



This is an Accepted Author Manuscript (AAM) of a book chapter published by Brill's Handbook Series on the 30 October 2025.

"Indigenous Agency"

(an Arctic case study)

Author: Silke Reeploeg, Associate Professor, Department of Cultural and Social History,
Ilisimatusarfik, University of Greenland, Nuuk, Greenland.

Email: sire@uni.gl

Cite:

Reeploeg, S. 2025. "Indigenous Agency". In Gudmundsdóttir, G., & Savolainen, U. (Eds.). *Memory Studies in the Nordic Countries: A Handbook*. pp.45-70. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004736283>

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License, which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

- Attribution — You must give [appropriate credit](#), provide a link to the license, and [indicate if changes were made](#). You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.
- NonCommercial — You may not use the material for [commercial purposes](#).
- NoDerivatives — If you [remix, transform, or build upon](#) the material, you may not distribute the modified material.

To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.

Indigenous Agency: An Arctic Case Study

Silke Reeploeg

Abstract

Building on recent research on memory studies in the Arctic, this chapter examines connections between memory cultures and Indigenous agency. The chapter investigates how Indigenous historicity and narrative sovereignty relate to Nordic colonialism in the Arctic by focusing on the memoirs of Suersaq (Hans Hendrik), a Kalaaleq (Greenlandic Inuit). Through this case study, it explores how Indigenous perspectives relate to the colonial archive and how Greenlandic Inuit maintain narrative sovereignty through collective and public memory praxis. While broadening the canon of Nordic colonial memory (and forgetting), this chapter also invites a critical examination of historical memory as part of the coloniality of knowledge.

Keywords: Arctic memory cultures, Kalaallit Nunaat, Greenlandic Inuit, Suersaq, Narrative sovereignty, Indigenous histories, Nordic colonialism, polar expeditions

1. Introduction

This study connects research on the sovereignty of memory (Chazan & Cole, 2022; Ricoeur, 2010) with the role of Indigenous peoples in the history of Nordic colonialism (Boyle, 2021; Kleist, 2021; Petersen, 1995). Arctic memory cultures emerge through transnational groups of people and in dialogue with local ways of thinking with and about the past. Building on recent research on memory studies in the Arctic (Frank & Jacobsen, 2019; Viljoen & Zolkos, 2021), this chapter explores how Indigenous perspectives relate to the colonial archive, both as counter-memories and counter-mnemonic devices (Kaalund, 2023; Kidman & O'Malley, 2018). Using the published memoir of

Suersaq (also known as Hans Hendrik), a Kalaaleq,¹ as an example, I investigate Indigenous historicity and narrative sovereignty within Nordic memory studies (Kleist, 2021; Tello, 2022). The analysis treats Indigenous perspectives not as additional (or silenced) source material, but as a counter-mnemonic device that memory scholars can utilize to engage in critical practices to create reparative futures (Sriprakash et al., 2020). In this, the research aims to expand both the epistemological basis of the Nordic archive and the ontology of counter-memory itself, “pushing memory scholars to expand their understandings of what is possible to remember, and how memory is accessed and shared” (Chazan & Cole, 2022, p. 963). While intended to broaden the canon of Nordic colonial history and memory with an overview of the sources, methodologies, and approaches that are appropriate for dealing with them, this study is also an invitation to critically investigate historical memory as an aspect of the colonality of knowledge (Quijano, 2007).

The French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (2010) has conceptualized memory as a sovereign—in the sense of dominant or authoritative—element of Western historical knowledge and understanding. While examining the reciprocal relationship between remembering and forgetting, Ricoeur has shown that historians depend on contemporary individual and collective memories when constructing historical narratives (Stoler, 2009). Therefore, historical narratives are not only determined by factual evidence from the archive but are subject to contemporary memory politics—including imposing official or forced memory or silence (Trouillot, 2015). In fact, Ricoeur’s own work demonstrates this aspect as it does not mention colonialism as a factor in creating and imposing manipulated types of history onto both the colonized and the colonizer. Chazan and Cole (2022) responded to this silence by pointing out the limits of this epistemic framework, as well as the potential for colonized people to respond to the sovereignty of memory through their own narrative agency. If memory is always generated in the present, then existing dominant (or sovereign) forms of memorialization are never fixed but are subject to changing ideas and modes of memory work or praxis. This includes counter-mnemonic narratives that refuse to be complicit with dominant colonial frameworks and conceptions of memory (Trello, 2022).

Within the Arctic context, my previous research has shown that “an understanding of the colonality of knowledge and its connections to epistemic violence is crucial to the study of memory and historical legacy” (Reeploeg, 2021, p. 1061). Coloniality refers to the hegemonic structures of power and control that emerged during the age of modernity and the associated periods of colonialism

¹ Kalaaleq is the singular form of Kalallit, the people (Inuit) of Kalallit Nunaat (Greenland). The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) charter recognizes “Inuit” as Indigenous members of the Inuit homeland, which includes the Inupiat, Yupik (Alaska), Inuit, Inuvialuit (Canada), Kalaallit (Greenland), and Yupik (Russia) (ICC, 2024). See Stern (2004) for an overview of Inuit territories and terminology.

(Quijano, 2007). While the coloniality of knowledge creates the colonial subject who is excluded from access to power by being denied the opportunity for self-representation, epistemic violence delegitimizes and represses non-hegemonic forms of knowing and being (Kaalund, 2023; Kuokkanen, 2008). For example, Indigenous memory cultures are often seen as *subjected to*, rather than active participants in, colonial histories. However, they are also sites of historical agency and narrative sovereignty, with multiple voices, significant geo-political domains, and concurrent national and colonial identities (Boyle, 2021; Niviâna, 2019; Vold, 2021).

2. A Greenlandic Inuit Memoir: Coloniality on Ice

Suersaq is one of many Inuit mentors and facilitators who made polar expeditions possible, and who have since been removed from Arctic exploration historiographies (Høvik, 2017; Kaalund, 2023; Kleist, 2021). Research on the creation and mediation of Arctic scientific knowledge has long pointed out the erasure and minimization of the contributions of Indigenous peoples to the Arctic archive (Jones, 2002; Kaalund, 2023; Stuhl, 2016). These processes of creating and transmitting epistemic ignorance (Kuokkanen, 2008) are “an integral part of the construction of exploration identities in the imperial context” (Kaalund, 2023, p. 122).

As one of the most well-known figures in Kalaallit Arctic history, Suersaq was a member of American and English polar expeditions over many years (1853–1876). He joined several expeditions during his career, although he is, as with most Indigenous participants, largely absent from the official historiographies of Arctic exploration (Kaalund, 2023; Lyle, 2001, pp. 115–147; Stuhl, 2016). He was the first Inuk to publish an account of his travels, which was serialized in the first Greenlandic newspaper *Atuagagdliutit*² in Kalaallisut (Greenlandic) (Hendrik, 1878–1879) and then translated into English and Danish (Hendrik, 1878a, 1878b). An excerpt of his memoir appears in Penny Petrone’s *Northern Voices: Inuit Writing in English* (Petrone, 1997), the first book to collect “Inuit reactions to European and American values and institutions ... as it has survived in historical writings and in modern memory” (Petrone, 1997, pp. xiii, xi). Suersaq’s account appears side by side with other veterans of Inuit Arctic exploration, including Ipirvik (also known as Ebierbing and Joe) and Taqulittuq (also known as Tookoolito and Hannah), an Inuit couple from the Qikiqtaaluk Region of Nunavut (also known as the Baffin Region), who were the most well-known Inuit travelers of the 19th century (Jones, 2002;

² *Atuagagdliutit* (“reading matter”), was the first Kalaallisut (Inuit-language) newspaper and among the earliest illustrated newspapers in the world. It was edited by Greenlanders Rasmus Berthelsen (a teacher, poet, and artist) from 1861 to 1874 and Lars Møller from 1874 to 1922. Kristoffer Lynge, an author and journalist, oversaw the paper until 1952, when it was merged with the Danish-language *Grønlandsposten* (Greenland Post), and was renamed *Sermitsiaq* (after Sermitsiaq mountain) in 2010. See also Spiegel (2016).

Kaalund, 2023; Stern, 2004, pp. 83, 144). Together with Suersaq, they were part of the ill-fated *Polaris* expedition and ensured the survival and rescue of around 20 American sailors after they were stranded on an ice floe for a whole winter in 1872–1873 (Stern, 2004, pp. 58–59).

In the Arctic context, the memorialization of Inuit contributions to Arctic exploration is largely absent and is mediated through hegemonic structures, including translations (Høvik, 2016; Kleist, 2021). While the study of translations from minority languages such as Inuktitut is today mostly considered in positive terms, particularly in relation to Indigenous language revitalization (Martin, 2013), “attention and sensitivity are owed to the very real colonial implications of the translational act in contexts where the power differential between languages and communities is so extreme” (Henitiuk, 2017, p. 56). This means that the writing at the center of this research must be approached from several perspectives. As a work of literature, it embodies its own Indigenous intellectual tradition of autobiography (Read et al., 2008; Martin, 2012). However, as a work of literature produced and distributed as part of the colonality of historical knowledge, it also needs to be critically positioned within the dynamics linking colonial memory with archival production (Reeploeg, 2023; Sands, 1997; Stoler, 2009).

The combination of Indigenous storytelling and contemporary forms of writing and performance have always formed part of a distinct memory culture, aimed at retaining intellectual ownership and providing avenues for counter-hegemonic literacy. For instance, the first books and newspapers printed in Kalaallisut, at the colonial printing press in Nuuk, included a full list of the local storytellers and transcribers involved in the publications, even though they were subsequently attributed to a local Danish official (Amon et al., 1860). In a similar statement of ownership and narrative sovereignty (while using the vocabulary and technology of the colonial printing house), the first book of Greenlandic historical narratives included an appendix with songs and several fold-out color prints, while the second added a locally produced map of Nuuk and its surroundings (Berthelsen et al., 1859). This means that Indigenous perspectives and memory cultures at this point coexisted and started to overlap with colonial modes of expression, providing opportunities to express narrative sovereignty while retaining and transmitting cultural and linguistic Indigenous agency (McKenna et al., 2021; Ricoeur, 2010; Vold, 2021).

Arctic Indigenous memory cultures include all forms of media and artistic practice. The most recent example in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) relating directly to this research is that of Hans Henrik Suersaq Poulsen performing as his great-great-great-grandfather in the 2022 Greenlandic National Theatre production *Killingusaaq Qulangerlugu (Beyond the Horizon)* (Sørensen & Kristoffersen, 2022). This documentary play combined the story of Suersaq with that of a female expedition

member, Arnarulunnguaq (1896–1933) from Thule (northern Greenland), who was one of the Inuit leaders of the (Danish) Fifth Thule Expedition (1921–1924).

The play emphasized that while both Suersaq and Arnarulunnguaq have not been included in Arctic exploration historiographies, their knowledge, skills, and adaptability were indispensable to the success of the expeditions (Sørensen & Kristoffersen, 2022). Structured like a live documentary film “where the action takes place on stage and the story itself is seen on the white screen” (Sørensen & Kristoffersen, 2022), the performance was in Greenlandic with English subtitles. It used footage from the Danish Arctic Institute and the Danish Film Institute (as well as other historical sources) to tell the stories of Arnarulunnguaq and Suersaq from a Greenlandic Inuit perspective. This included locating the performances in existing communication formats, such as the use of quiet transitions and “Inuit silence” (V. Sørensen, personal communication, October 23, 2023). Theatre Director Vivi Sørensen notes the importance of maintaining this type of Greenlandic narrative sovereignty when it comes to the communication of histories and memories, stating, “Der er kommet folk udenfra, som har fortalt vores historie. Men denne gang er det grønlænderne selv, der fortæller den. Og vi fortæller den på vores egne måde” (Sørensen in Hansen, 2022) [People have come from outside who have created our history. But this time it is Greenlanders themselves who create it. And we tell it in our own way].

In the case of Suersaq, it was particularly important to Sørensen to show audiences an example of “Inuit men living their best lives—both on and off the ice” (V. Sørensen, personal communication, October 23, 2023). As a deliberate act of doing memory, the play draws attention to the possibilities for narrative sovereignty as a form of historical agency both in the past and present (Wüstenberg & Sierp, 2020). Thus, the play continues the work of Suersaq’s memoirs, collecting, curating, and mediating Indigenous historical literacy with the aim of returning narrative agency to Greenlandic audiences.

With this in mind, it is important to place Suersaq’s memoir in its historical and contemporary context, in particular in the ways Indigenous memoirs can act as counter-mnemonic devices in the colonial archive (Stoler, 2009; Wüstenberg & Sierp, 2020). Before considering Suersaq’s writing in more detail, the next section focuses on understanding the memory politics surrounding Indigenous perspectives inside the colonial archive. This is followed by an analysis of Suersaq’s memoirs, considering its historical context and the ways his writing represents a form of counter-mnemonic praxis. The study then concludes by reflecting on how understanding the connection between memory cultures and Indigenous agency provides opportunities for memory scholars and students to reckon with different forms of epistemic violence.

3. Indigenous Perspectives in the Colonial Archive

The colonial archive is an integral part of constructing knowledge of the past in that it institutionalizes colonial ways of knowing and seeing (Stoler, 2009). Diaries or autobiographical writing by Indigenous people are both visible and invisible forms of memory constructed and mediated by the colonial archive (Stoler, 2009, pp. 237–278). As written evidence is separated from oral storytelling, the archive introduces and maintains memorialization conventions that often mistranslate, misunderstand, or willingly misconstrue testimonials from minoritized people (Cruikshank, 1998). For example, literary scholar Keavy Martin describes Eurowestern labels and comparisons applied to Indigenous literature, including life stories and memoirs, as imperfect “borrowing of skins, they function as a disguise and can be as misleading as they are helpful” (Martin, 2012, p. 17). As Indigenous realities express both individual and communal narrative sovereignty, they are often ignored in favor of reframing them as part of the colonial archive as a way of absorbing them into dominant memory technologies. This neglects how Indigenous literacy interacts with other communal and non-textual memories that express narrative sovereignty (McKenna et al., 2021).

Counter-memory refers to forms of historical memory that challenge hegemonic narratives that create and maintain dominant or canonical versions of the past (Kidman & O’Malley, 2018). Counter-memories encompass alternative or marginalized historical accounts, testimonies, oral histories, and other forms of memorialization that have been forgotten, erased, or otherwise excluded from mainstream historical discourse (Tello, 2022). Studying examples of counter-memory inside the colonial archive can connect memory cultures with different types of agency that resist and reshape colonial knowledge systems. However, while the concept of counter-memory is widely understood to encourage critical engagement with hegemonic narratives, some Indigenous writers have pointed out that the study of minoritized literature often results in “Trauma Porn” that reinstates harm by repeating tropes of victimhood and lack of agency (Caetano, 2022). Aymara scholar Rivera Cusicanqui (2020) refers to the repeated subjugation of minoritized people and their cultural production as part of the political economy of knowledge, where Indigenous realities and worldviews (including existing memory practices) are reshaped and mediated as tales and tradition. This erases Indigenous narrative sovereignty by removing it from the realm of truth and fact to that of fiction—an (un)reality created within the colonality of knowledge. It both delegitimizes Indigenous historical consciousness and erases non-Western ways of knowing and being, replacing them with different forms of

epistemic ignorance (as “the other” is already assimilated into the colonial canon) (Kidman & O’Malley, 2018; Kuokkanen, 2008).

Researching Indigenous materials therefore requires a degree of self-reflexivity and caution as the risk of repeating these colonial habits is always present (Baikie, 2020; Reeploeg, 2023). However, the study of counter-memories can also become a form of reframing, unlearning and reckoning with historical injustices, and engaging with truth and reconciliation (Ghaddar, 2016; Goldring, 2015; Sriprakash et al., 2020). For example, while Knudsen and Sørensen (2020) have previously considered the potential of Inuit oral history in the context of reframing the archaeological and ethnohistorical record, memory scholars Viljoen and Zolkos (2021) have shown how existing storytelling traditions continue to thrive in contemporary versions of *Oqaluttuaq* (meaning “legend” or “story”) using comics and graphic novels. This centering of Indigenous perspectives when thinking about the value of archival records represents a significant step forward in how minoritized memory cultures can be studied and represented in literature. Indigenous narrative sovereignty that centers the Indigenous experience effectively resists and reshapes the sovereignty of memory by retaining narrative agency (Chazan & Cole, 2022). This takes back control of the story or narrative and the tools and methods assimilated or erased through epistemic violence, which are key components of the colonality of knowledge (Quijano, 2007; Segato, 2022).

During the 19th century, a pluriverse of cultural and historical knowledge was produced and reproduced in Greenland by combining European printing technology with local graphic illustration skills and narratives about the past (Amon et al., 1860; Berthelsen et al., 1859; Kangermio et al., 1860). Thus, memoirs, autobiographies, letters, and other forms of personal memory narratives produced by Indigenous people that comprise the archival record can be understood within the wider context of colonality/modernity (Goldring, 2015; Quijano, 2007; Sands, 1997). Suersaq’s travels were well documented at the time, even before the publication or translation of his memoir. The very first print run of the Greenlandic newspaper *Atuagagdliutit* in 1861 included a report by Rasmus Berthelsen that mentioned an American ship going north, commanded by Kane, with “Hans Christianmik (kalatdlit Suersamik)” onboard (Berthelsen, 1861, pp. 5–13). While I cannot translate the passages, it is clear that Suersaq’s travels were of interest to the Greenlandic readership and his progress can be followed across several later issues of the newspaper. Therefore, even before we arrive at the memoir, we can already detect counter-hegemonic processes at work that intervene in the politics of colonial knowledge production and assert historical agency (Assmann 2011; Møller & McLisky, 2021; Wüstenberg & Sierp, 2020).

4. Who was Suersaq? History, Memory, and Translation

Nuka Møller explains the etymology of his Greenlandic name Suersaq (also written as Suersak) as originating from Thule (northern Greenland) and possibly relating to being healed by a shaman (Møller, 2015, p. 248). Suersaq's memoir begins with a short description of his family and place of birth and how he came to join his first polar expedition. Having grown up in a Moravian household in the community of Akunnat (Lichtenfels) near the settlement of Qeqertarsuatsiaat (Fiskenæs), the 19-year-old left his home in 1853. For the next 30 years, he spent long periods working for both American and British polar expeditions, as summarized below:

1. 1853–1855: Second Grinnell Expedition searching for Sir John Franklin's lost expedition, led by Elisha Kane.
2. 1860–1861: Isaac Hayes' expedition searching for the North Pole.
3. 1871–1873: *Polaris* expedition led by Charles Hall, which included 6 months adrift on an ice floe after the ship sank.
4. 1875–1876: British Arctic Expedition searching for the North Pole, led by Sir George Nares.
5. 1883: Swedish–Finnish expedition searching for the Northeast passage, led by Adolf Nordenskiöld.

How did Suersaq come to write the text? Suersaq himself documents it as follows:

When the wind abated we landed at Kekertarsuak (Disko). Here I was allowed to remain, and I felt consoled to know that I could stay with the Inspector, as he was very friendly towards me. He desired me to write what I had seen, and though unskilled in composition, I have tried to give this account of my voyages, while engaged thrice with the Americans and once with the Tuluks. Four times in all I travelled to the North. (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 99)

It seems that Suersaq was instructed to write down an account of his travels by the then colonial governor Sophus Krarup-Smith, who then passed the text on to be printed in the Greenlandic newspaper *Atuagagdliutit*, where it appeared with the title “Avangnaliartarnermik okaluktuak” (“The Story of my Travels to the Far North”) (Hendrik, 1878-1879). The original newspaper article in Kalaallisut was accompanied by several drawings depicting scenes of interest to the Greenlandic readership, including one of the Avanerssuarmio (People living in the North) (Hendrik, 1878–1879, pp. 17–26). These illustrations not only included drawings of

the expedition ship stuck in ice but also musk ox hunting (in the November issues), a color map of his journeys, and full-page contemporary portraits of Suersaq and the British captain, Nares, in the September 1878 and January 1879 issues, respectively. Suersaq spent a few years living with a community on Umingmak Nuna, Nunavut (Ellesmere Island), after his first expedition. The serialized account ends with the ninth issue with the words (original spelling), “Kanortok okaluaralutinganik ukuninga atuartut inuvdluarit; ilanile nagdliugdlunga sulissarpunga, ilanile inuvdluardlunga. Ukuninga atuartut Nalagkap arkane inuvdluarilit! Ukiume 1877-ne agdlagpaka. Navok” (Hendrik, 1878/1879, p. 138) (In the translated version (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 99): “I now bid farewell to all that have read my little tale. I minded my business, sometimes under hardships, sometimes happy. May all who read this live happily in the name of the Lord! Written in the year 1877”).

Three versions of his travel journal are available, all published between 1878 and 1879. As already mentioned, a serialized version of the memoir in its original language, Kalaallisut, was published in *Atuagagdliutit* (Hendrik, 1878–1879). This was quickly followed by translations into English and Danish, although in two different formats and edited for different audiences. While the English translation was in the form of an individual book, published in London (Hendrik, 1878a), the Danish translation entitled “Grønlænderen og Polarfareren Hans Hendriks Erindringer” (“Greenlander and Polarexplorer Hans Hendrik’s Memories”) appeared (in two parts) in the publication *Fra alle Lande* (Hendrik, 1878b). After his death, Suersaq’s biography was included in the Danish journal *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, and for the 50th anniversary of the arrival of the *Polaris* expedition survivors in Canada, his life story was again commemorated in another Greenlandic newspaper, *AvangnâmioK* (AvangnâmioK, 1925, pp. 1–4; Ryder, 1889–1890).

Previous studies of the translated texts have focused on comparing Suersaq’s account with those of other published expedition diaries or integrating it with Greenlandic local histories, such as Otto Rosing’s *Suersaq* published in 1948. The 1930s had already seen a further English-language adaptation of Suersaq’s life story by American author Edwin Gile Rich. This was part of a series of *Why-so* narratives (an American version of Rudyard Kipling’s *Just So Stories*) for children published between 1918 and 1935.³ However, Rosing is of particular interest (particularly to readers of Kalaallisut), as he uses both Greenlandic and Danish sources, including other local newspapers and oral traditions about Suersaq. Other comparative works are available in Danish, welcoming the text

³ “Why-so” or “Just so” are fictional, untestable origin stories that aim to explain particular cultures, practices, or traits. Kipling’s stories included explanations for the origin of animals and their characteristics, including “How the Elephant got his Trunk.”

as an opportunity to “opleve de samme begivenheder med helt forskellige slags øjne” (“experience the same events with totally different eyes”) (Lidegaard, 1985, p. 7; Dawes, 1986). More recent publications have traced the history and geopolitics of an island named after Suersaq, Hans Ø (Hans Island), rather than focusing on his life or achievements (Breum, 2022; Kùitse Kristensen, 2022; Løve, 2016). As such, the multiple memorialization practices associated with Suersaq continue into the present. My analysis focuses mainly on the English translation of the memoirs, interpreting Suersaq’s writings as a sovereign narrative act. This approach not only reads his account of Arctic exploration as an alternative description (“through different eyes”) but also actively considers it as a counter-narrative to dominant (and dominating) Nordic exploration narratives about the Arctic.

5. Kalaallit Oqaluttuarisaanerat, Greenlandic Historytelling in Context

As illustrated by the list of expeditions Suersaq joined between 1853 and 1883, he not only worked in local colonial trading centers in Greenland, but also for a variety of non-Danish employers. From a historical perspective, this demonstrates that the various trading monopolies imposed by Denmark after 1721 were never totally successful in preventing contact with other nations, partly because they only ever applied to the official *kolonierne* (colonies or trading settlements or factories along Greenland’s west coast). The Danish colonization of Greenland appears to have taken place in several stages and at different intervals depending on geographic location. It is therefore useful to picture 19th-century Greenlanders as inhabiting a continuum of transnational contacts with the world and an increasingly organized local colonial administrative network tied to a specific colonial nation, such as Denmark. Therefore, Suersaq’s writings not only demonstrate historical agency in being able to choose his own path but also the complicated colonial networks that needed to be navigated. For memory studies scholars in Nordic countries, Suersaq’s writings serve as a reminder of the impact of Nordic colonialism and the complex politics of historical memory at work that shape colonial historiographies in general.

As an official district of Denmark between 1953 and 1979, Greenland’s history is nowadays told as part of the history of Danish overseas colonies (Boyle, 2021). These included Tranquebar (1620–1845), Serampore (1755–1845), and the Nicobar Islands (1756–1848/1868) in India; Iceland (1536/1814–1944) and the Faroe Islands (1536/1814–present) in the North Atlantic; and the Danish West Indies (1666–1917), a group of islands in the Caribbean now known as the United States Virgin Islands (having been sold to the United States in 1917 for \$25 million) (Rigsarkivet, 2024). Greenland (1721/1814–present) has remained part of the Danish Commonwealth and therefore part of a Nordic historiography shaped by colonial patterns of interest and influence

(Petersen, 1978; Stern, 2004). For example, from the late 18th century until 1950, West Greenland was organized into two provinces (or Inspectorates), each headed by a Danish inspector or local governor. Local governors reported directly to Denmark and made sure that an economic surplus was generated for the Danish state. For instance, in 1850 (three years before Suersaq departed from his home settlement), the trading activities of the Danish State Monopoly Company, Kongelige Grønlandske Handel og Fiskefangst (KGH) (established in 1776), produced a gross profit of 568% through the export of *tran* (whale oil) from Greenland to Denmark (Thorleifsen, 1999, p. 220).

In the 19th century, Greenland's Northern Inspectorate was divided into seven factory (trading post) districts, while the Southern Inspectorate was divided into six and later five districts. Each district was headed by a colony manager (or "factor") who oversaw a group of trade stations or outplaces, which were in turn headed by a trade assistant. This meant an increasing presence of Danish personnel but no formal legal framework placing Greenlanders under Danish jurisdiction. As an aspect of both coloniality and modernity, these complex relationships often play out in Suersaq's memoir. However, readers are also often invited to view things from Suersaq's perspective, to read between the lines, particularly when it comes to intercultural conflicts. For example, in Chapter I ("Voyage with Dr Kane"), when Suersaq's ship reaches its first wintering station north of Upernivik (Upernavik Archipelago, Baffin Bay), he encounters Inughuit from northern Greenland for the first time. While Suersaq quickly overcomes his suspicion that "they might perhaps be murderers, as they lived apart from any Kavdlunak (Europeans)" (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 25), subsequent events and Suersaq's interpretation of them demonstrate his skills as a storyteller and narrative sovereignty. In a passage describing a visit from a group of Inughuit, the *Tuluks* (English) become angry after discovering one of the ship's boats damaged out on the ice. It is worth quoting the whole passage to show how conflicts and misunderstandings develop, especially as it ends with a wry remark by Suersaq to his readers that can be interpreted in several ways:

After their departure the (frozen up) boat was found broken asunder ... and the sails in patches (?) – only think! a native had fallen in with it, and being unable to make out what this thing was amidst the ice (?) he had broken it into pieces. Our commader, Kaine, grew angry, as he knew not who had done it. Later on, a native arrived on foot, named Majok. When I returned from hare-hunting I saw him shut up in the ship. The Master ordered me to examine him as to who had spoiled the boat. He said: "I don't know, I have not done it." The Master said he would shoot him if he did not confess. On hearing this, I took

fright; at once pitying him, and afraid to look at him, I uttered: “He says he will shoot thee if thou dost not tell.” He replied: “I have not done it, I don’t know it.” Finally, unable to overcome him, they grew silent. Our Commander said to me, that they intended to shoot him. I answered: “What a pity!”. We went to sleep, while he was kept prisoner. In the beginning of the night I heard a noise. I went out and saw him running off speedily. I wonder how he managed to get out, the hatch-way being very high. After his departure no natives made their appearance more, I think they were frightened. (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 25)

The question marks (?) within the translated text indicate that the translator was unsure about word choices, but it seems a boat’s sails were ripped and the boat itself damaged, as the object seemed unfamiliar frozen in the ice. The fact that Suersaq was asked to interrogate Majok shows that the ship’s crew trusted he may convince him to confess, even if Majok (as he states repeatedly) had not been involved in damaging the boat. However, when the ship’s Master threatens to kill Majok if he did not confess, Suersaq’s position changes, documenting and reflecting on Majok’s successful escape. Therefore, while the passage illustrates the violence and fear that formed part of the relationship between expedition crews and Indigenous people, it also leaves the reader guessing about what really happened. Who may have helped Majok escape from his onboard prison—could it have been Suersaq himself? Is he telling this version of the story for a Greenlandic audience to give a positive ending to this frightening tale?

A similar story of conflict and narrative agency can be found at the beginning of Chapter III (“My third journey to the north”) (Hendrik, 1878a, pp. 47–48). Here Suersaq gives his account of a dispute between himself and the Assistant Trader of the Kangersuatsiaq settlement. Having received a letter inviting him to work on an American ship, the Assistant Trader then tells Suersaq that he cannot go because he is in debt with the local trading office. A complicated conversation occurs, with the Assistant Trader visibly angry at Suersaq for opening a letter in Danish (that authorizes his absence):

While I was reading over my letters, I heard shouts of “A boat!” and that it was white, and of a foreign appearance. Already knowing the Americans were coming, I went up the hill, and on the way met with the Assistant Trader. When I had informed him that the Americans were at hand to fetch me, he said: “Thou wilt not be allowed to join them, as thou art in debt.” I answered that I was ignorant of my debt, and added: “By mistake I have broken the sealing-wax of the third letter; I did not understand, as it was in Danish;

I will deliver it to thee.” When I had gone to fetch it, and given it to him, he grew very angry, saying: “Why hast thou torn off the seal?” I answered: “In ignorance I did so;” whereupon he ordered the Guardian to be called. The Guardian asked: “What does he mean?” I answered: “As I did not know a letter addressed to him, I broke it open, believing it was intended for me.” He communicated this to the Assistant, who then grew silent. ... The boat having landed, the Assistant Trader said: “The merchant wants thee to join them.” (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 48)

Using intercultural tension as a counter-mnemonic storytelling device, this passage demonstrates the different power relations and entangled colonial relationships that frames Indigenous agency in 19th-century Greenland. While Suersaq receives direct communication from the Americans to join him, it is not until the Assistant Trader receives written instructions in Danish (the third letter) that Suersaq is released to his new employer. Having negotiated successfully with the ship’s mate to receive \$50 per month “to perform sailor’s work on board ... with the exception of going aloft” (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 48), Suersaq’s contract is then counter-signed by the governor (in Danish “cont.Colonibestyrrer” (Hans Elberg)) and the “Commandeur U.S. Polar Expedition” (Charles Hall) (Lidegaard, 1985 p. 87). The three letters (the two discussed above and a third from his family in the south) Suersaq receives also provide written evidence of the relationships that define both his historical reality and memory.

While Suersaq provides an Inuit perspective on life as part of an Arctic expedition, he also uses his narrative agency to give his impressions of the people around him. On several occasions, he comments on the (to him) strange lifestyles of Arctic explorers, particularly the twice-daily mustering of the naval crew and other maritime forms of discipline and punishment, as illustrated by the excerpt below:

While the dark season still lasted I began to perceive that some of the crew were talking about me, and had wicked designs towards me. We also used to collect at nine o’clock in the morning, and stand upright in a row near the ship in military fashion. But I being a native was not accustomed to this. ... One evening I heard them talking thus: “When Hans is to be punished, who shall flog him?” The boatswain answered: “I.” (Hendrik, 1878a, pp. 86–89)

Therefore, Suersaq’s account is not only an additional expedition account (be it from an Indigenous perspective) but also a record of “the bullying and taunting that was all too often shown him and other Inuit” (Petrone, 1997, p. 74). As such, it acts as a form of counter-memory,

with Suersaq's testimony of unpleasant and stressful intercultural encounters going against the grain of published narratives by Arctic expedition leaders of the period, which often describe friendly and even jocular relations with their Inuit employees. Suersaq also describes his response to the repeated taunting and abuse by crew members and expedition leaders. He physically removes himself from two expeditions, either by running away (temporarily) or deciding to remain with a local Indigenous community, rather than return south with the ship. Thus, while documenting traumatic experiences, Suersaq's writings also show the ways he utilizes his own agency to deal with the situation. Finally, Suersaq's recollections also provide a general counter-narrative to contemporary expedition reports on how expedition members relate to the Arctic environment. For example, "The Tale of my Travels to the High North" (Hendrik, 1878a, pp. 96–97), contains many descriptions of Suersaq providing fresh meat for sick crew members. Passages on "Taking care of the sick" and "Hunting seals for the sick" document his recollections in the chapter "The English Expedition" with Nares in 1875. However, his account is short and focused on the number of seals he manages to catch over the whole summer, rather than dwelling on the condition of the men, stating, "We now had three tents here a great part of the summer. I caught seven Natsek and three Ugsuk seals. Their flesh was a sort of medicine to the invalids" (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 97).

By contrast, expedition leaders such as Kane continuously lament the cold, desolation, and despair they experience. A passage from *Arctic Explorations, Vol. 1* (Kane, 1856, p. 257) lists more than half of the officers and crew (including himself) as suffering from scurvy by the beginning of June 1854, with Suersaq seemingly being the only functional crew member able to hunt and provide food for them all:

June 6, Tuesday.- We are a parcel of sick men, affecting to keep ship till our comrades get back. Except Mr Ohlsen and George Whipple, there is not a sound man among us. ... Hans gives us a seal almost daily, and for a passing luxury we have ptarmigan and hare. (Kane, 1856, p. 259)

The repeated outbreaks of scurvy among the crew are documented in detail in Kane's text, while Suersaq rarely comments on the ailing crew, which is in stark contrast to his own (relative) comfort and sense of being at home. This sense of being able to live in a variety of environments also extends to Suersaq's visits to New York and Washington DC during the inquiry held into the failed *Polaris* expedition in 1873 (Suersaq's third expedition). Having drifted on an ice floe for six months and almost 3,000 kilometers following the sinking of their ship off the coast of northern Greenland,

Suersaq and the rest of the group were picked up just north of Newfoundland. Suersaq's account of the rescue and his time in America shows him at home in both worlds—ice floe or train carriage:

We spent a great part of the summer in the farming country. In July we heard that two ships were going to leave for Upernivik. One of them, which had arrived from the country of the Tuluks, had run aground, but was able to get off again. ... We travelled first by railroad train, then in a carriage, then crossed a sound in a steamer, proceeded a short distance on foot, and then again by steamboat reached New York. (Hendrik, 1878a, p. 79)

At no point during Suersaq's account is there any indication of discomfort or stress at being in a different environment (both physical and social). Conversely, on one of his many visits to people connected to Arctic travel, after being asked if they would like to receive financial compensation, Suersaq gives a thoughtful reply:

My comrade and I, after having deliberated, replied, that we should like to have some cigars. Of course, I also liked money, but could not use it now, as it could not be bartered in other countries (so I tried to give a courteous answer?). (Hendrik, 1878a, pp. 80–81)

Although historically specific, Suersaq's memoir can be compared to similar accounts by other Inuit that demonstrate narrative sovereignty. They document a sense of power, control, and resistance through writing (Tester et al., 2001). Suersaq's repeated accounts of saving the lives of entire expedition crews contrast starkly with those of heroic survival and persistence given in official reports by the various expedition leaders. As such, he provides a counter-memory to the many Arctic historiographies that claim Inuit merely performed auxiliary functions. It therefore represents an example of narrative sovereignty that settles the record and provides Indigenous explanations and corrections to the cross-cultural misunderstandings and injustices experienced. Reading his text as a counter-memory is also an opportunity for both scholars and educators to participate in restorative praxis, reclaiming Indigenous agency within existing historiographies and memory cultures.

6. Epistemic Disobedience: Reckoning with Coloniality Through Counter-Mnemonic Praxis

As the previous analysis shows, Arctic memory practices have complex intellectual traditions. In Kalaallit Nunaat these integrate knowledge of the past into a wide range of epistemological and ontological systems or worldviews, including multiple forms of storytelling ranging from dramatic performance and visual art to history books (Møller, 2021; Petersen, 1987). While storytelling is clearly integral to Indigenous epistemology and pedagogy, its practice also responds to centuries of

colonial interference. The Kalaaleq scholar Robert Petersen discusses the entangled nature of these “nyere sagas” (newer legends) or historical testimonies. These include family sagas that memorialize actual historical events, which are usually connected to the storyteller’s family (Petersen, 2000). While family sagas are part of the colonial timeline, they are also a new form of Indigenous autobiographical memory practice (Read et al., 2008). For instance, using the myth of Aqissiaq as an example, Peterson discusses both the complexities and opportunities for misunderstandings inherent in trying to transmit Inuit storytelling traditions in this way (Petersen, 1987). He notes the different sources, methods, and vocabularies used by European collectors of myths and legends and highlights the different ways in which this memory practice can lead to both remembering and forgetting specific details of a narrative. Petersen suggests the following categories (1987, pp. 1–2):

1. *Oqaluqtuaq* (a legend)
2. *Oqaluttuaq* (a legend)
3. *Oqaluaraalut* (a narrative)
4. *Oqaluqtuaq ilumortoq* (a true story).

As in other narrative traditions, the vocabulary is always historically and epistemologically located, with categorizations such as tale, legend, myth, and history sometimes applied to the same story in different contexts. This can confuse non-Greenlandic audiences who may have a more fixed understanding of the truth content of narratives, expressed in modern terms such as “fiction” and “non-fiction.”

Europeans have long projected their own storytelling formats onto Indigenous ways of thinking about the past, often collecting them under the terms “oral traditions” or “folklore.” This can lead to ignoring the complex regional and internal typologies of the narratives, while the historical value of these memory traditions can be erased—in favor of absorbing them into simplified, Europeanized forms of folklore, storytelling, or saga. The birth of the term “folklore” during the 19th century polarized these types of accounts further, removing them from the historians’ world altogether and demoting their study to that of subgroups, the archaic and non-literate primitive societies (Georges & Jones, 1995). As oral accounts were separated from historical fact and reimagined as oral tales and traditions during the 19th and 20th centuries, they were collected, classified, and assimilated into specific frameworks for using and interpreting stories about the past (Thisted, 2001). In the case of Suersaq’s memoirs, this can be seen in the transition of the title of his writings, which moves from being a “story” (in Kalaallisut) to a “tale” and then to a “memoir” in the English and Danish translations. However, the Greenlandic case also shows that by combining existing traditions of transmitting knowledge about the past to the present and future, the technology

of the colonial printing press allowed for a new type of public memory to emerge. By extension, contemporary Inuit artists such as Laakkuluk Williamson Bathory (in Hertz, 2023) now use Virtual Reality technology to create distinctive, decolonized memory cultures for contemporary audiences.

“I’m a political scientist by training, so this idea comes from looking at a utopia as a type of futurism, a yearning for a better world that can be translated into an artistic sense as much as a political one,” she says. “But it also comes from the deep need to decolonize Inuit homelands. To imagine a utopia is setting a path to walk toward, and whether that future is actually realized or not is besides the point. It’s the process that matters.” (Williamson Bathory in Hertz, 2023)

7. Beyond Oqaluttuaq: Literacy as Narrative Reckoning

If memory is always generated in the present, then existing, dominant (or sovereign) forms of memorialization are never fixed and can therefore be responded to through counter-mnemonic narratives (Trello, 2022). As we can see in the case of Suersaq, by centering the Indigenous experience, Indigenous narrative sovereignty continuously takes back control of the story, or narrative, challenging the sovereignty of memory. As such, Indigenous narratives create an alternative to the coloniality of knowledge, as well as opportunities for (un)learning, recreating, and addressing epistemic (in)justice. Translation provides access to broader discussions on historical events and their interpretations, it also enables different societies to understand each other’s histories, experiences, memory practices, and ontological contexts. Most significantly, in the context of coloniality, translating testimonies, literature, and documentaries related to historical trauma can facilitate reckoning with ongoing colonial violence. However, while translated texts form a crucial bridge between memory politics, cultural understanding, and historical reconciliation in the Nordic context and beyond, they are also a means to recontextualize and erase memory cultures. This recontextualization can influence how historical events are (mis)communicated, (mis)remembered, and (mis)understood in different cultural and linguistic contexts, making translations a crucial tool in shaping memory politics (Deane-Cox & Spiessens, 2022).

Similar to other Indigenous knowledge systems, Inuit memory is not necessarily “limited by the constraints of colonial infrastructure or institutionalized ideas of what that looks like,” and thus potentially demonstrates another “world of knowingness” (Vold, 2021, p. 36). As an Indigenous autobiography, Suersaq’s writings embody a counter-mnemonic, Indigenous perspective that resists the master narratives shaping the cognitive empire of existing knowledge politics (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2021; Read et al., 2008). While publications such as his memoir, which were

created and distributed by the Nuuk colonial printing press during the 19th century, catered to the growing ethnographic interest from outsiders, Suersaq's writings also demonstrate aspects of Indigenous narrative agency in their encounter with modernity/coloniality/rationality, which represent "a very different, totalising logic" (Segato, 2022; Tester & Irniq, 2008, p. 59). As such, visual and textual materials were integrated with existing oral traditions "known and told by everybody, though with varying depths of interpretation" (Kaalund, 1979). Therefore, despite the original manuscripts and works of art being removed into private hands initially (Rink, 1857–1862) and then dispersed across European and American archives, Greenlandic Inuit continued to maintain their historical agency through their collective and public memory (Høvik, 2016; Møller & McLisky, 2021). Greenlanders such as John Møller and Rasmus Berthelsen were multitasking, not only as editors, printers, photographers, and translators but also as participants in the establishment of early forms of local self-government within the colonial system (Møller & McLisky, 2021; Petersen, 1991, pp. 126–144). As such, they resisted the sovereignty of memory production with the aim of ensuring both narrative and political sovereignty for future generations.

In conclusion, more research that centers Indigenous perspectives is required—particularly from culturally and linguistically competent Indigenous scholars—to unpack the linguistic and cultural complexities of the creation and mediation of Arctic memory cultures. Much can be learned from Indigenous scholarship and art, which has long integrated the praxis of counter-memory as a sustainable and transformative methodology that provides opportunities for both epistemic autonomy and the restitution of cultural memory. Kalaaleq scholars such as Robert Peterson have long reminded us about the polarization of the local decision-making process from a historical perspective, as part of a larger set of histories of structural inequality. Neutrality or scientific objectivity, in a colonial setting, readily becomes passivity and complicity and "cements the asymmetrical situation" (Petersen, 1978, p. 7). While this has already caused centuries of forgetting and erasure, memory scholarship can now participate in practices of unlearning, resistance, and restitution (Baikie, 2020; Tester & Irniq, 2008; Trouillot, 2015). Perhaps this is where memory studies scholars and educators can activate the ample volume of Indigenous scholarship included in the reference section of this article the most. Read in both their historical and contemporary contexts, Indigenous life stories or memoirs become more than just counter-memories to the colonial archive—they "have the ability to start conversations within families and nations. We must trust that their stories will find their ways to the readers who need them" (Caetano, 2022).

Acknowledgements

Preliminary research for this chapter was presented at the Memory Studies Association (MSA) Nordic Annual Conference 2022 as “Explorations of Counter-Memory” (13–14 October 2022, University of Iceland). I would like to thank the conference participants for their valuable conversations on the day. I am also indebted to the two anonymous reviewers and the editors of this volume for providing insightful comments and advice that has improved the quality of this chapter. Any mistakes and misunderstandings are, of course, all mine.

References

- Amon, Motzfeldt, P., Møller, D., Jeremias, Renatus, K., Heilman, K., Mattheus, Noah, Aron, Ludvig, Hendrik, K., Kristian, Johannes, Kristopher, Kreutzmann, J., Boassen, Enok, Justus, Peter, Boassen, Willads, Dahl, Jakob, Bech, John, & Bech, A. (1860). *Kaladlit okalluktualliait*. Kaladlisut kablunatudlo. Attuakæt ardlait. Nounngme. Nunnap Nalegata Nakitteriviane Nakittat L: Møllermit, Irsigirsoralugo R: Berthelsen.
- Assmann, A. (2011). *Cultural memory and Western civilization: Functions, media, archives*. Cambridge University Press.
- AvangnâmioK. (1925, January 1). Ukiok avitdlugo nulê kitornanilo ilagalugit pugtâssap kâne sâvssertut. *AvangnâmioK*. <https://timarit.is/page/26669#page/n0/mode/2up>
- Baikie, G. (2020). Indigenist and decolonizing memory work. *Indigenous Social Development*, 9(1), 41–59. <https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/jisd/issue/view/5188>
- Boyle, T., & Carden, J., (2021). Nordic colonialism and Indigenous peoples. In I. Ness & Z. Cope (Eds.), *The Palgrave encyclopedia of imperialism and anti-imperialism* (pp. 2101–2107). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Berthelsen, R., Kangermio, A., Kreutzmann, J., & Møller, L. (1859). *Kaladlit okalluktualliait*: Kalâdlisut kablunâtudlo. Grönlandske folkesagn, opskrevne og meddeelte af Indfødte, med dansk oversættelse. Første Bind. Med Træsnit, Tægnede og Udskaarene af en infødt. Godthaab: Trykt i Inspectoratets Bogtrykkeri af L: Møller, under tilsyn af Hjelpelærer R: Berthelsen. Nounngme: Nunnap Nalegata Nakitteriviane Nakitat L: Møllermit, Irsigirsoralugo R: Berthelsen. <https://archive.org/details/kaladlitokalluk00mlgoog/page/n5/mode/2up>.
- Berthelsen, R. (1861, January 1). Amerikarmiup kanimik atigdlup napitsineranik kalatdlinik avangnardlerpainik. *Atuagagdliutit* (pp. 5–13). <https://timarit.is/page/3764103?iabr=on#page/n1/mode/2up>.

- Breum, M. (2022, June 13). Canada, Denmark agree on a landmark deal over disputed Hans Island. *ArcticToday*. <https://www.arctictoday.com/canada-denmark-agree-on-a-landmark-deal-over-disputed-hans-island/>
- Caetano, C. (2022, September 21). The shadow land: Indigenous memoirs and the question of ‘trauma porn’. *The Walrus*. <https://thewalrus.ca/indigenous-memoir-and-trauma/>
- Chazan, M., & Cole, J. (2022). Making memory sovereign. *Memory Studies*, 15(5), 963–978. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698019900953>.
- Cruikshank, J. (1998). *The social life of stories: Narrative and knowledge in the Yukon territory*. University of Nebraska Press. <https://archive.org/details/sociallifeofstor0000cru>.
- Cusicanqui, R. (2020). *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa: on practices and discourses of decolonisation* (M. Geidel, Trans.). Polity Press.
- Dawes, P. R. (1986). Hans Hendrik og familie på fotografier og graveringer. *Tidskriftet Grønland*, 5, 141–151.
- Deane-Cox, S., & Spiessens, A. (Eds.). (2022). *The Routledge handbook of translation and memory*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003273417>
- Frank, S. K., & Jakobsen, K. A. (Eds.). (2019). *Arctic archives: Ice, memory and entropy*. Transcript Verlag.
- Georges, R. A., & Jones, M. O. (1995). *Folkloristics: An introduction*. Indiana University Press.
- Ghaddar, J. J. (2016). The spectre in the archive: Truth, reconciliation, and Indigenous archival memory. *Archivaria*, 82, 3–26. <https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/13579>
- Goldring, P. (2015). Historians and Inuit: Learning from the Qikiqtani Truth Commission, 2007–2010. *Canadian Journal of History*, 50(3), 492–523. <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/604674>
- Hansen, M. (2022, August 19). Hans-Henrik Suersaq spiller sin tiptiptiptipoldefar i ny forestilling. *Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa*. <https://knr.gl/da/nyheder/killingsaaq-qulangerlugu>
- Hendrik, H. (1878–1879). Avangnaliartarnermik okaluktuak. *Atuagagdliutit, Nalinginarnik tusaruminásassunik unikât*, 2–9 (1878, September 26), 17–26 (1878, September 26), 33–38 (1878, October 14), 58–60 (1878, October 31), 68–69 (1878, November 13), 81–91 (1878, November 27), 97–108 (1878, December 13), 113–122 (1879, January 10), 129–138 (1879, January 28). <https://timarit.is/page/3764102#page/n0/mode/2up>.
- Hendrik, H. (1878a). *Memoirs of Hans Hendrik, the Arctic traveller, serving under Kane, Hayes, Hall and Nares, 1853-1876, written by himself* (H. Rink, Trans.). G. Stephens (Ed.). Trübner & Co. www.archive.org/memoirsofhanshen00hendrich

- Hendrik, H. (1878b). Grønlænderen og polarfareren Hans Hendriks erindringer. H. Rink (Ed.). Taken from *Fra alle Lande* (Oct Del I, pp. 269–288 & Nov Del II, pp. 342–391). P.G. Philipsens Forlag.
- Henitiuk, V. (2017). Of breathing holes and contact zones. Inuit-Canadian writer Markoosie in and through translation. *Target*, 29(1), 39–63. <https://doi.org/10.1075/target.29.1.02hen>.
- Hertz, B. (2023, March 10). The cinematic joys of visiting Tartupaluk, land of ‘Inuit lovers,’ all without leaving your VR headset. *The Globe and Mail*. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/film/article-the-cinematic-joys-of-visiting-tartupaluk-land-of-inuit-lovers-all/>
- Høvik, I. (2016). Reproducing the Indigenous: John Møller’s studio portraits of Greenlanders in context. *Acta Borealia*, 33(2), 166–188. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08003831.2016.1238175>.
- Høvik, I. (2017). Art history in the contact zone: Hans Zakæus’s first communication, 1818. In S. Aamold, E. Haugdal & U. A. Jørgensen (Eds.), *Sami art and aesthetics: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 49–68). Aarhus University Press.
- ICC. (2024, March 8). *ICC charter*. Inuit Circumpolar Council. Retrieved March 8, 2024, from <https://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/icc-international/icc-charter/>.
- Jones, H. G. (2002). Teaching the explorers: Some Inuit contributions to Arctic discoveries. *Polar Geography*, 26(1), 4–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/789609350>.
- Kaalund, B. (1979). *The art of Greenland: Sculpture, crafts, painting* (K. Tindall, Trans.). University of California Press.
- Kaalund, N. K. L. (2023). Erasure as a tool of nineteenth-century European exploration, and the Arctic travels of Tookoolito and Ipiirvik. *The Historical Journal*, 66(1), 122–140. <https://10.1017/S0018246X22000139>
- Kane, E. K. (1856). *Arctic explorations: The Second Brinnell Expedition in search of Sir Robert Franklin 1853, 54, 55* (Vol 1). Childs & Peterson. <https://archive.org/details/arcticexploratio007785mbp/page/n9/mode/2up?view=theater>.
- Kangermio, A., Berthelsen, R., & Møller, L. (1860). *Kaladlit assilialiait. Grønlandske træsnit*. Godthaab: Trykt i Inspektoratets Bogtrykkeri af Lars Møller og Rasmus Berthelsen. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/c3eb7b60-7717-013a-98b0-0242ac110004#/?uuid=c3eb7b60-7717-013a-98b0-0242ac110004>.
- Kidman, J., & O’Malley, V. (2018). Questioning the canon: Colonial history, counter-memory and youth activism. *Memory Studies*, 13(4), 537–550. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698017749980>.

- Kleist, M. (2021). The Fifth Thule Expedition and its Indigenous participants who made it possible. *Alaska Journal of Anthropology*, 19(1 & 2), 37–55. <https://www.alaskaanthropology.org/product/volume-19-12/>.
- Knudsen, P., & Sørensen, M. (2020). The legend of Qajuttatq: Exploring the potential of Inuit oral history in south Greenland. *Arctic Anthropology*, 56(2), 63–83.
- Kûitse Kristensen, M. (2022, June 16). Kupik kleist: Inuit bør eje Tartupaluk, ikke staterne. *Kalaallit Nunaata Radioa*. <https://knr.gl/da/nyheder/kuupik-v-kleist-regeringer-har-ikke-noget-med-g%C3%B8r-med-hans-%C3%B8-den-er-vores>.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2008). What is hospitality in the academy? Epistemic ignorance and the (im)possible gift. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 30(1), 60–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714410701821297>.
- Lidegaard, M. (1985). *Hans - en eskimo*. Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck.
- Løve, J. (2016). *Hans Hendrik og Hans Ø: beretningen om Hans Hendrik og de to Hans Øer*. Det Grønlandske Selskab.
- Lyle, D. (2001). *Muskox land: Ellesmere Island in the age of contact*. University of Calgary Press.
- Martin, I. (2013). Reflections on the role of translation in the circumpolar world: A comparison between two regions of the Inuit homelands: The Canadian Arctic and Greenland. *Discursividade: web revista*, 12(2). <http://www.cepad.net.br/discursividade/EDICOES/12.2/Arquivos/martin.pdf>
- Martin, K. (2012). *Stories in a new skin: Approaches to Inuit literature*. University of Manitoba Press.
- McKenna, T., Moodie, D., & Onesta, P. (2021). *Indigenous knowledges: privileging our voices*. Brill Sense.
- Møller, K. E., & McLisky, C. (2021). The uses of history in Greenland. In A. McGrath & L. Russell (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to global Indigenous history* (1st ed.) (pp. 690–721). Routledge.
- Møller, N. (2015). *Kalaallit aqqi - isumaat tunuliaqutaallu, Grønlandske personnavne - deres betydning og baggrund, Greenlandic personal names - their meaning and origin*. Oqaasileriffik, Sprogsekretariatet i Grønland, Greenland Language Secretariat.
- Niviâna, A. (2019, August 23). Greenland's message for Trump and Denmark: Stop treating us like chattel. Think, Opinion, Analysis, Essays. *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/greenland-s-message-trump-denmark-stop-treating-us-chattel-ncna1045831>.

- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2021). The cognitive empire, politics of knowledge and African intellectual productions: reflections on struggles for epistemic freedom and resurgence of decolonisation in the twenty-first century. *Third World Quarterly*, 42(5), 882–901. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2020.1775487>.
- Petersen, H. C. (1991). *Kalaallit Oqaluttuarisaanerat 1925-p tungaanut (Grønlændernes historie før 1925)*. Namminersornerullutik oqartussat/Atuakkiorfik.
- Petersen, R. (1978, July 15–24). *A Greenlandic problem of lack of intermediate persons* [Unpublished conference paper]. Indigenous Anthropology in Non-Western Countries, Burg Wartenstein, Switzerland.
- Petersen, R. (1987). *Use of different sources in Greenlandic publication of legends*. Unpublished manuscript. Robert Petersen Archive, Nunatta Atuagaateqarfia archive.
- Petersen, R. (1995). Colonialism as seen from a former colonized area. *Arctic Anthropology*, 32(2), 118–126. <https://alaskaindigenous.files.wordpress.com/2012/07/robert-petersen-19951.pdf>
- Petersen, R. (2000). Om grønlandske slægtssagaer. *Tidsskriftet Grønland*, 8, 299–311. <http://www.tidsskriftetgronland.dk/archive/2000-8-Artikel06.pdf>.
- Petrone, Penny. (1997). Hans Hendrik's memoirs (an extract). In P. Petrone (Ed.), *Northern voices: Inuit writing in English* (pp. 73–76). University of Toronto Press.
- Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2 & 3), 168–178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601164353>.
- Read, P., Peters-Little, F., & Haebich, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Indigenous biography and autobiography* (Vol. 17). ANU Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24h88s>.
- Reeploeg, S. (2021). Gendering Arctic memory: Understanding the legacy of Josephine Diebitsch-Pearry. *Memory Studies*, 14(5), 1061–1080. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980211024327>.
- Reeploeg, S. (2023). Unthinking historical thinking: Lessons from the Arctic. *History Education Journal*, 20 (1). <https://10.14324/HERJ.20.1.04>.
- Ricoeur, P. (2010). *Memory, history, forgetting* (K. Pellauer Blamey & D. Pellauer Blamey, Trans.). University of Chicago Press.
- Rigsarkivet [Danish National Archives]. (2024, June 11). *Sale of the Danish West Indian islands to the USA*. Rigsarkivet. <https://www.virgin-islands-history.org/en/history/sale-of-the-danish-west-indian-islands-to-the-usa/>.
- Rink, H. (1857–1862). Grønlandske Sagn [og Sange] samlede af H. Rink (Greenlandic Legends [and Songs] collected by H. Rink). Håndskriftsamlingen (Manuscript Collection). NKS2488, Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen.

- Ryder, C. (1889–1890). Grønlænderen Hans Henrik. *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 10, 140–143.
- Sands, K. M. (1997). Collaboration or colonialism: Text and process in Native American women's autobiographies. *MELUS*, 22(4), 39–59. <https://doi.org/10.2307/467988>.
- Segato, R. L. (2022). *The critique of coloniality: Eight essays* (R. McGlazer, Trans.). Routledge.
- Spiegel, T. (2016, November 7). Atuagagdliutit: The first Inuit newspaper published in Greenland (Kalaallit Nunaat). Library of Congress Blogs. <https://blogs.loc.gov/international-collections/2016/11/atuagagdliutit-the-first-inuit-newspaper-published-in-greenland-kaltdlit-nunt/>.
- Sørensen, Vivi and Connie Kristoffersen (Writer & Director). 2022, August 18. *Killingusaaq Qulangerlugu (beyond the horizon)*. Live performances by Kuka Fleischer & Hans-Henrik Suersaq Poulsen at Nunatta Isiginnaartitsisarfia, The National Theatre of Greenland. Nuuk, 18 August 2022, The Greenlandic House network, Aalborg, Aarhus, Copenhagen, Denmark 29–31 August 2022, 5 September 2022, Qasigiannnguit (Greenland), 10 September 2022, Ilulissat, 12 September 2022, Uummannaq, 15 September 2022, Qaanaaq, 19 September 2022.
- Sriprakash, A., Nally, D., Myers, K., & Pinto, P. R. (2020). Learning with the past: Racism, education and reparative futures. UNESCO. doi:10.17863/CAM.57781.
- Stern, P. (2004). *Historical dictionary of the Inuit (Historical dictionaries of peoples and cultures)*. The Scarecrow Press, Inc. www.archive.org/historicaldictio0000ster.
- Stoler, A. L. (2009). *Along the archival grain: Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense*. Princeton University Press.
- Stuhl, A. (2016). *Unfreezing the Arctic: Science, colonialism and the transformation of Inuit lands*. University of Chicago Press.
- Tello, V. (2022). Counter-memory and and–and: Aesthetics and temporalities for living together. *Memory Studies*, 15(2), 390–401. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698019876002>.
- Tester, F., & Irniq, P. (2008). Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit: Social history, politics and the practice of resistance. *Arctic*, 61(1), 48–61. <https://caid.ca/Arctic612008.pdf>.
- Tester, F., McNicol, P., & Irniq, P. (2001). Writing for our lives: The language of homesickness, self-esteem and the Inuit TB 'epidemic'. *Études/Inuit/Studies*, 25(1 & 2), 121–140. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i40109177>.
- Thisted, K. (2001). On narrative expectations: Greenlandic oral traditions about the cultural encounter between Inuit and norsemen. *Scandinavian Studies*, 73(3), 253–296.

- Thorleifsen, D. (1999). Det lukkede land. In A. Møller & B. Gynther (Eds.), *Kalaallit Nunaat. Gyldendals bog om Grønland*. Gyldendal.
- Trouillot, M. -R. (2015). *Silencing the past: power and the production of history*. Beacon Press.
- Viljoen, J. -M., & Zolkos, M. (2021). Reimagining cultural memory of the Arctic in the graphic narratives of Oqaluttuaq. *Memory Studies*, 15(2), 332–354. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980211037283>.
- Vold, V. (2021). *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* [Masters thesis, University of Greenland]. <https://da.uni.gl/media/r1khah1j/vivi-vold.pdf>.
- Wüstenberg, J., & Sierp, A. (Eds.). (2020). *Agency in Transnational Memory Politics*. Berghahn Books.