent approaches to managing resources and fostering community stability.

The foundation of the Moravian economic system was the *General Economy* model, introduced by Zinzendorf in the early 18th century. This model aimed to establish self-sufficiency by organising Moravian communities into groups responsible for various trades and crafts, such as agriculture, carpentry, and tailoring. By relying on internal

production and distribution, Zinzendorf hoped to reduce the influence of external economic pressures, allowing the community to focus on spiritual pursuits (Arendt 2011: 112-113). Despite its idealistic intentions, the General Economy model faced significant challenges as the Moravian Church expanded its mission efforts. Mission stations in particular regions, like Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut, struggled to maintain self-sufficiency. Zinzendorf's insistence on avoiding external trade limited the missions' ability to generate income, forcing them to rely heavily on financial support from the central Moravian Church in Herrnhut, Germany. By the mid-18th century, the strain of sustaining global missions led to the establishment of auxiliary societies, such as the British Society for Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, which played a pivotal role in supporting the Nunatsiavut missions (Arendt 2011: 112-113). As the church began missionisation in European colonies in South Africa, Middle -, and North America, three societies were created to help alleviate the financial strain on the main German church: the Dutch "Brethren's Society for the Spread of the Gospel among the Heathen" in 1738, the British "Society for Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen" in 1741, and the American "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" in 1745 (Arendt 2011: 112).

Economic challenges in Kalaallit Nunaat

In Kalaallit Nunaat, the Moravian mission was subject to strict trade regulations imposed by the Danish Trade. To maximise resource extraction, the Danish trade required Kalaallit Inuit communities to remain dispersed across the hunting grounds, directly conflicting with the Moravian strategy of gathering their congregations at centralised mission stations (Jensen et al. 2012: 93). This requirement conflicted directly with the Moravian mission's desire and vision to gather their congregation into a cohesive community

rooted in their theological emphasis on shared worship, labour, and moral oversight. However, the economic realities imposed by the Danish Trade system made this vision nearly impossible to sustain (Petterson 2024).

The Moravian mission was prohibited from engaging in commercial trade with Kalaallit Inuit. Instead, it relied on limited bartering for personal necessities such as food and local products (Jensen et al. 2012: 93). The Moravians were further hindered by their reliance on external financial and material support. As a result, the Moravians in Kalaallit Nunaat relied heavily on support from other Moravian communities, particularly during periods of economic hardship or resource scarcity. Letters and reports from the missionaries frequently express frustration with the challenges of sustaining the congregation independently, citing the challenges posed by the Danish Trade policies and the unforgiving Arctic environment (Jensen et al. 2012: 90; Petterson 2024). However, needing support from other Moravian missions worldwide secured lively communication and the exchange of more unusual goods between the members in a worldwide network (see Figure 5.5).

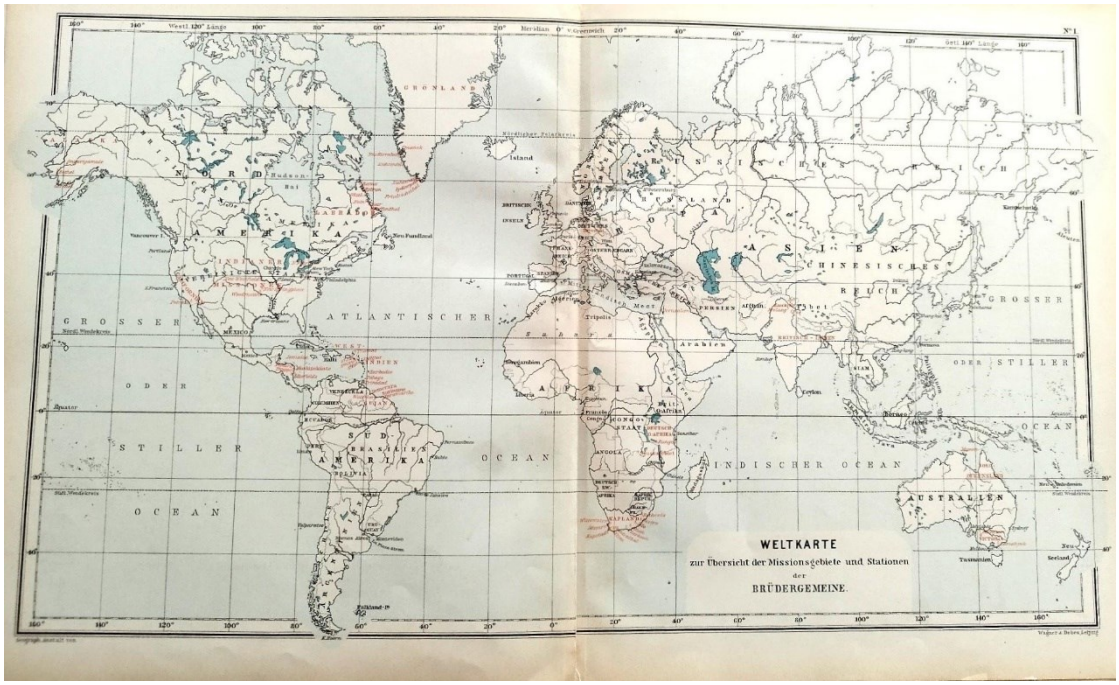


Figure 5.5 Moravian Mission Atlas from 1895. The map shows all the Moravian mission stations marked in red. Every one of these mission stations kept in contact with each other through letters, sharing stories from their daily lives (Gemeinachtricten) and sending well-wishes to each other worldwide.

While the Moravians adapted as best they could, their economic limitations often translated into hardship for the Kalaallit Inuit converts. The mission stations faced recurring food shortages, exacerbated by their attempts to curtail traditional Kalaallit subsistence practices, such as the seasonal migrations to the summer hunting ground and partaking in the big aasiviit. These disruptions not only strained the physical resources of the congregation but also undermined the cultural and social cohesion of Kalaallit life, creating tensions between the mission's spiritual goals and the practical realities of survival (Gulløv 1978:83-84).

Despite these challenges, the Moravians remain committed to their mission, often drawing on their communal structures to meet the congregation's needs. The choir system, for example, facilitated collective labour and resource sharing, helping mitigate some of the economic pressures faced by individual families. However, as the limitations of

this model became increasingly apparent, debates arose about its viability (as discussed above). When the choir house system was abandoned, the Single Sisters and Brothers were instead integrated into family households[55], which aligned more closely with Kalaallit labour practices and cultural norms (Andersen 1969; Petterson 2024). In the long term, the economic constraints imposed by the Danish trade regulations proved unsustainable for the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat. By the late 19th century, financial instability and the ongoing conflicts with the Danish colonial administration led to the Moravian mission's withdrawal. While the Danish church absorbed the remaining Moravian congregation, the Danish trade took over the economic aspects of the former Moravian Kalaallit members. While they had always been allowed to trade at the colonies, they had not had access to the social relief or award systems the Danish trade administered through the Guardian Councils until now. The social relief included relief funds, widow pensions, child support, and, later, a reward refund system, rewarding thrifty hunters. The reward and award systems were to counteract poverty and encourage people to hunt and trade, securing a stable economy for the Danish trade (Jensen et al. 2012: 63).

Comparative histories

The Moravian missions in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut reveal how distinct colonial, economic, and cultural frameworks shaped missionary strategies and their long-term outcomes. While both missions shared a commitment to spreading the gospel and fostering community, the contrasting colonial systems under Danish and British rule significantly influenced their development. In effect, each mission was moulded by its

[55] Ultimately reverting back to the traditional system, hopefully (but not mentioned in the archives), protecting the women from servitude than the patriarchal system Juditha Isseq sought to protect women from.

governance structure, from the tightly regulated Danish system to the more permissive British colonial regime.

The contrasting levels of autonomy granted to the Moravians in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut played a decisive role in shaping their missions. In Kalaallit Nunaat, the Danish colonial administration (through the royal trade company) tightly controlled almost every aspect of economic life and even parts of social life in the mission areas. The Danish trade prioritised the extraction of seal oil for export and required Kalaallit Inuit to remain mobile, ensuring access to key seasonal hunting grounds. This policy conflicted directly with the Moravian desire to settle and centralise their congregations at mission stations, creating immediate tension between missionary goals and colonial economics. Moreover, the Danish trade monopoly forbade the Moravians from engaging in large-scale commerce, meaning the mission could not trade freely or provide supplies or income. As a result, the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat remained dependent on financial and material support from Moravians' global network (Jensen et al. 2012: 92-93; Petterson 2024). Danish colonial policy thereby controlled the mission to an extent; the latter served spiritual purposes but had little economic independence within the colony's mercantile structure.

In contrast, the Moravians enjoyed greater autonomy under British colonial policy in Nunatsiavut. The British authorities granted the mission substantial land grants and the freedom to trade directly with Inuit, which allowed the Moravian mission to develop a more self-sufficient economic model on the Labrador coast. This autonomy allowed the Moravians to integrate trade into their operations, essentially turning mission stations into economic hubs where European goods were exchanged with Inuit for local products. A transactional relationship emerged in which Inuit could trade fur, seal blubber, and fish for

the mission's firearms, tools, and textiles. Unlike in Kalaallit Nunaat, where the Moravians were constrained at every turn by Danish rules, the Nunatsiavut missions were able to adapt flexibly to local conditions and needs, creating a more sustainable framework for community support (Rollmann 2009: 118; Arendt 2011: 129-131). In short, British colonial policy delegated a degree of governance to the Moravians, allowing them to manage local trade and affairs with minimal interference. This comparative freedom helped the Nunatsiavut missions thrive, whereas their Kalaallit Nunaat counterparts struggled.

Despite these structural differences, the Moravian missions functioned as subtle extensions of colonial authority in both regions. Christina Petterson (2012) argues that the Moravian missions acted as ‘soft colonial governance’, meaning they were unofficial agents of empire who reinforced colonial order under the guise of religious work. Indeed, both the Danish and the British regimes used the missions to further colonial interests less overtly. In Kalaallit Nunaat, even under tight Danish oversight, the mission’s activities, from gathering people at a mission station to instilling new social norms, complemented the colonial goal of managing the Kalaallit Inuit population within the Danish sphere (Petterson 2012). In Nunatsiavut, the British officials effectively outsourced aspects of colonial management to the Moravians. By Christianising and trading with Inuit, the mission helped pacify the region and integrate it into the British economic orbit without requiring a significant state presence. Therefore, in both cases, the Moravian missionaries were not merely evangelists but also mediators of colonial rule. This role as ‘soft’ governors set the stage for how missions shaped Inuit economic patterns and daily life under colonialism (Petterson 2012).

Economic strategies and trade relations

The economic models of the two missions reflected the constraints and opportunities imposed by their colonial contexts. In Kalaallit Nunaat, the Moravian mission struggled under the Danish trade monopoly, severely limiting its economic agency. The Moravian mission was prohibited from any significant commercial trade with Kalaallit Inuit. It could engage only in small-scale bartering for basic necessities (Jensen et al. 2012:93). This meant that Kalaallit converts still had to obtain most goods through the Danish trade. The Danish authorities' requirement for Kalaallit Inuit to remain dispersed along the coast, to hunt and supply trade goods, undermined the Moravian vision (and Kalaallit Inuit desire) of centralised communities. Repeatedly, missionaries found their congregants pulled away by seasonal hunting obligations, leading to increased conflict with the Danish colonial administration. As a result, the mission relied heavily on external support, and their inability to achieve self-sufficiency often left both the missionaries and their congregations vulnerable to food shortages and financial strain whenever supply ships were delayed or harvests were poor (Jensen et al. 2012:93; Petterson 2024). In essence, Danish policy forced the Moravian mission into an economically precarious position. Yet, this was by design, as it ensured that Kalaallit Inuit remained economically dependent on the colonial trade system and that the Danish authorities retained complete control over resources and commerce. The mission's economic marginalisation was part of the broader strategy of colonial regulation, a fact often glossed over in benign narratives of Danish-Inuit relations.

By contrast, the Nunatsiavut missions incorporated trade as a core component of their operations[56]. With British permission, Moravian mission stations eventually doubled

[56] During the eighteenth century, the Society for Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen separated from the main church in Herrnhut in all matters except for the religious guidance from the Council of Elders, and

as centres for economic exchange, offering European goods such as firearms, textiles, and tools in return for seal blubber, furs, and other resources. This integration of trade into mission work allowed the Moravians to materially support their congregations and reward participation in church life with goods and services. It also had the effect of tying Inuit economically to the mission stations. British authorities encouraged this arrangement, and the substantial land grants were intended not only for building churches but also to monopolise local trade in mission areas, keeping rival traders at a distance. By attracting Inuit to conduct commerce at the missions rather than with outside traders, the Moravians fostered an economic dependency on the mission framework (Brice-Bennett 2002:34-35; Rollmann 2009:105). Many Inuit began to rely on the mission store as their primary source of European goods, a dependency that aligned with British interests in managing the fur and seal trade.

At the same time, this economic model came with significant challenges. Like the Danish trade in Kalaallit Nunaat, the Moravians in Nunatsiavut pressured Inuit to harvest and sell seal oil, which could sometimes disrupt traditional subsistence practices. The missions also controlled both trade and relief, creating a system where the mission could determine access to credit, goods, and even food. This dual role often led to conflict and misunderstanding, particularly when Inuit families accrued debts at the mission store. The missions frequently struggled economically themselves, facing poor harvests, falling fur prices, and epidemics that undercut their ability to be self-sustaining. Despite hopes for financial independence, most missions remained reliant on external support from the Society

later the Unity's Elders' Conference, and oversaw all missionary activity in Labrador (Arendt 2011: 113). This split between the British and German Moravian church meant that the SFG took a different stand on the procedures and policies relating to trade than what Zinzendorf had envisioned with the General Economy model. *Labrador* missions were not only encouraged to trade; they were expected to.

of the Furtherance of the Gospel Among the Heathen, and several had to reduce their operations over time (Rollmann 2011).

Open trade policies in Labrador did introduce competition; for example, Newfoundland traders would arrive each season offering goods, sometimes undercutting mission prices or selling items (like alcohol or firearms) that the mission was cautious with. In response, the Moravians adapted their trade practices to remain competitive, even if it meant compromising some of their initial ideals about restricting certain goods (Rollmann 2011:6). This flexibility kept the mission economically relevant and ensured that a significant portion of Inuit trade remained channelled through a British-sanctioned outlet. In sum, the Nunatsiavut missions built a local economy that was more self-sufficient than Kalaallit Nunaat's. However, they remained embedded in the colonial economic system, structured by foreign control and financial precarity. It was still fundamentally a colonial economy that encouraged Inuit to participate in trade on terms set by the mission and, by extension, the British authorities.

Across both Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut, the missions' economic roles ultimately reinforced Inuit dependency on colonial supply lines and markets. In Kalaallit Nunaat, Moravian converts had no choice but to rely on Danish trade for food, tools, and other necessities since the mission could not lawfully provide an alternative. In Nunatsiavut, most Inuit came to depend on the mission stores for imported goods, integrating those goods into their daily lives and subsistence activities. Crucially, this was not a benign development; it was part of the colonial strategy to bind Indigenous Peoples into the colonial economy. Both colonial powers secured greater influence over Inuit livelihood by making Inuit communities reliant on European materials, whether provided directly by the colonial trade monopoly or the Moravian proxies. Promoting economic dependency went hand in hand

with the missions' spiritual agenda. This ensured that even as the Moravians preached Christianity, they ushered Inuit into new economic structures dominated by European interests (Petterson 2024). Such outcomes clearly aligned with broader colonial objectives: to control Arctic resources and labour and to circumscribe the economic independence of Indigenous communities.

Cultural integration and adaptability

Cultural adaptability was a key factor in the success and longevity of the Moravian missions, though the extent to which Inuit communities embraced or resisted these efforts varied. In Kalaallit Nunaat, Juditha Isseq championed the integration of the choir house system, initially only for the Single Sisters, but eventually, the entirety of Noorliit was separated based on gender, marital status and age. This arrangement, while reflecting Moravian ideals of spiritual and social order, proved in the long term incompatible with the needs of the community. Kalaallit families and individuals relied on gendered interdependence for hunting, food preparation and clothing production - activities essential to their collective well-being. The rigid choir house system disrupted these practices, creating tension between Moravian objectives and Kalaallit traditions. Recognising this conflict, the Moravians mostly abandoned the choir house system in 1784 and allowed unmarried individuals to integrate into family households, a shift that aligned more closely with Kalaallit social norms (Gulløv 1978:83-84; Petterson 2024).

However, for many Kalaallit, this adaptation by the Moravians did not eliminate the underlying disruption caused by the mission's presence. The centralisation of Kalaallit communities at mission stations, often at the expense of seasonal mobility and

subsistence practices, posed significant challenges. The prohibition of partaking in aasiviit and orders to stay in the year-round settlement of the mission disrupted Kalaallit's ability to follow seasonal hunting cycles and maintain vital social networks (Gulløv 1978). While some Kalaallit families undoubtedly appreciated the material and spiritual support offered by the missions, others viewed the enforced sedentism as a loss of autonomy and a threat to their traditional way of life. These tensions highlight the complex interplay between acceptance and resistance in the colonial contact zone between Kalaallit Inuit and the Moravians.

In Nunatsiavut, the Moravians adopted a more flexible approach that allowed Inuit to retain aspects of their traditional subsistence practices while participating in mission life.[57] This balance enabled Inuit families to maintain some degree of mobility and autonomy, which perhaps contributed to the mission's long-term stability. Unlike in Kalaallit Nunaat, where the Danish trade monopoly exacerbated tensions between Moravian vision and Inuit traditions, the Nunatsiavut missions fostered an economic partnership that integrated Inuit labour and knowledge into mission operations. Many Inuit participated in the sealing and fishing industries centred around the mission, benefitting from access to European goods while continuing to practice their traditional hunting methods (Brice-Bennett 2002:75; Arendt 2011:129).

While mission life did encourage sedentarism, many Inuit maintained seasonal migration patterns well into the 20th century. In fact, most mission settlements were located on the sites of traditional winter camps, and these communities would largely empty out after Easter Monday each year. Families would travel to inland caribou hunting grounds in autumn

[57] The Moravian mission in Nunatsiavut learned from the experiences in Kalaallit Nunaat, which made for smoother relationship building in Nunatsiavut.

and to spring and summer coastal sites during the warmer months. They returned to the missions by the fourth Sunday of Advent. This cycle preserved traditional subsistence rhythms and mirrored pre-colonial seasonal movements (Hawkes 1916; Brice-Bennett 1977).

From the Inuit perspective, this partnership was both practical and strategic. By engaging with the mission's trade networks, many Inuit families gained access to tools, textiles, and firearms that facilitated their survival in the changing colonial landscape. At the same time, Inuit retained control over key aspects of their cultural identity, using missions as a resource rather than fully assimilating into Moravian structures in the 18th century. However, not all Inuit were drawn to the Moravian missions, and a significant portion of the population actively resisted settlement and religious conversion. The Moravian vision of sedentary mission life, with strict adherence to Christian doctrine and economic reliance on European goods, was not universally appealing. Many Inuit families – particularly those in southern Labrador and farther north beyond the missionised areas – chose to maintain their traditional lifestyles, hunting, fishing, and trading on their own terms (Arendt 2011).

Southern Inuit, who had longstanding trade relationships with first French and then British fishers, continued to operate independently of Moravian oversight. They maintained seasonal movements between coastal fishing grounds and inland hunting territories, leveraging their relationships with different European traders rather than relying on mission goods. The Moravians, who sought to limit Inuit contact with outside traders, saw these Inuit as particularly difficult to convert (Arendt 2011). As a result, southern Inuit remained largely outside the mission network, avoiding the strict religious and economic structures imposed by the Moravian settlements.

Similarly, a significant number of Inuit in Northern Labrador, particularly the Avanimiut, actively rejected the mission and remained outside the Moravian system into the 20th century (Brice-Bennett 2002:5). They expressed open hostility toward the Moravians, viewing them as outsiders attempting to interfere with their way of life. Others maintained a pragmatic distance, occasionally engaging in trade with Moravians but refusing to settle in mission communities (Rollmann 2009). This resistance highlights the diversity of Inuit experiences with Christian missions and underscores how colonial encounters were never uniform or inevitable. While some Inuit strategically engaged with the missions or economic or social benefits, others actively rejected the pressures to convert, preserving their traditional belief system and seasonal subsistence patterns (Brice Bennett et al. 2003:16). This division contributed to significant regional difference, as Inuit experiences with Moravians varied widely based on proximity, access to European goods, and personal or community choices (Markham 2021:90).

Both Mikak and Juditha Isseq illustrate how Inuit women played active roles in shaping the Moravian presence in their respective regions. Juditha Isseq used her position within the Moravian system in Kalaallit Nunaat to create spaces for women who wished to remain unmarried or avoid servitude, reshaping Moravian structures to fit her vision. Mikak, on the other hand, leveraged diplomatic ties with the British elite to facilitate the Moravian settlement in Nunatsiavut, using her influence to mediate between Inuit communities and European missionaries. Their experiences underscore the complexity of Indigenous agency in colonial encounters – far from being passive recipients of missionary efforts, Inuit women actively shaped, negotiated, and sometimes resisted these engagements, ensuring their communities retained autonomy within shifting colonial landscapes.

One of the most enduring legacies of the Moravian missions in Nunatsiavut is their musical tradition. Music was central to Moravian religious life, and their arrival in Labrador introduced Inuit communities to hymnody and, later, brass bands. These musical practices were not just a means of religious expression but became deeply woven into Inuit life's social and cultural fabric (Whitridge 2015; Gordon 2023).

Hymn-signing became a widespread and cherished practice among Inuit. By the late 19th century, domestic hymn-signing was common in Inuit households, with families gathering for evening devotions, often accompanied by harmoniums, violins, and guitars (Gordon 2023). In some cases, missionaries reported that small communities had dozens of musical instruments, demonstrating the deep integration of Moravian hymnody into everyday life. Additionally, hymn-singing accompanied seasonal gatherings and became a way for Inuit to stay connected to their faith and community even when they were away from the missions (Gordon 2023).

The introduction of brass bands in the mid-19th century further cemented music as a cultural cornerstone in Nunatsiavut. The bands, composed of Inuit musicians, played a key role in marking community occasions rather than in church services and performed primarily outdoors (Gordon 2023).

While these practices became deeply rooted in Nunatsiavut communities, evidence from Noorliit and other Moravian sites in Kalaallit Nunaat suggests a less extensive, but still notable, musical influence. Early Moravian records describe the establishment of singing schools in Kalaallit Nunaat by the 1740s and the translations of hymns into Kalaallisut (Cranz 1767; Torra 2024). Although the use of brass bands did not appear to persist as strongly in Kalaallit Nunaat after the mission’s withdrawal in 1900, tge

tradutuib of part-singing – often described as emotionally expressive, slow and harmonised, is still prominent in Kalaallit music culture and can be traced bask to these early Moravian efforts (Wilhjelm 2000).

Ultimately, the cultural accommodations at the Moravian missions, greater in Nunatsiavut and more limited in Kalaallit Nunaat, were critical in determining the missions' local impact. They also reveal how the mission could simultaneously serve colonial interests by encouraging Inuit to adopt sedentary habits, European goods, and a new religion and yet be shaped by Indigenous priorities and limits. The ongoing negotiation of culture and power in these mission communities underlines that the Moravian missions were true contact zones, where colonial, missionary, and Inuit lifeways intersected daily.

Conclusion

The legacies of the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut reflect their differing trajectories, as well as the varied responses of the Inuit communities to their presence. In Kalaallit Nunaat, the withdrawal in 1900 marked the end of 167 years of religious, economic, and cultural interactions. While the Moravians introduced elements of European education, architecture, and religious practice, some Kalaallit Inuit viewed the mission's centralisation efforts as disrupting their traditional lifeways. Even so, the linguistic and spiritual contributions of the Moravians, including the formalisation of Kalaallisut grammar (Kleinschmidt 1851) and the introduction of the hymn-singing tradition, remain significant components of Kalaallit culture today. The Moravians' detailed history documentation also provides valuable insight into the complexities of cultural and economic exchange under Danish colonial rule (Jensen et al. 2012; Petterson 2024).

In Nunatsiavut, the Moravians' emphasis on economic integration and cultural adaptability allowed their mission to endure well into the 20th century (Rollmann 2009:11). However, their presence did not result in uniform experiences across Inuit communities. While some Inuit engaged deeply with the missions and adopted Moravian teachings, others maintained a more pragmatic relationship, participating in trade without fully embracing the Moravian way of life. The British colonial administration's decision to grant the Moravians land in Labrador was primarily motivated by strategic concerns, using the missions to control Inuit movement and interactions with the lucrative British fishing industry. However, not all Inuit adhered to these expectations. Southern Inuit continued their long-standing trade with British and French fishers, while northern Inuit largely resisted missionisation, maintaining traditional seasonal subsistence patterns and autonomy over their land and social structures (Rollmann 2009; Arendt 2011). This diversity of responses underscores the agency of Nunatsiavut Inuit, who navigated the changing colonial context by blending traditional practices with new opportunities provided by the missions (Loring & Arendt 2009; Olsthoorn 2017:125-145).

One of the most enduring aspects of Moravian influence in Labrador is its musical tradition. The Moravians introduced European choral music, which Inuit quickly embraced and adapted into their own forms of worship and cultural expression. The mission's musical legacy continues to thrive, with Inuit choirs performing Moravian hymns in Inuktitut, blending Christian liturgical traditions with Indigenous spirituality (Gordon 2023). This provides an interesting similarity to Kalaallit Nunaat, where hymn singing remains a central part of post-Moravian religious practice. These musical traditions demonstrate how Inuit communities in both regions engaged with and transformed Moravian cultural influences to suit their own identities.

Both in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut, the Inuit response to the Moravian mission demonstrates their resilience and adaptability in the face of colonial disruption. While the Moravian mission introduced significant changes to Arctic lifeways, Inuit communities actively negotiated these changes, preserving core elements of their identity while adapting to new social and economic realities. The enduring presence of Moravian influences reflects a complex legacy shaped as much by Inuit agency as missionary ambition.

It is, however, important to recognise a common thread: both the Danish and British colonial authorities utilised the Moravian missions as instruments of control, and both later sought to sanitise their colonial histories. In historical narratives, Danish and British portrayals of their engagement with Inuit via the Moravians have often been misleadingly benign. Especially in older histories and public memory, these missions are frequently described in purely favourable terms – as humanitarian, religious endeavours that brought education and aid to Inuit, while downplaying the colonial agendas they served. This selective memory exemplifies colonial amnesia, the tendency to forget or omit the uncomfortable aspects of colonial relationships (Fletcher 2012). In Kalaallit Nunaat, for example, Danish accounts long emphasised the protective nature of the trade monopoly and the benevolence of Danish rule, implying that the missionaries and colonial officials acted mainly out of charity for Inuit. Such accounts overlook that Danish policy deliberately controlled Inuit mobility and economic options, shaping them to fit colonial needs. Likewise, in Nunatsiavut, British and later Canadian narratives have highlighted the Moravians' role in helping the Inuit through Christianity and Western education while ignoring how the mission simultaneously facilitated British economic interests in the fur trade and enforced new social norms. This colonial amnesia means that the Moravian missions have sometimes

been remembered as isolated, almost philanthropic, ventures rather than integral components of colonial governance.

A more critical look at these missions, challenges that sanitised view and reminds us that, however gentle their rhetoric, the Moravians were part of the colonial project. Framing the Moravian missions as a form of 'soft colonial governance' (Petterson 2012) helps to uncover the subtle ways colonial power operated under the cover of religion. The missions encouraged Inuit to settle in permanent settlements, adopt European lifestyles, and depend on imported goods, changes that were very much in line with colonial 'civilising' agendas and economic plans. They enforced new laws and moral codes, regulated Indigenous movement and trade, and gathered information about local populations, reinforcing colonial authority without requiring a large military presence. In essence, the mission extended the reach of European governance into the daily domestic life of Inuit communities, accomplishing through faith and commerce what might otherwise have required force. Recognising this reality does not diminish the genuine religious devotion of the Moravians or the positive aspects of their work, such as literacy and music. However, it places those efforts in the proper context of colonial power relations. It becomes clear that the Moravian missionaries, intentionally or not, were partners in the colonial enterprise of reordering Arctic societies to fit European visions of progress and profit.

The comparison of the Moravian mission in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut highlights the critical role of colonial governance, economic strategy, and cultural integration in determining the success of missionary efforts. While the restrictive policies of the Danish administration in Kalaallit Nunaat imposed significant limitations on the Moravians' ability to achieve their goals, the relative autonomy of the Nunatsiavut mission enabled a more sustainable and adaptive model. However, neither case resulted in complete cultural

assimilation. Instead, Inuit responses, whether through engagement, adaptation, or outright resistance, demonstrate the importance of flexibility and local engagement in the contact zone. These responses challenge the notion of passive Indigenous acceptance of missionary influence and instead highlight how Inuit actively shaped, negotiated, and sometimes rejected the colonial order imposed upon them.

By critically re-accessing the Moravian missions through the lens of colonial amnesia and 'soft colonial governance', we move beyond simplistic narratives of religious charity to acknowledge the broader structures of colonial power that these missions sustained. This comparative analysis contributes to a more accurate and nuanced understanding of the complexities of cultural exchange in Arctic colonial contexts.

CHAPTER SIX

REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY, THEORY AND EXPERIENCE

In this final chapter, I situate and reflect on the different analyses within their historical context and how the results affect the modern Kalaallit understanding of the colonial period. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research that can help broaden current understandings of how the colonial histories shaped the Eastern Arctic and help us reconcile the resulting cultural shift.

Reflections on methodology: ethical and Indigenous approaches

This research was guided by a decolonial and community-centred approach that sought to challenge extractive traditions in Arctic archaeology. The Noorliit Archaeological Field School was not just an excavation project but a site of experiential learning, agency, and Indigenous self-representation. By prioritising relational accountability and co-production of knowledge, we ensured that excavation decisions, interpretations, and analyses were informed by Kalaallit perspectives rather than purely academic frameworks. The guidelines in this work were conversation, active listening and centring democratic values.

One of the key methodological contributions of this project was the integration of “museum days”, where we engaged with the archival collections and material culture. This allows for a tactile, embodied connection to history, reinforcing that archaeology is not just about unearthing objects but about understanding lived experiences. This approach also

highlighted the colonial legacies embedded in museum collections, raising questions about ownership, representation, and the role of museums in reclaiming Indigenous history.

At the same time, this methodology posed challenges. Engaging in genuinely ethical archaeology requires constant negotiation between institutional expectations, ethical responsibilities, and community priorities. A central challenge was deciding how to make the project community-based. Who is the community regarding Noorliit? Is it the descendants who may not even be aware of the cultural and familial significance of the site for their families? Is it the neighbours of the site who engage with it on a daily basis? Is it the whole population,18.000 people, of Nuuk, where the site is located today? Who am I to decide who the community is? How do I get such a large number of people to engage with the project when a large percentage of them do not even vote in political elections[58]? The solution was to invite students from Ilisimatusarfik to participate in the project and be actively involved in the decision-making process and all the project stages. We disseminated the project on social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram, as well as engaged with the media such as KNR and Sermitsiaq. Random people passing by were invited to talk about the site and the excavation and share their histories regarding the heritage site, ensuring that the project was accessible and open[59]. Giving space for the students and community members to lead discussions on excavation sites and interpretations meant relinquishing some of the conventional archaeological authority. This shift in control was crucial, rewarding and important, as it repositioned archaeology as a tool for cultural resurgence rather than an instrument of historical extraction.

[58] For the election to Inatsisartut in 2021, 27.079 people (65.8%) voted out of 41.126 eligible voters. https://naalakkersuisut.gl/Nyheder/2021/04/0704_Optaelling_6april?sc_lang=da

[59] On a few occasions, we also physically aided people shouting to us from the road to come through the rugged terrain, so they could see the finds and excavation site.

Theoretical and conceptual insights

The excavation and historical analyses reinforced the complex and multifaceted nature of cultural encounters in Kalaallit Nunaat. The contact zone between Moravian missionaries, Danish colonists, and Kalaallit Inuit was not just a site of domination and asymmetrical power but also one of negotiation, adaptation, and resistance. The research challenges simplistic narratives of European imposition by focusing on the Kalaallit agency. Instead, it highlights how Kalaallit Inuit strategically integrated, resisted, and transformed colonial influences to sustain their cultural identity. Here, the contact zone is a space where anyone in it is affected and takes on different roles depending on the interaction.

One of the reasons the colonial histories of Kalaallit Nunaat need further study and more attention is the role colonial amnesia has played in historical writing. Until recently, there has been a tendency to overlook or erase Kalaallit contributions and perspectives in the past. Historical records from the colonial period in Kalaallit Nunaat predominantly reflect European viewpoints, often marginalising or misrepresenting Kalaallit Inuit experiences. This selective practice has led to a skewed understanding of the history of Kalaallit Nunaat, where the role and agency of Kalaallit Inuit are downplayed and diminished.

This colonial amnesia has shaped historical narratives and influenced the nature of archaeological research conducted in Kalaallit Nunaat. Much of the archaeology in the region has been led by European archaeologists, often privileging Norse sites and pre-Inuit sites and avoiding colonial period sites and the lived spaces of Kalaallit Inuit. This has

resulted in a research focus reinforcing Eurocentric perspectives, indirectly implying that Kalaallit Inuit history is not worthy of archaeological focus.

In contrast, Nunatsiavut has seen a more active engagement with Indigenous-led archaeological initiatives, particularly in the last few decades. Following the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement in 2002, there has been a greater emphasis on community-driven archaeology, where Nunatsiavut Inuit directly participate in the research process and shape the interpretation of findings (Kaplan & Woollett 2000; Rankin & Gaulton 2021; Rankin et al. 2023). This has allowed for a more nuanced approach, integrating Inuit oral traditions and emphasising cultural continuity rather than rupture. In contrast, Kalaallit Nunaat, still under Danish governance, has been slower in developing comparable Indigenous-led frameworks, and archaeological research continues to be predominantly shaped by non-Indigenous institutions. The lack of formalised ethical guidelines for archaeological practice in Kalaallit Nunaat, compared to Nunatsiavut's community-centred approaches, further demonstrates the lingering effects of colonial histories on research methodologies (Møller et al. *in press*).

By bringing archaeological findings into dialogue with Kalaallit oral histories and Indigenous methodologies, the suppressed histories can be recovered and, ultimately, challenge dominant colonial narratives. Recognising the differences in archaeological practice between Nunatsiavut and Kalaallit Nunaat further underscores how colonial histories continue to shape interpretations of the past and how research is conducted. Moving forward, there is a need for more Indigenous-led archaeological projects in Kalaallit Nunaat, ensuring that Inuit perspectives and priorities take centre stage in reconstructing the history of their own homelands.

Here, the importance of transculturation, the blending and reinterpretation of cultural elements within colonial settings, comes into play. While the belongings from the excavation in Noorliit are fragmentary at best and cannot give even a partial look into how life was at the mission, the changing of architecture and the orientation of the houses (the entrance used to be oriented towards the ocean, whereas the doors became oriented towards the church), show that the adoption of European goods and practices was not a passive act of assimilation but rather a process of selective adaptation. These findings disrupt the binary notions of coloniser and colonised, showing instead a nuanced landscape where Kalaallit Inuit shaped colonial encounters just as much as they were shaped by them (see Figure 6.1).

To better contextualise the evidence of transculturation, the architectural changes and material culture from a Kalaallit home further north are presented below.

Figure 6.1 Photo of a Kalaallit family in front of their house in 1909. The family had belonged to the Moravian congregation and still lived in Noorliit, nine years after the missionaries had left the country. The family wears a mix of traditional clothing, the kamiit and female trousers, while blending with European fabrics for the annoraat and male trousers. The house in the background is built of turf but has European archictural elements of a chimney and glass windows. The metal pot in front also shows the selective adaptation of European goods in an every day situation. Photographed by Arnold Heim, Arktisk Institut.

In 2022, I led an excavation in the Narsannguaq area in Sisimiut[60], where we unearthed a communal house dating back to 1764, the date of establishment of the colony of Holsteinsborg (Møller & Pushaw 2024:74). While we were unable to fully excavate the structure, as it extended outside of the boundaries of the building site, we did get a detailed insight into the life of the communal house and the people who lived in it over the years. The

[60] This excavation was a so-called rescue excavation of the oldest part of Sisimiut. The local hotel, SØMA, needed to expand, and therefore was it required by law that the area was archaeologically investigated. This meant that the excavation was under time constraint and therefore could not be led as a field school or open excavation.

structure counted more than 10 floor layers and was reused at least five times before it was abandoned. Small wooden pillars showed that the flooring had been covered in floorboards for at least part of the communal house phase (Møller & Pushaw 2024). During the 1800s, the structure downsized significantly and was no longer a communal home. However, the new building was too large to be a single-family home; we interpret it as either an extended family home or belonging to at least two families living together (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 74). By the 1920s, this smaller building had undergone three phases, where some of the walls were rebuilt, and the floor, in the last phase, had wooden floorboards that were left in situ. This last phase was also the only phase of the house, where we excavated rubbish (fish bones, food scraps, and the like) inside the house. This directly contrasts with how the colonial administration, as mentioned in Chapter Four, described the Kalaallit Inuit homes as filthy. Instead, our archaeological investigation suggests that the home, like our excavation in Noorliit, was only unkempt after it was abandoned.

Due to the permanence of the colony, the home was used and reused much more frequently than before colonisation (and what we saw evidence of in our Noorliit excavation). This meant that the midden area outside of the home was easily accessible material for the insulation between the double-walled structure when needing to alter the layout of the building, e.g., for the different phases of the building. In this insulation fill, we unearthed the material culture that the inhabitants previously had used while living in the home (Møller & Pushaw 2024: 74-75).

Like in the excavation at Noorliit, in Sisimiut, we unearthed traditional Inuit equipment: whalebone caps for oars, arrowheads, ukkusissaq vessels, harpoon heads, and ulus. Of European goods, we unearthed fruit pits, whole coffee beans, clay pipe fragments from Scotland, England, Germany, Denmark, and the Ottoman Empire, a Danish coin minted

in 1771, folded knives, woven cloth, leather boots, iron nails, gunflint, glass fragments from windows and bottles, glass beads, ceramics such as porcelain from the Royal Copenhagen factory, faience, redware and stoneware. Most of the imported goods likely came from the Danish trade; however, some of the ceramics and clay pipes are most likely from trading with British expeditioners (see Figure 6.2) (Møller & Pushaw 2024:75).

Figure 6.2 Belongings from the Narsannguaq excavation. The porcelain fragment depicting the Princess Royal and the Prince of Prussia (Victoria and Albert) would not be available in the Danish trade and would have been "illegally" obtained from British ships. The broken faiance plate shows a transculturaltion process, where the plate after being broken becomes something else. The perforation marks indicate where the plate has been "stitched" back together. The black pipe head depicting a head with either an elaborate hairstyle or a form of headdress is from the Ottoman Empire – again not something a Kalaaleq Inuk could purchase in the Danish trade.

The belongings show a household that used the winter to prepare for hunting and harvesting during the warmer seasons. The sheer amount of faunal remains (caribou, different species of whales, seals, birds, arctic fox and hare, mussel shells and fish bones) and imported colonial goods tells us that the people who lived here were great hunters and loyal customers in the Danish trade – and therefore good colonial subjects. However, the

architectural choices in the home, especially its size, show a subtle resistance to the colonial discourse, as outlined in Chapter four.

Understanding both archaeological sites within their broader historical framework is essential. The colonial period in Kalaallit Nunaat was not a uniform or monolithic experience – it was deeply localised, dynamic, and entangled with existing social, economic, and environmental factors. The architectural shifts, material evidence, and spatial organisation of each site mirror the broader transitions in Kalaallit society during the 18th and 19th centuries, including changes in settlement patterns, household structures, and economic strategies in response to colonial pressures.

These findings also contribute to the ongoing debate about Indigenous resilience and survival in the Arctic. While colonial narratives often portray Kalaallit Inuit as passive subjects of European missionisation and trade, the archaeological record tells a different story of agency, adaptation, and continuity. The ability of Kalaallit Inuit to navigate shifting colonial landscapes, integrating new materials and practices while maintaining core cultural traditions, speaks to their resilience and resourcefulness. Colonial histories in the Eastern Arctic are not isolated events but part of a larger interconnected story. The comparative analysis with Moravian mission sites in Nunatsiavut and Kalaallit Nunaat demonstrates that colonial strategies, and Indigenous responses, varied across regions. Recognising these variations is crucial for moving beyond generalised histories and toward more nuanced, community-centred understandings of colonialism in the Arctic.

The impact on modern Kalaallit understandings of the colonial period

The methodologies and philosophies guiding my work have important implications for contemporary Kalaallit identity and historical consciousness. Colonial

amnesia has often rendered the lived experiences of Kalaallit Inuit during the colonial period invisible, reducing complex histories to simplistic narratives of oppression and loss. Recovering the forgotten, often hidden, histories and connecting with them through a community-based, Kalaallit-informed project helps bridge the gap between archaeological and historical narratives and Kalaallit's self-understanding of their past.

One of the key insights from community engagement throughout this project – as well as the excavation at Narsannguaq in 2022 – was that many Kalaallit Inuit today are eager to reclaim their history, not through formal academic channels but through public memory, local storytelling, and cultural revitalisation. These excavations and their engagement with students and the communities sparked conversations about how colonial histories continue to shape Kalaallit identity, governance, and relationships to land and nature today. This is particularly relevant in light of the ongoing debates about decolonisation[61], sovereignty[62], and historical justice[63] in Kalaallit Nunaat. Understanding the colonial past is not just about academic knowledge; it is about reclaiming narratives, strengthening cultural identity, and asserting Indigenous sovereignty in the present.

A significant aspect of reclaiming our history involves the rehumanisation of the past. Tapping into our traditional knowledge of Inua*,* which is that everyone and everything is connected, could guide this rehumanisation process, especially regarding our heritage, stolen ancestors, and cultural belongings. The process of rehumanisation entails recognising and honouring the humanity, the *Inua*, of the ancestors whose remains have been stolen, objectified, and decontextualised in museums and cultural institutions. This

[61] https://iwgia.org/en/kalaallit-nunaat-greenland/5393-iw-2024-kalaallit-nunaat.html
[62] https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/greenland-during-trump-2-0-america-poised-historic-arctic-territorial-expansion/
[63] https://unric.org/en/speaking-up-for-women-in-greenland-spiral-case-we-were-frozen-in-our-bodies-for-decades/

rehumanisation is a critical step toward healing and restoring dignity to Indigenous communities. While repatriation is ongoing (Thorleifsen 2009), shifting the ancestors from one institution to the other is not necessarily an act of decolonisation or rehumanisation[64]. Democratic decision-making within heritage management and repatriation would ensure that Indigenous communities have agency and authority over the disposition of their cultural heritage. This involves collaborative and open dialogues between cultural institutions and the people they should serve. Engaging in the rehumanisation of the past, advocating for actual repatriation, and participating in democratic decision-making would empower Kalaallit Inuit to reclaim their history and assert their sovereignty. This approach to decolonisation fosters a more comprehensive understanding of the colonial period's impact and supports the ongoing journey of cultural revitalisation and self-determination.

Suggestions for future research

While this dissertation deepens the understanding of colonial encounters in Kalaallit Nunaat, it also affords several avenues for future research and here are four key themes I advocate for:

- Expanding Indigenous-led archaeology in Kalaallit Nunaat. The Noorliit Archaeological Field School demonstrated the value of ethical, community-driven research. Future projects should continue prioritising Indigenous methodologies and train more Kalaallit archaeologists to lead their own projects.

[64] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/6/7/peabody-museum-mummies-greenland/ - note the headline "Harvard Peabody Museum Returns Five Ancient Mummies to **Denmark**".

- Comparative studies of contact zones. While this project primarily focused on Noorliit, a broader comparison of the Moravian mission sites and colonial settlements around the world could provide further insight into how different Indigenous, enslaved, or other colonised communities engaged with and responded to the colonial powers.
- Decolonising museum collections. The idea of a museum is to preserve the artefacts that it safeguards for all eternity. Future research should explore how these collections can be recontextualised, revitalised and repurposed for Indigenous knowledge reclamation.
- Oral histories and colonial memory. A more profound engagement with Kalaallit oral histories and community memory could further challenge colonial amnesia and integrate Indigenous knowledge systems into historical research.

Conclusion

This dissertation explored the cultural encounters, disruptions, and agency of Kalaallit Inuit within the colonial contact zone of Noorliit during the 18th and 19th centuries. Through an interdisciplinary approach integrating archaeology, historical analysis, Indigenous methodologies, and critical fabulation, the research has demonstrated that colonial interactions were not simply imposed upon Kalaallit Inuit but were instead marked by nuanced resistance, adaptation, and agency.

By revisiting the colonial history of Kalaallit Nunaat through the lens of contact zones, this study challenges dominant narratives that depict Indigenous communities as passive subjects of colonial rule. Instead, it highlights these encounters' dynamic and

multidirectional nature, where Kalaallit Inuit strategically engaged with and reshaped colonial influences to maintain their cultural identity.

A key intervention of this study has been the use of critical fabulation. This method weaves together archival evidence, archaeological findings, and Indigenous storytelling traditions to recover marginalised histories and challenge the gaps left by colonial archives. In this dissertation, critical fabulation is employed not only in the interpretation of visual materials, such as Gormansen's and Aalut Kangermiu's artworks, but also in the contextual reading of the belongings recovered at Noorliit – including beads, ukkusissaq, and glass- to imagine plausible narratives of daily life, and in the retelling of Juditha Isseq's and Mika's influence in the early years of the Moravian missions in Kalaallit Nunaat and Nunatsiavut. These interpretations are informed by Inuit social knowledge, gendered practices, and oral history, where available, extending the archive's limited voice. For example, the analysis of architectural changes and material reuse in the Noorliit ruin A2 excavation builds upon fragmentary evidence to suggest how Inuit families adapted colonial spatial norms while maintaining communal life. Although these reconstructions are necessarily speculative, they are grounded in Indigenous epistemologies and challenge the presumed neutrality of Eurocentric historical frameworks. In this way, critical fabulation has offered a way to speak through archival silences and centre Inuit agency in both domestic and mission life.

The central research questions revolved around how Kalaallit Inuit navigated the pressures of colonialism and balanced the expectations of the Danish colony and the Moravian mission. The findings reaffirm that Kalaallit lifeways were deeply resilient, continuously evolving in response to external forces. The Noorliit Archaeological Field

School underscored the importance of ethical, community-based research, ensuring that Indigenous voices actively shaped how their past was studied and interpreted.

Looking ahead, this research calls for a continued commitment to decolonial archaeological practices and the inclusion of descendant communities in shaping the narratives of their own past. Just as I initially framed the study within the larger discourse of colonial amnesia and Indigenous knowledge recovery, I now conclude by reinforcing the urgency of reclaiming these histories and ensuring that Kalaallit voices remain central to discussions about their heritage.

Ultimately, the findings contribute to broader discussions on Indigenous agency in colonial contexts, challenging static interpretations of colonial encounters. With this dissertation, I provide a framework for future research to bridge further the gaps between archaeology, Indigenous methodologies, and historical analysis. By placing the narratives of the Kalaallit Inuit at the forefront and incorporating critical fabulation as a tool to resist historical erasure, this study paves the way for a more inclusive, ethical, and relational approach to Arctic history and archaeology.

By centring the experiences and perspectives of Kalaallit Inuit, this dissertation emphasises the importance of re-evaluating our understanding of colonial histories. Such histories should not be viewed solely as academic subjects but recognised as living legacies that continue to shape contemporary Kalaallit identity, sovereignty, and efforts toward cultural reclamation. This perspective aligns with broader movements in the Arctic that seek to decolonise historical narratives and empower Indigenous communities.

Ultimately, this work transcends reconstructing the past; it is fundamentally about reclaiming it. Ensuring that the histories of Kalaallit Nunaat are conveyed not just

through colonial records but through the voices and perspectives of the Kalaallit Inuit who lived them is essential for authentic historical representation. Engaging with the past through the concept of contact zones has contributed to a more nuanced and affective portrayal of what life was like.

Taama allattunga, Kirstine

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andersen, P. 1969 Herrnhuterne i Grønland. History, Greenland. *Tidsskriftet Grønland* 2 (1969): 50-64.

Andreasen, C. & Kapel, H. 1983. *Missionsanlægget Ny Herrnhut*. Rapport over den eskimoiske bebyggelse, juli 1983. Kalaallit Nunaata Katersugaasivia

Arendt, B. 2010. Caribou to Cod: Moravian Missionary Influence on Inuit Subsistence Strategies. *Historical Archaeology* 44 (Environmental and Economic Archaeologies of Missions, Colonies, and Plantations):81-101.

Arendt, B. 2011. *Gods, Goods and Big Game: The Archaeology of Labrador Inuit Choices in an Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Mission Context.* Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia, Virginia.

Arneborg, Jette. 2024: *skrællinger* i *Den Store Danske* på lex.dk. Accessed 29 April, 2024 https://denstoredanske.lex.dk/skr%C3%A6llinger

Atalay, S. 2006. Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonising Practice. In: *American Indian Quarterly 30, Vol. ¾*: 280-310

Atalay, S. 2012. C*ommunity-based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities*, Berkley (CA), University of California Press

Atuagagdliutit 1996. National Day Celebrations. *Atuagagdliutit* nr. 46: 3

Atwood, C. D. 1996. "ZINZENDORF'S 1749 REPRIMAND TO THE BRÜDERGEMEINE." In: *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*. 29: 59-84.

Atwood, C. D. 2009. "Little Side Holes: Moravian Devotional Cards of the Mid-Eighteenth Century". In: *Journal of Moravian History*. no. 6: 61-75.

Bendixen, 1917. Den grønlandske General-Takst og Handel og Omsætning ved Kolonierne i gamle Dage. *Det Grønlandske Selskabs Aarskrift* 1917: 1-9. https://www.kb.dk/e-mat/dod/130021305023-color.pdf

Berlingske 2025. Bred kreds af filmfolk vil have DR til at gensende omstridt dokumentar. February 21, 2025: https://www.berlingske.dk/danmark/bred-kreds-af-filmfolk-vil-have-dr-til-at-gensende-omstridt-dokumentar

Bizzel, P. 1994. "Contact Zones" and English Studies. *College English* 56(2):163-169.

Blume, E. 1865. *Fra et Ophold I Grønland, 1863-64*. Kjøbenhavn: Fr. Woldike

Bowes, J. P. 2008. The Gnadenhutten Effect: Moravian Converts and the Search for Safety in the Canadian Borderlands. *Michigan Historical Review* 34(Emerging Borderlands):101-117.

Brice-Bennett, C. 1977. *Our Footprints are Everywhere: Inuit Land Use and Occupancy in Labrador*. Nain: Labrador Inuit Association

Brice-Bennett, C. 1990. Missionaries as Traders: Moravians and Labrador Inuit 1771-1860. In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary E. Ommer. Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1990:

Brice-Bennett, C. 2002. *Hopedale: Three ages of a community in Northern Labrador.* Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's.

Brown, R. 1894. Obituary: Dr. Hendrik Rink. In: *The Geographical Journal* vol. 3, No. 1 (Jan., 1894): 65-67.

Bugge, G. N. 1970. Koloniliv i Godthåb. I. 1903-1914. In: *Tidsskriftet Grønland* 8: 239-256. http://www.tidsskriftetgronland.dk/archive/1970-8-Artikel04.pdf

Buhl, Clemmensen, & H. C. Gulløv. 1983. *Missionsanlægget Ny Herrnhut*. Nuuk Kommune, fredningsnummer 64V1-III, 1. Kalaallit Nunaata Katersugaasivia

Cabak, M., and S. Loring. 2000. "A Set of Very Fair Cups and Saucers": Stamped Ceramics as an Example of Inuit Incorporation. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 4:1-34.

Cartwright, G. 1792. *A journal of transactions and events, during a residence of nearly sixteen years on the coast of Labrador containing many interesting particulars, both of the country and its inhabitants, not hitherto known. Illustrated with proper charts. By George Cartwright, Esq. In three volumes*. Newark: printed and sold by Allin and Ridge sold also by G. G. J. and J. Robinson, in Paternoster-Row, and J. Stockdale, Picadilly, London, Newark.

Carey, M. 2019. Towards An Antiracist Archeology. *The Activist History Review: https://activisthistory.com/2019/09/27/toward-an-antiracist-archeology/*

Cary, H. 2004. *Hoffnungsthal: The Archaeology and Architecture of the First Moravian Mission to the Labrador Inuit, 1752.* Memorial University of Newfoundland

Cipolla, C. N. 2013. Native American Historical Archaeology and the Trope of Authenticity. *Historical Archaeology* 47(Reversing the Narrative):12-22.

Cipolla, C. N., and Howlett Hayes, K. 2015. *Rethinking Colonialism : Comparative Archaeological Approaches*. University Press of Florida, Florida, UNITED STATES.

Conway, J. 2011. Cosmopolitan or Colonial? The World Social Forum as 'contact zone'. *Third World Quarterly* 32(2):217-236.h

Cooper, J. 2004. Queering the Contact Zone. *JAC* 24(1):23-45.

Côté, J., 2010. From Transculturation to Hybridization : Redefining Culture in the Americas. . In *Amériques transculturelles / Transcultural Americas*, edited by A. Benessaieh, pp. 121-147. Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa., Ottawa.

Crantz, D. 1767. *The History of Greenland: Containing a Description of the Country and Its Inhabitants and Particularly a Relation of the Mission Carried on ... at New Herrnhuth and Lichtenfels* : Tr. from the High-Dutch. London, Printed for the Brethren's society for the furtherance of the gospel among the heathen and sold by J. Dodsley

Crenshaw, Kimberle 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8. Available at: http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8

Cusick, J. 1998. Historiography of Acculturation: An Evaluation of Concepts and Their Application in Archaeology. In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by James G. Cusick, pp. 126-171. Occasional Paper, Vol. 25. Southern Illinois University, Illinois.

Dalager, L. 1758. *Grønlandske Relationer: Indeholdende Grønlændernes Liv og Levned, Deres Skikke og Vedtægter, Samt Temperament og Superstitioner, Tillige nogle korte Reflectioner over Missionen; Sammenskrevet ved Friderichshaabs Colonie i Grønland anno 1752.* Kiøbenhavn, trykt og findes tilkiøbs hos Ludolph Senrich Lillies Enke, boende i Store Fiolstræde i den forgyldne Ore. https://archive.org/details/DalagerRelationer1758/page/n3/mode/2up

Danbolt, M. Cramer, N. Elg, E. Jørgensen, A. V. & Pushaw, B. 2022. I kontaktzonen mellem kunsthistorie og kolonihistorie. In: *PERISKOP* no. 27: 37-57

Demarée, G. R., and A. E. J. Ogilvie. 2008. The Moravian Missionaries at the Labrador Coast and their centuries-long contribution to instrumental meteorological observations. *Climatic Change* 91:423-450.

Dinsdale, J. R. 1955. Grønlandske Kulforekomster. In: *Tidsskriftet Grønland* no. 2 1955: 62-67

Egede, Hans, and Poul Egede. 1738. *Omstændelig og udførlig Relation, angaaende den grønlandske Missions Begyndelse og Fortsættelse, samt hvad ellers mere der ved Landets Recognoscering, dets Beskaffenhed, og Indbyggernes Væsen og Leve-Maade vedkommende, er befunden.* København: tr. : Joh. Christ. Groth.

Egede, H. 1741. *A Description of Greenland.* T. & J. Allman, London

Egede, Poul. 1750. *Dictionarium Grönlandico-Danico-Latinum*. Hafnia

Engelbrechtsen, K. & Thomsen J. 2013. *Inuitisk religion og mytologi: myter, ritualer og religiøse forestillinger i det traditionelle inuitsamfund*. Ilinniusiorfik

Fasting, L. 1838. *Sendebrev til alle Grønlændere i Norden. Aglekkæt neksiutæt Kalad- linnut tamannut auangnarmiunnut*. Copenhagen: Fabritius de Tengnagels Boktrykkeri.

Fay, A. 2015. Missionaries, merchants, and Inuit entrepreneurs: An examination of trade relations along the Labrador Coast. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 39:141-164.

Fay, C. R. 1953. Newfoundland and Labrador Potential. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science / Revue canadienne d'Economique et de Science politique* 19:455-461.

Fernández-Götz, M., Gardner, A., Díaz de Liaño, G., & Harris, O. J. T. 2021. Posthumanism in Archaeology: An Introduction. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, *31*(3), 455–459. doi:10.1017/S0959774321000135

Fletcher, R. 2012. The Art of Forgetting: imperialist amnesia and public secrecy. *Third World Quarterly*, 33:3, 423-439, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2012.657476

Flint, K. 1999. Counter-Historicism, Contact Zones, and Cultural History. *Victorian Literature and Culture* 27(2):507-511.

Fogleman, A., S. 2008. *Jesus is Female. Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America.* University of Pennsylvania Press.

Frantzen, O. L. & Pajung, S. 2024. De slevigske krige. In: *Den Store Danske* på lex.dk: https://denstoredanske.lex.dk/de_slesvigske_krige

Friesen, M., Angulalik, E., Crockatt, K., Hakongak Gross, P., Angulalik, G., 2022. *Pitquhivut Ilihaqtavut ("Learning about Our Culture"): A Collaborative Approach to Archaeology and Traditional Knowledge in Inuit Nunangat.* Quebec, Canada: Centre interuniversitaire d'études et de recherches autochtones (CIÉRA) Etudes Inuit, 2022-01, Vol.46 (2), p.133-147

Friensen, M., & Arnold, C. D. 2008. The Timing of the Thule migration: New Dates from the Western Canadian Arctic. *American Antiquity* 73(3):527-538.

Gad, F. 1971. *The History o*f *Greenland. I, Earliest Times to 1700.* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

Gad, F. 1973. *The History of Greenland. II, 1700-1782.* Montreal Québec : McGill-Queen's University Press.

Gosden, C. 2004. *Archaeology and colonialism : cultural contact from 5000 B.C. to the present*. Cambridge, UK

Gordon, S. P. 2010. Entangled by the World: William Henry of Lancaster and "Mixed" Living in Moravian Town and Country Congregations. *Journal of Moravian History* 8:7-52.

Gordon, T. 2023. *Called Upstairs. Moravian Inuit Music in Labrador.* McGill-Queen's University Press. Montreal & Kingston, London, Chicago.

Gulløv, H. C. 1978. *Kampen om sjælene. Grønland og Oplysningstiden*. Nationalmuseet, København.

Gulløv, H. C. 1983. 'Herrnhuternes Grønlændere'. *Tidskriftet Grønland*.

Gulløv, H. C. 1987. Dutch whaling and its influence on Eskimo Culture in Greenland. In *Between Greenland and America. Cross-cultural contacts and the environment in the Baffin Bay area*, edited by Louwrens Hacquebord, and Richard Vaughan, pp. 75-94. Works of the Arctic Centre, Vol. 10. The Arctic Centre, Groningen.

Gulløv, H. C. 1997. *From Middle Age to Colonial Times: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Studies of the Thule Culture in South West Greenland 1300–1800 AD.* Copenhagen: Kommissionen for Videnskabelige Undersøgelser i Grønland

Gulløv, H. C. 2004. *Grønlands Forhistorie.* Gyldendal

Gulløv, H. C. 2017. 'Grønland : Den Arktiske Koloni'. Danmark Og Kolonierne. Kbh.: Gad.

Guizardi, M. 2024. *The elementary Structuring of Patriarchy: Bolivian Women and Transborder Mobilities in the Andes*. Talk at Archaeological Friday seminar at the Institute for Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo. https://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/forskning/aktuelt/arrangementer/gjesteforelesninger-seminarer/fredagsseminar/2024/menara-lube-guizardi.html

Hamilton, J. T. 1900. *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or The Unitas Fratum, or The Unity of Brethren, during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. Times Publishing Company, Bethlehem, PA.

Hansêrak. 1864. "Kalâtdlit igdlukitdlineránik avgordlutik." *Atuagagdliutit* no. 38 (December 21, 1864). https://timarit.is/page/3764444?iabr=on#page/n3/mode/2up/search/hanserak

Hansen, E. S. 2022. Postcolonial Gaslighting and Greenland: When Post-Truth Gets in the Way of Independence. in: *Global Politics in a Post-Truth Era:* https://www.e-ir.info/2022/10/04/postcolonial-gaslighting-and-greenland-when-post-truth-gets-in-the-way-of-independence/

Hansen, K. G. 2017. *Fra passiv iagttager til aktiv deltager*. PhD dissertation. Ilisimatusarfik

Hartman, S. 2008. Venus in Two Acts. *Small Axe 12*(2), 1-14. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/241115.

Hay, S. 2017. How to Win Friends and Trade with People: Southern Inuit, George Cartwright, and Labrador Households, 1763-1809. *Acadiensis* 46:35-58.

Heinrich, J. *Eske Brun og det moderne Grønlands tilblivelse 1932-64*. PhD dissertation. Ilisimatusarfik

Herman, A. K. 2021. 300 år efter koloniseringen ulmer oprøret i Grønland: »En mental kolonisering, vi skal ud af« in *Information* : https://www.information.dk/moti/2021/07/300-aar-koloniseringen-ulmer-oproeret-groenland-mental-kolonisering

Hiller, J. 1967. *The foundation and the early years of the Moravian Mission in Labrador, 1752-1805.* Master of Arts, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Hiller, J. K. 1971. The Moravians in Labrador, 1771–1805. *Polar Record* 15(99):839-854.

Inuit Circumpolar Council. 2020. Policy Paper on the matter of "Local Communities".

Inuit Circumpolar Council. 2022. Circumpolar Inuit Protocols for Equitable and Ethical Engagement.

Jensen, E. L., K. Raahauge, and H. C. Gulløv. 2012. *Kulturmøder Ved Kap Farvel. De Østgrønlandske Indvandrere Og Den Tyske Brødremission i Det 19. Århundrede*. København: Museum Tusculanums Forlag.

Jensen., J. F., 2015. Qajaa Excavations 1981 and 1982: A West Greenland Saqqaq site with preserved wood and bone. In *feltrapport 36: 1-86. https://natmus.dk/fileadmin/user_upload/Editor/natmus/danmarksnyeretid/Dokumenter/Jensen_Jens_Fog_2015_Qajaa_Excavations.pdf*

Jensen, L. C. Grønlands arkiver sank sammen med "Hans Hedtoft". in: *Kristeligt Dagblad:* https://www.kristeligt-dagblad.dk/danmark/groenlands-arkiver-sank-sammen-med-hans-hedtoft

Jordan, K. A. 2016. Categories in Motion: Emerging Perspectives in the Archaeology of Postcolumbian Indigenous Communities. *Historical Archaeology* 50(Historical Archaeology in the next decades):62-80.

Jørgensen, O. 1979. *Eskimuut inngerutaat, tivaasaat, pitsiaat, eqqarsaatersuutaat, pinnguaataa titartagaallu.* Tuukkak teatret.

Kaplan, S. A. 1980. Neo-Eskimo Occupations of the Northern Labrador Coast. *ARCTIC* 33:646-658.

Kaplan, S. A., and Woollett, J. 2000. Challenges and Choices: Exploring the Interplay of Climate, History, and Culture on Canada's Labrador Coast. *Arctic, Antarctic, and Alpine Research* 32:351-359.

Karstens Rønnows Tegnestue. 1984. *Bygningarkæologisk gennemgang af Herrnhuterhuset.* Kalaallit Nunaata Katersugaasivia

Kleivan, I. 1983. Herrnhuterne eller brødremeningheden i Grønland 1733-1900 History, Greenland. *Tidsskriftet Grønland* 8(1969):221-235.

KGH. 1782. *Instrux, hvorefter Kiøbmændene eller de som enten bestyre Handelen eller forestaae Hvalfanger-Anlæggene i Grønland, i Særdeleshed, saavelsom og alle de der staae i Handelens Tieneste i Almindelighed, sig have at rette og forholde*. Kbh. d. 19. Apr. 1782. https://www.kb.dk/e-mat/dod/130018497299.pdf

Kielsen Holm, L, L. A. Grenoble and R. A. Virginia. 2012. *A praxis for ethical research and scientific conduct in Greenland*. In Inuit Studies Volume 35, Number 1-2, 2011, p. 187–200. https://doi.org/10.7202/1012841ar

Kleinschmidt, S. 1851. *Grammatik der grønlændischen Sprache : mit teilweisem Einschluss des Labradordialekts*. Hildesheim

KNR. 2021. Kranie fundet i skraldespand: Stammer fra gammel gravplads. *Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa:* https://www.knr.gl/da/nyheder/kranie-fundet-i-skraldespand-stammer-fra-gammel-gravplads

Kočí, A., & Baar, V. 2021. Greenland and the Faroe Islands: Denmark's autonomous territories from postcolonial perspectives. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift–Norwegian Journal of Geography*, *75*(4), 189-202.

Kramer, F. E. 1992. »Om at udleede sig blandt saa mange Skiønheder en Brud« Aasiviit-sammenkomsterne på Taseralik i Sisimiut-distriktet. in: *Tidsskriftet Grønland 3*(1992):77-95.

Kuitems, M., Wallace, B.L., Lindsay, C., Scifo, A., Doeve, P., Jenkins, K., Lindauer, S., Erdil, P., Ledger, P.M., Forbes, V., Vermeeren, C., Friedrich, R. & Dee, M.W. 2022. Evidence for European presence in the Americas in ad 1021. *Nature,* vol. 601, no. 7893, pp. 388-3,391A-391I.

LeMonde 2025. Cryolite, a rare mineral, is rekindling tensions between Greenland and Denmark. February 20, 2025: https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2025/02/20/cryolite-a-rare-mineral-is-rekindling-tensions-between-greenland-and-denmark_6738355_4.html

Lightfoot, K. G. 1995. Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship Between Prehistoric and Historic Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60:199-217.

Lockhart, P. D. 2007. *Denmark, 1513-1660: the rise and decline of a Renaissance Monarchy*. Oxford (GB) New York: Oxford University Press.

Loring, S., and B. Arendt. 2009. "…They Gave Hebron, The City of Refuge…" (Joshua 21:13): An Archaeological Reconnaissance at Hebron, Labrador. *Journal of the North Atlantic* 2(sp1):33-56.

Lu, M., 1994. Professing multiculturalism : the politics of style in the contact zones. *College Composition and Communication* 45:442-458.

Lucas, G. 2001. *Critical Approaches to Fieldwork : Contemporary and Historical Archaeological Practice*. London & New York: Routledge.

Lucas, G. 2012. *Understanding the Archaeological Record.* Cambridge University Press

Lüdecke, C. 2005. East Meets West: Meteorological observations of the Moravians in Greenland and Labrador since the 18th Century. *History of Meteorology* 2:123-132.

Maegaard, M., & Mortensen, K. K. 2022. Colonial labels and the imagined innocence of past times: Debating language and spatial representations of the Danish/Greenlandic relation. *Language in Society*, *51*(5), 775-795. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404522000604

Markham, N. 2021. "Murmuring Against God": Inuit–Moravian Confrontations in Late Nineteenth-Century Labrador. *Newfoundland and Labrador studies*, 2021-03, Vol.36 (1), p.87-115

Marquardt, O. 1999. *From sealing to fishing: social and economic change in Greenland, 1850-1940.* Fiskeri og Søfartsmuseet.

McGhee, R. 2000. Radiocarbon Dating and the Timing of the Thule Migration. In: *Identities and Cultural Contacts in the Arctic*, edited by Martin Appelt, Joel Berglund and Hans Christian Gulløv, pp. 181-191. Danish Polar Center Publications no. 8. Danish National Museum and Danish Polar Center, Copenhagen.

McNiven, I. J., and Russell, L., 2005. *Appropriated pasts : indigenous peoples and the colonial culture of archaeology*. Lanham, MD : AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD.

Meldgaard, J. 1983. Signe Rink og de grønlandske akvareller. In: *Tidskriftet Grønland 4: 112-124.*

Meldgaard. J. 1996. The Pioneers: The Beginning of Paleo-Eskimo Research in West Greenland. In: *The Paleo-Eskimo Cultures of Greenland: New Perspectives in Greenlandic Archaeology.* Danish Polar Center 1996: 9-16.

Meldgaard, M. 1986. *The Greenland Caribou : Zoogeography, Taxonomy and Population Dynamics*. Copenhagen: Commission for Scientific Research in Greenland.

Mettele, G. 2006. Eine "Imagined Community" jenseits der Nation. Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als transnationale Gemeinschaft. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 32:45-68.

Mettele, G., 2007. Constructions of the Religious Self. Moravian Conversion and Transatlantic Communication. *Journal of Moravian History* 2:7-36.

Moltke, H. 1964. *Livsrejsen*. Lindhardt & Ringhof

Moltke, I., M. Fumagalli, T. S. Korneliussen, J. E. Crawford, P. Bjerregaard, M. E. Jørgensen, N. Grarup, H. C. Gulløv, A. Linneberg, O. Pedersen, T. Hansen, R. Nielsen, and A. Albrechtsen. 2015. Uncovering the Genetic History of the Present-Day Greenlandic Population. *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 96:54-69.

Møller, K. 2018. Kaffe og Kulturarv. In: *Tidskriftet Grønland* no. 2: 100-105.

Møller, K. 2022. *Bygherrerapport KNK6016, NKAH 2982, Narsannguaq 2022*. Unpublished report, Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagateqarfialu.

Møller, K. 2023. Eqqumiitsuliorneq: A Brief History of Art in Greenland. In: *Inuit sanaugangit : Art Across Time.* (eds) Coward-Wright, D. & Piiranen, J. Winnipeg Art Gallery-Qaumajuq, Canada: 83-89.

Møller, K., Mønsted, A. & Larsen, F. 2022. Inuitkulturen -førkolonitid. Ehlers Koch, N. (red.). 6 udg. *Trap Grønland* / Gads Forlag, Bind 36. s. 102-109

Møller, K., & Pushaw, B. 2024. Contesting the Colonial Illu: Sealing and Social Change in Kalaallit Architecture, 1750-1860. Peláez, L. G., & Niell, P. (eds) *Architecture and Extraction in the Atlantic World, 1500-1850.* Routledge Research in Architectural History:74-88

Møller, K., Johansen, R. S., & Olsen, A. *In press*. Towards an ethical archaeology: challenges in bridging the gap between Indigenous knowledge and archaeological practice in Kalaallit Nunaat. In: (eds) Lisa Rankin, Oscar Moro Abadía & Emilie Dotte-Sarout. *The Development*

of Indigenous Archaeology in Two Hemispheres: Research Among Arctic Inuit and Aboriginal Peoples of Australia. Routledge.

Møller, L. A. & Berthelsen, R. 1860. *Kaladlit assilialiait, or Woodcuts, drawn and engraved by Greenlanders.* Godthaab : Printed in the Inspectors Printing Office. https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/uv/view.php?n=Crewe_Kaladlit#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=3&xywh=-276%2C-1240%2C5492%2C5649

Nicholas, G. 2010. *Being and becoming Indigenous Archaeologists.* Routledge.

Nowak, E. 1999. The "Eskimo language" of Labrador: Moravian missionaries and the description of Labrador Inuttut 1733-1891. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 23:173-197.

Olsen, I. 1954. Købmanden Jacob Severins Grønlands-kolonisation. In: *Tidsskriftet Grønland* 9: 349-355.

Olsthoorn, T. 2017. Labrador Inuit on the Hunt: Seasonal Patterns, Techniques, and Animals as They Appear in the Early Moravian Diaries. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 41:125-149.

Ortiz, F. 1940., *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*. La Habana, Jesús Montero Editor

Oslund, K. 2016. Greenland in the Center: What Happened When the Danish-Norwegian Officials Met English and Dutch Whalers in Disko Bay, 1780-1820. In: *Acta Borealia 33,* no. 1: 81-99.

Paterson, A., 2011. *A millennium of cultural contact*. Walnut Creek, Calif. : Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, Calif.

Peleggi, M., 2012. The Social and Material Life of Colonial Hotels: Comfort Zones as Contact Zones in British Colombo and Singapore, ca. 1870-1930. *Journal of Social History* 46(1):124-153.

Petersen, R. 1963. Family Ownership and Right of Disposition in Sukkertoppen. District, West Greenland. *Folk* 5: 269-281

Petersen, R. 1965. Some regulating factors in the hunting life of Greenlanders. *Folk* 7: 107-124.

Petersen, R. 1995. Colonialism as Seen from a former Colonised Area. *Arctic Anthropology* 32(2): 118-126.

Petersen, H. C., & Hauser, M. 2012. *Kalaallit inngerutinik auinerat, Trommesang-traditionen i Grønland, The drum song tradition in Greenland.* Nuuk: forlaget Atuagkat

Petterson, C. 2012. Colonial Subjectification: Foucault, Christianity, and Governmentality. *Cultural Studies review* 18(2): 89-108.

Petterson, C. 2014. *The Missionary, the Catechist and the Hunter: Foucault, Protestantism and Colonialism*. Leiden: Brill.

Petterson, C. 2023. *Moravians in Greenland: Where Did They Go?* Presentation at the Moravian Archives, Betlehem, PA, on October 17, 2023.

Petterson, C. 2024. *Early Capitalism in Colonial Missions: Moravian Household Economies in the Global Eighteenth Century.* Bloomsbury

Peucker, P. 2007. The songs of the Shifting: Understanding the Role of Bridal Mysticism in Moravian Piety During the Late 1740s. *Journal of Moravian History* 3: 51-87

Peucker, P. 2010. *Self, Community, World: Moravian Education in a Transatlantic World.* Ed. Heikki Lempa and Paul Peucker. Bethlehem: LeHigh University Press.

Peucker, P. 2015. *A Time of Shifting. Mystical Marriage and the Crisis of Moravian Piety in the Eighteenth Century.* Penn State University Press

Podmore, C. 2000. The Moravians and the Evangelical Revival in England: 1738-1748. *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 31:28-45.

Poiret, A. 2021. The policy of 'Danization' of the Local Greenlandic Populations as Viewed by Inhabitants of Ilulissat. *Géoconfluences:* https://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/programmes/dnl/dnl-hg-anglais/danization-groenland

Pratt, M., 1992. *Imperial eyes : travel writing and transculturation*. 2003 ed. Routledge, 11 New Fetter Lane, London.

Putnam, L., 2006. Contact Zones: Heterogeneity and Boundaries in Caribbean Central America at the Start of the Twentieth Century. *Iberoamericana* 6(23):113-125

Randall, I. M. 2006. A Missional Spirituality: Moravian Brethren and eighteenth-century English evangelicalism. *Transformation* 23(Shaping of Christian Theology in Context):204-2014.

Rankin, L., & Gaulton, B. 2021. Archaeology, Participatory Democracy and Social Justice in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. In: *Archaeologies* 17: 79-102

Rankin, L., Brake, J., Onalik, L., Andersen, J., Flowers, M., Flowers, N., Igloliorte, D., Shiwak, I., and J., Shiwak, 2023. The Role of the Nunatsiavut Heritage Forum in the Development of Community Archaeology in Labrador. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 46(2):271-288.

Rasmussen, 1969 [1927]. *Across Arctic America: Narratives of the Fifth Thule Expedition. Greenwood*, New York

Reichel, L., 1888. *The Early History of the Church of the United Brethren, (Unitas Fratum) Commonly Called Moravians, in North America, A.D. 1734-1748*. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. The Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, PA.

Reincke, A., and W. C. Reichel. 1873. A Register of Members of the Moravian Church, and of Persons Attached to Said Church in this Country and Abroad, between 1727-1754. *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 1:283, 285-426.

Rink, H. 1866. *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, with a Sketch of Their Habits, Religion and Language*. C.A. Reitzel, Copenhagen.

Rink, H. 1877. *Danish Greenland, Its People, and Its Products.* London: Henry S. King & Co.

Rink, S. 1905. Kalâlek = Karâlek at udlede fra Koræk og ikke fra Skræling. *Geografisk tidsskrift Bind 18:* 149-152. https://tidsskrift.dk/geografisktidsskrift/article/view/49277/63007

Rivera Prince, J. A., Blackwood, E. M., Brough, J. A., Landázuri, H. A., Leclerc, E. L., Barnes, M., Douglass, K., Gutiérrez, M. A., Herr, S., Maasch, K. A., Sandweiss, D. H. (2022). An Intersectional Approach to Equity, Inequity, and Archaeology: A Pathway through Community. *Advances in Archaeological Practice*, *10*(4), 382–396. doi:10.1017/aap.2022.26

Rosing, J. 1998. Fortællinger om Inua. In: *Tidsskriftet Grønland* no 5, 1998: 155-174.

Rollmann, H. J. 1984. Inuit Shamanism and the Moravian Missionaries of Labrador: A Textual Agenda for the Study of Native Inuit Religion. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 8:131-138.

Rollmann, H. J. 2009. Moravian beginnings in Labrador. Papers from a Symposium held in Makkovik and Hopedale. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, Occasional Publication* no. 2.

Rollmann, H. J. 2010. Moravians in Central Labrador: The Indigenous Inuit Mission of Jacobus and Salome at Snooks Cove. *Journal of Moravian History* 9:6-40.

Rollmann, H. J. 2011. "So fond of the pleasure to shoot": The sale of firearms to the Inuit on Labrador's North Coast in the late eighteenth century. *NL Studies* 26(1): 5-24

Rollmann, H. J. 2015. English-Inuit hostilities at Cape Charles (Labrador) in 1767. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 39. No.1: 189-199.

Rosaldo, R. 1989. Imperialist Nostalgia. *Representations*, *26*, 107–122. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928525

Rud, S. 2017. *Colonialism in Greenland. Tradition, Governance and Legacy.* Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Rudolph, C. 1852. *Aksillisæt Innuin Nunajnnit.* Københavnimi : Bianco Lunub. https://www.kb.dk/e-mat/dod/11390803249C.pdf

Seiding, I. 2013. '*Married to the Daughters of the Country': Intermarriage and Intimacy in Northwest Greenland ca.1750 to 1850*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Ilisimatusarfik, Nuuk,

Scheffel, D. Z. 1984. From Polygyny to Cousin Marriage? Acculturation and Marriage in 19th Century Labrador Inuit Society. *Études/Inuit/Studies* 8:61-75.

Schweinitz, E. de. 1881. Some of the Fathers of the American Moravian Church: A Series of Brief Biographies. *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 2:145-269

Schledermann, P. 1976. Thule Culture Communal Hoses in Labrador. In: *Arctic* 27, no. 1 (1976): 27–37

Schneider, Tsim D., & Hayes, Kathrine. 2020. Epistemic Colonialism: Is It Possible to Decolonise Archaeology? In: *American Indian Quarterly,* 2020-04, Vol. 44 (2), pp. 127-148

Silliman, S. W., 2005. Culture contact or colonialism? Challenges in the archaeology of Native North America. *American Antiquity* 70:55-74.

Silliman, Stephen W. 2009 "Change and Continuity, Practice and Memory: Native American Persistence in Colonial New England." *American Antiquity*. Volume 74, Number 2: 211-230

Silliman, S. W., 2010a. Crossing, Bridging, and Transgressing Divides in the Study of Native North America. In *Across a Great Divide: Continuity and Change in Native North American Societies, 1400-1900*, Vol 4, edited by Laura L. Scheiber, and Mark D. Mitchell, pp. 258-276. Amerind Studies in Archaeology, John Ware, general editor. The University of Arizona Press, Tuscon.

Silliman, S. W., 2010b. Indigenous traces in colonial spaces: Archaeologies of ambiguity, origin, and practice. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10:28-58.

Silliman, S. W., 2015. A requiem for hybridity? The problem with Frankensteins, purées, and mules. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15:277-298.

Steensby, H. P. 1905. *Om Eskimokulturens Oprindelse. En etnografisk og antropogeografisk Studie.* Doktordisputats. København

Steenstrup, K. J. V. 1893. Dr. phil. Hinrich Johannes Rink. In: *Geografisk Tidsskrift,* Bind 12: 162-166.

Stoler, A. L. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense.* Princeton University Press.

Stoler, A. L. 2011. Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France. *Public Culture 23 (1): 121–156*

Stopp, M. 2009. Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England. *Arctic* 62(1): 45-64

Supernant, K., Baxter, J. E., Lyons, N. & Atalay, s. 2020. *Archaeologies of the Heart*, Springer, Cham

Supernant, K., & Warrick, G. 2014 Challenges to Critical Community-based Archaeological Practice in Canada. In: *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 38 (2): 563-591

Sveinstrup, P. P. & Dalgaard, S. 1945. *Det danske styre af Grønland, 1825–1850.* Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels førlag.

Søndergaard, N. 2016. Gravsteder skændet i Nuuk. *Sermitsiaq:* https://www.sermitsiaq.ag/kultur/gravsteder-skaendet-i-nuuk/603875

Temme, W. 1998. Krise der Leiblichkeit: Die Sozietät der Mutter Eva (Buttlarsche Rotte) und der radikale Pietismus um 1700. *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus* 35. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Thalbitzer, W. 1905. Skrælingerne i Markland og Grønland, Deres Sprog og Nationalitet. *Oversigt over Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Forhandlinger; 2:* 185-209 http://publ.royalacademy.dk/backend/web/uploads/2019-09-04/AFL%203/O_1905_00_00_1905_4676/O_1905_08_00_1905_4665.pdf

Thalbitzer, W. 1909. *The Heathen Priests of Eastern Greenland (angakut).* København

Thomas, D., Fowler, S. & Johnson, V. 2017. *The Silence of the Archive.* Chicago: ALA Neal-Schuman.

Thorleifsen, D. 2009. The repatriation of Greenland's cultural heritage. *Museum International*, *61*(1–2), 25–29. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0033.2009.01662.x

Toft, A. 1978. Godthåb. Nuuk i går og i dag /Nûk. Nuuk kanga mãnalo. *Atuagagdliutit* nr. 24. 21.06.1978: 20-21: https://timarit.is/issue/268215?iabr=on

Toft, P. 2010. *Livets ting – Tingenes Liv. Inuit og Europæiske genstande i Grønland 1600-1900.* Unpublished PhD dissertation. Copenhagen University

Toft, P., 2017. Moravian and Inuit Encounters: Transculturation of Landscapes and Material Culture in West Greenland. *ARCTIC* 69(5):1-13.

Toft, P. A. & Gulløv, H. C. 2011 *Fedtstensudnyttelse på Uummannaq, Nuuk-fjorden og rekognoscering efter norrøne lokaliteter i Kapisillit-fjorden*. SILA – Arctic Centre at the Ethnographic Collections, The National Museum of Denmark. 54 pp.

Toft, P. & Seiding, I. 2013. Circumventing Colonial Policies: Consumption and Family Life as Social Practices in the Early Nineteenth-Century Disko Bay. In: *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, edited by Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin, 105–129. New York: Springer.

Torra, R. 2024. Achieving Acoustic Hegemony: David Cranz's Historie von Grönland. *NEMoS Blog. https://nemos.hypotheses.org/2114*

Trouillot, M-R. 1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* Beacon Press.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples.* University of Otago Press & Zed Books Ltd.

Tuhiwai Smith, L. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples.* Second edition. Zed Books Ltd.

UNDRIP 2007. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

Vegeberg, K. 2024. ’Danmarks Titanic’ forsvandt i dybet for 65 år siden – men katastrofen spøger stadig. *Videnskab.dk* 30 January 2024

Vold, V. 2020. *Belysning af muligheder og udfordringer i krydsfeltet mellem forskning om Grønland og det grønlandske samfund – refleksion og analyse af det visuelle materiale: From where we view the world*. Unpublished MA thesis. Ilisimatusarfik

Vogt, P. 2006. "Everywhere at Home": The Eighteenth-Century Moravian Movement as a Transatlantic Religious Community. *Journal of Moravian History* 1:7-29.

Watkins, J. 2000. *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*, Lanham, MA: Rowman and Littlefield

Watkins, J. 2011. Indigenous Archaeology as Complement to, Not Separate From, Scientific Archaeology. In: *Jangwa Pana* 10, no. 1: 46–60.

Whiteley, W. H. 1966. The Moravian Missionaries and the Labrador Eskimos in the Eighteenth Century. *Church History* 35:76-92.

Whiteley, W. H. 1979. Mikak (Micoc, Mykok) in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol.4. https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mikak_4E.html

Whitridge, P. 2008. Reimagining the iglu: Modernity and the challenge of the eighteenth century Labrador Inuit winter house. *Archaeologies* 4:288-309

Whitridge, P. 2016. Classic Thule (Precontact Inuit). In *Oxford Handbook of Arctic Archaeology*, edited by Max Friesen and Owen Mason. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Wilhjelm, H. 2000. Brødremissionens overgivelse. In: *Tidsskriftet Grønland* 48(6): 203-244.

Wilson, S. 2008. *Research is Ceremony. Indigenous Research Methods.* Fernwood Publishing Co Ltd

Woollett, J. M. 1999. Living in the Narrows: Subsistence economy and culture change in Labrador Inuit society during the contact period. *World Archaeology* 30(3):370-387.

Zackel, C. 2008. Von der Kolonie zur Autonomie. In: *Indianer – Ureinwohner Nordamerikas.* Katalog zur Austellungs. Shallaburg Kulturbetriebsges.m.b.H. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Christian-Feest/publication/352573552_Indianer_Ureinwohner_Nordamerikas/links/60d11148299bf1cd71e95c7c/Indianer-Ureinwohner-Nordamerikas.pdf

Zallen, J. 2019. *American Lucifers: Dark History of Artificial Light, 1750–1865* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2019)

Zine, J., 2008. Contact Zones: A "Crash" Collision with Racial Politics and the Neo-Orientalist Imaginary. In *Crash Politics and Antiracism : Interrogations of Liberal Race Discourse*, pp. 181-200. Counterpoints, Vol. 339. Peter Lang AG

Zinzendorf, N. L. 1747. *Die an den Synodum der Brüder in Zeyst vom 11. May bis den 21. Junii 1746 gehaltene Reden, nebst noch einigen andern zu gleicher Zeit in Holland geschehenen Vorträgen.* Zu finden in den Bruder-Gemeinen.

Äikas, T., Salmi, A., 2019 Introduction. In Search of Indigenous Voices in the Historical Archaeology of Colonial Encounters. In *The Sound of Silence: Indigenous Perspectives on the Historical Archaeology of Colonialism.*, edited by Tiina Äikas, and Anna-Kaisa Salmi, pp. 1-14. Berghahn Books, New York.

Archival materials

Nunatta Allagaateqarfia

22.06.04 Herrnhut Ministerial bog. 1733 til 1900 I. Register over de i den Evangeliske Brødremenighed Døbte Grønlændere.
https://issuu.com/greenlandnm/docs/i_register_over_de_i_den_evangelisk

Unitätarchiv Herrnhut
Diary, Neu Herrnhut, Grönland January. 1745–11 August 1752, R.15.J.b.I.01.b
Diary, Neu Herrnhut, Grönland 12 August 1752–20 November 1761, R.15.J.b.I.01.c
Diary, Neu Herrnhut, Grönland 11 August 1761–31 July 1770, R.15.J.b.I.02.a
Diary, Neu Herrnhut, Grönland 1 March 1779–31 December 1784, R.15.J.b.I.03.a
Diary, Neu Herrnhut, Grönland 1 August 1796–29 May 1821, R.15.J.b.I.04.a
Marienborn Synod Protocol, vol 1, R.2.B.44.1.c.1
Marienborn Synod Protocol, vol 2, R.2.B.44.1.c.2

The Moravian Archive, London
Extract from the Journals of John Hill, Jens Haven, Chr. Drachart and A. Schloezer of their Voyage to the Coast of Labrador in the Year 1765. As presented to the Board of Trade. Together with the Questions proposed by the Missionaries to the Indians at the desire of his ExcJ. Gov. Palliser with their Answers.

Colonial Encounters

APPENDIX

By

© Kirstine Møller Gray

A Dissertation submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Archaeology

Memorial University

May 2025

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Contents

Note on the lists

The lists were transcribed from the original paper finds list used on-site. The x-number may correspond to multiple artefacts, and in some cases during the 2020 field season, individual artefacts were counted. Where the 'Amount' column is left blank, it indicates that more than one artefact is present in the bag.

Numbers that have been crossed out and marked in red were discarded during post-excavation cleaning at the museum, typically due to fragmentation, modern contamination, or finding out the object was nothing at all.

Due to a server mishap, the edited Excel file from the 2021 season was corrupted. As a result, artefacts from that season are listed without individual counts for the bags containing more than one artefact.

Finds list From Noorliit Archaeological Fieldschool 2020

	Ruin	context	initial	Description (eng)	Amount
x1	a2-a	1	RJ	bone	5
x2	a2	0	RJ	Burnt Wood loose find	1
x3	a2-a	1	RJ	glass possibly beer glass	3
x4	a2-a	1	RJ	bone	
x5	a2-a	1	RJ/KM/PE	charcoal	2
x6	a2-a	1	RJ	burned stone	2
x7	a2-a	1	RJ	bone (Hollow)	2
x8	a2-c	1	RJ	ceramics	52
x9	a2-c	1	RJ	charcoal	3
x10	a2-c	1	RJ	bone	2
x11	a2-c	1	RJ	iron?	21
x12	a2-c	1	RJ	Green pearl	1
x13	a2-b	1	PE	charcoal,	2
x14	a2-a	1	TJH	bone	1
x15	a2-a	1	PE	burned bone	4
x16	a2-a	1	RJ	bone sample	1
x17	a2-a	1	RJ	charcoal,	4
x18	a2-a	1	RJ	rock crystal	1
x19	a2-c	1	RJ	newer glass red	1
x20	a2-c	1	RJ	rusty iron	1
x21	a2-ab	1	SP-TH	bone	2
x22	a2-ab	1	SP-TH	charcoal,	22
x23	a2-ab	1	SP-TH	Rust	1
x24	a2-ab	1	SP-TH	bone	7
x25	a2-ab	1	SP-TH	leather?	1
x26	a2-ab	1	SP-TH	ceramics	1
x27	a2-ab	1	SP-TH	Burnt bone	15
x28	a2-b	1	SP-TH	plastic	1
x29	a2-c	1	SP-TH	bone	1
x30	a2-c	2	PE	ceramics?	1
x31	a2-b	2	KM	iron	1
x32	a2-c	4	SP/PE	ceramics	1
x33	a2-c	4	PE/SP	processed soapstone	22
x34	a2-b	5	RJ	mussels shell white	3
x35	a2-b	5	RJ	bone - bird	2
x36	a2-c	4	SP/PE	ceramics	1
x37	a2-a	3	RJ	charcoal	12
x38	a2-a	3	RJ	Slate	1
x39	a2-b	5	LH	bone possibly of seal	1

x40	a2-a	3	TH/AO	charcoal	12
x41	a2-a	3	RJ	crystal	2
x42	a2-a	3	AO	glass	1
x43	a2-c	4	SP	Wood	4
x44	a2-a	3	TH	bone	9
x45	a2-a	3	TH	iron? bone?	1
x46	a2-b	3	KM	burnt blubber?	2
x47	a2-b	5	LH	stone possibly soap stone	2
x48	a2-b	5	LH	Fragtment of ceramic (Brickstone and possibly metal)	1
x49	a2-c	[4]	PE	bone	
x50	a2-a	[3]	AO	Clay pipe	1
x51	a2-a	[3]	RJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x52	a2-b	[5]	LH	ceramics	1
x53	a2-b	[3]	KM	glass	1
x54	a2-c	[4]	RJ/PE	stoneware burned ceramics	1
x55	a2-a	[3]	AO	charcoal	1
x56	a2-c	[4]	PE/RJ	Nail	1
x57	a2-c	[4]	PE/SP/RJ	Bone	36
x58	a2-c	[4]	PE/SP/RJ	Bones, seal phalanges	4
x59	a2-a	[3]	TH	Bones	2
x60	a2-c	[4]	PE/RJ/SP	Ceramics	2
x61	a2-c	[4]	PE/RJ/SP	Steatite	2
x62	a2-b	[5]	LH	Steatite	1
x63	a2-a	[3]	TH/AO	charcoal	10
x64	a2-c	[4]	SP/PE	Steatite	33
x65	a2-a	[3]	TH/LH/AO	Steatite	7
x66	a2-c	[4]	SP/PE	Crystal	1
x67	a2-a	[3]	TH/LH	Ceramics	2
x68	a2-a	[3]	TH/LH	Rock	1
x69	a2-c	[4]	SP/PE	Bones	29
x70	a2-c	[4]	PE/SP	Unidentified	2
x71	a2-a	[3]	TH/LH	bones	3
x72	a2-a	[3]	TH/LH	Ceramics?	1
x73	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	ceramics	6
~~**x74**~~					
x75	a2-b	[5]	TH	Steatite	5
x76	a2-b	[5]	LH	Bone	2
x77	a2-a	[3]	RJ	Clay pipe	1
x78	a2-b	[5]	TH/LH	Wood	2
x79	a2-b	[5]	TH/LH	charcoal (wood?)	1
x80	a2-b	[5]	TH/LH	Rock	1
x81	a2-b	[5]	TH/LH	Bones	36

x82	a2-c	[4]	PE/SP	Bones	9
x83	a2-c	[4]	SP/PE	Nail	1
x84	a2-a	[3]	AO	Bone	5
x85	a2-a	[3]	AO	Steatite	1
x86	a2-a	[3]	RJ	Glass	1
x87	a2-a	[3]	RJ	Crystal	1
x88	a2-a	[3]	RJ	Burned bone	1
x89	a2-a	[3]	LH/KM	Glass	2
x90	a2-b	[4]	KM	Steatite sieve	2
x91	a2-b	[4]	KM	Bone sieve	5
x92	a2-a	[3]	RJ	Wood	1
x93	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Mussel shell?	2
x94	a2-b	[5]	RJ/LH	Ceramic	1
x95	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Wood	2
x96	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Charcoal	1
x97	a2-b	[5]	LH	Stone	1
x98	a2-b	[5]	LH	Stone	3
x99	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Burned træ	1
x100	a2-b	[5]	LH (RJ)	Bead	1
x101	a2-b	[5]	LH/RJ	Steatite	1
x102	a2-c	[4]	SP/PE	Ceramics	2
x103	a2-c	[4]	PE/SP	Steatite	19
x104	a2-c	[4]	SP/PE	Charcoal	1
x105	a2-c	[4]	SP/PE	Bones	4
x106	a2-b	[5]	KM/LH	?	2
x107	a2-b	[5]	LH	Claypipe fragment	1
x108	a2-b	[5]	LH/KM	Wood?	3
x109	a2-b	[5]	LH	Rock	1
x110	a2-b	[5]	LH	Bark	2
x111	a2-b	[5]	LH	Charcoal (Wood not charcoal)	1
x112	a2-c	[7]	PE/SP	Bones	11
x113	a2-c	[7]	PE/SP	Burned bone (Burned wood?)	1
x114	a2-c	[7]	SP/PE	Ceramics	12
x115	a2-c	[7]	SP/PE	Glass / Quartz	1
x116	a2-c	[7]	SP/PE	Iron	7
x117	a2-c	[7]	SP/PE	Steatite/Soapstone	23
x117	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Wood	50
x118	a2-c	[7]	SP/PE	Steatite	2
x119	a2-c	[7]	SP/PE	Wood	14
x120	a2-c	[7]	PE	Asbestos (is in x118)	Multiple
x121	a2-c	[7]	PE	Bead, white- lightblue	1
x122	a2-c	[7]	PE	Bead, blue	1
x123	a2-c	[7]	PE	Bead, Green	1
x124	a2-c	[7]	SP	Bead red	1
x125	a2-c	[7]	SP	Bead, white-blue	1
x126	a2-c	[7]	SP	Bead with thread	1

x127	a2-c	[7]	SP	Nail (possibly wood?)	1
x128	a2-b	[5]	KM	Steatite	11
x129	a2-b	[5]	KM	Bone?	1
x130	a2-b	[5]	KM/LH	Ceramics	2
x131	a2-b	[5]	KM/LH	unidentified (?)	4
x132	a2-b	[5]	KM/LH	Bead	1
x133	a2-b	[5]	KM/LH	Bone	2
x134	a2-b	[5]	KM/LH	Wood	2
x135	a2-b	[5]	KM	White stones?	14
x136	a2-b	[5]	LH	Bone (Caribou calve)	1
~~**x137**~~					
x138	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Fedtsten	30
x139	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Wood	21
x140	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Nail	5
x141	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Ceramic	1
x142	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Bones	5
x143	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	clay pipe piece	1
x144	a2-c	[7]	TH	Bead	1
x145	a2-b	[5]	AO	Crystal	4
x146	a2-b	[5]	AO	Charcoal	2
x147	a2-b	[5]	AO	Glass	1
x148	a2-b	[5]	AO	Iron	1
x149	a2-b	[5]	AO	Crystal	1
x150	a2-b	[5]	AO	Nail	1
x151	a2-b	[5]	AO	Steatite	1
x152	a2-b	[5]	AO	Bone	1
x153	a2-c	[7]	TH	Bead, white	2
x154	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Burned wood	1
x155	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Bone	2
x156	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Rock	2
x157	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Iron	2
x158	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Ceramic	1
x159	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Charcoal	2
x160	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Iron	1
x161	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Bones	19
x162	a2-c	[7]	TH	Iron-ring	1
x163	a2-c	[7]	PE	Bead	1
x164	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Steatite	1
x165	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Ceramic	1
x166	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Wood fragment	1
x167	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Bone fragments	2
x168	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Various stones	4
x169	a2-b	[5]	AP/AO	Wood	4
x170	a2-a/b	[5]	LH/KM	Ceramic sieve	1
x171	a2-ab	[5]	LH/KM	White stones/ Glass?	20
x172	a2-ab	[5]	LH/KM	Burned wood	2

x173	a2-ab	[5]	LH/KM	Claypipe fragment	1
x174	a2-b	[5]	LH/KM	Wood pieces from the ditch	2
x175	a2-b	[5]	LH/KM	Steatite/Soapstone	2
x176	a2-b	[5]	LH/KM	Bones	13
~~**x177**~~					
x178	a2-c	[7]	PE	Bead?	1
x179	a2-c	[7]	TH	Iron	16
x180	a2-c	[7]	TH	Rectangular wood	3
x181	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Charcoal	17
x182	a2-c	[7]	TH/PE	Soapstone	20
x183	a2-c	[7]	TH	Bead	1
x184	a2-c	[7]	PE	Bead	1
x185	a2-c	[7]	TH/PE	Ceramic	4
x186	a2-c	[7]	TH/PE	Wood	43
x187	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	bones	5
x188	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO/SP	Crystal	6
x189	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Bones	15
x190	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ/SP	Glass	2
x191	a2-b	[5]	AO	Bead white, recent	1
x192	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ/SP	Steatite/Soapstone	3
x193	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO/SP	Rock	1
x194	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Claypipe fragment	1
x195	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Ceramic fragment pieces	10
x196	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Glass	2
x197	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Burned wood piece	1
x198	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP	Stone	1
x199	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Bones	7
x200	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Wood pieces	47
x201	a2-c	[8]	PE	Bones	12
x202	a2-c	[8]	PE	Hair (pels, fjer?)	6
x203	a2-c	[8]	PE	Nail	1
x204	a2-c	[8]	PE	Wood	6
x205	a2-c	[8]	PE	Unidentified (Baileen RJ)	1
x206	a2-b	[5]	AO	Bones	27
x207	a2-b	[5]	AO	Charoal	2
x208	a2-b	[5]	AO	Claypipe	1
x209	a2-b	[5]	AO	Burned wood	1
x210	a2-b	[5]	AO	Steatite	1
x211	a2-b	[5]	AO	Ceramic	1
~~**x212**~~				~~Unidentified~~	
x213	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Wood	29
x214	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Bones	49
x215	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Steatite	18
x216	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Mussel shell	3
x217	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Ceramic	5
x218	a2-b	[5]	AO	Glass	1

x219	a2-c	[8]	PE	Skin pelt, Bird?	1?
x220	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Rock	1
x221	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood	2
x222	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Pelt	1
~~**x223**~~					
x224	a2-b	[5]	PE/RJ	Bones	24
x225	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Bone + Skin	5
x226	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood	9
x227	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood	3
x228	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood	
x229	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Various stones	13
x230	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	bones	8
x231	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Iron	1
x232	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Nail	1
x233	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Ceramic with white varnish	1
x234	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Glass with brand	1
x235	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	unidentified	1
x236	a2-ab	[5]	LH/KM	Caribou Bones	5
x237	a2-c	[7]	TH	Glass	2
x238	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Metal	5
x239	a2-c	[7]	TH/PE	Ceramic (Thrown out, too small)	4
x240	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Bones	2
x241	a2-c	[7]	PE	Unidentified	5
x242	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Wood	12
x243	a2-c	[7]	PE	Animal hair	5
x244	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Steatite	23
x245	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Charcoal	7
x246	a2-c	[7]	TH	Unidentified (stone)	1
x247	a2-c	[7]	PE	Bead (black)	2
x248	a2-c	[8]	TH	Unidentified (Stone)	1
x249	a2-c	[8]	PE/TH	Animal hair	5
x250	a2-c	[8]	PE/TH	Wood	7
~~**x251**~~					
x252	a2-c	[8]	TH/PE	Bones	4
x253	a2-b	[5]	Team B	Steatite	47
x254	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Ceramics	12
x255	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Burned wood	5
x256	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Worked Soapstone	1
x257	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Wood	1
x258	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Glass	3
x259	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Crystal	2
x260	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Claypipe	1
x261	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Wood	11
x262	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Bones	83
x263	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ/SP	Bone	2

x264	a2-b	[5]	AP/SP/RJ	Wood	2
x265	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Charcoal	8
x266	a2-b	[5]	AP/SP/RJ	Ceramic	1
x267	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Nail	2
x268	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Ceramic	1
x269	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Charcoal	4
x270	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Ceramic with hole, worked	1
x271	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood	16
x272	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Steatite	10
x273	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Bones	10
x274	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood, fine square cut wood	2
x275	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ/SP	Rock	1
x276	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Bones	3
x277	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Rock	2
x278	a2-c	[8]	TH	Glass	1
x279	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Tooth	1
x280	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Bead, white	1
x281	a2-c	[9]	PE	Skin, possibly sealskin/pelt	6
x282	a2-c	[7]	PE	Wood, sketched in with plan-drawing	25
x283	a2-c	[7]	PE	Steatite	8
x284	a2-c	[7]	PE/TH	Ceramic	1
x285	a2-c	[7]	PE	Metal	2
~~**x286**~~					
x287	a2-c	[7]	PE	Wood	1
x288	a2-c	[7]	PE	Tooth	1
x289	a2-c	[8]	TH	Charcoal	1
x290	a2-c	[8]	TH	Bones	6
x291	a2-c	[8]	TH	Glass	1
x292	a2-c	[8]	TH	Wood	2
x293	a2-c	[8]	TH	Ceramic	4
x294	a2-c	[8]	TH	Metal	2
x295	a2-c	[8]	TH/PE	Steatite	15
x296	a2-c	[9]	PE	Animal hair	
x297	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Bones	15
x298	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood pieces	69
x299	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Various stones	5
x300	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Steatite	35
x301	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Leather	1
x302	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Ceramics	16
x303	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Bones	37
x304	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Fine wood	11
x305	a2-b	[3]	AO/RJ	Worked Soapstone	1
x306	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Claypipe	1
x307	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Birdbones	3
x308	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Glass	1

x309	a2-b	[5]	TH	Hair (fur?)	
x310	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	White ceramic	1
x311	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Burned wood	4
x312	a2-ab	[5]	LH/KM	Quartz	1
x313	a2-ab	[5]	LH/KM	Animal bones	25
~~**x314**~~					
~~**x315**~~					
x316	a2-c	[5]	SP	Ceramic	1
x317	a2-b	[5]	SP	Soapstone	12
x318	a2-c	[7]	PE	Soapstone	12
x319	a2-c	[9]	PE	steatite	2
x320	a2-b	[9?]	SP	Bones	34
~~**x321**~~					
x322	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Burned wood	1
x323	a2-c	[8]	SP	Glass?	1
x324	a2-c	[8]	SP	steatite	2
x325	a2-c	[8]	SP	Bones	1
x326	a2-c	[8]	PE	Feather	?
x327	a2-b	[5]	RJ/AO	Wood	12
x328	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Down	4
x329	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Bones	3
x330	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Skin (fur)	
x331	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Skin	5
x332	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Glass	1
x333	a2-b/c	[5]	PE	Bird bones (with down)?	2
x334	a2-a	[5]	LH	Wood	1
x335	a2-a	[5]	SP	Pelt	1
x336	a2-a	[5]	SP	Steatite	9
~~**x337**~~					
x338	a2-a	[5]	SP	Ceramics	1
x339	a2-a	[5]	SP	Nail	1
x340	a2-a	[5]	SP	Wood	8
x341	a2-b	[5]	RJ	Claypipe headpiece	1
x342	a2-b/c	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood pieces (with bones?)	92
x343	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Steatite pieces	2
x344	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Ceramics	1
~~**x345**~~					
x346	a2-a	[5]	KM/LH	Beads (Glass removed)	2
x347	a2-a	[5]	KM/LH	Wood	12
x348	a2-a	[5]	KM	Steatite	2
x349	a2-b	[5]	AO/LH/KM	Caribou Bones	12
x350	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP	Wood	3
x351	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP	Claypipe	1
x352	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP	Soapstone	5
x353	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP	Knot	1
x354	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP	Ceramics	2

x355	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP	Bird bones	1
x356	a2-c	[8]	PE	Claypipe 2	2
x357	a2-c	[8]	PE	Animal hair	2
x358	a2-c	[8]	PE	Nail/metal	2
x359	a2-c	[8]	PE	Animal hair	
x360	a2-c	[8]	PE	Ceramics?	2
x361	a2-c	[8]	PE	Bones	4
x362	a2--c	[8]	PE	Wood	8
x363	a2-c	[8]	PE	Soapstone	22
x364	a2-b/c	[5]	AO/RJ	Wood	62
~~**x365**~~					
x366	ab-b	[5]	LH	Bones	3
~~**x367**~~					
x368	a2-b/c	[5]	LH/AO/RJ	Wood	25
x369	a2-b/c	[5]	LH/RJ/AO/SP	Beads	3
x370	a2-b/c	[5]	LH/RJ/AO	Bone	1
x371	a2-b	[5]	SP	Bird bone	3
x372	a2-b	[5]	SP	Soapstone	
x373	a2-b	[5]	SP	Ceramics	1
x374	a2-b	[5]	SP	Wood	3
x375	a2-b	[5]	SP	Worked Soapstone	1
~~**x376**~~					
x377	a2-b	[5]	SP	Compact clay	1
x378	a2-b	[5]	SP	Bones	2
~~**x379**~~					
x380	a2-b	[5]	AO/SP/RJ	Bones / Found under layer of skin (Animal?)	3
x381	a2-a	[5]	LJ/KM	Claypipe mouthpiece	1
x382	a2-c	[8]	PE	Nail	1
x383	a2-a	[5]	LH	Nail	1
x384	a2-b	[5]	SP	Glass	1
x385	a2-c	[8]	PE/TH	Charcoal	2
~~**x386**~~					
x387	a2-c	[8]	PE	Feathers	14
x388	a2-c	[8]	PE/TH	Claypipe	1
x389	a2-c	[8]	PE	Soapstone	33
x390	a2-c	[8]	PE	Bone	2
x391	a2-c	[8]	PE	Wood	8
x392	a2-c	[8]	PE	Animal hair	5
x393	a2-c	[8]	PE	Unidentified metal (with hair?)	3
x394	a2-c	[1]	SP/TH	Charcoal	2
x395	a2-c	[4]	MF (PE/SP)	Worked steatite with holes	1
x396	a2-c	[4]	MF (PE/RJ/SP)	Ceramic	1
x397	a2-b	[5]	MF (AO/RJ)	Feather	1

x398	a2-b	[5]	MF (AO)	Mussel shell	1
x399	a2-b	[5]	MF (RJ)	Bones	2
x400	a2-b	[5]	MF (AO/RJ)	Bone	1
x401	a2-b	[5]	MF (LH/KM)	Jaws	3
x402	a2-b	[5]	MF (AO/SP/RJ)	Jaw	2
x403	a2-b	[5]	MF (SP)	Steatite	1
x404	a2-b/c	[5]	MF (LH/AO/RJ)	Fur	
x405	a2-b	[5]	AO/RJ	Burned wood	4
x406	a2-b/c	[5]	MF (LH/AO/RJ)	Whale bone	1
x407	a2-a	[5]	MF (KM/LH)	Glass	3
x408	a2-c	[7]	MF (PE)	Glass	2
x409	a2-c	[7]	MF (PE/SP)	Textile (Fabric)	1
x410	a2-c	[7]	MF (PE/TH)	Wood	7
x411	a2-c	[8]	MF (TH)	Quartz	1
x412	a2-c	[8]	MF (PE)	Feather	2
x413	a2-c	[8]	TH/PE	Wood	5

Finds list From Noorliit Archaeological Fieldschool 2021

finds no	trench	Context	initial	description	amount
x1	a2-c	9	JH	Ceramic red/beige	1
x2	a2-c	10	JH	Fragment of animal bone	1
x3	a2-b	10	MFI	Glass/quartz?	1
x4	a2-c	10	RSJ	mussel shell	1
x5	a2-c	9	JH	Tuft of seal hair	
x6	a2-b	10	MFI	Wood	1
x7	a2-b	10	KM	unknown	1
x8	a2-a	10	RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x9	a2-b	10	KM	Fragment of animal bone	1
x10	a2-b	10	KM	Wood fragment	1
x11	a2-b	10	KM	Quartz	1
x12	a2-b	10	KM	animal bone	1
x13	a2-b	10	KM	Soapstone fragment	1
x14	a2-b	10	KM	Wood	1
x15	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Hair strands 3cm	
x16	a2-a	10	MFI	Wood	1
x17	a2-a	10	MFI	Hair	
x18	a2-a	10	MFI	Soapstone fragment	1
x19	a2-a	10	MFI	Leaf?	1
x20	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Hair strands 5,5cm	
x21	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	unknown	
x22	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Wood fragment	1
x23	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Burnt bone	1
x24	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	fur	
x25	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x26	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Quartz	1
x27	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	mussel shell	1
x28	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	animal bone fragment	1
x29	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	glass	1
x30	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Charcoal	1
x31	a2-b	10	KM	burnt wood	1
x32	a2-a	10	MFI	wood fragment	1
x33	a2-c	10	KM	bead, red	1
x34	a2-c	9	RSJ	hair strands	
x35	a2-a	10	MFI	Charcoal	1
x36	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Leymus (marehalm)	1
x37	a2-a	10	MFI	Wood	1
x38	a2-a	10	MFI	mussel shell	1
x39	a2-a	10	MFI	hair stands	
x40	a2-c	9	JH	Feather	1
x41	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	hair stands	

x42	a2-b	10	KM	wood	1
x43	a2-c	9	RSJ	fur/hair	1
x44	a2-c	9	RSJ	fur/hair	1
x45	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	soil with fur and wood fragments	1
x46	a2-a	10	MFI	Ceramic	1
x47	a2-a	10	MFI	wood	1
x48	a2-a	10	MFI	charcoal	1
x49	a2-a	10	MFI	turf	1
x50	a2-a	10	MFI	Red lacquer	1
x51	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Caribou hair ?	1
x52	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	mussel shell	1
x53	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	fur (smaller)	1
x54	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	fur (longer)	1
x55	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Feather	1
x56	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x57	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	burnt wood	1
x58	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	burnt stone	1
x59	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	wood	1
x60	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Charcoal	1
x61	a2-b	10	GT	charred	1
x62	a2-b	10	GT	lithic	1
x63	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x64	a2-b/c	10	KM	wood	1
x65	a2-c	10	KM	ceramic	1
x66	a2-b	10	KM	quartz	1
x67	a2-b	10	KM	bone	1
x68	a2-b	10	KM	charcoal	1
x69	a2-a	10	MFI	wood	1
x70	a2-b	10	MFI	bone	1
x71	a2-b	10	MFI	Charcoal	1
x72	a2-b	10	MFI	wood	1
x73	a2-b	10	KM	hair/fur	1
x74	a2-b	10	GT	Soapstone fragment	1
x75	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x76	a2-b	10	KM	wood	1
x77	a2-c	10	KM	bone	1
x78	a2-b	10	MFI	bone	1
x79	a2-b	10	GT	bone	1
x80	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x81	a2-b	10	GT	bone	1
x82	a2-b	10	MFI	bone	1
x83	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	glass	1
x84	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	lithics	

x85	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	clay pipe stem	1
x86	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	charcoal	1
x87	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	fur	1
x88	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	hair	1
x89	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	wood	1
x90	a2-b	10	MFI/KM	wood	1
x91	a2-b	10	MFI/KM	bone	1
x92	a2-b	10	MFI/KM	charred	1
x93	a2-c	9	RSJ	charcoal	1
x94	a2-c	9	RSJ	stones, white	
x95	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood	1
x96	a2-c	9	RSJ	Feather	1
x97	a2-c	9	RSJ	burnt stone	1
x98	a2-c	9	RSJ	bone fragment	1
x99	a2-c	9	RSJ	bone	1
x100	a2-c	9	RSJ	fur?	
x101	a2-c	9	RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x102	a2-c	9	RSJ	fur	
x103	a2-b	10	MFI	wood	1
x104	a2-b	10	MFI	fur	
x105	a2-b	10	MFI	bone	1
x106	a2-c	10	KM	"sheet" wood	1
x107	a2-c	10	KM	3 bags of bones, 1/3 rib, 2/3 mixed boned fragments, 3/3 seal phalange with tarsal bones	
x108	a2-c	10	KM	wood	1
x109	a2-c	10	KM	red burned ceramics	
x110	a2-c	10	KM	clay pipe fragments	
x111	a2-c	10	KM	twigs from above x107 3/3	
x112	a2-c	10	KM	white lithics similar to those found in [9]	
x113	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x114	a2-b	10	GT	wood - twigs (charred?)	
x115	a2-b	10	GT	Soapstone fragment	1
x116	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x117	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x118	a2-b	10	GT	bone fragments	
x119	a2-b	10	GT	bone fragments	
x120	a2-b	10	GT	Hair	
x121	a2-b	10	GT	bone (rib)	1
x122	a2-b	10	GT	mussel shell	1
x123	a2-b	10	GT	lithic (quartz)	1
x124	a2-b	10	GT	Seeds?	
x125	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	mussel shell	1
x126	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	hair	

x127	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	nail, iron	1
x128	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	charcoal	1
x129	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x130	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	burnt bone?	1
x131	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	fur	
x132	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	stones, white	
x133	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	hair strands	
x134	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	ceramic	1
x135	a2-b	10	GT	Bone	1
x136	a2-b	10	KM	Wood	1
x137	a2-b	10	KM	ceramics	
x138	a2-b	10	KM	bone	1
x139	a2-b	10	GT	fish bone	1
x140	a2-b	10	KM	lithics	
x141	a2-b	10	KM/GT	Beads	
x142	a2-b	10	KM	Phalange, bone	1
x143	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Wood	1
x144	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Burnt wood	1
x145	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	mussel shell	1
x146	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Glass?	1
x147	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Bone	1
x148	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Unknown	1
x149	a2-b	10	MFI	Bone	1
x150	a2-b	10	MFI	wood	1
x151	a2-b	10	GT	Soapstone fragment	1
x152	a2-b	10	GT/MFI	twigs	
x153	a2-b	10	GT	quartz	1
x154	a2-b	10	GT	Bark?	1
x155	a2-b	10	GT	square piece of wood	1
x156	a2-b	10	GT	light clay	1
x157	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x158	a2-b	10	GT	ceramic?	1
x159	a2-b	10	GT	Charcoal	1
x160	a2-b	10	GT	mussel shell	1
x161	a2-b	10	GT	charred wood	1
x162	a2-b	10	GT	bone	1
x163	a2-b	10	GT	tooth?	1
x164	a2-b	10	GT	mussel shell	1
x165	a2-b	10	GT	numerous possible seeds? Wood, bone	
x166	a2-b	10	GT	mussel shell	1
x167	a2-b	10	GT	bone	1
x168	a2-b	10	GT/KM	twigs	
x169	a2-b	10	GT	Seeds?	
x170	a2-b	10	GT	Soapstone fragment	1

x171	a2-b	10	GT	wood	1
x172	a2-b	10	GT	mussel shell	1
x173	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood fragment	1
x174	a2-c	9	RSJ	bone fragments	
x175	a2-c	9	RSJ	rib bone	1
x176	a2-c	9	RSJ	bone (round)	1
x177	a2-c	9	RSJ	mussel shell	1
x178	a2-c	9	RSJ	seal tooth	1
x179	a2-b	10	KM	Fish bone	1
x180	a2-b	10	KM	wood	1
x181	a2-b	10	KM	bird vertebrae	
x182	a2-b	10	KM	bone	1
x183	a2-c	9	RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x184	a2-c	10	JH	Red wood, triangle	1
x185	a2-c	10	JH	quarts and white stones	
x186	a2-c	10	JH	wood	1
x187	a2-c	10	JH	fur?	1
x188	a2-c	10	JH	wood fragments	
x189	a2-b	10	MFI	Wood	1
x190	a2-b	10	MFI	bone	1
x191	a2-b	10	GT/KM	twigs	
x192	a2-b	10	GT/KM	mussel shell	1
x193	a2-b	10	GT/KM	bone	1
x194	a2-b	10	GT/KM	wood	1
x195	a2-b	10	GT/KM	lithic	1
x196	a2-b	10	KM	ceramics	
x197	a2-b	10	KM	wood	1
x198	a2-b	10	KM	bones	
x199	a2-b	10	KM	bird bone	1
x200	a2-b	10	GT	ceramic	1
x201	a2-b	10	GT	Fish bones?	
x202	a2-b	10	GT	glass	1
x203	a2-b	10	GT	bead, clear glass	1
x204	a2-b	10	MFI	charred wood	1
x205	a2-b	10	MFI	wood	1
x206	a2-b	10	MFI	hair strands	
x207	a2-b	10	MFI	charcoals	
x208	a2-c	10	JH	Bird bone?	1
x209	a2-c	10	JH	wood	1
x210	a2-c	9	JH/RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x211	a2-c	10	JH	twig	1
x212	a2-c	10	JH	leymus? Rolled up	1
x213	a2-c	9	RSJ	bone	1
x214	a2-c	9	RSJ	bird bone?	1

x215	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood, from profile	1
x216	a2-c	9	RSJ	ceramic, reddish pottery, glazed	1
x217	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood	1
x218	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood fragment	1
x219	a2-c	9	RSJ	mussel shell	1
x220	a2-c	9	RSJ	white stones	
x221	a2-c	9	RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x222	a2-c	9	RSJ	bone fragment	1
x223	a2-b	10	MFI	Wood	1
x224	a2-b	10	MFI	charred wood	1
x225	a2-b	10	MFI/GT	quartz	1
x226	a2-b	10	GT	ceramic?	1
x227	a2-b	10	GT	Bark?	1
x228	a2-b	10	GT	Gun flint	1
x229	a2-b	10	GT	seeds?	
x230	a2-b	10	GT	bone	1
x231	a2-b	10	GT	twigs	
x232	a2-b	10	GT	lithic	1
x233	a2-b	10	GT	mussel shell	1
x234	a2-a	10	MFI	charred wood	1
x235	a2-a	10	MFI	wood	1
x236	a2-a	10	MFI	mussel shell	1
x237	a2-c	10	KM	bones	
x238	a2-c	10	KM	Lacquer?	1
x239	a2-c	10	KM	Lithics	
x240	a2-c	10	KM	Wood	1
x241	a2-b	10	KM	Iron	1
x242	a2-b	10	GT	Copper plate fragments	1
x243	a2-b	10	GT	large wood pieces	
x244	a2-b	10	GT	3 bones (seal ribs)	3
x245	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood	1
x246	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood	1
x247	a2-c	9	RSJ	Iron?	1
x248	a2-c	10	JH	ceramic	1
x249	a2-c	10	JH	clay pipe fragment	1
x250	a2-c	10	JH	bone fragment with hole	1
x251	a2-c	10	JH	mixed stones	
x252	a2-c	10	JH	bone	1
x253	a2-c	10	JH	bone	1
x254	a2-c	10	JH	wood	1
x255	a2-c	10	JH	wood	1
x256	a2-c	9	RSJ	white stones	
x257	a2-a	10	MFI/RSJ	fur?	1

x258	a2-a	10	MFI/RSJ	stones	
x259	a2-b	10	KM	bone	1
x260	a2-b	10	KM	claw?	1
x261	a2-b	10	KM	charcoal	1
x262	a2-c	10	KM	iron	1
x263	a2-c	10	KM	wood	1
x264	a2-b	10	KM	Soapstone fragment	1
x265	a2-c	11	RSJ	fur	1
x266	a2-c	11	RSJ	charcoal	1
x267	a2-c	11	RSJ	bone	1
x268	a2-a	10	KM	leather?	1
x269	a2-a	10	KM	clay pipe fragment	1
x270	a2-a	10	KM	wood	1
x271	a2-c	11	RSJ	charcoal	1
x272	a2-c	11	RSJ	mussel shell	1
x273	a2-c	11	RSJ	Burnt wood	1
x274	a2-c	11	RSJ	white stones	
x275	a2-c	11	RSJ	fur in mixed layer	1
x276	a2-c	11	RSJ	clay pipe fragment	1
x277	a2-c	11	RSJ	fur on wood	1
x278	a2-c	11	RSJ	wood fragments	
x279	a2-c	11	RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x280	a2-c	11	RSJ	bone	1
x281	a2-c	11	RSJ	fur	1
x282	a2-a	10	KM	iron	1
x283	a2-c	11	RSJ	bone	1
x284	a2-c	11	RSJ	bone	1
x285	a2-c	11	RSJ	bone	1
x286	a2-c	11	RSJ	bone	1
x287	a2-c	11	RSJ	wood	1
x288	a2-a	10	KM	bone	1
x289	a2-a	10	KM	lithics	
x290	a2-a	10	KM	Soapstone fragment	1
x291	a2-a	10	KM	mussel shell	1
x292	a2-c	11	RSJ	bone, 3 ribs	3
x293	a2-c	11	RSJ	nail, iron	1
x294	a2-c	11	RSJ	stones, light grey	
x295	a2-a	10	KM	ceramics	
x296	a2-c	11	RSJ	Bark	1
x297	a2-c	11	RSJ	Bone fragments	
x298	a2-b	10	KM	charred wood	1
x299	a2-b	10	KM	metal	1
x300	a2-b	10	KM	wood	1
x301	a2-b	10	JH	bones	

x302	a2-b	10	JH	stone?	1
x303	a2-b	10	JH	wood	1
x304	a2-b	10	JH	bone fragments	1
x305	a2-b	10	JH	twigs	
x306	a2-b	10	JH	claw?	1
x307	a2-b	10	JH	wood	1
x308	a2-b	10	JH	bone or twig	1
x309	a2-b	10	JH	glass	1
x310	a2-b	10	JH	burnt wood	1
x311	a2-b	10	JH	twig	1
x312	a2-b	10	JH	ceramic?	1
x313	a2-b	10	JH	clay?	1
x314	a2-b	10	JH	burnt bone fragment	1
x315	a2-b	10	JH	wood	1
x316	a2-b	10	JH	burnt bone	1
x317	a2-b	10	JH	bone fragment	1
x318	a2-b	10	JH	ribs	
x319	a2-b	10	KM	claws, seal	1
x320	a2-c	8	RSJ	fur	1
x321	a2-c	8	RSJ	clay pipe	1
x322	a2-c	8	RSJ	wood	1
x323	a2-c	8	RSJ	mussel shell	1
x324	a2-c	8	RSJ	organic?	1
x325	a2-c	8	RSJ	lithic	1
x326	a2-c	8	RSJ	Feather	1
x327	a2-c	8	RSJ	leymus	1
x328	a2-c	8	RSJ	seal claw, smaller	1
x329	a2-c	8	RSJ	seal claw, bigger	1
x330	a2-c	8	RSJ	iron	1
x331	a2-c	8	RSJ	fur	1
x332	a2-c	8	RSJ	clay pipe	1
x333	a2-c	8	RSJ	burnt wood	1
x334	a2-c	8	RSJ	hair	1
x335	a2-c	8	RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x336	a2-c	8	RSJ	bone fragment	1
x337	a2-b	10	JH	wood	1
x338	a2-b	10	JH	ceramic	1
x339	a2-b	10	JH	wood with burn mark	1
x340	a2-b	10	JH	bark	1
x341	a2-b	10	JH	stone, white	1
x342	a2-c	8	RSJ	Blueberry?	1
x343	a2-c	8	RSJ	organic?	1
x344	a2-c	8	RSJ	feather	1
x345	a2-c	8	RSJ	wood	1

x346	a2-c	8	RSJ	Soapstone fragment	1
x347	a2-c	8	RSJ	mussel shell	1
x348	a2-c	8	RSJ	lithic	1
x349	a2-c	8	RSJ	charcoal	1
x350	a2-c	8	RSJ	fur	1
x351	a2-c	8	RSJ	bone fragment	1
x352	a2-b/c	10	RSJ	charcoal (from cleaning south profile)	1
x353	a2-b/c	10	RSJ	wood (from cleaning south profile)	1
x354	a2-b	10	MFI	wood (from cleaning south profile)	1
x355	a2-b/c	10	JH	? From profile - tossed	
x356	a2-b/c	10	JH	Clay pipe (from cleaning north profile)	1
x357	a2-b/c	10	JH	Knife? (from cleaning north profile)	1
x358	a2-b/c	10	JH	Weird stone (from cleaning north profile)	1
x359	a2-b/c	10	JH	Bone fragments (from cleaning north profile)	
x360	a2-b/c	10	JH	Wood (from cleaning north profile)	1
x361	a2-c		RSJ	bone (from cleaning west profile)	1
x362	a2-b/c	10	KM	Rib, seal	1
x363	a2-c	8	RSJ	Textile, cloth	1
x364	a2-c	9	RSJ	Wood	1
x365	a2-c	9	RSJ	nail, iron	1
x366	a2-c	9	RSJ	ceramic	1
x367	a2-c	9	RSJ	ceramic	1
x368	a2-c	9	RSJ	wood	1
x369	a2-c	9	RSJ	charcoal	1