

Kakiniit and Other ‘Strange Blue Speckles’: Self-Representation and *Qallunaat* Images of Inuit
Tattooing

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ABSTRACT

***Kakiniit* and Other ‘Strange Blue Speckles’: Self-Representation and *Qallunaat* Images of Inuit Tattooing**

Jamie Jelinski

Tattooing was a widespread form of self-ornamentation amongst the Inuit for millennia before the first Europeans arrived in the Arctic. European visitors to Inuit territories were fascinated by such markings, and after a tattooed woman from northern Labrador (now Nunatsiavut) was captured and brought to Belgium and the Netherlands in 1566, handbills with her image quickly spread throughout Europe the following year. This first Western depiction of a tattooed Inuit woman would soon be followed by many additional images by explorers, anthropologists, and artists created over the next several centuries. By the 19th century, the increasing colonization of the Arctic led to a decline in tattooing, which was paralleled by a decreasing amount of European images representing tattooed Inuit women. Although Inuit tattooing had begun to disappear from Inuit bodies by the late 19th century, it did not vanish altogether. Beginning in the early 20th century, Inuit artists transferred their knowledge of tattooing from skin to paper to create pictorial records of the pre-contact custom. This thesis explores competing representations between European (*Qallunaat*) and Inuit-made images of Inuit women’s tattooing and will begin by discussing how European images of tattooed Inuit women served as an imperial and later, colonial tool to understand and classify the Inuit “Other.” Following this, counter modes of Inuit self-representation that challenge these images and their attendant ideologies will be considered. It will be argued that the latter were a form of continuity that allowed the knowledge of tattooing to persist pictorially despite the decline of this practice in its bodily form throughout the 20th century, in some ways making it possible for the practice to be revived in the 21st century.

Dedicated to Mom, for letting me make my own mistakes and choose my own paths, while still being there despite where I ended up. None of this would have been possible without you.

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Introduction: The Raven, Loon, and Cross-Cultural Representation

According to an Inuit oral legend told by Manêlaq, a Netsilik Inuk, and recorded by Danish anthropologist Knud Rasmussen (1897-1933) in 1923, there was once a raven and a loon who, in their prior human form, decided to tattoo one another. The raven began tattooing the loon first, creating the checkered patterns now characteristic of its plumage. For unknown reasons, however, the raven quickly became impatient and threw ashes all over the loon—forever colouring its back grey. Angrily, the loon scooped soot from the bottom of a cooking pot, which was often used as pigment for tattoos, and covered the raven with it—turning it completely black. The short story then comes to an abrupt ending, with Manêlaq stating, “Before that time, it is said, all ravens were white.”¹

In 1950, working under a contract with the Culture and Linguistics Section at the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Alex Spalding recorded a similar, albeit slightly different, version of this story as told to him by Thomas Kusugaq at Repulse Bay, Nunavut. In Kusugaq’s version, the raven finishes tattooing the loon without issue and the two swap roles for the raven to be tattooed. Unlike the loon, the raven was unable to handle the pain caused by the tattoo procedure, repeatedly exclaiming “ouch!” and refusing to sit still. As a result, the loon, in an aggravated rage, took the drip pot from beneath the oil lamp, dumped it on the raven, and quickly fled. However, before the loon could get out of the house, the raven threw the pot back at him, injuring him in the process.² According to Kusugaq, “Because of these occurrences, loons can never walk and, because the loon poured the drip pot over the raven, ravens are now black.”³

A third version of this tale was recorded as part of an oral history project, with the transcribed text now held in the NWT [Northwest Territories] Archives at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (Yellowknife). Told by distinguished graphic artist Helen Kalvak (1901-1984) of Ulukhaktok (formerly Holman), Northwest Territories, Kalvak’s account of the story follows a comparable narrative to those above. As she recounts, a raven and a loon decided to tattoo one another, with the loon telling the raven,

¹Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1931), 399.

²While in Manêlaq’s version of this story, the raven and the loon are genderless, in Kusugaq’s version they are designated as male.

³*Eight Inuit Myths*, transcribed and translated by Alex Spalding (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), 78.

“make me look really pretty. work on me. I will make you really pretty if you finish working on me. I want you to make a mark on me. so that every one will know I am a loon. and tattoo my back too. make me pretty [sic].”⁴ Accordingly, the raven proceeds to tattoo the loon, the latter being so pleased with the results that he could not help but stare at his reflection in the nearby water.⁵ The raven wanted to be tattooed as well, so the loon prepared the tattoo implements and told him to spread his wings so the loon could start the process. In a quick and unexpected plot twist, “the loon took hold of the whole plate of black powder. and hit the raven with the whole plate, and the Raven became all black. End of story [sic].”⁶

While these three stories vary slightly, they converge in their primary declaration: that ravens and loons have their specific appearances—directly and indirectly—due to tattooing. More significantly, they also allude to the long-term presence of tattooing within Inuit culture as they take place when ravens and loons, as Manêlaq describes, existed as humans, or, in the Kusugaq and Kalvak stories, exhibited humanlike qualities. Such oral histories also act as an allegory for Inuit tattooing in its corporeal, human form—demonstrating that tattooing was (and still is) intimately connected to and embedded within Inuit concepts of personal adornment, beauty, pain, patience, and aesthetics.

In the context of this essay, these oral histories are especially relevant, because they are encapsulated in various processes of knowledge transfer through cross-cultural contact: Manêlaq’s was collected and published by Knud Rasmussen, Thomas Kusugaq’s results from a similar project undertaken by Alex Spalding, and Helen Kalvak’s is permanently housed in textual form in the collection of a Western, and more specifically, Canadian, archive. From the earliest Western documentation of Inuit tattooing to the beginning of the twentieth century, visual and textual representations of Inuit tattoos, by both Europeans and Inuit alike, have often occurred within similar contexts of intercultural interaction. This essay explores cross-cultural contact through two case

⁴NWT Archives, “Kalvak Interview: Drawing #124” N-1992-091, colour drawings 118–128, 1–7.

⁵In Kalvak’s version of this story, both birds are specifically denoted as male.

⁶NWT Archives, “Kalvak Interview: Drawing #124” N-1992-091, colour drawings 118–128, 1–7.

studies that examine representations of Inuit women's tattooing in *Qallunaat* (non-Inuit in Inuktitut, often used to refer to Europeans) and Inuit produced images.

From Bodies to Images

As a practice undertaken on one's body, permanently marking the wearer for the duration of his or her life, tattooing must be considered alongside its material support: skin. Within Indigenous contexts, skin is considered to be a highly personal medium on which tattooed lines, geometric motifs, 'speckles,' and images hold significant meaning within a given culture. According to Inuit oral history, in its pre- and early post-contact form, for example, tattooing was commonly interrelated with important rites and rituals, including birth, puberty, marriage, and shamanism. For the Inuit, tattoos also signified events related to an individual's life stages, social status, family history, or accomplishments such as success in the hunt. Acknowledging skin's importance within Indigenous cultures, Kevin Gover, Director at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), argues that skin has a rich potential for metaphor, stating "it is not only a protection but also a document of our wounds and healing, a witness to our personal histories . . . traditional indigenous designs literally inscribe an individual's story and life force on the skin."⁷ Similarly recognizing the skin's metaphoric possibilities, Inuit literary theorist Keavy Martin notes that for Indigenous groups, skin is connected to "complex connotations of kinship and transformation, and also violence and coercion, it [therefore] represents both the possibility and the discomfort of adaptation."⁸ Once tattooed, the skin's ability to be read and communicate culturally specific meaning is further accentuated. In an Inuit context, the diverse meanings and perceptions of tattoos are constantly in flux, often shifting between different Inuit groups and throughout generations. To illustrate this, it is necessary to identify some of the myriad ways in which tattooing is understood within Inuit culture.

Although recognizing that she was born after tattooing was no longer a widespread practice, Niomi Panikpakuttuk states that amongst Inuit women, "The only reason why they use to get tattoo was because they wanted to show that they were woman

⁷Kevin Gover, "A Thick-Skinned Beast," in *Hide: Skin as Material and Metaphor*, ed. Kathleen Ash-Milby, (Washington: National Museum of the American Indian, 2010), 6.

⁸Keavy Martin, *Stories in a New Skin* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 8.

and wanted to be beautiful, they would only get tattoo when they became adults [sic].”⁹ Apphia Aglakti Awa, who notes that tattooing had ceased being practiced in her community before her childhood, communicates a similar understanding, stating that tattooing was undertaken by women in order to look beautiful—if women weren’t tattooed, “there would be talk about a woman’s face looking like a swollen gland.”¹⁰ In a conversation about tattooing as part of an oral history project organized by anthropologists Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand, several other Inuit elders have shared their own knowledge: Jose Angutinngurniq indicates that his mother was tattooed to prevent herself from an unpleasant afterlife, maintaining that “She was told she should do this so she wouldn’t be *nuqummiut* [or, people who live underwater]”; Naniqtaq Itinnuaq reiterates that tattoos were “to enhance a woman’s looks”; and following the belief that tattoos were to denote one’s womanhood, Felix Kupak states, “It is said that if there were a couple in bed and there was one without tattoos, it was like seeing two men in bed together.”¹¹ While tattooing amongst men was less prevalent, Tulimaaq Aupilaarjuk recalls that a *kigjugaq*, or a tattoo between one’s eyes, “helped keep them safe,” whereas Lucassie Nutaraaluk specifies that “[t]his marking was to show that they had killed before.”¹²

The above examples provide some insights into how tattooing is understood amongst the Inuit, but are by no means wholly representative of why tattooing was practiced or how it was comprehended throughout the immense Arctic region. Indeed, tattooing was not a static custom. On the contrary, it occupied a fluctuating, pervasive role, permeating a number of aspects of Inuit life. By the mid 20th century, however, the number of Inuit women with tattoos was declining considerably, and even in newspapers

⁹NWT Archives, “Niomi Panikpakuttuk: Igloodik Oral History Project, March 24, 1992” G-1993-009, Box 3, Folder 11, Page 4.

¹⁰Nancy Wachowich in collaboration with Apphia Agalakti Awa, Roda Kaukjak Katsak, and Sandra Pikujak Katsak, *Saqiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), 121.

¹¹Ollie and Naniqtaq Itinnuaq, Felix Kupak, Levi Iluittuq, Peter Suvaksiq, Luke Anautalik, George Agiaq Kappianaq, Felix Pisuk, Gino Aqqaq, and Jose Angutinngurniq, *Surviving in Different Worlds: Transferring Inuit Traditions from Elders to Youth*, ed. Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2007), 93–95.

¹²Mariano and Tulimaaq Aupilaarjuk, Lucassie Nutaraaluk, Rose Iqallijuq, Johanasi Ujarak, Isidore Ijituuq and Michel Kupaaq, *Cosmology and Shamanism: Interviewing Inuit Elders*, ed. Bernard Saladin d’Anglure (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2001), 95.

“[v]isitors to Canada’s northland were [being] advised by National Museum officials to use their cameras if they see a tattooed Eskimo woman, because it will be their chance to record the remnants of an age-old tradition that *died easily* [emphasis added] when the white man came.”¹³ Yet, beginning in the early 20th century, while tattooing was seeing a decline in its corporeal form, Inuit artists articulated their knowledge of tattooing on paper to create self-representations of the pre-contact custom.

Drawing on research into cross-cultural representations of Inuit tattooing, I will contend that although tattooing was diminishing from Inuit bodies, it was kept alive through a process of transference in which Inuit artists depicted tattooed women and asserted the Inuit ability to control the history, continuity, and representation of their own cultural practice. More broadly, this thesis considers the cross-cultural visual representations that occur, by both Westerners and Inuit, when two markedly dissimilar cultures engage in prolonged contact with one another, specifically within the frameworks of imperialism and colonialism. The emphasis here is to examine how Western knowledge, which includes images, aided in understanding Inuit tattooing; how it can be reexamined in a more culturally sensitive and holistic manner; and how the Inuit have responded to outside Western representation.

By focusing on the representation of tattooing rather than on tattooing as a practice, this research diverges from other scholarship on Inuit tattooing, including anthropologist Lars Krutak’s recent book *Tattoo Traditions of Native North America: Ancient and Contemporary Expressions of Identity* (2014), which includes a comprehensive chapter on circumpolar tattooing. Krutak’s earlier work—a chapter in his book *The Tattooing Arts of Tribal Women* (2007), a chapter in Steve Gilbert’s edited text *Tattoo History: A Source Book* (2000), and a journal article about joint tattooing on St. Lawrence Island—are among the most longstanding sources of scholarship concerning Inuit tattooing.¹⁴ Nevertheless, proceeding Krutak by over a decade, Kristin Phillips Rothschild’s little known MA thesis “Historical Inuit Tattoo Practices: A Preliminary Study” (1985) was the first sustained academic study on Inuit tattooing, accomplished

¹³“Custom Has Been Dropped: Eskimo Women Are Not Tattooed in These Modern Days,” *Irma Times* (Viking, AB), Oct. 24, 1941.

¹⁴See Lars Krutak, “St. Lawrence Island Joint-Tattooing: Spiritual/Medicinal Functions and Inter-Continental Possibilities,” *Études/Inuit/Studies*, no. 23 (1–2, 1999): 229–252.

largely by summarizing and synthesizing textual accounts on the practice, primarily those recorded by explorers and anthropologists during the late 19th and early 20th century. More recently, Inuk filmmaker Alethea Arnaquq-Baril's pioneering documentary *Tunniit: Retracing the Lines of Inuit Tattoos* (2010) explores Arnaquq-Baril's journey to acquire her own tattoos, and in the process provides a contemporary Inuit-informed perspective on the history and revival of the practice, as told by herself and other members of the Inuit community.¹⁵ On a broader scale, other recent work on North American Indigenous tattooing has demonstrated an increasing scholarly awareness of the subject matter. Archaeologists Aaron Deter-Wolf and Carol Diaz-Granados's edited interdisciplinary collection *Drawing With Great Needles: Ancient Tattoo Traditions of North America* (2013) has offered insight and inspiration into this project, but does not include any work on Inuit tattooing in particular.

The Archive: Physical and Abstract

What this essay deals with is both a physical archive of images representing Inuit tattooing, and an intangible archive consisting principally of European ideologies (and when collected by Westerners—Inuit ones as well) that framed how the Inuit were understood in the West. The latter operates at a non-physical, abstract level, following Michel Foucault's concept of the archive, articulated in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) as “the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events.”¹⁶ For Foucault, this archive, comprised of statements or what he refers to in their most basic form as “atom[s] of discourse,” contributes to how a culture or historical epoch is known, defined, and represented.¹⁷ Although Foucault uses the term *statement* in relation to language or discourse (both oral and written), *statements* can also be pictorial. In this sense, the images this paper explores, made by both non-Inuit and Inuit alike, contributed to how Inuit tattooing, and Inuit culture by extension, has been—and largely, continues to be—understood within a distinctly Eurocentric context. However, one should note that while Inuit self-representations of tattooing are important

¹⁵See also Alethea Arnaquq-Baril, “Tunniit: Retracing the Lines of Inuit Tattoos,” *Inuktitut*, Winter 2010, 42–51.

¹⁶Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 1969, Reprint (London: Routledge, 2005), 146.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 90.

sources of Inuit knowledge, they are simultaneously complicated due to being collected and published by cultural outsiders, and located in the collections of Western institutions. Thus, while self-representations constitute a counter-archive of sorts, destabilizing their Western predecessors, they are still complicatedly embedded within the Western archive.

Underlying more recent postcolonial research on relationships between Europeans and the non-European Other, preeminent literary scholar Edward Said's foundational text *Orientalism* (1987) follows Foucault's power/knowledge framework, recognizing the pervasiveness of the archive as it pertains to European understandings of non-Western groups. As Said notes:

In a sense Orientalism was a library or archive of information commonly and, in some of its aspects, unanimously held. What bound the archive together was a family of ideas and a unifying set of values proven in various ways to be effective. These ideas explained the behavior of the Orientals; they supplied Orientals with a mentality, a genealogy, and an atmosphere; most important, they allowed Europeans to deal with and even to see Orientals as a phenomenon possessing regular characteristics.¹⁸

While Said approaches this notion through his exploration of how "Orientals" have been framed in literature, his understanding of the archive as a Western mechanism for understanding, representing, and defining non-Western groups remains equally pertinent here. Following Foucault and Said, Indigenous education researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith, in her groundbreaking text *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999), takes up the notion of the archive as it relates more specifically to imperial knowledge of and research on Indigenous groups. According to Tuhiwai Smith, an archive consists of

histories, artefacts, ideas, texts and/or images, which are classified, preserved, arranged and represented back to the West. This storehouse contains the fragments, the regions and levels of knowledge traditions, and the 'systems' which allow different and differentiated forms of knowledge to be retrieved, enunciated and represented in new contexts.¹⁹

Thus, this paper is both a critique of the abstract archive of Western knowledge related to Inuit tattooing and an exploration of the more physical, tangible archive—

¹⁸Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 41–42.

¹⁹Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 44.

primarily in the form of images—as it exists across a number of institutions and intercultural encounters. It is important to remember, however, that these two constructions—ideological and physical—do not operate independently of one another. On the contrary, and as Tuhiwai Smith demonstrates, the two are entrenched within and reliant upon one another, particularly as they relate to promoting Western culture and intellectual frameworks, and at times, marginalizing those of the Other. Of course, I fully recognize the irony inherent in this study: criticizing *the archive*, yet relying primarily on archival sources, mainly in the form of images, to produce original scholarship. I mention this to demonstrate the issues that inevitably arise with cross-cultural studies of this type—something that this research accepts and addresses as it writes *against* and explores alternate understandings of the Western archive and its relationship to Inuit tattooing.²⁰ By placing Western and Inuit representations in dialogue with one another for a re-reading of this body of knowledge, this essay hopes to create what literary theorist Julia Emberley calls “a shift in rethinking the epistemological concepts and metaphors with which colonial confrontation is framed.”²¹

Amongst scholars who situate their research within the expansive framework of post-colonialism, one of the most predominant approaches to counteracting Western ideologies is to include Indigenous knowledge and voice(s) within one’s work. Throughout researching and writing this paper I have remained cognizant of this, including critical Indigenous perspectives in order to offer a fuller, culturally sound, and nuanced approach to the topic. Yet, although this work has integrated—particularly within Chapter 2—a number of Inuit perspectives, these have been largely sourced from published primary texts that coincide with the artwork under study. In this sense, this knowledge has still been filtered through a Western framework and must, to a certain degree, be approached with caution, as they fundamentally constitute what Indigenous

²⁰The issues inherent in this type of work has already been noted by Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert who state, “On a conceptual level, authors approach their studies well aware of the discursive and analytical challenges posed by the myriad forms of evidence confronting those who venture into this field.” Via Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, “Introduction,” in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003), xii.

²¹Julia V. Emberley, *Thresholds of Difference: Feminist Critique, Native Women’s Writings, Postcolonial Theory* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1993), 124.

literary scholar Sophie McCall refers to “ethnographic fragment[s].”²² Rather than attempting to circumvent, obfuscate, or excuse the issues that have arisen during the course of this research, I believe it is important to speak to them with transparency so as to provide readers with the larger methodological and contextual circumstances surrounding this work. As a project that is simultaneously about Western imagery and its Inuit counterpart, this research not only acknowledges, but also embraces this tension by exploring two culturally distinct ways of knowing and representing Inuit tattooing.

Methodology and Thesis Structure

This thesis traces representations of tattooed Inuit women from the contact period between 1567, the year the first known image of a tattooed Inuit woman was created, and 1924, after Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933) completed his Fifth Thule Expedition, during which time he collected a number of drawings by Inuit artists that depict tattooing. Since the works studied in this essay arise from cultural exchange and are in collections of Western institutions, this paper follows a similar path as Anna Laura Stoler’s *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (2009). Stoler investigates Dutch archival documents from the colonial period as objects of study themselves, rather than simply as reinforcements to a colonial history. Her book, therefore, “is about such a colonial order of things as seen through the record of archival productions” in the same way this paper positions its relationship to images (which constitute archives, documents, and records in their own right) of Inuit tattooing.²³

Rather than framing this work as one that focuses specifically on Inuit culture, I prefer to consider it an examination of contact as it relates to artwork representing Inuit tattooing. Seen from this perspective, the works in this study are acute examples of what Mary Louise Pratt has famously referred to as “arts of the contact zone.”²⁴ Contact zones, according to Pratt, are “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and

²²Sophie McCall, *First Person Plural: Aboriginal Storytelling and the Ethics of Collaborative Authorship* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 184.

²³Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

²⁴Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* (1991), 33–40.

subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.”²⁵ However, while the Canadian Arctic, or *Inuit Nunangat* (Inuit Regions of Canada), is the larger geographical area, or contact zone, that frames the work in this study (it being the site of initial contact between tattooed Inuit women and European anthropologists, explorers, missionaries, etc.), this essay considers a broader view of multiple contact zones.²⁶ The reason for this is twofold: many of the Western works in Chapter 1 were created in Europe, and the works in Chapter 2 produced by Inuit artists, although made in the Arctic, inevitably ended up elsewhere—in Canadian and European institutions—where they are now permanently located, thus creating multiple contact zones in the process. Seen in this light, documents and artwork continually create contact zones between cultures and researchers, often long after they were created and/or collected, through the study, criticism, and contextualization of them in a manner analogous to interdisciplinary scholar James Clifford’s conceptualization of the museum as a contact zone.²⁷

By studying these images, and the textual accounts that often accompany them, readers will become familiar with the European cultural mindset towards Inuit tattooing during the period, gain insight into the ongoing tropes used to describe and depict tattooed women, and develop an awareness of how these were used to comprehend, and often, marginalize Inuit women and Inuit culture as a whole. Following a chronological trajectory, Chapter 1 begins with what are currently the earliest known images showing Inuit tattooing—three woodcuts produced in Germany during the mid 1560’s—made after an Inuk woman and her child were taken captive in Labrador (Nunatsiavut), and subsequently exhibited as living human curiosities in Europe. The chapter then moves on to explore images of a tattooed Inuit woman named “Arnaq,” who was brought to Europe under similar circumstances after she was captured by Martin Frobisher (c. 1539-1594) and his crew during 1577. Following this, the events surrounding a painting of a tattooed Nunatsiavut woman named Mikak (c. 1740-1795) by John Russell (1745-1806) are

²⁵While Pratt posits a similar definition in the text cited above, she offers a slightly updated version in Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 4.

²⁶“Maps of Inuit Nunangat (Inuit Regions of Canada),” *Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami*, accessed May 15, 2015, <https://www.itk.ca/publication/maps-inuit-nunangat-inuit-regions-canada>.

²⁷See James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188–219.

considered. Moving forward to the early 19th century, the chapter then examines an image of an unnamed, and possibly even imagined, tattooed woman created by George Lyon (1795-1832). The chapter then concludes with a discussion of an engraving showing an Inuit woman reportedly named Kemig, made after a drawing by John Ross (1777-1856), who was searching for the elusive Northwest Passage like Frobisher and Lyon before him.

From the mid 19th century onwards, Western representations of tattooed Inuit women started to become less common—likely due to tattooing itself occupying a decreasing role within Inuit culture. Chapter 2 opens by considering the broader Western cultural mindset towards tattooing at this time, and how this would have had an effect on the erosion of tattooing amongst the Inuit, particularly as it relates to those Europeans living in the Arctic. Through an analysis of drawings made by Inuit artists during the early 20th century, this chapter argues that tattooing was kept alive through a newly introduced form of graphic art: drawing. This is done by first establishing an early precedent for Inuit drawing through investigating work collected by Reverend Edmund James Peck (1850-1924) and anthropologist Diamond Jenness (1886-1969). Following this, the bulk of the chapter is dedicated to an exploration of twelve drawings collected by anthropologist Knud Rasmussen during the Fifth Thule Expedition (1921-1924).

In my conclusion, I have briefly considered further research directions, including representations of Inuit tattooing that fall outside of this paper's temporal period, namely post-1960s Inuit graphic art. There currently exists a wide corpus of Inuit prints and drawings depicting tattooing that have yet to be subject to any sustained scholarly inquiry. Modern and contemporary Inuit art, which began after printmaking techniques were brought to the Arctic, have occupied a vital role for strengthening, reinforcing, and documenting Inuit life and culture for over five decades and thus present a research area from which this study can go forward.

Chapter 1: *Qallunaat* Images

“Cultures” do not hold still for their portraits. Attempts to make them do so always involve simplification and exclusion, selection of a temporal focus, the construction of a particular self-other relationship, and the imposition or negotiation of a power relationship.²⁸ —James Clifford in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986)

When done by non-Western peoples, tattooing, as a form of image making on the skin, often indicated a discernible cultural difference and contributed to a European perception of Otherness. These permanent markings became something that Westerners fetishized and utilized (together with other visible forms of bodily adornment such as clothing, hairstyles, and piercing) for the creation of their own representative images of tattooed Inuit women and the manufacturing and understanding of Inuit culture more generally. Although written from an ethnographic purview, Clifford’s conceptualization of the Western approach to creating portraits (understood broadly to include non-pictorial representations) of non-Western groups remains at the center of this chapter. Although ethnography as a field did not emerge until the late 19th century, becoming prevalent beginning in the early 20th century, an ethnographic-like fascination with the Other characterized the relationship between the Inuit and *Qallunaat* entities from the point of contact onward.²⁹ By assigning physical, cultural, and intellectual characteristics (whether real or imagined) to the Inuit through artwork and written accounts, the Inuit became *knowable* to a Western population, even though most of this population had never, and would never, encounter any “real-life” Inuit during the exploration and early contact period due to their geographic remoteness in the Arctic.

This chapter will consider how images of tattooed Inuit women served as imperial and colonial tools, allowing Western artists, intellectuals, and explorers (many of whom occupied several of these roles simultaneously), to represent Inuit, and in doing so, construct the body of knowledge surrounding the Arctic Other and their tattooing practices. Recognizing the relationship between European image making and knowledge

²⁸James Clifford, “Introduction: Partial Truths,” in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Oakland: University of California Press, 1986), 10.

²⁹More recently, scholars are attempting to create a rift in this paradigm. See *Critical Inuit Studies: An Anthology of Contemporary Arctic Ethnography*, ed. Pamela Stern and Lisa Stevenson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).

production during the exploration period, Peter Mason states, “iconographical traditions of European painting [and other forms of art and visual culture] worked in a similar way to literary ones in confining the gaze to what was familiar.”³⁰ There exists a nearly parallel relationship between the production of images and writing on the Other, and as such, conclusions concerning the latter can typically be used to enhance one’s understanding of the former. Following Michel de Certeau’s writing on exploration literature, this chapter aims to demonstrate that pictures, like words (and often alongside them) write (or here, depict) Western desire onto the New World, and in doing so, manufacture ‘history’ in the process.³¹

Despite the relationship between these representational apparatuses, which created and disseminated—through a mix of imagined and observed traits—a distorted sense of Inuit culture and identity, there is, nevertheless, a level of irony throughout this multi-century process.³² Considering that the broader European perception of Inuit culture was that it was being eroded due to Western influence (albeit slowly—only to be accelerated during the late 19th century after the arrival of missionaries), the imagined pre-contact way of life therefore became something Europeans sought to collect, document, and archive. Though the salvage paradigm is typically associated with a late 19th and early 20th century colonial mindset that believed that Indigenous cultures would inevitably *vanish*, its principle tenet—a false sense (in that it followed a deceptive Western belief system) of preservation through the recording and collecting of Indigenous cultural objects (and at times, people themselves)—remained relatively constant from first contact onwards.³³ Since tattoos were not easily commoditized or collected, they would need to be “conserved” through other means: aside from creating

³⁰Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 21.

³¹Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, translated by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), xxv–xxvi.

³²Initially this took place within a predominantly European context. However, after the rise of print culture, these ideas and images could be exported to the other side (or perhaps better said, *Other* side) of the Atlantic where they could, in turn, contribute to the settler understanding of the continent’s northernmost inhabitants.

³³See James Clifford, “The Others: Beyond the ‘Salvage’ Paradigm,” *Third Text* Vol. 3, No. 6 (1989), 73–78 and Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 49–71.

images, this included by being tattooed by an Inuk, or, in extreme instances, by capturing and displaying tattooed Inuit women as living ethnographic curiosities.

Yet, many scholars have simplified what was actually a multifaceted and complex process of documenting and subjugating Indigenous culture and its practices. In an essay on how gender was articulated during the “discovery” period, literary theorist Louis Montrose, using a rhetoric characteristic of others conducting similar research, states that Europe’s construction of the “savage/Indian” Other was done through “symbolic and material destruction of the indigenous peoples . . . in systematic attempts to destroy their bodies and their wills, to suppress their cultures and to efface their histories.”³⁴ At a basic level, Montrose is not incorrect. The West, although unsuccessfully (when one considers the manner in which Indigenous cultures have persevered), did make such attempts to destroy Indigenous bodies and psyches. However, within the context of this essay, the suppression of Inuit culture and the effacing of the history, knowledge, and visual culture surrounding tattooing was much less an all-encompassing erasure than, at least at first, a deliberate attempt at rearticulating them through various, and frequently selective, means of documentation and representation. It is only after these entered the Western archive—becoming stronger over time as other similar imagery and information amassed—that pre-contact aspects of Inuit culture could then be subdued (through both direct and indirect methods), making the West’s archive a much more powerful, uncontested source of knowledge in the process.

Inasmuch as they communicate information about the Inuit, these images also express a significant amount about the mindsets of their producers. The psychoanalytic component of such images has been commented on by a number of scholars, who reflect in varying ways on how the Western perception of the world contributed to one’s sense of the non-Western world and its inhabitants.³⁵ Recent research has shown tattooing to have been practiced in Europe prior to what is often referred to as its ‘discovery’ by Captain James Cook (1728-1779) in the late 18th century—a misleading discourse similar

³⁴Louis Montrose, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,” *Representations* No. 33 (Winter 1991), 3.

³⁵See Henri Baudet, *Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), Michael Householder, *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), and Gusta Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots and Modern Prejudice in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

to Christopher Columbus's (c. 1450-1506) 'discovery' of North America in 1492.³⁶ As tattoo historian Anna Felicity Friedman Herlihy shows, the general public would have been familiar with the practice well before the 19th century.³⁷ But, without a widespread, public knowledge of tattooing's history and significance amongst North America's Indigenous groups, Europeans were left to their own restricted mindsets to comprehend the unfamiliar nature of Inuit tattooing.

Writing on a specifically Canadian settler colonial context in her book *Defamiliarizing the Aboriginal: Cultural Practices and Decolonization in Canada* (2007), Julia Emberly argues that colonial legislation, knowledge, and media have contributed to the formation of a "semiotic apparatus of aboriginality" that has rendered Indigenous groups knowable, even if in a fundamentally flawed way, to the larger, non-Indigenous population.³⁸ Though writing on a more recent history, in which film, photography, and print culture have been the principal technologies used to represent Indigenous populations and contribute to Canada's "national imaginary," Emberly's declaration is equally applicable to other, less recent modes of Western image making and writing.³⁹ It therefore becomes necessary to read and see beyond these Eurocentric sources in a manner that follows historians Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert in their edited collection *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History* (2003), which emphasizes a re-reading of the "texts" that often support research on Indigenous North America.⁴⁰ For Brown and Vibert, texts are understood more broadly to include oral documents, images, artifacts, and cultural expressions—the same primary sources of information this paper largely relies on.⁴¹

³⁶Anna Felicity Friedman Herlihy, "Tattooed Transculturies: Western Expatriates Among Amerindian and Pacific Islander Societies, 1500–1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012), 16–23 and Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin, "Introduction," in *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, ed. Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), 11–23.

³⁷See Anna Felicity Friedman Herlihy, "Tattooed Transculturies: Western Expatriates Among Amerindian and Pacific Islander Societies, 1500–1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012).

³⁸Julia V. Emberley, *Defamiliarizing the Aboriginal: Cultural Practices and Decolonization in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 11.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁰Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, "Introduction," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, xii.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

German Handbills (Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt)

Within an Inuit context, the imaging process began during 1566 after French sailors captured a tattooed Nunatsiavut Inuit woman and her child in what is now Labrador. The mother and child were subsequently brought to Europe where they were exhibited as living ethnographic curiosities in The Hague and Antwerp. A number of primary documents confirm this forced display, including a manuscript—which will be examined further below—created by Adrian Coenen (1514-1587), who notes

During the time of the image-breaking by the Gueux here in Holland [August, 1566], I, Adriaen Coenzoon, saw a wild woman with a child, and one could see them for money. This woman was dressed . . . with seal skins with the hair on the outside and that child was dressed in the same way. She had no language or did not want to speak. Also, I saw this woman in The Hague at the inn of the Mill where this woman's masters lived and had her on display.⁴²

As one of the earliest written accounts to discuss the public display of an Inuit woman in Europe, and with little prior knowledge of the Inuit, Coenen, like many of the figures this chapter will examine, approaches the Inuit from a marked Eurocentric perspective characterized by an evaluation of those traits that were discernible through brief observation, and at times, interaction. Although Coenen does not mention the woman's tattoos, by discussing her clothing that had "the hair on the outside" and her supposed *lack* of language (in reality, a lack of the English language)—attributes dissimilar from those Europeans whose gaze the mother and child were subjected to—he succeeds in creating an early, textual representation of the Inuit as Other. The additional sources that make note of this event are three slightly differing handbills all produced during 1567 in Germany, which report on a similar event in Antwerp, stating that the Inuit duo was "found in the district called Noua terra, and brought to Antwerp, and publicly seen by everyone there, and still to be seen."⁴³ These handbills have been the subject of some previous scholarly interest, most notably by anthropologist William Sturtevant, and are

⁴²English translation of page f.49r (folio 40) in Adriaen Coenen's *Viboek (Fish Book)* courtesy of William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 136. An image of the text, as it is in the folio, can be viewed digitally at https://www.kb.nl/bladerboek/visboek/browse/page_049r.html.

⁴³ William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577," 130.

currently the earliest known images of Inuit created from life by Europeans.⁴⁴ Consequently, the three handbills—made from a woodblock printing process—are also the first known representations of a tattooed Inuit woman, and as Krutak points out, tattooed Indigenous North Americans more generally.⁴⁵

One of the curious aspects about these handbills is that they do not come from The Hague or Antwerp, but from three separate cities in Germany—Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Frankfurt. Given the geographic distance between these cities and Antwerp and the Hague, specifically during the mid 16th century when travel options were limited, these handbills—a combination of text and image—acted as a means for disseminating information about the Inuit within a larger, European-wide context, and aided in creating an early body of information concerning the Inuit. While specific details regarding the exhibition of the Inuit mother and her daughter are scant, that the pair was displayed in Antwerp is noteworthy, as 16th century Antwerp functioned, alongside Amsterdam and London, as a major commercial and financial center known to impress with its modernity and international appeal.⁴⁶ The city also hosted an active scientific community “primarily based on practical, useful knowledge” that took the public—comprised mainly of merchants, entrepreneurs, sailors and travellers—as its primary audience, and utilized artists, printers, and scholars to disseminate information.⁴⁷ With these circumstances working in cohesion with one another, the city’s milieu likely aided in formulating an active interest in the tattooed Inuit woman and her child, which surely permeated outwardly, as the handbill’s distribution shows, from this dynamic city.

As an early form of printed news, the handbill perpetuates the type of journalistic sensationalism typical of even more recent press surrounding Canada’s Indigenous

⁴⁴See William C. Sturtevant, “The first Inuit depiction by Europeans,” *Études/Inuit/Studies* Vol. 4, no 1–2: (1980): 47–50 and William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, “This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577,” 61–140.

⁴⁵Lars Krutak, *Tattoo Traditions of Native North America: Ancient and Contemporary Expressions of Identity* (Arnhem: LM Publishers, 2014), 15.

⁴⁶Michael Limberger, “‘No town in the world provides more advantages’: economies of agglomeration and the golden age of Antwerp,” in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick O’Brien, Derek Keene, Jaolein’t Hart, and Herman van der Wee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 39.

⁴⁷Geert Vanpaemel, “Science for sale: the metropolitan stimulus for scientific achievements in sixteenth-century Antwerp,” in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London*, ed. Patrick O’Brien, Derek Keene, Jaolein’t Hart, and Herman van der Wee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 288.

groups.⁴⁸ To the contemporary reader, much of the handbill's text is unmistakably exaggerated to the point of improbability. For example, the text notes that the "wild woman's" twelve foot tall husband was killed by a Frenchman after being shot with an arrow, but not before he—demonstrating what will later become a reoccurring stereotype of Inuit as cannibals—"had in 12 days killed 12 people with his own hands, Frenchmen and Portuguese, in order to eat them, for they like to eat no flesh better than human flesh."⁴⁹ Yet, it is important to view such remarks in context, as these would have been the first Inuit many Europeans would have been aware of, and with no or little point of reference, such statements would have easily been misconstrued as facts.

Addressing the woman's tattoos specifically, the text, following a similar rhetoric, goes on to state,

The paint marks that she has on her face are completely blue, like sky blue, and these her husband makes on her, when they take them for wife, so they can recognize their wives, for otherwise they run among one another like beasts, and the marks cannot be taken off again with any substance. And these marks they make with the juice of a kind of plant, which grows there in the country.⁵⁰

Considering that the term "tattoo" would not originate for roughly two hundred more years, after the Tahitian word *tatau* being imported into Western parlance following Captain James Cook's 1776 voyage to Tahiti, the text mistakenly refers to the woman's facial makings as "paint marks." This misnomer therefore becomes what Gustav Jahoda refers to as "the principle of familiarity," which occurs when conceptions, images, and understandings of the Other are "dependent on the prior background of ideas and values of the perceivers"—a guiding principle that reoccurs throughout many images this chapter addresses.⁵¹ Moreover, that her tattoos, supposedly made by her husband, signified a suppressed sexuality is likely a false statement. On the contrary, other European accounts (for example, by George Lyon later in this chapter) as well as Inuit oral histories indicate that women, not men, rendered tattoos on one another.

⁴⁸See Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen Robertson, *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011).

⁴⁹William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577," 130.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

⁵¹Gusta Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots and Modern Prejudice in Western Culture*, 10.

Furthermore, there is no other evidence to indicate that tattoos marked an Inuit woman as sexually unavailable, demonstrating an early manifestation of the ongoing relationship between eroticism and tattooing in the images this chapter explores. By creating a relationship between Inuit women, tattooing, and sexuality, these images construct what de Certeau calls a “body of pleasure,” which generates both profit (economically and intellectually) for its producers and a “paradise relative to a body-object” for its viewers.⁵²

Paradoxically, and demonstrative of the text’s misconception, tattoos were so pervasive amongst Inuit women during the pre-contact period that *not* having tattoos would have been a more significant indicator of difference amongst Inuit women than having them. Whereas European accounts and imagery have tended to position tattooing as erotic, exotic, marks of Otherness, within Inuit culture tattooing functioned more as a signifier of one’s social standing or of membership within a particular Inuit group. Similarly, the text indicates that tattoo pigment was plant-based and there is currently no primary evidence, either via written Western accounts or Inuit oral history, to support this claim. Reliable sources, by both Europeans and Inuit alike, specify tattoo pigment was generally made from a base consisting of soot or lampblack.⁵³ With little to no previous information from which to base one’s understanding of this woman’s tattoos, it is easy to imagine how such a text, enhanced by a coinciding image, could contribute to how Europeans began to know Inuit tattooing.

The handbills, produced in three known versions by Matthäus Franck in Augsburg (fig. 1), Hans Wolf Glaser in Nuremberg (fig. 2), and Anthony Corthoys the Younger in Frankfurt (fig. 3) follow the same general format: an Inuit woman is shown wearing what is likely sealskin clothing with her right arm outstretched and her left gently resting on the shoulder of her child to the right. The tattoos that mark the woman’s face differ minutely between the three versions, but are similar in their overall placement: extending below her bottom lip to her chin, across the length of her cheeks, and diagonally—with a slight slope above the nose in the Glaser and Corthoys versions—on her forehead. Minor differences in tattooing amongst the three versions can likely be attributed artistic

⁵²Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 226–27.

⁵³See pages 1 and 29.

embellishment, printing errors, or other presently unidentified versions of the image from which the known artists may have taken inspiration. On Franck's version, one will note a single horizontal line slightly above the woman's eyes, stretching the entire length of her forehead, which features a number of tightly placed vertical striations extending from the top of the primary horizontal line. Moreover, midway down the face on Franck's version, the same pattern appears again radiating from either side of the woman's nose across her upper cheeks. The Nuremberg and Frankfurt versions feature roughly the same design and placement, although without the single horizontal line that the vertical lines arise from in Franck's version. The most consistent tattoo feature shown in the three versions are the parallel lines that radiate from the woman's mouth to the bottom of her chin alongside two triangular marks above the final line on either side of the woman's lips—stylistic motifs that reoccur in later Inuit self-representations.⁵⁴

While several scholars have commented on the woman's tattooing, there has been, somewhat surprisingly, no mention of what appears to be tattooing on the female child's forehead in the Glaser and Corthoys versions. The markings are formally analogous to those seen on her mother and stretch in the slightly curved V-shaped pattern from above her eyebrows onto the nasal bridge. Given the child's height in comparison to her mother, it is likely that she is indeed a child rather than an adolescent, the latter being age when Inuit women typically began acquiring tattoos. As such, the child's tattooing is likely a problematic artistic exaggeration, expressly when considered alongside the corresponding text that equates tattooing among Inuit women with sexual promiscuity and male patriarchy.

John White, Adrian Coenen, and "Arnaq"

Roughly ten years after the German handbills were created, Martin Frobisher set sail in search of both the Northwest Passage and a number of crew that were lost during an expedition the previous year. Frobisher departed England on May 25, 1577 and reached Baffin Island by July, thus beginning a well-documented chain of events that stretch across the Atlantic. On July 19, Frobisher attempted to capture two Inuit men, believing that they could be used to barter in exchange for the return of the lost English

⁵⁴See Chapter 2.

crew that were assumed to have been captured by the local Inuit. While one of the Inuit men managed to escape, Nicholas Conger, one of Frobisher's crewmen, apprehended the other—sealing the Inuit man's unfortunate fate. George Best, one of the expedition's captains, kept an extensive diary during the excursion, which English literature scholar Michael Housholder calls a "combination of storytelling, scientific observation, and ideological promotion."⁵⁵ Despite its imperialist undertones, Best's accounts are among the strongest primary descriptions of these events, which clearly articulate the violent and unrestricted nature of these Arctic visitors. In it, Best describes the encounter between Conger and the Inuit man, stating that the former "showed that native such a Cornish trick that he made his sides ache against the ground for a month afterward," and thus he was "taken alive and carried away."⁵⁶

Just short of two weeks later, on August 1, the crew encountered a large Inuit group, and presumably with the same motive in mind, engaged in an unremitting assault against them. Even English accounts of this day confirm the attack's ruthless nature, indicating that the Inuit did not attempt to fight back until they were unable to escape the situation they found themselves in. According to Best, the clash took place at a location that was later named Bloody Point due to the slaughter that occurred there, which saw several Inuit die after jumping off a cliff into the ocean to avoid capture.⁵⁷ During this tragic encounter, a child and two Inuit women were captured. However, one of the women, in Best's words, was considered to be "old and ugly . . . [and either] a devil or a witch" and was released, while the others—a tattooed mother and her child—remained in English custody alongside the man captured weeks earlier.⁵⁸ Reflecting on the situation from an unforgiving English perspective, Best recounts why, after the confrontation, the English soon departed back to England, stating:

When we considered the sudden flight of the natives and the desperation with which they fought, we began to doubt that we would ever see the five men whom they had [assumedly] captured the previous year. Because their disposition is *so ravenous and bloody that they will eat any kind of raw*

⁵⁵Michael Householder, *Inventing Americans in the Age of Discovery*, 17.

⁵⁶W. A. Kenyon, *Tokens of Possession: The Northern Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1975), 59.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 62.

flesh or carrion, no matter how rotten [emphasis added], it is very likely that they killed and devoured our men.⁵⁹

Frobisher and his crew departed shortly thereafter, on August 23, without their ‘lost’ men but with the three captives, and arrived in Bristol approximately one month later.

Upon reaching England, the trio, like their predecessors in Antwerp and The Hague, attracted considerable public interest. They also became the subjects of watercolour drawings by John White (c. 1540-1593), however it is unclear if these were made during the voyage itself (evidence suggests that White may have taken part in the expedition) or upon their arrival in Britain.⁶⁰ The tattooed woman has been referred to using several names, including “Ignoth,” “Egnock,” and more recently “Arnaq,” as her ‘name’ is likely derived from a corrupted version of *arnaq*, the Inuktitut word for woman, whereas the infant is generally referred to as “Nutioq”—a similar misnomer after the Inuktitut word for child, *nutaraq*.⁶¹ Ethnohistorian Christian Feest remarks that White’s images “contributed to the emerging European perception of American ‘otherness’ like few other artists” prior to the 19th century, particularly for the accuracy of his representations in comparison to other European images of North American Indigenous groups, which generally hinged on a corpus of European features, models, and body types.⁶² Feest rightfully argues that to fully understand White’s work, it must be understood within the context of the emerging field of ethnographic illustration, which was characterized by distinctly European visual conventions and modes of cataloging and representing cultural difference.⁶³ Certainly, these considerations confirm visual culture theorist W. J. T. Mitchell’s contention that despite Western attempts to objectively collect and represent the New World, such efforts remained obscured, whether implicitly or explicitly, by aesthetic judgments and choices that, in hindsight, reveal the often

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn, *The American Drawings of John White 157–1590: With Drawings of European and Oriental Subjects* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1964), 13.

⁶¹ Robert McGhee, *The Arctic Voyages of Martin Frobisher: An Elizabethan Adventure* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 83.

⁶² Christian F. Feest, “John White’s New World,” in *A New World: England’s First View of America*, ed. Kim Sloan (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 65.

⁶³ Ibid.

contradictory nature of the early modern quest to visually understand the New World and its inhabitants.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, in White's image of "Arnaq" and "Nutiook" (fig. 4) European features still remain. The woman stands in a contrapposto position—a typical Renaissance stylistic convention—with her left arm rested on the back of her hip and right arm on her lower thigh, while the majority of her body weight is distributed to her left leg. Her parka is similar to that of the unnamed woman on the German handbills, with the fur facing outwards, while her hood covers her hair and holds her infant son. Though most scholars studying White's work, and more specifically this image of the Inuit mother and child, comment on the accuracy of the woman's clothing, less attention has been paid to her tattoos, which, like clothing, is an equally important form of self-ornamentation amongst Inuit women. The tattooing on her face follows a similar placement on her forehead, cheeks, and chin as that seen in the German handbills. However, a lack of contrast between Arnaq's complexion and the blue tattoos that mark her face make it difficult to strategically analyze her tattoos without turning to an offset of the image (fig. 5) that was created after White's album was water damaged, in turn leaving imprints of the images on their protective pages. As the offset shows more clearly, "Arnaq" has dotted blue tattooing that follows the typical placement of facial tattoos amongst Inuit women. On her forehead, one will note the common V-shape design sloping towards her nose, while her chin shows a number of lines protruding from the bottom of her lip. Either side of her face has a ring of blue dots that almost completely encircle each of her eyes—an uncommon tattoo design motif that may be an act of artistic license on White's part, or was perhaps taken from an unknown image White may have copied.

Although without any known textual complement referring to the woman's tattoos, White's image bears an undeniable resemblance to an image (fig. 6) in Adriaen Coenen's *Visboek* or *Fish Book*. Coenen, a native of The Hague, started working on his *Fish Book* in 1577, the same year that "Arnaq" arrived in England, while White's drawing, on the other hand, has been dated between 1585 and 1593. It is unknown

⁶⁴W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 146.

exactly when Coenen made the image of Arnaq, yet the similarity between the two images suggests that Coenen may have seen White's image, copied his own from someone else who did, or that there is another unknown work from which both Coenen and White made their copies. With less technical skill than White, Coenen shows "Arnaq" alongside the Inuit man with whom she was brought to England (whose image also resembles one by White). The duo stands underneath the title "DIE RAWE VISCH EETEN," or, "THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO EAT RAW FISH."⁶⁵ Notwithstanding the tattoos encircling her eyes, Coenen's image closely follows White's depiction: the dotted motifs on her forehead, cheeks, and chin, are nearly identical. On the corresponding page, speaking generally of Inuit women, Coenen states, without a term to specifically denote tattooing, "Their faces have *very strange blue speckles* [emphasis added] as you see here," and then turns his attention to the child, remarking that she "resembles her very much except that its face is *not speckled as much* [emphasis added]."⁶⁶

Though Coenen's latter comment is certainly a falsity (because the child is both male and an infant), like the tattooed child in the German handbills, he nevertheless still implies that the child *was* "speckled" to some extent. However, the infant is shown, in both White and Coenen's images, without any tattooing. Coenen's indication that a child was tattooed would have had a direct bearing on how Europeans perceived Inuit tattooing, and is therefore worth addressing. It is possible that Coenen may have fabricated this statement in its entirety. By doing so, he may have hoped to be sensationalist, like the German handbills, and draw further attention to his book, as it is documented that he had applied to display it at a fair and charge the public to view it.⁶⁷ In this case, Coenen's discourse would have permeated outwardly, further contributing to the limited European knowledge of the Inuit and their tattooing during this period. Another possibility is that Coenen believed the "speckling" to be a biological predisposition, which would in turn serve the purpose of physically distinguishing 'civilized' Europeans from the 'savage' Inuit, with tattoos being the signifiers of this

⁶⁵Translation via William C. Sturtevant and David Beers Quinn, "This New Prey: Eskimos in Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577," 136.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁶⁷"Adriaen Coenen's Visboek: Introduction," *National Library of the Netherlands*, Accessed 13 April 2014, <http://kb.nl/en/digitized-books/adriaen-coenens-visboek/introduction>.

difference. A final prospect is that Coenen had seen another image (or images) or read another text (or texts) where tattooing on Inuit infants or children was mentioned or depicted, and thus received information that he assumed to be true. Whatever the case may be, as it is currently unclear, Coenen's discussion is nevertheless characteristic of the interrelated discourses surrounding the cultural Other, European ideas of savagery, and notions of 'civilization,' which were almost unanimously measured—whether explicitly or implicitly—in comparison to European culture.

John Russell's Image of Mikak

Given the events surrounding the German-produced handbills and White and Coenen's images of "Arnaq," how Mikak came to sit for English painter John Russell sounds like a familiar narrative. During November 1767, a tattooed Nunatsiavut Inuit woman named Mikak was captured alongside her son Tukauk and seven others near Chateau Bay by British marines as retribution after a group of Inuit had apparently stolen a number of wooden boats and killed three Englishmen in the process. The Inuit captives were subsequently taken to York Fort, where they spent the winter under the oversight of British Royal Navy officer Francis Lucas (c. 1741-1770). During 1768, Governor Hugh Palliser (1723-1796), Lucas's superior, decided that six of the captives would stay in St. John's, Newfoundland for the winter, while three others—Mikak, Tukauk, and an orphan named Karpik—would make the arduous journey across the Atlantic.

Similar to the contexts surrounding the images of captive tattooed Inuit women before her, Mikak attracted considerable interest upon her arrival in England. However, this attention was not limited to the public, but extended in a manner more unexpected than that of her predecessors to the upper echelons of British society.⁶⁸ Among those who took an extended interest in Mikak were missionaries, who hoped to use Mikak to facilitate the establishment of Moravian missions in Labrador. In another instance, Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales (1719–1772) and mother to King George III (1738–1820), had Mikak brought to Carlton House to have a custom-made "Inuit" outfit created

⁶⁸One should note, however, that it was only a few decades earlier, in 1710, that a group of four First Nations leaders—consisting of three Mohawk men and one Mohican man (a number of whom were tattooed)—travelled to England to meet Queen Anne (1665-1714). In England, the four were treated as diplomats, and even became the subject of a series of portraits by Dutch painter Jan Verelst (1648-1734), which are now in the collection of Library and Archives Canada.

for her to wear while in England. Those who were not privileged to see Mikak firsthand, due to her status within British high society, would have been able to view her in portrait form at the first Royal Academy of Arts exhibition in 1769.⁶⁹

Mikak's portrait by John Russell (fig. 7) marks a significant but temporary shift in the way tattooed Inuit women were depicted by Europeans, as evidenced by a more careful attention to the personality and physical characteristics of the sitter. Unlike the previous examples, Mikak is sitting, removing a voyeuristic element that results from images displaying the female Other's full body. Moreover, unlike those images of Arnaq and the unnamed woman in the German handbills, Mikak's portrait has been painted and displayed as an art object, rather than as a record or account of a living ethnographic curiosity. Mikak, is depicted wearing a parka—perhaps the one given to her by Augusta—and is with her child, characteristics seen in the earlier illustrations. The faint tattoos that mark her face take the form of a single line in the familiar V-shape on her forehead, while her cheeks each bear a single line, with the right showing the line expanding into three shorter ones towards her ear. Her chin displays the common parallel lines descending from her bottom lip.

J. Garth Taylor rightfully states that while Mikak's portrait was on display at the Royal Academy, "it must have appealed to anyone with dreams of imperial expansion."⁷⁰ Within the circumstances of its original display, Mikak's portrait would have had the effect of demonstrating that the people living on Inuit land, despite how they were socialized into or marginalized within European society, were still subject to the will—be it physical, visual, textual or ideological—of Europeans. While only a representation, Russell's portrait of Mikak follows in the lineage of exposing Inuit women to the European public's gaze, with the painting taking the place of a live body. The exhibition of a portrait, rather than Mikak herself, ostensibly confirms Mikak's revered status within British society, while simultaneously demonstrating that she was, like those on display before her, still an ethnographic curiosity.

Mikak's tattoos, alongside her parka and beaded headband or *qaurut*, represent her as distinctly Inuit; in other words, still a cultural outsider and Other despite her

⁶⁹For a more detailed account of these events, see J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak: Part 1," *The Beaver*, Winter 1983, 4–13 and "The Two Worlds of Mikak: Part 2," *The Beaver*, Spring 1984, 18–25.

⁷⁰J. Garth Taylor, "The Two Worlds of Mikak," 8.

socialization into the British upper classes. To further enhance these elements of cultural difference, they are juxtaposed alongside English material culture: her headband—made of glass beads (a Western item)—display the colours of the British flag, her right arm holds the coronation medal of King George, and on her wrist one will note a bracelet—a gift from the Duke of Gloucester. These elements clash with those that are distinctly Inuit, most notably her tattoos and clothing, resulting in a depiction that places Mikak in a liminal space, caught between two conflicting cultures, worlds, lifestyles, and belief systems. Nonetheless, that she was captured by English marines, pictured with English objects, painted by an English artist, and finally, displayed via her portrait to an English public testifies to the strength of English imperialism.⁷¹

George Lyon's "Eskimaux Woman"

Less than a century after Russell painted Mikak, and continuing the European expansion into Indigenous North America, namely the Arctic, George Francis Lyon was given command of the HMS Hecla under William Edward Parry (1790-1855) of the HMS Fury. The duo was tasked, like Martin Frobisher before them, with finding the still inaccessible Northwest Passage. In the spring of 1821, Lyon and crew set sail from England and reached Repulse Bay by fall, where their ships would spend the next several months stuck in the unforgiving Arctic ice. Lyon's journal from this period was published in 1825, upon his arrival back in England, and provides a relatively thorough account of the crew's time spent in the area. As the journal indicates, the group encountered the local Inuit population in February 1822, resulting in a prolonged period of material and cultural exchange between the two distinct groups.

Lyon doubled as both an artist and explorer, and his work *The Manner in Which the Eskimaux Women are Tattooed* (fig. 8), shows a fully nude, tattooed Inuit woman.

⁷¹Unlike many of the other works discussed in this chapter, Mikak's portrait exists without any *known* textual documents that make direct reference to her facial tattoos. Furthermore, while there has been some scholarly attention to the historical circumstances surrounding Mikak's presence in England, there is virtually no art historical scholarship addressing Russell's portrait. Because this work was created by an established artist and displayed in a prominent venue, it stands to reason that there is perhaps more primary documents regarding the context of its production yet to be uncovered. Of particular interest are the minute details regarding the particularities of the work's production, display, and public reception, which may perhaps further enhance how Mikak's tattoos were understood during the period.

Fortunately, his journal contextualizes this illustration by providing information into the work's production and offering a first-hand account of tattooing amongst Inuit women. Lyon's image, created as an engraving by Edward Francis Finden (1791-1857) after a drawing by Lyon, was originally intended as the frontispiece to his journal, confirmed by a second, slightly different version (fig. 9) which bears the details of the publishing company: "London. Published by John Murray, April 1824." Nevertheless, in the published version, which is without image, Lyon makes reference to its absence, stating:

I should have ventured to give a drawing of a female figure in the frontispiece, and have painted the ornaments en place, had I not thought the introduction of a naked lady not quite correct; besides which, whatever may have been said about the looseness of the manners of the women, I am confident none would have consented to the exhibition of more than one limb at a time.⁷²

Given that his journal was published in book form, these ideas, like the 16th century handbills, would have been widely circulated and accessible to the English public, in turn contributing to beliefs and perceptions about Inuit culture and tattooing. Among these includes the reoccurring motif concerning the relationship between Inuit women's tattooing and sexuality, demonstrated by both Lyon's published text and the nudity in his image. In *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (2005), Andrea Smith, writing on the connection between colonialism and sexuality within North America, notes that in the colonial imaginary (taken here to also include its imagery), Indigenous bodies are "immanently polluted with sexual sin" and "marked by their sexual perversity."⁷³ In extending Smith's argument that conceptions of sexual violence should not be restricted simply to individual acts of rape, but rather "a wide range of strategies designed not only to destroy peoples, but to destroy their sense of being a people," the hypersexualized works in this chapter show that images, too, acted as a form of sexual violence against Inuit women.⁷⁴

The "ornaments" that Lyon refers to in the above quotation are the detailed linear tattoos—what he says the Inuit called "kakeen," a mistaken version of the Inuktitut term

⁷²George Francis Lyon, *The Private Journal of Captain G. F. Lyon* (London: John Murray, 1824), 121.

⁷³Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2005), 10.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 3.

kakiniq or *kakiniit* in plural form—that mark the unnamed woman’s face, breasts, arms, hands, and thighs. On her face she bears the standard facial tattoo designs: the V-shape on her forehead, two lines radiating from her nose across both her cheeks, and several more lines extending from her bottom lip to chin. Encircling her one exposed nipple are several tattooed rings, in the middle of which are the same shorter linear striations found throughout her legs, hands, and arms, alongside other design motifs including Y-shapes and squares. The level of detail paid to the tattooing on these limbs indicates that Lyon had likely spent a considerable time observing Inuit women’s tattoos, specifically on parts of the body other than the face, as these designs are rendered quite accurately, specifically when compared to Inuit-made depictions of the same body parts.⁷⁵ In accordance with Renaissance artistic conventions, the woman stands in an idealized S-curve position typical of Greco-Roman sculpture, strategically revealing those body parts that Inuit women are known to have tattooed. This image, however, is probably not a representation of an actual event or even a real woman, since Inuit women, as Lyon attests, would probably not reveal more than a single body part at once. Lyon would have therefore created his depiction by either inferring what tattoos looked like on certain body parts, or combining tattooed parts of one or more women over time into a single image. Due to the accuracy of the tattoos on the unnamed woman’s body, it is likely that the latter is the case, creating a composite in a manner similar to the Greek painter Zeuxis (5th century BC) who used five different women as models in order to create the ideal image of one.⁷⁶

Despite Lyon’s image never reaching a public audience via his journal, its text offers a significant and by all accounts a relatively unembellished insight into the Inuit’s tattoo practice, which is worth quoting at length:

My curiosity determined me on seeing how the kakeen [sic] was performed, and I accordingly put my self in the hands of Mrs. Kettle, whom I had adopted as my Amama, or mother. Having furnished her with a fine needle, she tore with her teeth a thread off a deer’s sinew, and thus prepared the sewing apparatus: she then, without a possibility of darkening her hands beyond their standard colour, passed her fingers under the bottom of a stone pot, from whence she collected a quantity of soot; with

⁷⁵See Chapter 2.

⁷⁶See Elizabeth C. Mansfield, *Too Beautiful to Picture: Zeuxis, Myth, and Mimesis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

this, together with a little oil, and much saliva, she soon made a good mixture, and taking a small piece of whalebone well blackened, she then drew a variety of figures on my arm, differing, as I easily saw, from those with which she herself was marked; and calling her housemates, they all enjoyed a good laugh at the figures, which perhaps conveyed some meaning I could not fathom.

...

I had, however, only determined on a few stitches, so that her trouble was in some measure thrown away. She commenced her work by blackening the thread with soot, and taking a pretty deep but short stitch in my skin, carefully pressing her thumb on the wound as the thread passed through it, and beginning each stitch at the place where the last had ceased. My flesh being tough, she got on but slowly, and having broken one needle in trying to force it through, I thought fit, when she had completed forty stitches, or about two inches, to allow her to desist: then rubbing the part with oil, in order to staunch a little blood which appeared, she finished the operation. I could now form an idea of the price paid by the Eskimaux females for their embellishments, which for a time occasion a slight inflammation and some degree of pain. The colour which the kakeen [sic] assumes when the skin heals, is of the same light blue we see on the marked arms of seamen.⁷⁷

By acquiring a tattoo from a local Inuit woman, Lyon became what Friedman Herlihy refers to as a “tattooed transculturite”—a Westerner that collects tattoos during his or her time living amongst an Indigenous group.⁷⁸ For Friedman, this transculturation requires one to get tattooed and to become aware of the status and cultural importance of tattooing within the given non-Western society (even if through a culturally biased, and therefore limited, extent). Likely the first (and probably one of the only) *Qallunaaq* to be tattooed by an Inuk, Lyon demonstrates these traits by being tattooed—what could be considered participatory ethnography—but also documenting and publishing his experience of tattooing while amongst the Inuit at Repulse Bay. Lyon notes the materials and methods by which tattooing was accomplished through the skin-stitching method, while also noting that the tattoo designs he received were markedly different than those on the women with whom he interacted. That the woman tattooed him with different motifs than her own demonstrates that tattoos had an interior, culturally specific meaning

⁷⁷Ibid., 121–122.

⁷⁸See Anna Felicity Friedman Herlihy, “Tattooed Transculturies: Western Expatriates Among Amerindian and Pacific Islander Societies, 1500–1900” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2012), 52–60.

that was incomprehensible to, and consequently unable to be rendered upon, outsiders.⁷⁹ In this way, the women with whom Lyon interacted exercised agency in the process by deciding what Lyon would be allowed to have tattooed on him.

That is not to say that Lyon did not have an active role in the process, but that his role was secondary to the woman—whom he refers to as his adoptive Inuit mother—who created his tattoo. Lyon’s recognition of the pain Inuit women endured in order to achieve such an extensive level of tattooing, especially when one considers that forty stitches only amounted to approximately two inches, displays a level of mindfulness typical of transculturites. Lyon shows that despite contact, at least in this instance, tattooing was still a prevalent cultural practice amongst Inuit women. Even so, Lyon, like most Europeans who encountered Inuit tattooing, still approached the practice, and his way of depicting and writing about it, from a Western mindset. He displays this through his comparison to European sailor tattoos and by including heavily idealized European features in his image. When one considers these factors together—the tattoo he acquired, as well as his image and text (and their dissemination)—Lyon is largely working in a framework characteristic of the salvage paradigm, while simultaneously, and somewhat contradictorily, displaying a level of transculturation through his sustained interest in the practice of tattooing. The combination of these traits sets Lyon and his image apart from the other explorer-artists and their representations of tattooed Inuit women as it shows both a distinctly Western outlook and an attentiveness to and sensitivity towards Inuit tattooing and culture.

John Ross and Kemig

Less than a decade after Lyon published the account of his time spent amongst the Inuit at Repulse Bay, John Ross and his crew departed England on the ship named *Victory* during May, 1829, similarly in search of the notorious yet still inaccessible Northwest Passage. By fall, the expedition had reached the Gulf of Boothia, and like Lyon’s voyage, they soon found their ship trapped in the Arctic ice, forcing them to

⁷⁹This idea is adapted from a similar concept articulated by Stephanie Pratt as it relates to Indigenous material culture. For more, see Stephanie Pratt, “Restating Indigenous Presence in Eastern Dakota and Ho Chunk (Winnebago) Portraits of the 1830s–1860s,” in *Indigenous Bodies*, ed. Jaqueline Fear Segal (Albany: State University of New York Press), 17–30.

spend the winter—the first of four in the Arctic—at Felix Harbour on the Boothian Peninsula. Ross and his crew soon encountered a group of Inuit, with whom they generated a relationship. Accounts indicate that the Inuit provided food and supplies to help the Englishmen survive through the first winter. After several more winters, in which they tried in vain to free their ship, the group abandoned the ironically named *Victory* in May 1833. The following August they were rescued by a passing ship, the *Isabella*, which had them back in England by October.

Upon returning, Ross and his surviving crew attracted considerable praise for their experience. During 1835, Ross published his journal in book form, titled *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833*. In a separate volume, an appendix to the principal text, Ross gives several portraits—in both pictorial and textual form—of several Netsilik Inuit (what he refers to as “Boothians”) with whom he had become acquainted. Among these is an engraving (fig. 10) by a J. Brandard, made after a drawing by Ross, of a tattooed woman named Kemig.⁸⁰ In this heavily sexualized depiction, Kemig is sitting inside an igloo on a bed of sorts, flush-faced, with her parka half removed, leaving her upper body naked and breasts exposed. Writing a detailed explanation of her tattoos, in which Ross minimizes any potential meaning they may have held, Ross states:

This young woman, who was the most corpulent of the whole tribe, is represented as sitting on the bed within a snow hut, to have the tattooing delineated; this consisted of three lines horizontally across each cheek, three vertically across the chin, a double line round the neck and breast above the shoulder, another below the shoulder, and a third above the elbow; between each of these lines, which encircled the arms and parallel to each other, there were ornamental devices, but without any meaning; and all the women were tattooed exactly in the same way.⁸¹

⁸⁰After an extensive search, I was unable to find any collections that hold the original copy of this engraving and/or Ross’s drawing it is based off of. Moreover, like those images of “Arnaq,” it is quite possible that the name Kemig may not be completely accurate, possibly due to language barriers/orthographic difficulties during Ross’s encounter with her.

⁸¹John Ross, *Appendix to the Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833* (London: A. W. Webster, 1835), 41.

Although Ross stops short of making a direct connection between Kemig's tattoos and a heightened sexuality, by depicting her in such a manner he nevertheless establishes a relationship between Inuit women, tattooing, and sex—a visual and textual theme that dates back almost three centuries to the German handbills. This ongoing association between the two demonstrates foundational postcolonial scholar Homi Bhabha's claim that to function successfully, stereotypes require “a continual and repetitive chain of other stereotypes,” indicating that while tattoos were perceived as exotic signifiers of Otherness, they were also seen as erotic, sexually-charged markings of a supposed promiscuity.⁸² Such images, as early manifestations of sexual violence, are perhaps equally damaging as the legacy of physical sexual violence against Indigenous women in North America; they still circulate relatively freely within Western culture and often without proper contextualization or Indigenous response. For a number of centuries, these images have aided in *constructing* the perceived meaning Inuit tattoos, while supporting a broader Western worldview and its coinciding sociocultural principles. As visual records, images literally gave a face to the Other, while assigning traits (whether actual or imagined, illustrated or implied) to tattoos and the Inuit women they adorned.

Ross's image also marks the end of the *Qallunaat* archive that this chapter explores. This is likely attributable to tattooing's decreasing prevalence by the 19th century, particularly amongst those Inuit groups who already had an extended contact with Westerners. While such a claim is difficult to prove empirically, it does point towards Laugrand and Oosten's claim that the documentation of pre-contact aspects of Inuit life by Westerners largely stopped being a priority following the cessation of many customary belief systems and cultural practices.⁸³ Coincidentally, while tattooing was decreasing amongst the Inuit, it was increasing in Europe where it was associated, although often mistakenly and in a similar manner to Lyon, with marginalized social groups such as criminals and sailors.

⁸²Hombi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 77.

⁸³Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 7.

Chapter 2: Post-Contact Inuit Self-Representation

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, while tattooing was experiencing a growing prevalence in Europe, it was simultaneously being marginalized within the Western intellectual community, which saw tattoos as marks of primitivism, atavism, sexuality, monstrosity, and criminality.⁸⁴ It is these alleged traits that had to be suppressed for the Inuit to be “modernized,” “Westernized,” “civilized,” and “Christianized,” which was done largely by Euro-Christian missionaries that were beginning to establish permanent and semi-permanent residencies in the Arctic. Considering the widespread stigma surrounding tattooing in Europe, it is probable that missionaries tasked with “civilizing” the Inuit forbade tattooing due to its seemingly undesirable qualities. In the eyes of these Christian-colonial individuals, the Inuit’s adoption of Christianity required an abandonment of pre-contact belief systems and cultural practices, and tattoos, as permanent markings on one’s face, were perhaps the most visible symbol of all.

One of the most prevalent European intellectuals to take a marked stance against tattooing was Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909). In *L'uomo delinquente* or *Criminal Man*, Lombroso argues that tattooing is one of the most dominant characteristics of “primitive men and those who live in a state of nature” concluding that atavism, or “that *other form* of atavism called *traditionalism* [emphasis added]” is the cause.⁸⁵ In this context, the traditionalism that Lombroso refers to is likely the tendency for Indigenous groups to retain, often in spite of Western force and influence, their pre-contact practices such as tattooing. Supporting his own argument, Lombroso neglects to consider the numerous reasons tattooing is practiced amongst Indigenous groups in order to maintain his claim that atavism is the only reason for criminals to tattoo themselves. Continuing his cross-cultural comparison, Lombroso also states that like amongst “savages,” a criminal’s tattoos supposedly function, rather simply, as pictographs.⁸⁶ In a separate text focusing on tattooing among criminal women—specifically prostitutes—

⁸⁴See Jimena Canales and Andrew Herscher, “Criminal Skins: Tattoos and Modern Architecture in the Work of Adolf Loos,” *Architectural History* 48 (2005): 235–256.

⁸⁵Cesare Lombroso, *Criminal Man*, translated by Mary Gibson and Nicole Hahn Rafter (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 58 and 62.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 239.

Lombroso, alongside William Ferrero, similarly attributes tattooing to atavism. Again, tropes regarding “savage” and “primordial” women are used to reinforce the duo’s argument, but unlike that of the cliché Indigenous man that Lombroso used in comparison to European criminals, they mistakenly suggest that in non-Western groups, women are tattooed less and more simply when compared to men.⁸⁷

Lombroso’s evaluation of tattooing amongst Indigenous groups and European criminals influenced Austrian cultural critic Adolf Loos (1870-1933), who equally saw tattoos as a mark of primitivism. In a distinctly modernist tone, Loos’s thesis is that as Western culture progresses, it needs to free itself from unnecessary ornamentation, of which tattooing is a part. In an early, lesser-known essay on women’s fashion, Loos gives what is perhaps his first public mention of the relationship between tattooing, “primitive” groups, and modernist Western aesthetics, stating that both Papuans (who come to stand in as Loos’s chosen Other in his successive works) “and criminals decorate their skin . . . But the bicycle and steam engine are free of ornamentation. As it progresses, culture frees one object after another from ornamentation.”⁸⁸ Loos continued this diatribe in a more developed form several years later with his now famous essay “Ornament and Crime,” where he once again used tattooed Papuans to stand in for any tattooed Other in his attack on ornament within Western culture. In this essay, Loos simultaneously infantilizes tattooing, relates it to primitivism, cannibalism, criminality, degeneracy, and eroticism, and most importantly for his own thesis, argues for its aesthetic insignificance:

The child is amoral. To us the Papuan is also amoral. The Papuan slaughters his enemies and devours them. He is no criminal. If, however, the modern man slaughters and devours somebody, he is a criminal or a degenerate. The Papuan tattoos his skin, his boat, his oar, in short, everything that is within his reach. He is no criminal. The modern man who tattoos himself is a criminal or a degenerate. There are prisons where eighty percent of the inmates bear tattoos. Those who are tattooed but are not imprisoned are latent criminals or degenerate aristocrats. If a tattooed person dies at liberty, it is only that he did a few years before he committed a murder.

. . .

⁸⁷Caesar Lombroso and William Ferrero, *The Female Offender* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1900), 122.

⁸⁸Adolf Loos, “Ladies’ Fashion,” in *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays*, selected by Adolf Open and Translated by Michael Mitchel (Riverside: Ariadne Press, 1998), 109.

The urge to ornament one's face, and everything in one's reach, is the origin of fine art. It is the babble of painting. All art is erotic.

Man had progressed enough for ornament to no longer produce erotic sensations in him, unlike the Papuans, a tattooed face did not increase the aesthetic value, but reduced it.⁸⁹

As of yet, no official records have confirmed a possible relationship between the intellectualization of tattooing in Europe around the turn of the century and its subjugation among the Inuit. The Bible, the guiding text for missionary settlers in the Arctic, nevertheless declares Christianity's stance on tattooing: God pronounces to Moses in Leviticus 19:28, "You shall not make any gashes in your flesh for the dead or tattoo any marks upon you: I am the LORD."⁹⁰ While missionaries had occupied the Arctic from the late 1800s onwards, by the first two decades of the 20th century, conversion of the Inuit had become rapid, widespread, and seemingly all encompassing. Many pre-contact practices, such as tattooing and shamanism, were contradictory to the newly introduced Christian belief system, and would either need to be rearticulated within the changing cultural climate, or run risk of being eradicated altogether.⁹¹ The Inuit, however, have demonstrated an extraordinary resilience with their ability to preserve their pre-contact culture and withstand Western imposition through oral history, material culture, and art production—which has often been done with or alongside introduced Western materials.

Writing on transnationalism, which has occupied a steady role in Inuit relations with *Qallunaat* entities from the point of contact onwards (due to frequent Western advances into sovereign Inuit territory, often with an express financial purpose), Clifford

⁸⁹ Adolf Loos, "Ornament and Crime," in *Crime and Ornament: The Arts and Popular Culture in the Shadow of Adolf Loos*, edited by Bernie Miller and Melony Ward (Toronto: YYZ Books, 2002), 29–30.

⁹⁰ Leviticus 19:28, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books*, ed. Michael D. Coogan and associate editors Marc Z. Brettler, Carol A. Newsom, and Pheme Perkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Hebrew Bible 170.

⁹¹ Alooook Ipellie, "The Colonization of the Arctic" in *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives*, edited by Gerald McMaster and Lee-Ann Martin (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1992), 45. See also Kristin Norget, "The Hunt for Inuit Souls: Religion, Colonization and the Politics of Memory," in *The Journals of Knud Rasmussen: A Sense of Memory and High-definition Inuit Storytelling*, edited by Gillian Robinson (Montreal: Isuma, 2008), 217–236, and Victor Tungilik and Rachel Uyarasuk, *The Transition to Christianity: Inuit Perspectives on the 20th Century*, edited by Jarich Oosten and Frédéric Laugrand (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 1999).

suggests that any improvements in transnational relationships still exist against the “grim backdrop” of “violent disruptions” that coincide with “modernization.”⁹² From the 19th century on, this process was heightened due to increased Western presence in the Arctic, which resulted in a period of rapid and intense sociocultural change amongst the Inuit. While the Inuit have experienced decades of cultural genocide, which later came to include residential schooling, their capacity for what Inuit art historian Heather Igloliorte refers to as “cultural resilience” is all the more acute, as the representation of tattooing in early, post-contact graphic art emerged while tattooing was declining in its bodily form.⁹³ In the context of this chapter, it is argued that art production allowed the aesthetics, knowledge, history, and cultural importance of tattooing to persist despite it seeing a discernible decline in its bodily form.

Curator Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad has similarly noted the Inuit ability to preserve tattooing through material culture and art production, arguing that “newly imported trade goods often supplanted traditional materials, transforming cultural practice. . . [For example], [g]eometric motifs used in women’s tattooing emerged as patterns in beadwork [on women’s parkas, or *amautik*].”⁹⁴ Driscoll Engelstad’s claim therefore parallels what art historian Steven Leuthold articulates in his text *Indigenous Aesthetics: Native Art, Media and Identity* (1998). Within the context of Indigenous art and aesthetics, Leuthold advocates for a “systems approach” that highlights connections between expression and experience, rather than placing an emphasis solely on objecthood or the formal properties of a given work of art, as is typical in the study of Western art.⁹⁵ From this perspective, Inuit tattooing and its motifs need not operate solely on the skin,

⁹²James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 10.

⁹³Heather Igloliorte, “The Inuit of Our Imagination,” in *Inuit Modern*, ed. Gerald McMaster (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2011), 45. See also Heather Igloliorte, “‘We were so far away’: Exhibiting Inuit Oral Histories of Residential Schools” in *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places*, ed. Erica Lehrer, Monica Eileen Patterson, and Cynthia C. Milton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 23–40.

⁹⁴Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad, “Inuit Art and the Creation of Nunavut,” in *Inuit Modern*, ed. Gerald McMaster (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2011), 35. See also Bernadette Driscoll “Pretending to be Caribou: The Inuit Parka as an Artistic Tradition,” in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1987), 169–200 and Bernadette Driscoll with George Swinton, *The Inuit Amautik: I Like My Hood To Be Full* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2000).

⁹⁵Steven Leuthold, *Indigenous Aesthetics: Native Art, Media, and Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 7.

but can function successfully even when “transferred” to a newly introduced material support: paper.⁹⁶ This chapter further builds upon the contact narratives surrounding tattooing and its representation established in Chapter 1, albeit with a shift from Western representation to Inuit self-representation. Leuthold, whose definition of Indigenous self-representation this chapter follows, summarizes the relationship between Western entities and Indigenous groups as it pertains to self-representation through art and cultural production:

*The question of indigenous self-representation can only arise in the context of neocolonialism. In a non-colonial, or postcolonial, system artistic expressions of native cultures are simply the expression of a local culture rather than indigenous political representations. . . Indigenous self-representation implies selfhood distinct from the influence of foreign nations; it also implies the authority to those nations. Indigenous self-representation primarily involves a shift in authority, implying that inherent in cross-cultural representations are the dynamics of power.*⁹⁷

In this chapter, Inuit self-representations of tattooing occurred during, as a response to, and in dialogue with, an extended Western presence in the Arctic. Yet, as curator Ingo Hessel remarks, drawings made prior to printmaking’s introduction to the Canadian Arctic during the late 1950s by James Houston (1921-2005) were typically “collected [by Europeans] as [ethnographic] records of a *fast disappearing* [emphasis added] way of life,” rather than as art objects per se.⁹⁸ Moreover, the Inuit had also made cartographic drawings using Western implements—pencil and paper—over a century earlier, having created maps for explorers such as Lyon.⁹⁹ With these considerations in mind, early Inuit drawings served at least one of two purposes to those explorers, missionaries and anthropologists who collected them: either contributing to salvage ethnography and/or fulfilling a utilitarian function. For the Inuit, however, these drawings occupied a markedly different role and became assertions of Inuit culture (both pre- and

⁹⁶The use of the term “transferred” here follows Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten who use the term “transformation” to refer to “the subtle dialectics of change that are central to the dynamics of Inuit culture . . .” See Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century*, 14.

⁹⁷Steven Leuthold, *Indigenous Aesthetics: Native Art, Media, and Identity*, 31–32.

⁹⁸Ingo Hessel, *Inuit Art* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 144.

⁹⁹See Renée Fossett, “Mapping Inuktut: Inuit Views of the Real World,” in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, Second Edition, ed. Jennifer S. H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003), 111–131.

post-contact), history, autonomy, and continuity within the context of the Arctic's changing sociocultural environment.

Early “Prompters”: Reverend Edmund James Peck and Diamond Jenness

Among those spending an extended a period of time amongst the Inuit was Anglican missionary Reverend Edmund James Peck, known colloquially to the Inuit as Uqammak or “the Speaker,” who settled at Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound during August 1894 via Little Whale River.¹⁰⁰ Peck was fluent in Inuktitut, which facilitated his primary objective in the Arctic—converting the Inuit to Christianity. This permitted him a greater ability to converse with the Inuit in order to fulfill his objective, while simultaneously allowing him to develop an interest in and an understanding of pre-contact Inuit belief systems, rituals, worldviews, and practices.¹⁰¹ Although this interest in Inuit life would ultimately be counteracted with his teachings of the Gospel, Peck—unlike other missionaries—often documented these aspects in an ethnographic manner more akin to an anthropologist than a missionary.¹⁰² Certainly there is a pronounced irony to this process in that at the same time Peck was documenting pre-contact aspects of Inuit culture, he was directly contributing to its deterioration. Nonetheless, this decline would be short-lived. Inuit artists quickly repurposed the materials given to them by outsiders to reshape and document their cultural practices and communicate these changes to the outside, non-Arctic world where these objects would eventually end up.

In one account dealing with so-called “heathen” customs (and although unmentioned, tattooing was surely considered to be a part of this) Peck asks, “What has the Gospel done for the Eskimos? What results can be shown?” concluding that only God can know in the fullest sense.¹⁰³ In hindsight, it is understood that the Gospel, and those

¹⁰⁰Diane Payment, “Persistence and Change in the Spiritual Traditions of the Inuit of Pangnirtung and Qikiqtarjuaq (Broughton Island) Since the 1890s,” in *Western Oblate Studies 4: Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium on the History of the Oblates in Western and Northern Canada*, ed. Raymund Huel (Edmonton: Western Canadian Publishers, 1996), 148.

¹⁰¹*Apostle to the Inuit: The Journals and Ethnographic Notes of Edmund James Peck: The Baffin Years, 1894–1905*, ed. Frédéric Laugrand, Jarich Oosten, and François Trudel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 27.

¹⁰²Frédéric Laugrand, Jarich Oosten, and François Trudel, *Representing Tuurngait: Memory and History in Nunavut* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2000), 6.

¹⁰³*Apostle to the Inuit: The Journals and Ethnographic Notes of Edmund James Peck: The Baffin Years, 1894–1905*, 305.

working in its service, did a significant amount—although not *for* the Inuit, but rather *to* them and their culture, with the results often being detrimental and enduring. Yet, in his ethnographic approach to his missionary work, Peck, likely unknowingly—and contradictorily to his missionary mandate—aided in assisting the Inuit in their cultural preservation by collecting over one hundred and fifty drawings, ranging in subject matter from daily activities such as hunting, to more mundane imagery, including clothing in both pre-contact and Western styles.¹⁰⁴ In this respect, Peck becomes what Robert Christopher, in a seldom cited article entitled “Inuit Drawings: ‘Prompted’ Art-Making,” refers to as a “prompter”: a non-Inuit individual who solicited drawings by offering the supplies and material incentive to the Inuit to draw.¹⁰⁵

Prompters, like Peck, therefore operate similarly to those collector-editors or interlocutors that McCall studies in her text *First Person Plural: Aboriginal Storytelling and the Ethics of Collaborative Authorship* (2011), which examines Indigenous oral histories collected by Westerners. For McCall, these individuals “operate in a contested zone,” or what Pratt refers to as a contact zone characterized by “the determinacies of their disparate social locations.”¹⁰⁶ These factors are what lead prompters to collect drawings, under questionable and often unknown circumstances, as ethnographic artifacts rather than artworks. When reconsidered within the context and historical course of Inuit art production, prompted work constitutes the earliest post-contact Inuit graphic art, and demonstrates the Inuit’s ability to appropriate a Western medium for the purposes of cultural continuance. Within the Peck drawing collection, tattooing is a rare motif, suggesting that Peck may have discouraged its depiction in order to promote Christian values, or that by the time Peck had collected the drawings, tattooing had already decreased amongst Inuit women on Blacklead Island.

Although both instances are difficult to confirm, a drawing (fig. 11) by an unknown Inuit artist suggests either, or a combination thereof, of these possibilities. The drawing, made using pencil, ink, and coloured pencil, shows two Inuit women. One is

¹⁰⁴For more on this collection, see Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich Oosten, *Memory and History in Nunavut: Keeping the Faith* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College, 2003).

¹⁰⁵Robert Christopher, “Inuit Drawings: ‘Prompted’ Art-Making,” *Inuit Art Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Summer 1987): 3.

¹⁰⁶Sophie McCall, *First Person Plural*, 9.

directly facing the viewer and has facial tattooing demarcating her face in the form of linear designs across her red cheeks, below her lips, and on her forehead. Her hair is parted, and extending from it on either side of her head is her beaded *quarut*, with its beads signifying trade between the Inuit and Europeans. The second woman faces her in profile from the right and despite the same overall appearance as her counterpart, she is lacking both the facial tattooing and beaded headband. From this perspective, the non-tattooed woman appears to look *towards* tattooing as an Inuit aesthetic practice unconfined by its medium. Furthermore, the focus on the woman's tattoos and hair foreshadows a marked difference between early Inuit representations and their Western counterparts. The latter accentuated, exaggerated, and fetishized Inuit women's bodies and sexuality through their visual and textual representations of tattooing. The former, however, places little emphasis on the body itself and more on its adornment, further highlighting the ability for tattooing—when depicted by an Inuit artist—to transcend the surface it is rendered on.

Less than ten years after Peck left Blacklead Island in 1905, Diamond Jenness took part in the government funded Canadian Arctic Expedition, which lasted from 1913 to 1918, focusing his ethnographic work on the Copper Inuit. Undoubtedly part of his salvage methodology, Jenness recognized the value of collecting drawings and thus became a prompter like Peck before him. In his published account entitled *Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo* (1946), Jenness states:

I distributed a number of notebooks and pencils and asked both adults and children to fill them with sketches. The new pastime amused them, and they quickly furnished me with about a hundred drawings of men and women in which *the faces and hands received far less attention than the details of the tattooing and clothing* [emphasis added]. . . Evidently the sketching of scenes, like writing, was a totally new concept to them; yet I cannot believe that they lack talent, or that the second or third generation from today will not show as much proficiency in drawing as other Eskimo.¹⁰⁷

On the corresponding page a number of drawings (fig. 12) by an unnamed Copper Inuit woman are shown: two parkas on the upper part of the paper with one encircling the head of a woman with a V-shaped tattoo on her forehead, in the center of the page are an

¹⁰⁷Diamond Jenness, *Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1946), 146.

unknown bird and a woman with facial tattooing on her forehead, cheeks, and chin, while the bottom shows a group of four caribou. It remains unclear, however, if these drawings are part of a single composition or if they have been assembled together for publication purposes.¹⁰⁸

That Jenness notes the ardent detail the Inuit paid to tattooing and clothing in prompted drawings further confirms that the Inuit were less concerned with representing Inuit bodies than their Western counterparts were, while simultaneously displaying their familiarity with the aesthetics of tattooing and skill in graphic art production. Although Jenness recognized tattooing as a pre-contact practice worth documenting, he still marginalized the religious, aesthetic, and cultural meaning that tattooing had amongst Inuit women. From a viewpoint that follows Lombroso and Loos, and with a dialogue characteristic of those participating in salvage ethnography, he states,

Tattooing on women had no religious significance; it was merely a time-honoured method of adornment to which every member of the sex submitted willingly. Face, hands, and arms were marked with certain stereotyped patterns, which were only slightly modified according to the whim of the individual.

[...] Just as there were no fixed rules regarding the exact time for the process, so there were no definite ceremonies surrounding it. . . There seemed to be no compulsion in the matter beyond public and a woman's natural desire to follow in the current methods of adornment. . . The average girl was rather eager to be tattooed in order to increase her charms.¹⁰⁹

While Jenness acknowledges the attention paid to tattoos in the drawings he collected, he minimizes tattooing's religious significance, aesthetics, and related rituals, and therefore fails to see, or at least mention, any connection between the depiction of tattooing in the drawings he collected and tattooing in its carnal form. Unsurprisingly so, and as Laugrand and Oosten point out, anthropologists such as Jenness and Rasmussen often neglected to discuss innovation in their published ethnographies, instead preferring to

¹⁰⁸After an extensive search and a number of inquiries at several institutions, I was unable to locate where the original drawing (or drawings) is located. This is therefore an area where further research is warranted.

¹⁰⁹Diamond Jenness, *Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo*, 53–54.

present an account of a culture unaffected by Western contact.¹¹⁰ When reassessed, it is apparent that by utilizing the materials Jenness provided, Copper Inuit artists articulated tattooing into a new form and communicated this shift to an outside, Western audience by allowing such drawings to be collected by a *Qallunaaq* prompter.

Tattooing in the Knud Rasmussen Drawing Collection

On June 17, 1921, Jenness's contemporary Knud Johan Victor Rasmussen departed Copenhagen, beginning the three-year Fifth Thule Expedition. As the son of a Danish father and Danish-Inuit mother, Rasmussen was sensitive towards and aware of Inuit culture in a manner uncharacteristic of many anthropologists working during the same period.¹¹¹ As an anthropologist, however, Laugrand and Oosten claim that Rasmussen, and the Fifth Thule Expedition more broadly, "paid much less attention to changes occurring in Inuit societies in that period" than on the "anthropological and archaeological reconstruction of *traditional* [emphasis added] Inuit culture."¹¹² Yet, what they fail to articulate is what is meant by their usage of the term "traditional." Assumedly, this is intended to refer to the characteristics of Inuit culture prior to the influence and introduction of European materials, technologies, goods, and ideologies. This paper has instead favored the term "pre-contact," except when quoting historical sources, because the term "traditional" denies and refuses to recognize Inuit culture's mutability, which includes its ability to grow, change, and incorporate elements from the non-Inuit culture—issues that form the foundation of this chapter. Disputing the common and generally unquestioned use of the term, Craig Womack, a Creek-Cherokee scholar specializing in Indigenous literature, offers an alternate definition of traditionalism as

¹¹⁰Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century*, 5–6.

¹¹¹As Rasmussen states: "It was my privilege, as one born in Greenland, and speaking the Eskimo language as my native tongue, to know these people in an intimate way. My life's course led inevitably toward Arctic exploration, for my father, a missionary among the Eskimos, married one who was proud of some portion of Eskimo blood. From the very nature of things, I was endowed with attributes for Polar work which outlanders have to acquire through painful experience. My playmates were native Greenlanders; from the earliest boyhood I played and worked with the hunters, so even the hardships of the most strenuous sledge-trips became pleasant routine for me." Via Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America 1927, Reprint* (New York: Greenwood, 1969), xxxii.

¹¹²Frédéric B. Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit Shamanism and Christianity: Transitions and Transformations in the Twentieth Century*, 6.

anything useful to Indigenous groups for “retaining their values and worldviews, no matter how much it deviates from what people did one or two hundred years ago.”¹¹³

Although writing on Indigenous literature, Womack’s argument is parallel to that of art historian and theorist Deborah Doxtater, who similarly advocates in favor of Indigenous endurance, albeit through the visual arts, maintaining that “[e]mphasis is not placed on the point of division or disruption between time periods but on the continuity between eras.”¹¹⁴ This continuity is visible in the vast amount of Inuit stories, songs and poetry, material culture, and art that Rasmussen collected during his journey from Greenland to Siberia. Much of this came to be included in the Rasmussen volumes of the *Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition* and testify to the strength and resilience of Inuit culture during a period characterized by increasing Western contact. As a meticulous anthropologist and prompter, Rasmussen amassed over one hundred drawings rendered in pencil on paper, by the Yupik of Nunivak, Alaska, as well as the Igloolik, Netsilik, and Copper Inuit, all of which are now in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark.¹¹⁵ From this wealth of material, twelve drawings depict tattooing, and were made by two known Inuit artists, Arnarulunguaq and Netsit, and at least three others who are currently unknown. While Rasmussen never specifically references the tattoo drawings in his published work, his description regarding a commission of drawings from Anarqâq of the Igloolik region—a more sensitive account than what had previously been given by Jenness—sheds some insight into how such works may have been created and received:

[W]hen I promised him payment . . . he agreed, on the condition that I . . . not to show them about among his own people . . . All Anarqâq’s drawings were uncommonly rich expressions of Eskimo imagination, and need no explanation beyond that which he himself gave me with each one . . . I always wrote down these explanatory notes of his on the spot, and the text here given with the drawings is thus a translation of Anarqâq’s own words.¹¹⁶

¹¹³Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 42.

¹¹⁴Deborah Doxtater, “Reconnecting the Past: An Indian Idea of History,” in *Revisions* (Banff: Walter Phillips Gallery, 1992), 27.

¹¹⁵ For more on the Nunivak collection, see Birgitte Sonne, *Agayut: Nunivak Eskimo Masks and Drawings from the 5th Thule Expedition, 1921–24* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1988).

¹¹⁶ Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Igloolik Eskimos* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1929), 44.

Building upon Pratt's theorization of the contact zone, the prompted works throughout this chapter become what she refers to as an "autoethnographic text," constructed in response to or in dialogue with (whether directly or indirectly) outside, ethnographic type representations of a given Indigenous culture.¹¹⁷ In doing so, autoethnographic work involves the collaboration and appropriation of idioms (within the context of literature) from the imperial or colonial power, supplanted here by the rendering of tattoo imagery using introduced art supplies, "to create *self-representations* [emphasis added] intended to intervene in metropolitan modes of understanding."¹¹⁸ In the process, this work address both the outside (here, non-Inuit) world as well as those within the artist's own community. While Pratt notes that texts often become an Indigenous group's entry point into Western print culture, so too did artwork.¹¹⁹ This has already been shown with regard to the drawing(s) collected by Diamond Jenness, and is equally true of those collected by Rasmussen, though whether or not the artists knew their works were published is less than clear. The drawings Rasmussen amassed demonstrate, in a more pronounced manner than those collected by Peck and Jenness, the collaborative nature of these drawings, which often include Rasmussen's field notes that show his sustained attention to tattooing's cultural significance. Recognizing that Rasmussen imported a number of foreign concepts into the Arctic, Martin proposes that when reexamined, his methods can be considered "as an adaption and as an extension to the usual process of transmitting songs and stories," which here, is not unlike the dissemination of prompted Inuit drawings through Western print culture.¹²⁰

After spending an extended period of time with a team of six other Europeans, which included cartographer and naturalist Peter Freuchen, archaeologist and cartographer Therkel Mathiassen, ethnographer and geographer Kaj Birket-Smith, scientific assistant Helge Bangsted, assistant and interpreter Jacob Olsen, and captain of the expedition's motor schooner Peder Pedersen, Rasmussen separated to travel with a team of Inuit. This group included two Inuit of Greenlandic origin—a twenty-two-year-

¹¹⁷Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," 35.

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹²⁰Keavy Martin, *Stories in a New Skin*, 86.

old man named Qâvigarssuaq, otherwise known as Miteq, and his twenty-eight-year-old female cousin named Arnarulúnguaq (also spelt in a number of accounts as Anarulunguaq)—as well as two Kivalliq Inuit, Taparte and the previously mentioned Anarqâq.¹²¹ With reference to Miteq and Arnarulúnguaq, who accompanied him the longest, Rasmussen reflects, “I could not have wished for better companions than these two.”¹²² Despite such praise, the full role of these two Greenlandic Inuit is seldom acknowledged. In the secondary texts on the Fifth Thule Expedition the pair are generally spoken of as Rasmussen’s assistants, guides, and interpreters rather than, in Arnarulúnguaq’s case, as an artist.¹²³ Arnarulúnguaq not only contributed to the success of the expedition, but also to the history and endurance of Inuit culture, by creating six drawings that illustrate tattooing, likely between April and November, 1923, the latter being when Rasmussen and his team left the Netsilik territory of King William Island. Of the twelve tattoo drawings collected by Rasmussen, hers are arguably the most artistically inclined, with bold, confident, contour lines delineating the body parts most commonly tattooed by Inuit women—the face, arms, hands, and thighs—alongside sustained attention to the details of the tattoos themselves.

An image (fig. 13) in Rasmussen’s *The Netsilik Eskimos* (1931) shows two named (a rare inclusion for an anthropologist working during this period) Inuit women drawn by Arnarulúnguaq: Nâlungiaq and Manêlaq, the latter having been quoted for one of the introductory stories pertaining to the tattooed raven and loon. Nâlungiaq similarly contributed to the corpus of Inuit oral history by telling Rasmussen the three places Inuit can go after their deaths: a land of pleasure up in the sky, otherwise known as “the village of Eternal Homecoming;” *noqumiut*, or “the Land of the Crestfallen,” just under the earth’s surface where one lives in hunger, idleness, and apathy; and *aglErmiut*—the underworld beyond *noqumiut* where one experiences “nothing but joy, prosperity, and

¹²¹Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, viii.

¹²²Ibid., 158.

¹²³Nevertheless, according to Rasmussen: “Anarulunguaq is the first Eskimo woman to travel widely, and along with Miteq, the only one to visit all the tribes of her kinsmen. She has received a medal from the King of Denmark for her fine work. After the first year, I struck out with one team of dogs and these two Eskimos for the trip across to Nome. Considering the rigors they endured, I don’t know which is the more remarkable, that I came through the three and a half years with the same team of dogs, or with the same Eskimos. Surely, however, it is no mere sentimental gesture to point out that *they had a bigger share in the outcome of the trip than I have space to show* [emphasis added].” Via Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, ix.

abundance.”¹²⁴ As Nâlungiaq recollects, women with beautiful tattoos go to “the village of Eternal homecoming” because “the spirits of the air want women not to be afraid of suffering if only it makes them pretty.”¹²⁵ On the other hand, “all the women who are not tattooed, all those women who do not care to suffer a little in order that they may be pretty” are destined to an unbearable afterlife in *noqumiut*.¹²⁶ Giving credibility to Nâlungiaq’s knowledge and displaying an awareness of Inuit culture’s subtle and often complex nuances, Rasmussen himself even accedes, agreeing that “all that is described in them [Inuit oral history] did really happen once, when everything in the world was different to what it is now. Thus these tales are both their real history and the source of all their religious ideas.”¹²⁷

Arnarulúnguaq’s works are likely the most well known of the tattoo drawings, as they were published in Rasmussen’s account of the Netsilik Inuit, and directly from it, republished in a number of subsequent texts.¹²⁸ Upon reviewing the drawings in their original state (fig. 14-16, 18-20), which has not been done elsewhere until this point, one will note that many of the published drawings are in fact two drawings superimposed upon one another, creating composites similar to Lyon’s image of a tattooed Inuit woman. In doing so, Rasmussen and/or his publisher falsely represented a number of the works and impeded on Arnarulúnguaq’s original artistic intention in the process. Formally similar, with strong contour lines filled in with detailed tattoo patterns, the drawings are stylized to emphasize the depicted women’s tattooed body parts, while other non-tattooed parts, such as breasts and lower legs, are left out altogether. This acknowledgement further emphasizes that when representing tattoos, Inuit artists were rarely concerned with depicting the body itself unless its parts were tattooed, demonstrating a lack of sexualization unlike their European counterparts.

¹²⁴ Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1931) 315–319.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 316–17.

¹²⁷ Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture*, 207.

¹²⁸ See Bernadette Driscoll, “Pretending to be Caribou: The Inuit Parka as an Artistic Tradition” in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1987), 197 and Rolf Kjellström, *Polarliv* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 2009), 56.

The drawing of Nâlungiaq (fig. 14), who served as Rasmussen's housemate for roughly half a year, was published in adherence with the original and shows her with extensive tattooing on her thighs, arms, hands, and face.¹²⁹ Nâlungiaq's thighs, separated from her body in two half-oval type shapes, have tattooing in the form of long, horizontal bands, shorter linear and vertical striations, as well as upside down Y-like designs. Unlike her legs, the tattooing on her arms is almost entirely symmetrical, except on her elbows—with the left missing some design motifs seen on the right—and hands, which diverge slightly from one another. On Nâlungiaq's face Arnarulunguaq has shown tattooing in the areas commonly tattooed, which includes her forehead, cheeks, and chin, while also adding further designs, perhaps more common to the Netsilik, extending horizontally from the corners of Nâlungiaq's eyes and lips. On the other hand, the corresponding image of Manêlaq was created using two separate drawings: one consisting of her tattooed face, torso, and arms (fig. 15), and a second comprising the nearly symmetrical tattooing on her thighs (fig. 16), both showing tattooing in the same locations as Nâlungiaq (aside from those from the corners of her mouth and eyes) and with largely the same formal properties.

On the page opposite to Arnarulunguaq's first set of drawings in Rasmussen's Netsilik Inuit text, there is another image (fig. 17) showing two more tattooed, although in this instance unnamed, Inuit women drawn by Arnarulunguaq. Like the published drawing of Manêlaq, the first of these images is similarly constructed using two separate drawings—one of the unknown woman's upper body and the other of her thighs. One drawing (fig. 18) shows nearly symmetrical tattooing on a woman's arms and includes common design elements such as longer horizontal bands and shorter striations, squares, Y-shapes, triangles and facial markings. The complimentary drawing (fig. 19) shows two tattooed thighs that are somewhat smaller and noticeably less tattooed in comparison to the previous works. The second image is published in accordance with its corresponding original drawing (fig. 20). However, in comparison to Arnarulunguaq's other drawings, this final work is noticeably less developed. Even though the facial tattooing is clearly visible, the woman's left arm is absent, and her right arm has less tattooing than that seen

¹²⁹For more on Nâlungiaq, see Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture*, 206–207.

in the corresponding drawings. It is possible that this drawing may be unfinished, but considering that Arnarulúnguaq rarely depicted non-tattooed parts, it stands to reason that perhaps this was a relatively young woman who did not yet have tattooing on her right arm. Working under this logic, one could also infer that her right arm *is* finished—at least in pictorial form—as it had not yet been tattooed. Rather interestingly, on its reverse, this paper also has a drawing by a Copper Inuit man named Netsit, suggesting that he had at least some contact with Arnarulúnguaq’s work and that it, in turn, may have influenced his own decision to draw and communicate the intricacies of tattooing to Rasmussen.

In the opening paragraph of his text on the Copper Inuit, Rasmussen describes how, after seven months with the Netsilik, on November 1, 1923, he, Arnarulúnguaq, and Qâvigarsuaq departed eastward towards the Copper Inuit. Demonstrating a kinship uncharacteristic of anthropologists during this time, Rasmussen laments how his prolonged and friendly relationships with the Netsilik “helped to form ties that now were not so easy to cut through.”¹³⁰ However, he soon developed equally cordial relationships. Netsit, a young man between twenty and twenty-five, became one of Rasmussen’s primary informants, allowing him to record a significant amount of Inuit poetry and oral history during his time spent with the Copper Inuit.¹³¹ As the adopted son of a shaman named Ilatsiaq, Netsit was particularly respected for his knowledge within the community, often sitting in on conversations between Rasmussen and other Inuit.

Netsit, like Arnarulúnguaq, similarly aided in preserving tattooing through graphic art by drawing an image, sometime between November 1923 and February 15th 1924, depicting a partially nude, tattooed woman alongside a fully nude, unmarked man. Originally published in Rasmussen’s *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos* (fig. 21), Netsit’s drawing, though less confidently rendered in comparison to Arnarulúnguaq’s work, pays similar attention to the linear tattoos that mark this unnamed woman’s face, upper arm, forearm, and hand. Unlike Arnarulúnguaq, Netsit also includes the woman’s braids and partially removed parka. Yet, similar to Arnarulúnguaq’s drawings, the

¹³⁰ Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1932), 7.

¹³¹ Rasmussen gives conflicting accounts regarding Netsit’s age, referring to him as “no more than twenty years old,” while a few pages later mentioning “his 25 years.” See Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America: Narrative of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, 16 and 22. For an extended discussion of Inuit poetry, see Robin McGrath, “Reassessing Traditional Inuit Poetry,” *Canadian Literature* No. 124–125 (Spring/Summer 1990): 19–28 and Keavy Martin, *Stories in a New Skin: Approaches to Inuit Literature*.

published version of Netsit's drawing does not accurately reflect the circumstances surrounding the work's production.

Although all prompted art relies on a certain level of collaboration, particularly concerning the provision of supplies and *remuneration* between an artist and prompter, prompted art as autoethnography, following Pratt's definition, often involves a more tangible collaboration and more than one language.¹³² This is evident when viewing Netsit's drawing in its original version (fig. 22), as it reveals a number of Rasmussen's handwritten notes that correspond to the text published beneath the drawing in his book.¹³³ Considering that Rasmussen, like Peck, was able to converse relatively freely with the Inuit he encountered due to his background in Kalaallisut, that he is known to have taken notes to complement his collected drawings, and given Netsit's position of authority within his community, one can assume that the information in Rasmussen's notes came directly from Netsit himself. Through a complex intercultural collaborative process, Netsit aided in creating and ultimately disseminating a permanent, Inuit-informed record of how tattooing was understood within his community during the given historical epoch.

On the drawing's top right, Rasmussen lists, first in Danish and then in Inuktitut, the specific names for tattooing as it relates to a placement on the body. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) Inuktitut orthography and the English translations of these words will be favored. *Qaujat*, or "brow lines" refers to the vertical tattooing on one's forehead; *ii-nitit*, or "those at the eyes," is the tattooing extending from one's eyelids to hairline; *uluagutit* are "those [horizontal tattoos] at the cheeks"; *tallurutit* or "those at the chin" extend vertically between one's mouth and chin; *alga-rutit* are "those on the hands"; and finally, *akhatqurutit* are "those on the upper arm."¹³⁴ Below this, Rasmussen has recorded an expression that announces, "If one is afraid of being tattooed one will have much worse pains when the child is coming." The

¹³²Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," 35. Furthermore, I have emphasized the term "remuneration" here as the type of compensation and/or immediate benefits for those artists Rasmussen commissioned is generally unacknowledged. This is therefore an area where further research is warranted.

¹³³ Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos*, 269v.

¹³⁴Complimentary to this, in an interview recorded on March 24, 1992 as part of the Igloodik Oral History Project, Niomi Panikpakuttuk states that tattooing "on the chin was called TALLURUTI, the one that ran across the jaw was called AGLIRURUTI." Via NWT Archives, "Igloodik Oral History Project: Niomi Panikpakuttuk," G-1993-009, Box 3, Folder 11.

final lines of text on the drawing identify the pair as “husband and wife,” whereas in Rasmussen’s text, the pair is noted as “man and woman.” Below this, Rasmussen denotes that the “drawing [is] by Netsit from Umingmaktuuq.”¹³⁵ Rasmussen’s recording of the artist’s name and community directly on the work itself does not reoccur elsewhere in this body of work, and suggests a strong relationship between him and Netsit and level of collaboration that was perhaps not as prevalent during the creation and collection of the other drawings.

While it is possible to identify Netsit and Arnarulúnguaq’s drawings, there exist five additional tattoo drawings whose makers are currently unknown. Coinciding with this, the location(s) where these works were made is similarly undetermined. However, through a comparative formal analysis and a consideration of the papers on which the drawings are rendered, it is likely that these works come from three unnamed artists.

The first of these unattributed works is a drawing (fig. 23) showing a combination of tattooed body parts: seven arms, hands, and/or wrists, two faces, and a single thigh. Confined to the top left of the paper, these renditions are comparatively smaller than other depictions in this collection, and from this it can be concluded that this drawing is probably the only tattoo work this particular artist created. It is also worth accentuating the similarity between this artist’s methods of depicting a thigh in a half-oval format and those drawn by Arnarulúnguaq, which indicates that he or she may have had contact with the larger body of work in this collection. Many of the images in this drawing are denoted by Rasmussen’s handwriting and are likely to be the names of tattooed women. Moving from left to right, the text below the image of the thigh reads Ninungitsok, or “the one who did not go ashore”; between the central face and crossed-out arm, the name given is Aningâk or “the moon”; directly beside, two arms are denoted as representative of Arnâluk, or “the little woman”; and rightmost the final two arms are said to belong to Sivfiak, or “hip.”¹³⁶ Those without a coinciding name include the face and hand at the top of the page, and the lowermost image of a single hand directly below the image of Ninungitsok’s thigh.

¹³⁵The above translations come via Nuka Møller of the Greenland Language Secretariat, March 9, 2015. Also see Appendix 2 and Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos*, 269v.

¹³⁶Einar Lund Jensen, curator at the National Museum of Denmark, is to be credited for both suggesting that Rasmussen’s notes refer to individual’s names and for providing their respective translations.

Two more drawings, showing a tattooed hand (fig. 24) and an elongated, tattooed body (fig. 25) are likely to be the work of a second artist as both drawings are on either side of a single paper and have similar line weight and formal qualities. The drawing of the tattooed wrist and hand, extending from the top of the page, has a comparable contour to an unfinished design at the top of the opposite side of the paper showing the tattooed woman. While the unnamed artist's rendition of the tattoos stretching from the knuckles to the lower forearm exhibit a careful attention to detail, showing the same types of designs seen in the previous works, more noteworthy are the tattoo designs in the uppermost right and bottommost left corners of the paper that are absent from a body altogether. Shown in this manner, the artist demonstrates how the aesthetics of Inuit tattooing can still function successfully even when doubly removed from the body: the physical body and the represented body. In this sense, it is important to consider Inuit tattooing's formal properties and aesthetics beyond the corporal practice of tattooing itself, as has been already been articulated by Driscoll Engelstad with regard to parka design. Moreover, the elongated body, with tattoos again marking the woman's face, arms, hands, and legs, displays a stylistic treatment common to this selection of work: negating detail on body parts without tattoos. The text to its right, recorded by Rasmussen, corresponds to the three previously mentioned afterlives as told by Nâlungiaq, indicating that the artist is probably of Netsilik origin, and conceivably even Nâlungiaq herself.¹³⁷

The final unknown artist's work in this collection similarly excludes non-tattooed parts, with two pages of drawings illustrating tattooing on busts of Inuit women. Each instance has a prominent image in the upper-central portion of the paper, with the first (fig. 26) showing tattooing on a woman's face and left arm, alongside another partial left arm that suggests there was supposed to be another figure included in the composition. The second (fig. 27) is stylistically comparable although with a focus on another woman's more extensively tattooed right arm. The common features that suggest the same artist drew both works include: 1) the overall form and layout of the represented

¹³⁷With regard to this drawing being made by Nâlungiaq, I make this statement only as a possibility, and without any additional supporting evidence. Viewing further prompted works collected by Rasmussen in the National Museum of Denmark's collection may refute or support this claim. Unfortunately, at this time they have yet to be photographed and are therefore unavailable for the purposes of this study. Finally, see Appendix 3 for an extended translation of Rasmussen's notes on this drawing.

women, which in both instances, only shows a head, neck, shoulders, and single arm and 2) the manner in which the artist extended tattooing beyond the linear confines of the represented arms. In the first work, this extension is visible on the woman's shoulder, and in the second, on both the shoulder and elbow of the detached arm towards the bottom right of the page. By doing so, the artist has inventively illustrated multiple perspectives through a two-dimensional medium and implied a wrapping of tattooing on these joints.

By drawing using simple, introduced materials, Inuit artists enabled tattooing and its cultural memory to persist despite the rapid Western incursion into Inuit life during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹³⁸ Recent scholarship on Inuit and Indigenous art and culture is often framed by concepts of transference, continuity, endurance, and resilience, expressed here through the work of scholars such as Laugrand and Oosten, Igloliorte, Womack, and Doxtater, opposing essentialist Eurocentric notions concerning a perceived “authenticity” that had previously pigeonholed much of the field. By viewing Inuit representations of tattooing alongside their European counterparts and through the purview of intercultural contact, it is possible to see a marked affirmation of cultural autonomy through the move to self-representation, as defined by Leuthold. In a subsequent text, Leuthold follows up on this definition, noting that although the tools of self-representation may be derived from colonial sources, by self-representing in a manner that engages with Western materials, knowledge, and history, Indigenous artists come to control and exert their political agency, signifying “a shift in power but not a ‘return’ to pre-colonial expressive forms.”¹³⁹ Taking this to be true, prompted drawings, as a form of autoethnography, are examples of what Bhabha refers to as a “hybrid object,” problematic for Western-colonial powers and their representations because it “reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that the [O]ther ‘denied’ knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority—its rules of recognition.”¹⁴⁰ In other words, these “hybrid objects”—a combination of Inuit aesthetics and Western materials—penetrated the Western archive after being accumulated by

¹³⁸Of course, as this paper has shown, Western contact with Inuit had been occurring intermittently for a number of centuries prior. However, it was during this time that such contact became structured and sustained, namely for the often contradictory purposes of “civilizing” and “salvaging” Inuit culture.

¹³⁹Steven Leuthold, *Cross-Cultural Issues in Art: Frames for Understanding* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 47.

¹⁴⁰Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 114–15.

explorers, published in texts, and ending up in the collections of Western institutions. In doing so, such work counteracts, questions, and abates the strength of earlier European images of Inuit tattooing through visual declarations of the Inuit's ability to represent themselves.

Conclusion

Despite several centuries of representational violence, suppression, and debasement, Inuit women, and culture more widely, have shown a steadfast ability to withstand, respond to, and contribute to the Western knowledge—be it pictorial, written, oral, or a combination thereof—that has aided in creating and sustaining constructed, stereotyped representations of them. Through a chronological narrative of cross-cultural contact between Europeans and Inuit, this paper has highlighted the pervasive role that images have played in defining the Inuit cultural practice of tattooing, while simultaneously articulating their strength and tenacity within two different cultures for markedly different purposes. Chapter 1 showed how European representations of tattooed Inuit women from the 17th century onwards ‘created’ the Inuit within the broader European cultural mindset—a mindset that supported imperial, and later, colonial agendas—that frequently inhibited Inuit culture and its coinciding practices. Chapter 2, on the other hand, considered Inuit depictions of the same subject matter in order to create a culturally-inclusive and nuanced dialogue concerning representations of Inuit tattooing, while simultaneously demonstrating how drawings have functioned in the preservation of pre-contact Inuit practices, namely tattooing.

In studying both *Qallunaat* representations and Inuit self-representations of Inuit tattooing, I have consequently had to reflect upon my own role as a scholar of Inuit cultural heritage. Being a *Qallunaat* researcher, throughout this work’s development I have remained cognizant of how I, in turn, would be representing and contributing to the discourse surrounding Inuit tattooing, women, bodies, and culture through my own writing. Exploring images has created a space where I can study Inuit tattooing from a decolonial perspective without continuing the long and problematic history of *Qallunaat* men being the dominant source of knowledge on the practice. Instead, my approach has involved a reexamining of Western historical images and accounts of Inuit tattooing, alongside a careful consideration of their relationship to later Inuit self-representations.

The initial research trajectory that lead me here, and which deserves much further investigation in future studies, extends from the representation of tattooing in 20th century Inuit graphic art, which functioned as temporal ‘bridge’ between pre-contact and contemporary tattooing. I suggest that these graphic arts, beginning with prompted

drawings and continuing from the mid 20th century to the contemporary period with printmaking, did indeed act as a lifeline that allowed tattooing to persist during a period of significant cultural reorientation and social change. Following the introduction of printmaking—what Christopher argues is also a form of prompted art production—to the Arctic during the late 1950s by James Houston, tattooing has occupied a prominent position in Inuit graphic art from communities throughout the Canadian Arctic.¹⁴¹ Notable artists such as Jessie Oonark (1906-1985), whose drawing *Tattooed Faces; Inland Eskimo Woman* (fig. 28) was adapted for her acclaimed print *Tattooed Faces* from the 1960 Cape Dorset print collection, have utilized tattooing as a dominant motif in their work. Though tattooing consistently reoccurred in much of her artistic output, Oonark herself was never tattooed, despite having the opportunity. Paraphrasing an interview between Oonark and Marion Jackson, Marie Bouchard states that Oonark adopted some aspects of pre-contact Inuit life, while

reject[ing] others with impunity, as when she was approached by elders who wanted to tattoo her arms. . . . Although Oonark found tattoos attractive, she stated that as a young girl she considered the practice to be ‘from the olden days,’ and she had, therefore, refused to participate in this traditional pubescent ritual of beautification.¹⁴²

On the other hand, Helen Kalvak, who is quoted in this paper’s introduction, was tattooed. Kalvak shows her tattooed hands and arms in a print from the 1982 Holman Island print series entitled *My Hands* (fig. 29), which alongside her tattoos, also depicts a tattooing implement similar to those in a tattoo toolkit (fig. 30). This desire for continuity through art production is akin to that communicated in story told by Kalvak, in which one tattooed Inuit girl wants to tattoo another who is without tattoos, so she can appreciate an aspect of earlier Inuit life. As the introduction to the story goes:

There were three girls. One had no tatoos on her forehead. She had grown old without any tatoo made on her. And the younger girl was checking her. When she had finished her face and she had no tatoo she wanted to make some on her. She wanted to tatoo her sometimes and the old woman said, “Look, I’m so old and my skin is so thick now. How are you going to tattoo me?” The girl answered, “I will make the needle real sharp and tatoo you.” She wanted to do her hand first and then she would do her

¹⁴¹Robert Christopher, “Inuit Drawings: ‘Prompted’ Art-Making,” 5–6.

¹⁴²Marie Bouchard, “Jessie Oonark, 1906–1985,” in *Jessie Oonark: A Retrospective*, ed. Jean Blodgett and Marie Bouchard (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986), 9.

face. After they had been talking for a while the old woman finally said yes. The younger girl wanted to make tattoo on her because she wanted her to know about the ways of the old people [sic].¹⁴³

More recently, artists like Germaine Arnaktauyok (1946-) have continued to include tattooing in their output, despite not experiencing the practice firsthand, as did Oonark and Kalvak. Instead, Arnaktauyok looked elsewhere for knowledge on the practice, and likely referencing what was told to Rasmussen by Nâlungiaq regarding the relationship between tattooing and the afterlife, states,

According to things I have read about tattooing, if you had beautiful tattoos and you died, you were allowed into the afterlife. There was a woman who had an igloo up there. If you were tattooed and you died you had to pass her entrance. She would look at you and if you had a tattoo she would smile at you and you passed by. That's one thing I read about in Rasmussen.¹⁴⁴

Further to this, she appears to be familiar with Arnarulunguaq's drawings also published in Rasmussen's text (fig. 13), as they are loosely referenced in an etching entitled *Rite of Passage* (fig. 31). By doing so, Arnaktauyok exhibits continuity between tattooing and its depiction, but also, in a manner yet to be utilized by other Inuit artists, amongst separate representations of tattooing.

When measured alongside the Inuit tattoo revitalization movement currently sweeping the Arctic, artists such as Arnaktauyok, Kalvak, Oonark, and their prompted predecessors have connected pre-contact tattooing to its contemporary resurgence while confronting the European images that preceded them. As the Inuit continue to pursue these routes through artistic statements of sovereignty that interrogate previous modes of outside cultural representation, explorations of and responses to representations other than tattooing will surely play pertinent part of the ongoing self-determination process. While tattooing amongst Inuit women will probably never be as pervasive as it was prior to European contact, due to deeply embedded social stigmas that come as a result of extended Western cultural encroachment, the images in the latter part of this essay have

¹⁴³NWT Archives, Canada. Dept. Of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "Kalvak Interview: Drawing #142" N-1992-091, drawings 119-143, 1-5.

¹⁴⁴*Germaine Arnaktauyok*, ed. Darlene Coward Wight (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1998), 15.

shown that tattooing has remained a consistent and dominant aesthetic paradigm—on both bodies and paper—which is unlikely to ever subside altogether.

Figures

Warhafftige Contrafey einer wilden Frauen mit jrē Töchterlein / gefunden in der Landtschafft Noua terra genant / vnd gehn Antorff gebracht / vnd

von meniglich alda offentlich gesehen worden / vnd noch zusehen ist.

In diesem M. D. LXVI. Jar / ist zu Antorff ankommen zu Schiff auß Zeelande / ein wilde Frau / ein kleine person / sampt irem Töchterlein / vnd ist gesomiert vnd bekleydet gewest / wie dise figur anzeygt / vnd sind gefunden worden in Terra noua / welches ein newe Landtschafft ist / in etlichen vergangnen Jaren / von den Französischen vnd Portugalesen erst erfunden / vnd ist dise Frau mit irem Mann vñ Tindlein von den Französischen (die auß diser Landtschafft ire Schiffsart gebabe / vnd zu land kommen sind / vnd frembde abentweter gesuche) angetrossen / vnd ist der Mann mit ein pfeil durch seinen leib geschossen worden / dannoch wolt er sich nit gefangen geben / sonder stellet sich manlich zur gegenwech / vnd ward in diesem scharmügel / von einem andern Französischen mit einem schlauchscher in der seyten hart verwundet / da nam er sein eygen blüt auß der seyten in sein hand / vnd lecket das auß seiner hand / vnd steller sich noch grimmitzer zur gegenwech / dann zuuor. Endlich ward er in sein Käble ders

massen gehawen vnd verwundet / das er zu der Erden fiel / vnd starb auch an diser wunden. Dieser Mann war zwölff schüch lang / vñ hett in zwölff tagen zwölff personen umbbracht mit seiner eygen hand / Franosen vnd Portugaleser / die selbigen zu essen / dann sie kein lieber flaisch essen dann Menschen flaisch. Vnd als sie die Frauen vberkommen hetten / sellet sie sich als ob sie gar rasende / vnd vnfinning were gewest / vmb ihr kind / dñ sie verlassens salt / dienweil die Schiffnedt sie hinweg vnd zu schiff führen wolten / dann sie das kind solieb hat / das sie lieber ir leben wolt verlieren / dann das kind verlassens. Also sie sich nun so vnfinning steller / lieffen sie ir ein wenig nach / da gieng sie an den ort / da sie ir Kind verstedt hatt / da war sie besser zu friden dann vobin / da namen sie die Frauen mit irem kind / vnd fürten sie hinweg / vnd niemandt von den Franzosen kundt ein einigs wort von ir verseyhn / oder auch mit ir durch wort reden. Man hat aber sie in 8. Monaten so vil gelehret / das sie bekandt hat / das sie von vilen Menschen gefessen. Ire Kleider sind von Zehponta seiden gemacht / auff die weis / wie dise figur anzeygt. Die malzeichen die sie im Angesicht hat / sind gang blaue / wie Himmel blau / vnd dise machen die Mann iren Weybern / darbey sie erkennen / dann sonst lauffen sie vnder einander wie das Vibe / vnd man mag die zeichen mit keinerley materi wider abethün. Dise zeichen machen sie mit safft von einerley traub / das da im Lande wechset. Ir leib ist gelb / braun / als die halben Maizen / Die Frau ist 20. Jar alt gewesen / wie



sie gefangen ist worden / im 66. Jar / im Augusto / dñ 2. Jar. Laßt ons Gott die Allmächtigen danken für seine wolthat / dñ er ons in seinem Wort erleuchtet hat / das wir nicht so gar wilde Leüt vñ Menschen fresser sind / wie in diser Landtschafft sein / da diß Weib gefangen / vnd her auß gebracht worden / dann sie gar nichts von dem rechten Gott wissen / sondern schiet ärger daß das Vibe leben / Gott wölte sie auch zu sein / in et benednuß bekeren / Amen.

Gezucht zu Joosfurg / durch Menhem Francken.

Figure 1: Matthäus Franck, woodcut on paper, c.1567, made in Augsburg, collection of the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich



Figure 2: Hans Wolf Glaser, woodcut on paper, c.1567, made in Nuremberg, collection of the British Library, London

Warhafftige Contrafey einer wilden Frawen / mit irem Töchterlein / gefunden in der Landtschafft
Terra terragenant/ vnd gen Antio: iß biathe/ vnd von menniglich alldo offentlich gesehen worden/ vnd noch zu sehen ist.

In diesen M. D. LXVI. jar ist zu An-
 zorf an tomen zu schiff auß Belad / ein wilde fraw /
 ein kleine person / sampt ire döchterlein vñ ist gefor-
 miert vnd bekleidet gewest wie dise figur anzeige vñ seind
 gefundt worden in Terra noua / welsch ein new Landtschafft
 ist in etlichen vergangene jaren / von den Französischē vñ
 Portugale fernert gefunden vñ ist dise fraw mit ir kinde
 vñ jr Man vñ den Französischen die vñ diese landtschafft
 ire Schifffart gebude vnd zu land tomen sind / vñ frembde
 ebente wer gesuchte angertossen / vnd ist der Man mit ein
 pfeil durch sein leib geschossen worden. Denoch wolt er sich
 nie gefangen geben / sondern stellet sich manlich zur gegen
 wehr. vñ ward er in diesem scharmützel von einem andern
 Französischen mit ein schlachtswerd in der seiten hart
 verwundt / da nam er sein eigen blut auß der seiten in sein
 band / vnd leete das auß / ein hand / vñ stellet sich noch grü-
 miger zur gegewehr da zu vor / Enlich ward er in sein le-

ib dem affen gebawen vnd verwundt das er zu erden fiel /
 vñ starb auch an dise verwundung / diser mē war 12. schuch
 lang vnd hat in 12. tagen 12. personen vmbbracht mit sein
 eigen hand / Franzosen vnd Portugaleser die selbig zu es-
 sen / denn sie kein lieber Fleisch essen / dann Menschen
 fleisch / vnd als sie die fraw vber tomen / stellet sie sich als
 ob sie gar rasend / vnd vnsinnig were gewest / vmb jr kinde /
 das sie verlassen solt / diu weil sie die Schifffnecht zu schiff
 wolten führen vmb sie hin weg zu führen / dann sie das
 kinde so lieb hat / das sie lieber jr. Leben wolt verlieren /
 dann das kinde verlassen / Als sie sich nun so vnsinnig stel-
 let / lieffen sie jr ein wenig nach / da gieng sie an den ort / da
 sie jr kinde versteckt hat / vnd da war sie besser zu frieden
 dann vohin / da namen sie die fraw mit irem kinde vnd
 fürct sie hinweg / vñ niemandt von den Franzosen kund
 jr ein einich wort versprechen / oder auch mit jr durch wort
 reden. Man hat aber ihr in 11. Monaten so viel gelauret /
 das sie bekandt hat / das sie von vielen Menschen gefressen /
 ire Kleider seind von zehontesellen gemache / auff die
 weise / wie dise figur anzeige / die Malzeichen die sie im
 Angesicht hat / seind ganz blauw / wie Himmelblaw vñ
 die machen sie jr / ire man wenn sie sie zum weib
 nemmen / dabey erkennen sie ire Weiber / dann
 sonst lauffen sie vnder einander wie das Vieh /
 vnd man mag die Zeichen mit keiner ley maceri
 wider abhun / vnd dise Zeichen machen sie mit
 saffe vñ einer ley Kraut / das da im landt wechß
 ist / Leib ist gelb / braun / als die halbe Moren /
 Die fraw ist alt / wie sie ist gefangen worden /



im Jar 66. im Augusto 20. Jar alt / das kinde 7. Jar alt vñe Gott dem allmechtigen danken / für seine Wolthat / das er vns in sei-
 nem Wort erleucht hat / das wir nicht so gar wilde Leut vñ Menschen fresser seind / wie in dieser Landtschafft sein / da dis Weib ge-
 fangen vnd herauf gebracht worden / denn sie gar nichts von dem rechten waren Gott wissen / sondern schiet erger denn das
 Vieh leben / Gott wolle sie auch in seinem erkentnis beheren / Amen.
Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn M. D. LXVII.

Figure 3: Anthony Corthoys the Younger, woodcut on paper, c. 1567, made in Frankfurt, collection of the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig



Figure 4: John White, *Untitled (Arnaq and Nutaaq)*, Pen, brown ink and and watercolour over graphite, 1585–1593, collection of the British Museum, London



Figure 5: John White, *Untitled (Arnaq and Nutaaq)*, Offset, 1585–1593, collection of the British Museum, London



Figure 6: Adriaen Coenensz, *Visboek/Fish Book*, page 41r, c.1577, collection of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek; National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague



Figure 7: John Russel, *Untitled* (Mikak And Tukauk), oil paint, 1769, collection of the Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology, Georg-August-Universität of Göttingen



Figure 8: George Francis Lyon, *The Manner in Which the Eskimaux Women are Tattoed* [sic], c. 1824, engraving by Edward Francis Finden, collection of Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa

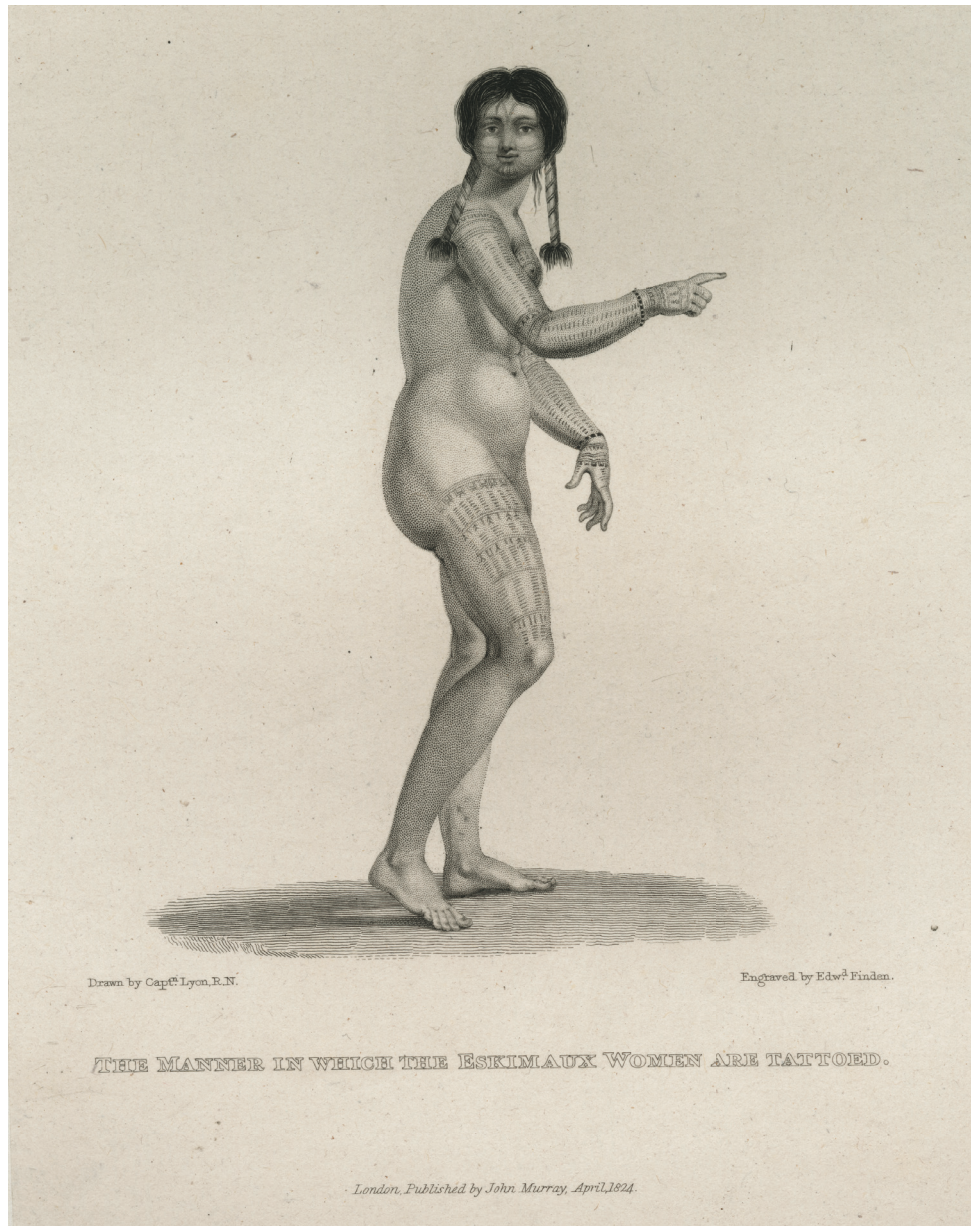


Figure 9: George Francis Lyon, *The Manner in Which the Eskimaux Women are Tattoed* [sic], c. 1824, engraving by Edward Francis Finden, collection of Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa



Figure 10: John Ross, *Kemig*, engraving by J. Brandard, c. 1835, published in John Ross, *Appendix to the Narrative of a Second Voyage In Search of a North-West Passage and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833* (London: A. W. Webster, 1835), page 41v



Figure 11: Unknown Inuit artist, *Untitled*, graphite, coloured pencil, and ink on paper, c. 1900, collected by Rev. Edmund James Peck, collection of the Anglican Church of Canada/General Synod Archives, Toronto

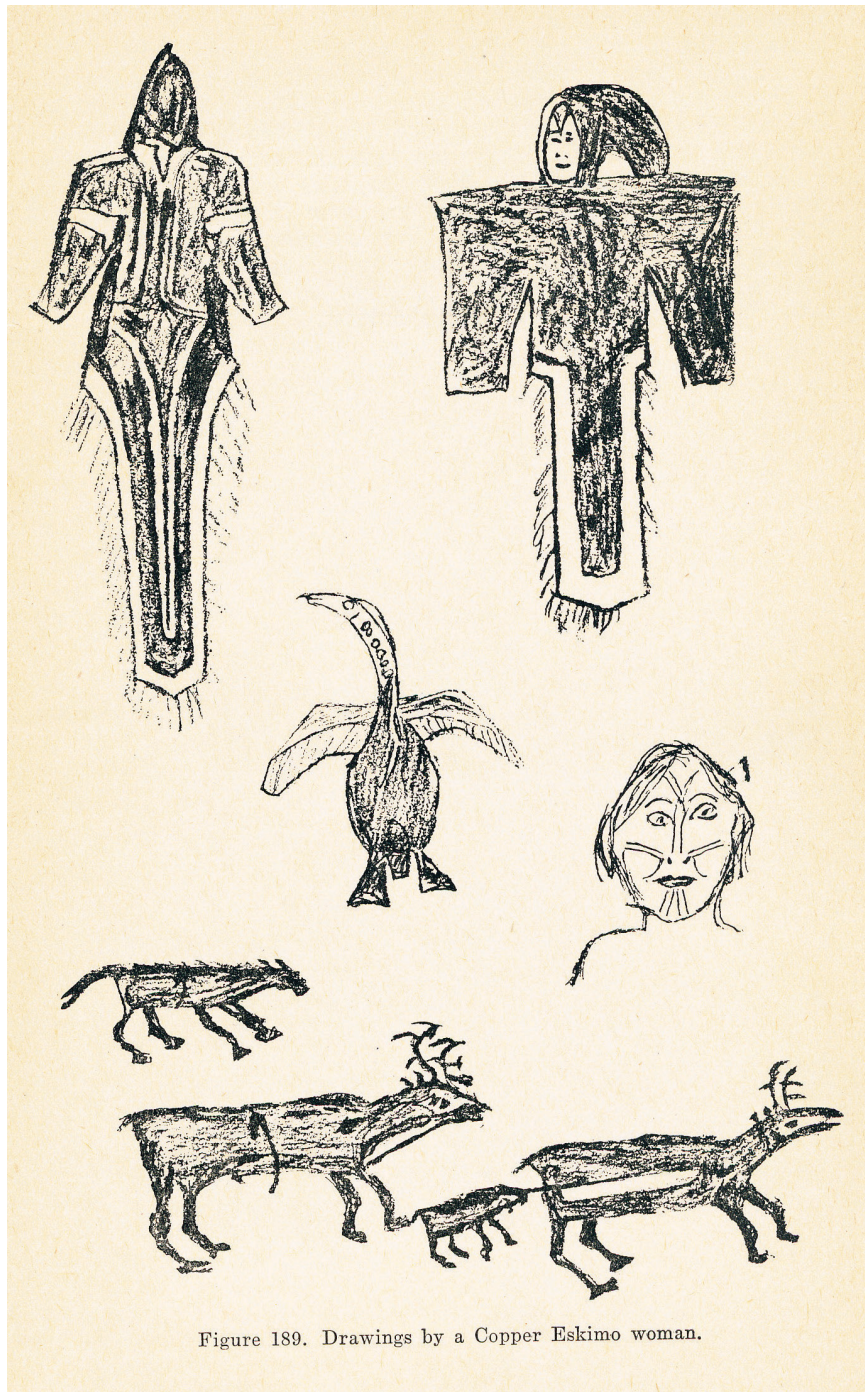
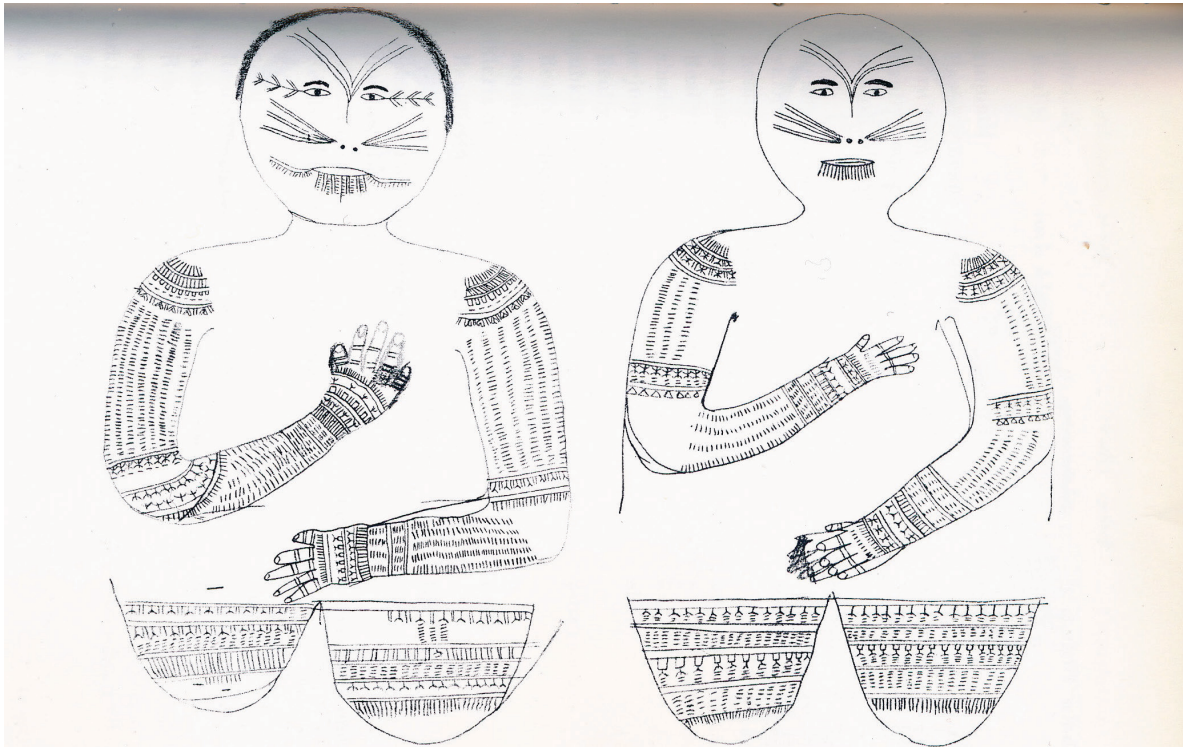


Figure 189. Drawings by a Copper Eskimo woman.

Figure 12: Unknown Copper Inuit woman, *Untitled* (“Drawings by a Copper Eskimo woman”), pencil on paper, c. 1913–16, collected by Diamond Jenness, published in Diamond Jenness, *Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1946), page 147



Nálungiaqs tattooings.

When a woman is married she is tattooed on the face, arms and thighs, just above the knee, with a sewing needle dipped in a mixture of soot and blubber. Tattooing has a religious significance, as they believe a woman who is not handsomely tattooed cannot get to "the land of the blessed". Women without tattooing go to Noqúmiut i. e.: the "Land of the Crestfallen". Drawn by Arnarulúnguaq.

Manêlaqs tattooings.

Figure 13: Arnarulúnguaq, *Untitled* ("Nálungiaq and Manêlaq's tattoos"), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, published in Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1931), page 312r

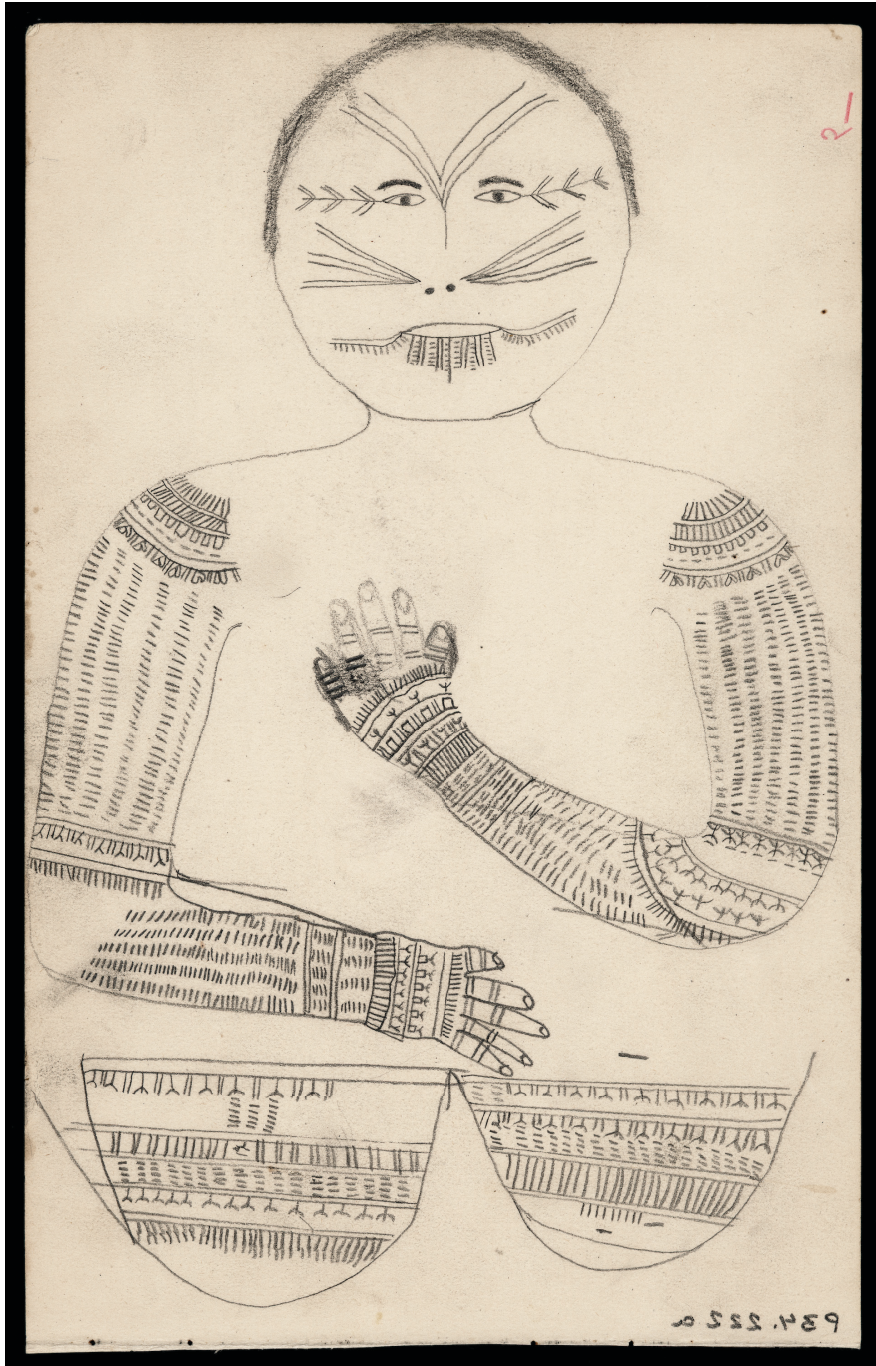


Figure 14: Amarulunguaq, *Untitled* (Nálungiaq's tattoos), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

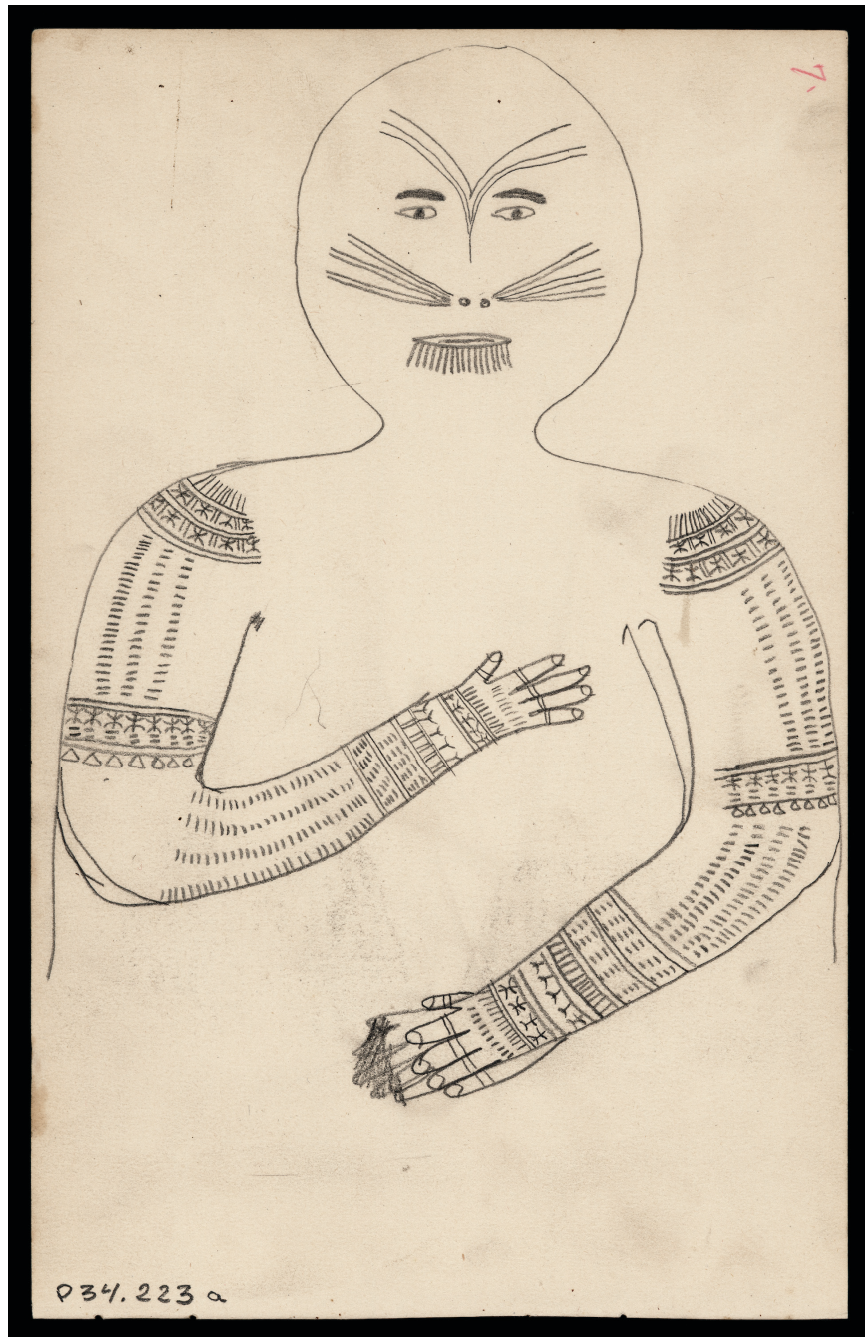


Figure 15: Arnarulúnguaq, *Untitled* (Manêlaq's tattoos, torso), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

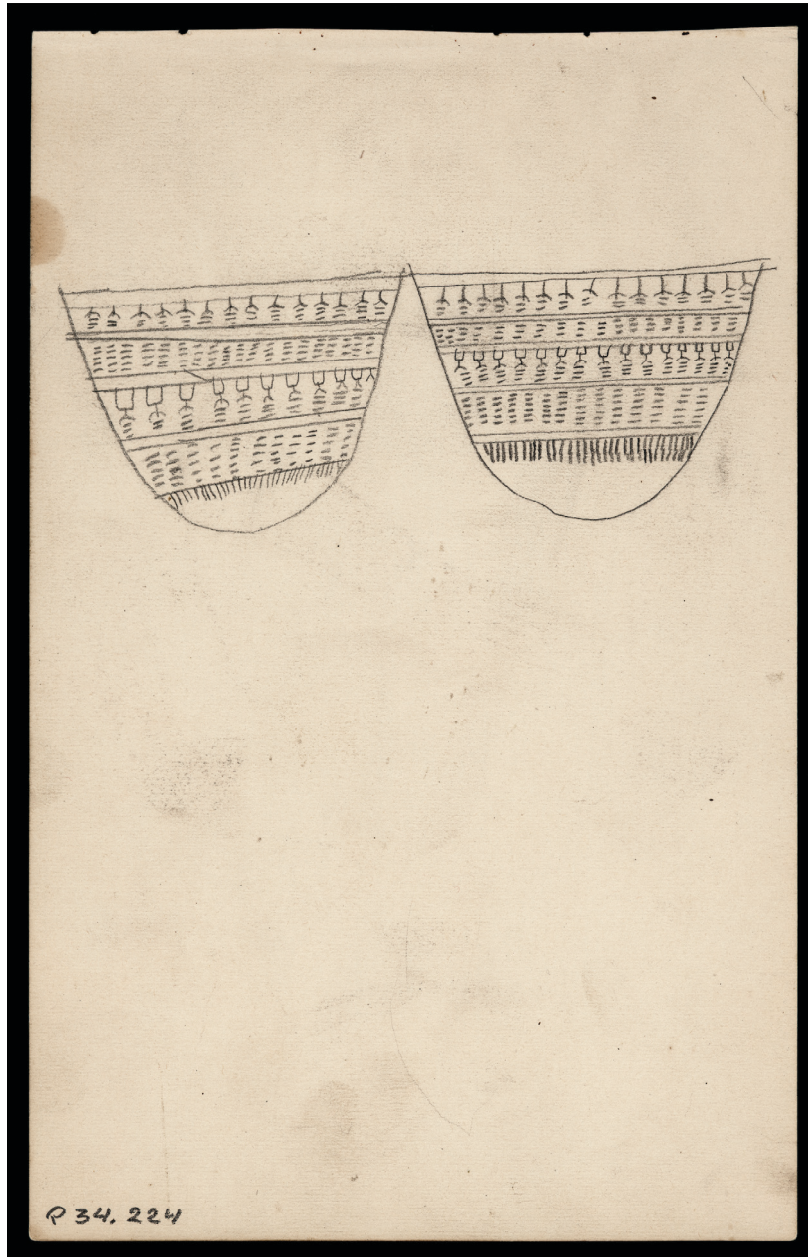
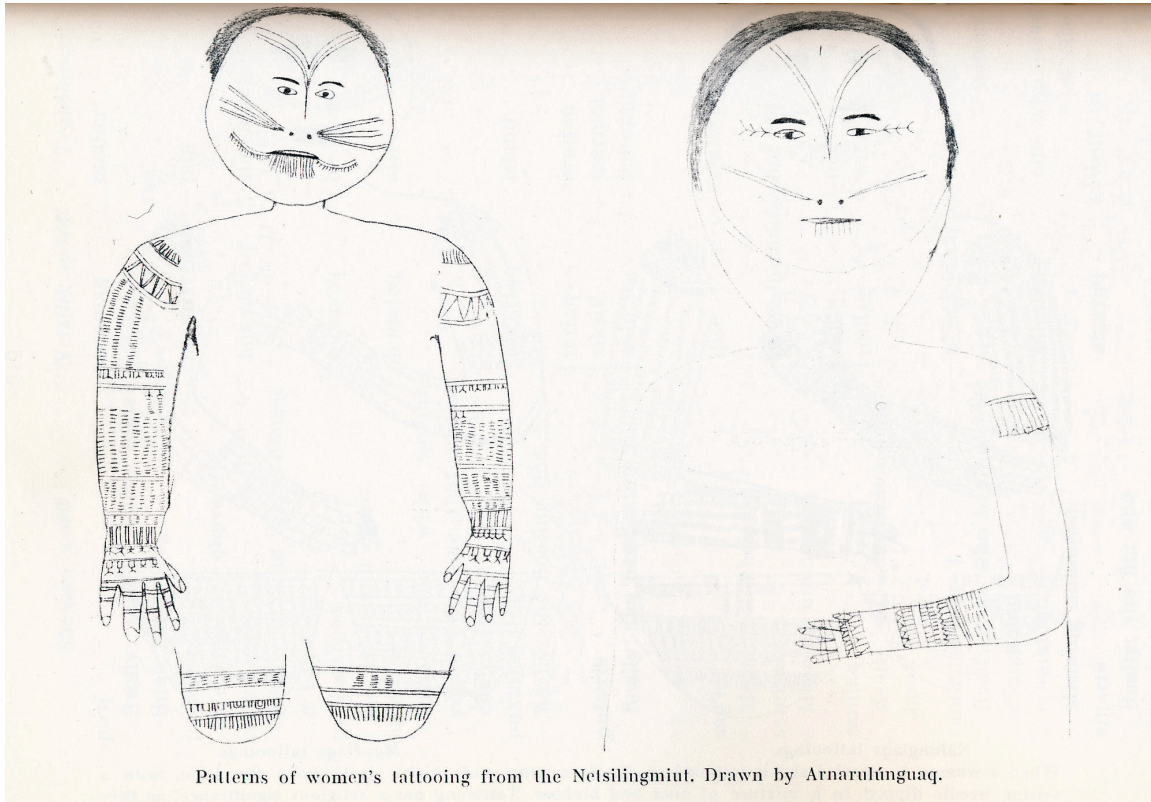


Figure 16: Arnarulúnguaq, *Untitled* (Manêlaq's tattoos, thighs), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen



Patterns of women's tattooing from the Netsilingmiut. Drawn by Arnarulúnguaq.

Figure 17: Arnarulúnguaq, *Untitled* (Patterns of Netsilik women's tattoos), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, published in Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1931), page 313v

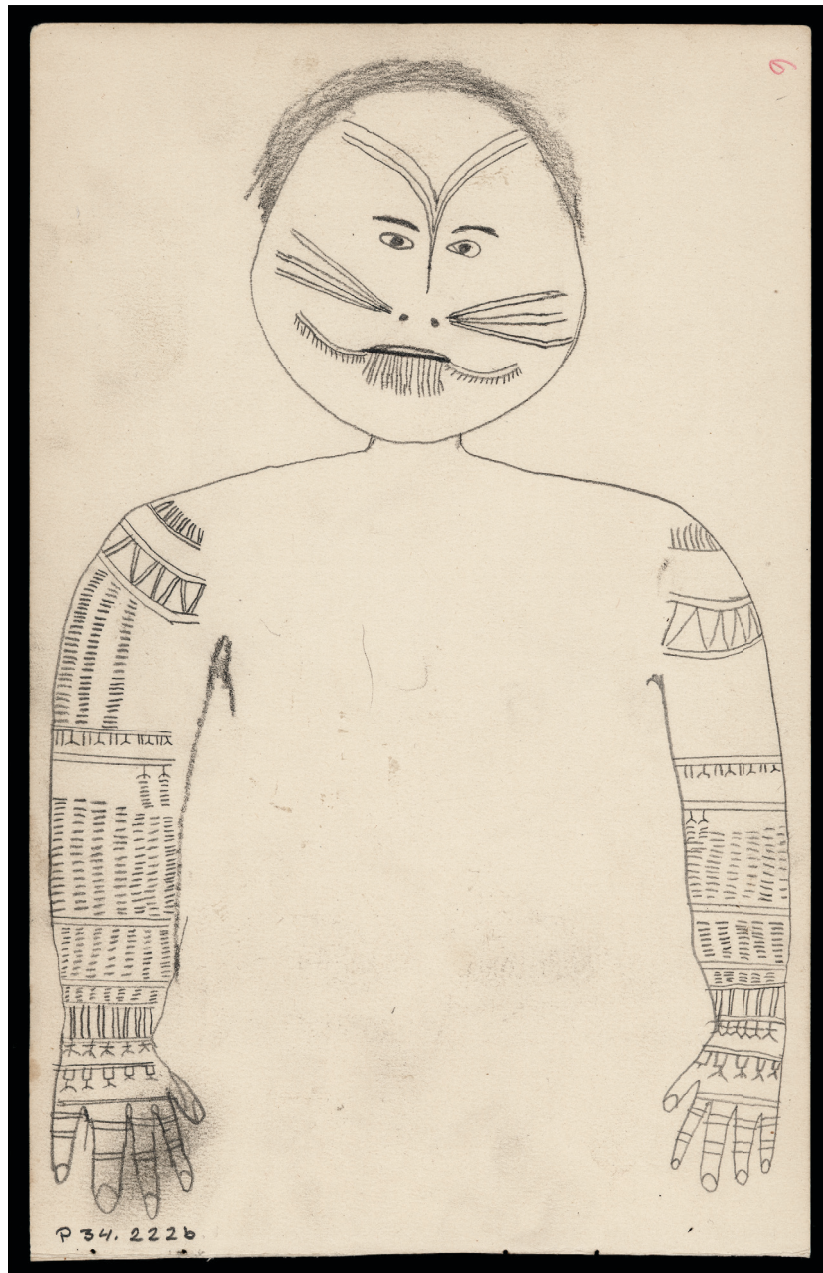


Figure 18: Arnarulúnguaq, *Untitled* (Unknown Netsilik woman's tattoos, torso), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

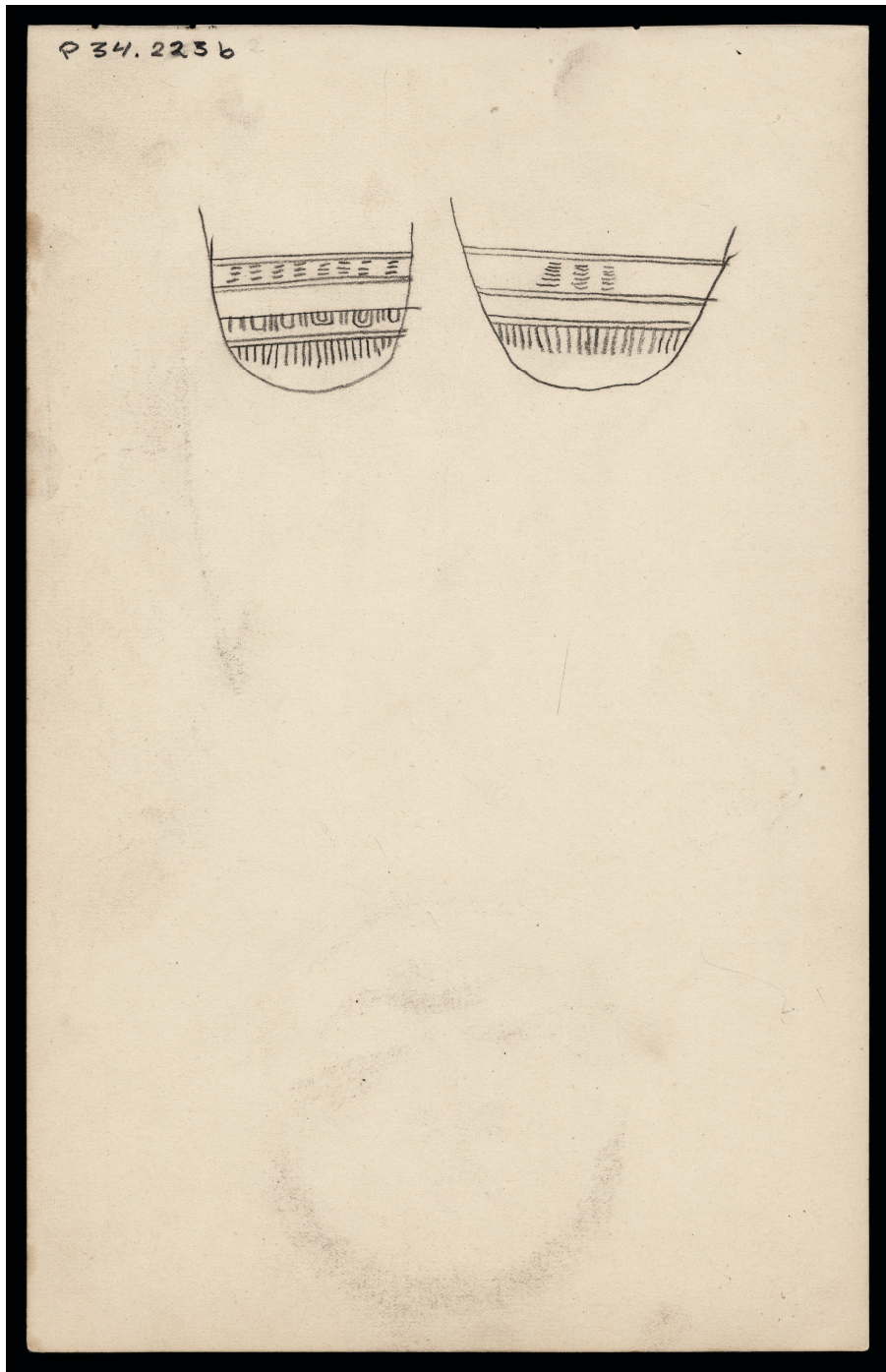


Figure 19: Arnarulúnguaq, *Untitled* (unknown Netsilik woman's tattoos, thighs), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

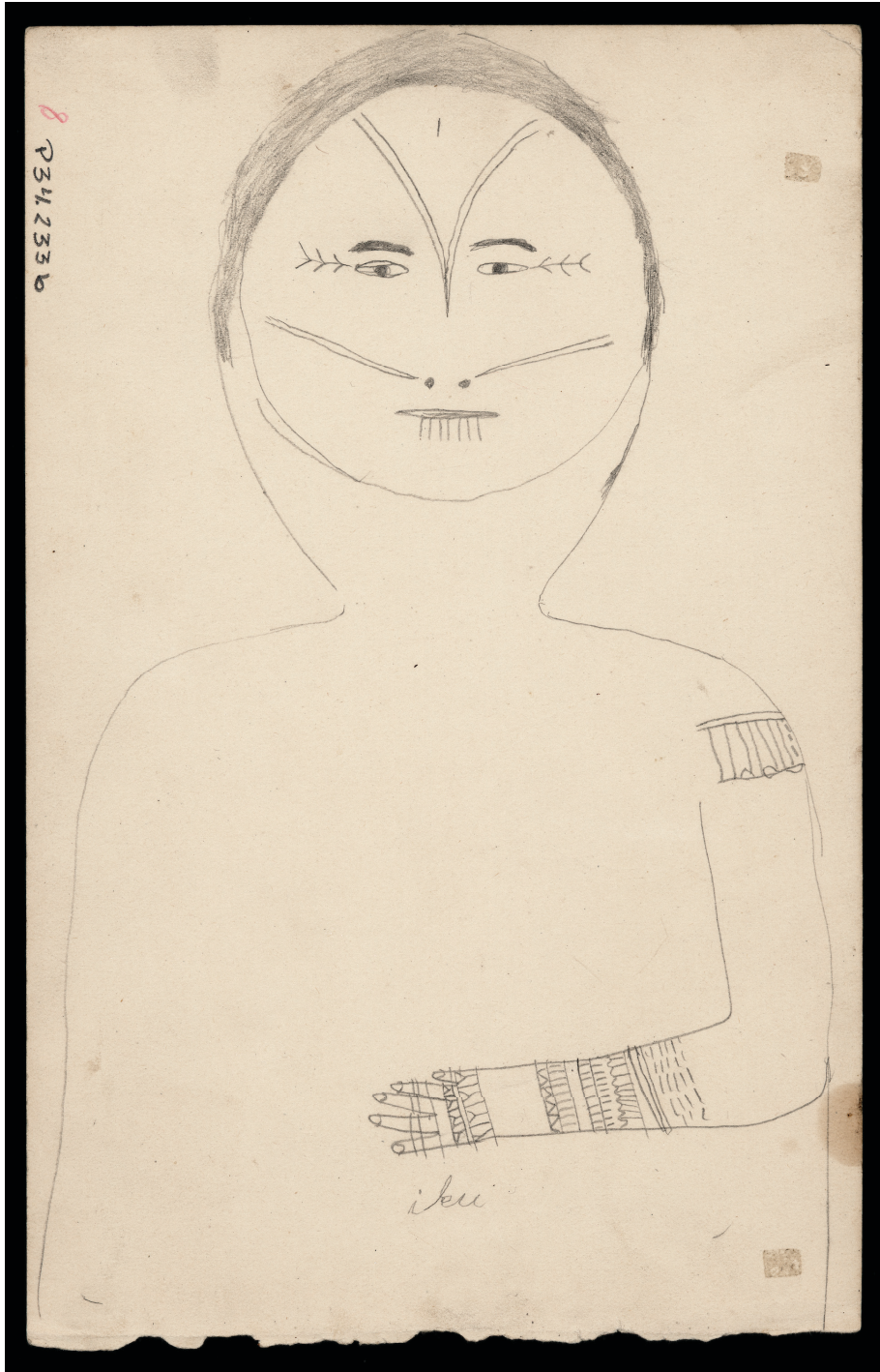


Figure 20: Arnarulúnguaq, *Untitled* (Tattooed Netsilik woman), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

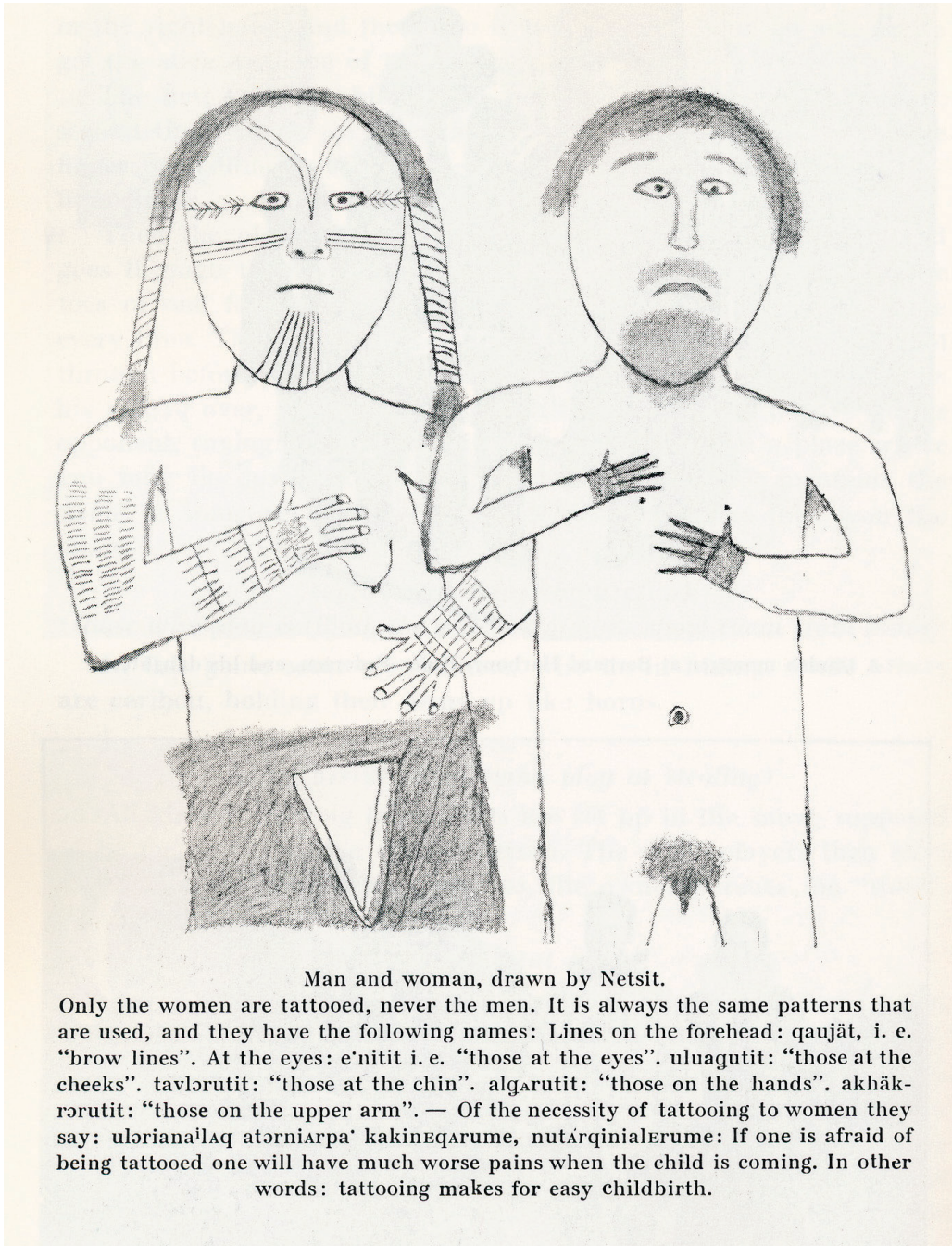


Figure 21: Netsit, *Untitled* ("Copper Inuit man and woman"), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, published in Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1932), page 269v

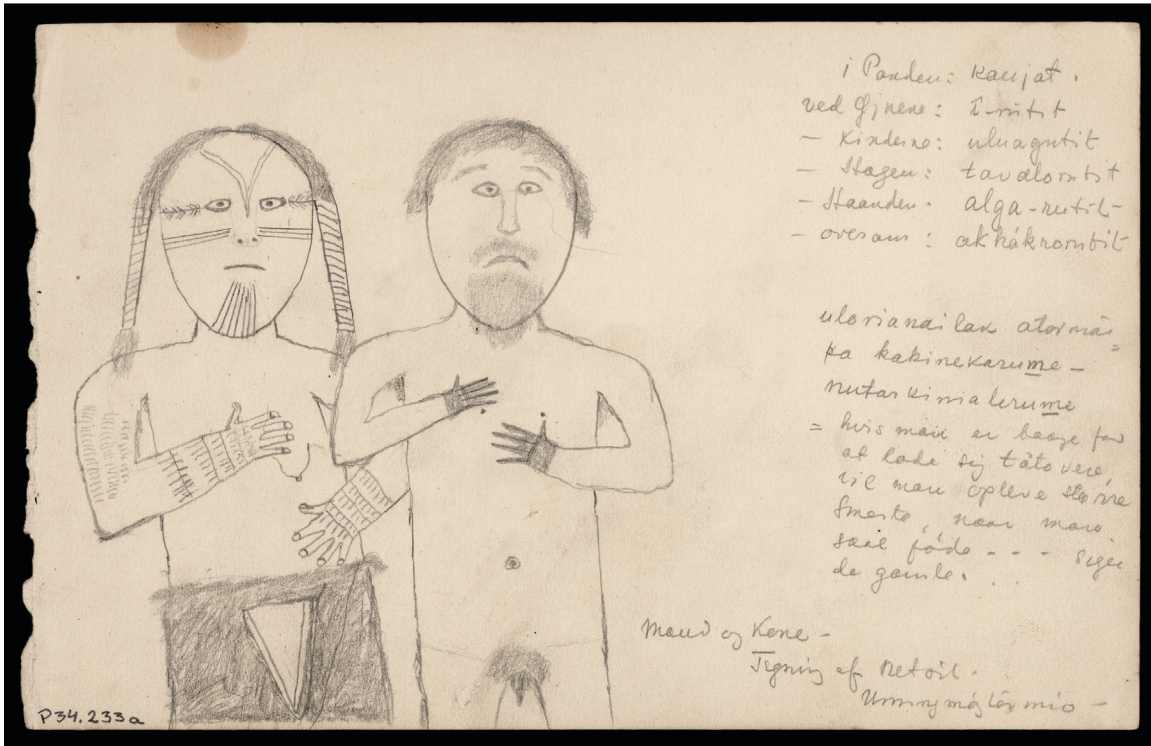


Figure 22: Netsit (drawing) and Knud Rasmussen (text), *Untitled* (Copper Inuit man and woman), graphite on paper, c. 1923, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

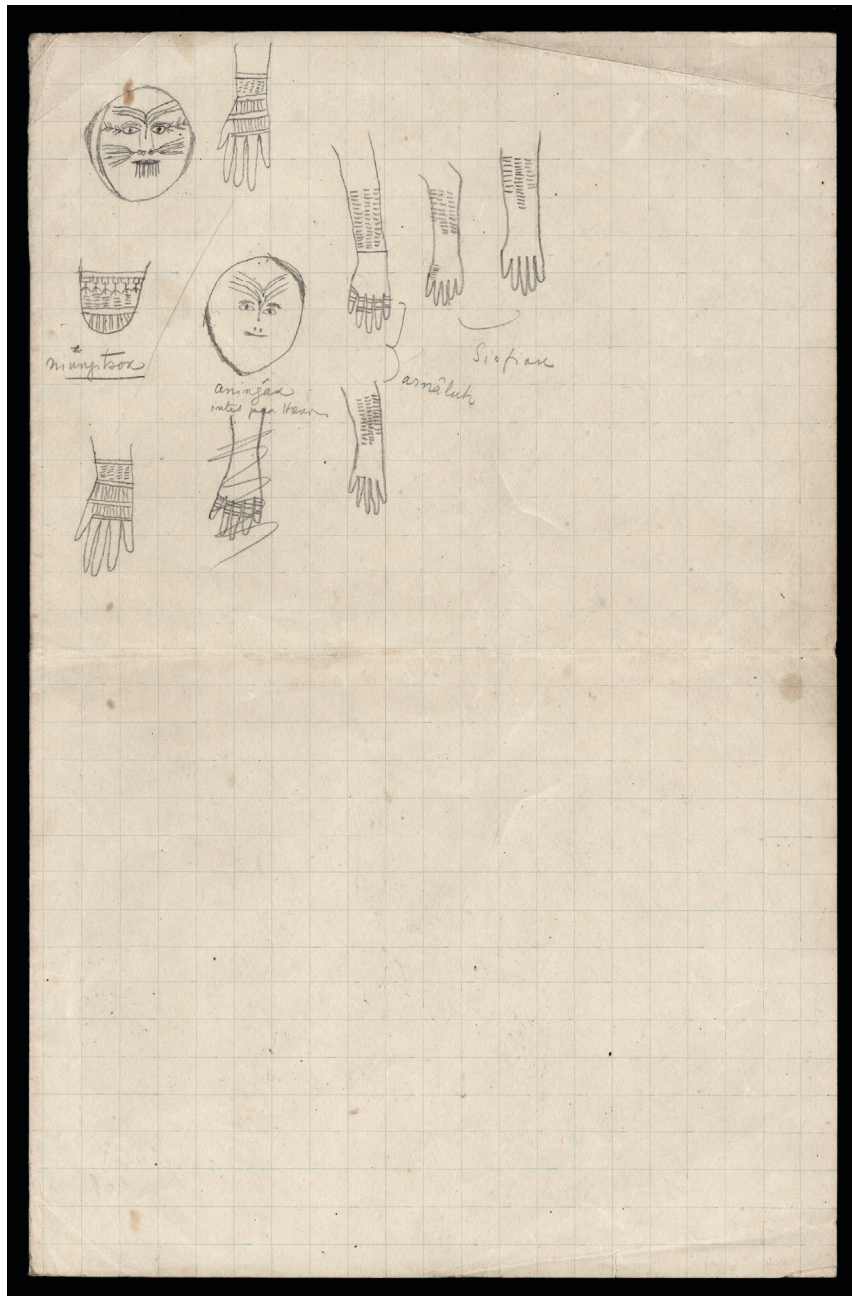


Figure 23: Unknown Inuit artist, *Untitled*, graphite on paper, c. 1921–24, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

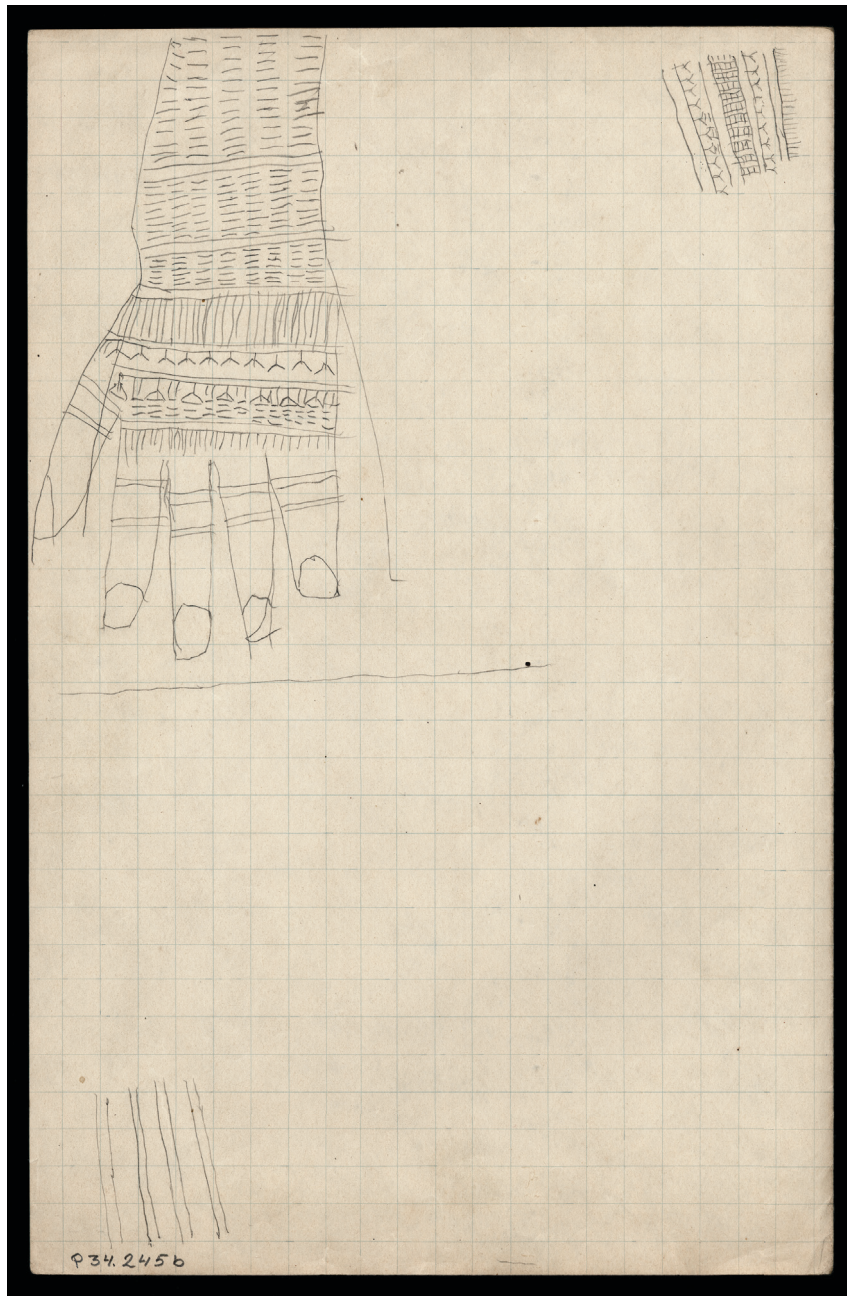


Figure 24: Unknown Inuit Artist, *Untitled*, graphite on paper, c. 1921–24, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

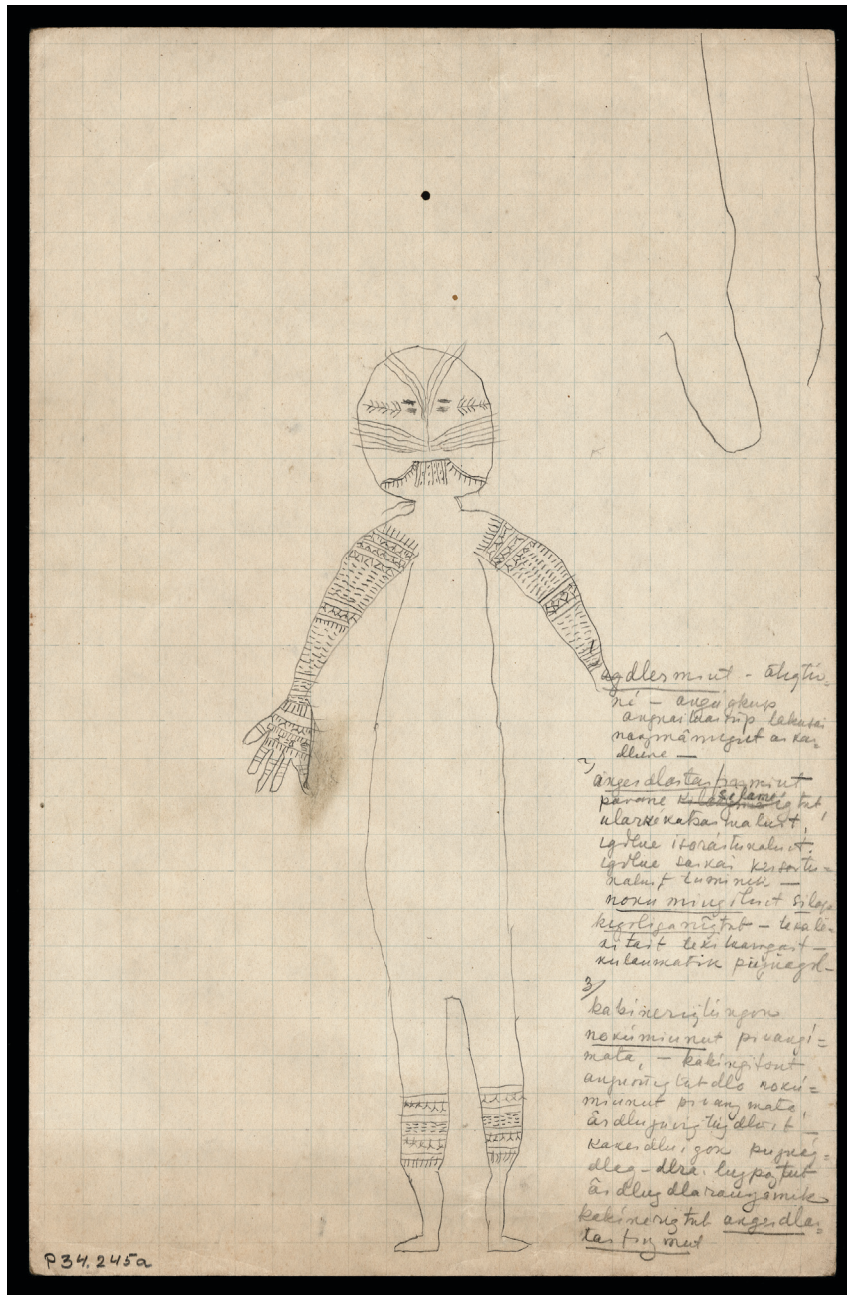


Figure 25: Unknown Inuit artist (drawing) and Knud Rasmussen (text), *Untitled*, graphite on paper, c. 1921–24, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

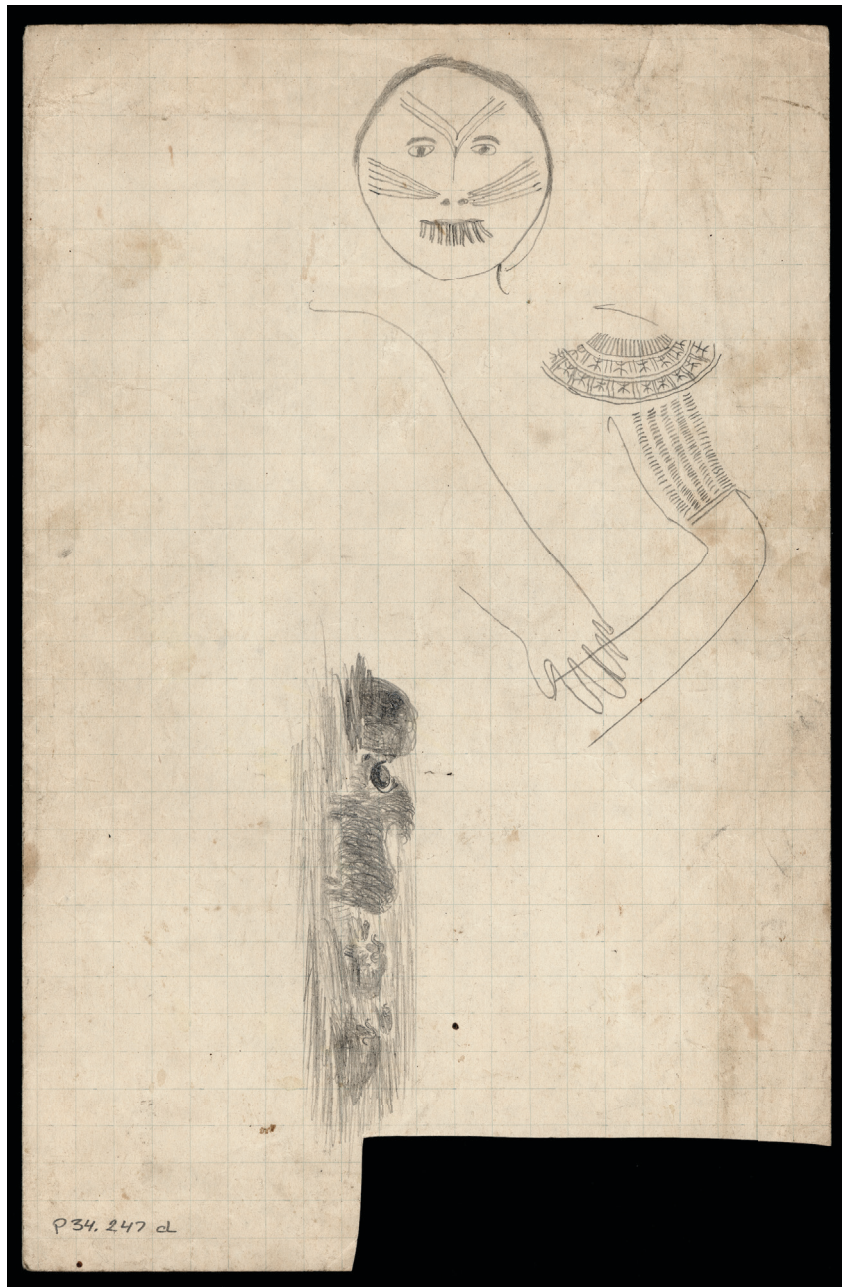


Figure 26: Unknown Inuit artist, *Untitled*, graphite on paper, c. 1921–24, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

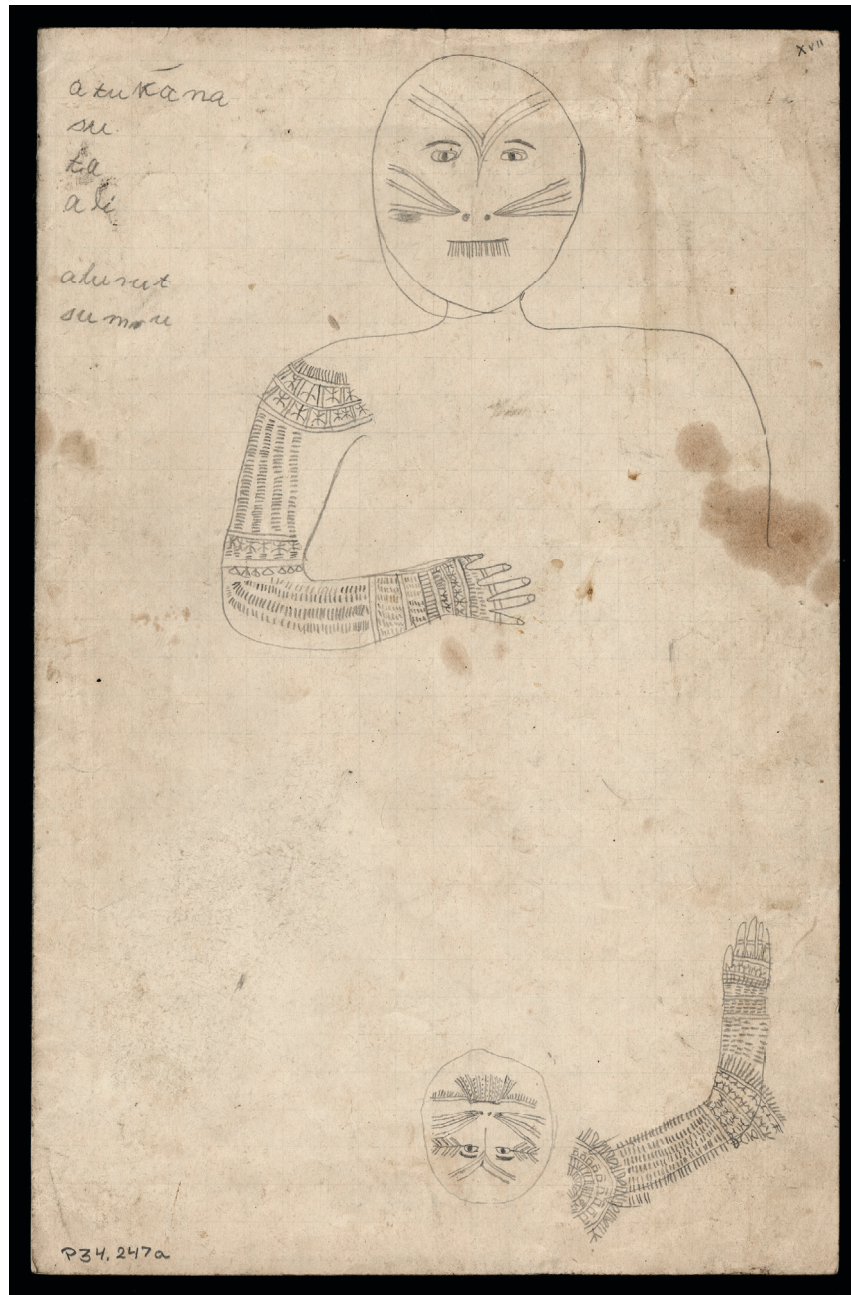


Figure 27: Unknown Inuit artist, *Untitled*, pencil on paper, c. 1921–24, collected by Knud Rasmussen, collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

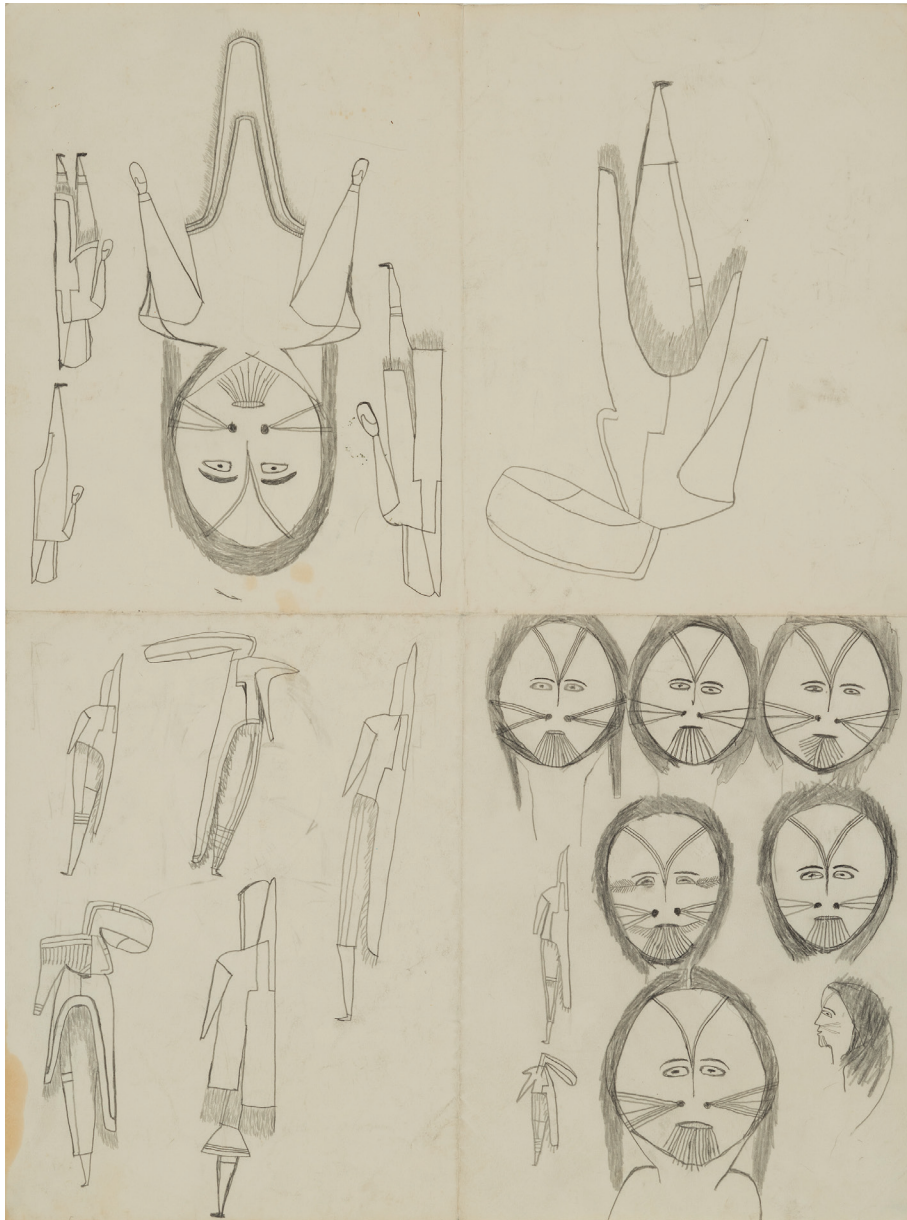


Figure 28: Jessie Oonark, *Tattooed [sic] Faces; Inland Eskimo Woman*, 1959–1960, graphite on paper, 60.5 x 45.5 cm, collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery; Gift of West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative, Cape Dorset

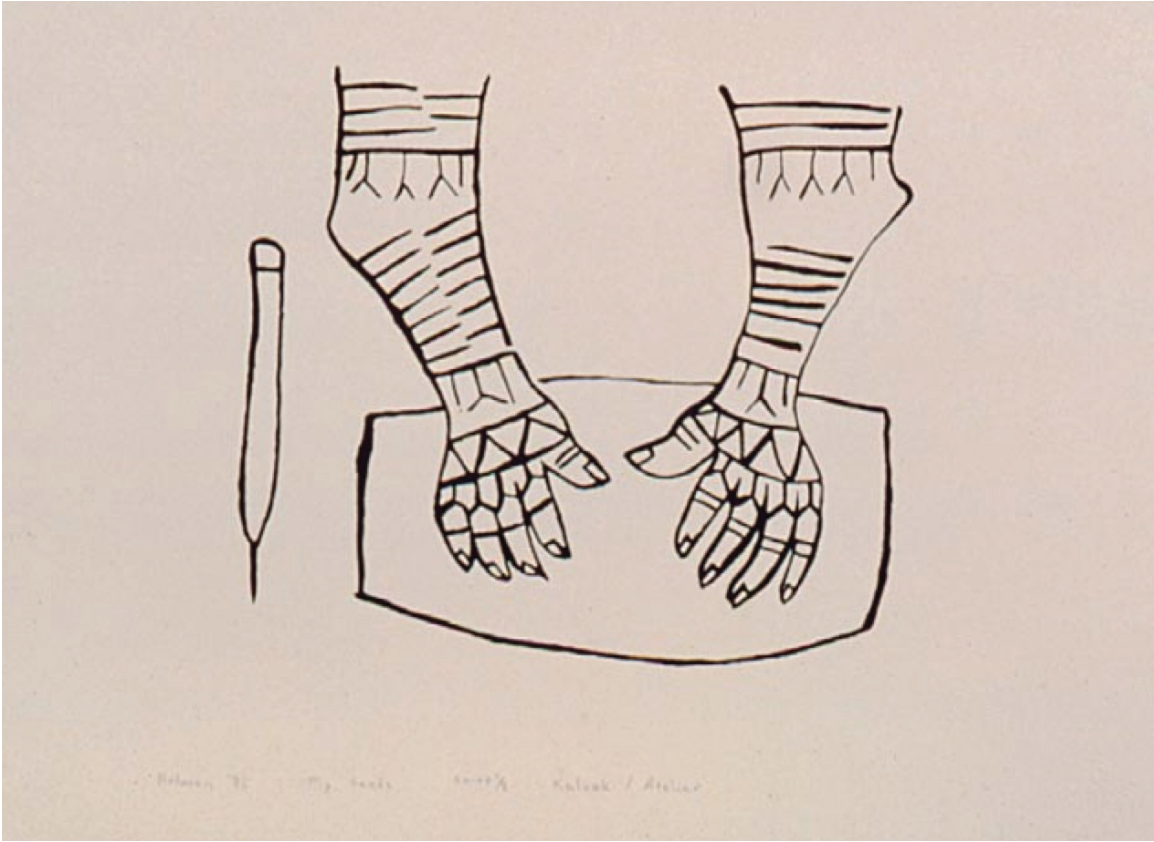


Figure 29: Helen Kalvak, *My Hands*, 1982, lithograph on paper, edition of 50, 28.5 x 38 cm, published in *Holman Island 1982* (Holman Island: Holman Eskimo Co-operative, 1982)



Figure 30: Inuit tattoo toolkit, scraped sealskin, copper, wood, sinew, collected c. 1950–70, photographed by S. Irving, Courtesy of CLEY, Collection of the Government of Nunavut, held at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife



Figure 31: Germaine Arnaktauyok, *Rite of Passage*, 1996, etching, edition of 50, 35.0 x 44.5 cm, collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery

Appendix 1: Paper Formatting Information on the Knud Rasmussen Collection

Many of the drawings collected by Knud Rasmussen, as studied in Chapter 2, are rendered on both sides of a single paper. By considering the paper these drawings are on, contextual circumstances and questions concerning who may have been present during the making of the drawings, who may have seen them, and where and when they were made become easier to speculate on, if not answer altogether. Below is a table illustrating how the twelve tattoo drawings collected by Rasmussen are distributed amongst eight pieces of paper.

Work(s)	Single Drawing (One Side of a Paper)	Two Drawings (Both Sides of a Paper)
Arnarulunguaq, Nalungiaq's tattoos (fig. 14) and Arnarulunguaq, unknown Netsilik woman's tattoos (fig. 18)		X
Arnarulunguaq, Manêlaq's tattoos (fig. 15) and Arnarulunguaq, unknown Netsilik woman's tattoos (fig. 19)		X
Arnarulunguaq, Manêlaq's tattoos (fig. 16)	X (one should note that there is a small, assumedly unfinished tattoo design in the center of this paper's opposite side, which due to its size and simplicity, has been left out of this essay's discussion)	
Netsit drawing and Knud Rasmussen text (fig. 22) and Arnarulunguaq, tattooed Netsilik woman (fig. 20)		X
Drawing by unknown Inuit Artist (fig. 23)	X	
Drawing by unknown Inuit artist and text by Knud Rasmussen (fig. 24) and drawing by unknown Inuit artist (fig. 25)		X
Drawing by unknown Inuit artist (fig. 27)	X	
Drawing by unknown Inuit artist (fig. 26)	X	

Appendix 2: Translations of Text on Netsit’s drawing (fig. 22) from Knud Rasmussen collection

As noted in Chapter 2, Netsit’s drawing is complimented by a number of Knud Rasmussen’s field notes that pertain to tattooing. The extensive translations below, which correspond to the text on the drawing, are courtesy of Nuka Møller at the Greenland Language Secretariat, and follow largely in line with that on page 269v in Rasmussen’s *Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos*.

Danish	Knud Rasmussen’s notes	Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI) standard orthography (1976)	English
i Panden	kaujat	(qaujat)	on forehead: qaujat (qauq: forehead. –jat: resembles)
ved øjnene:	î-nitit	(ii-nitit)	by the eyes: ii (iji): eye, -nitit: adorns, placed on/by*
- kinderne:	uluagutit	(uluagutit)	- cheeks: uluak: cheek, –gutit: adorns, placed on
-Hagen:	tavdlorutit	(tallurutit)	- chin: tallu: chin, –rutit: adorns, placed on
- Haanden:	alga-rutit	(alga-rutit)	- hand: algak: hand, –rutit: adorns, placed on
- overarm:	akhâkrurutit	(akhatqurutit)	- upper arm: akhatquq: upper arm, –rutit: adorns, placed on
	ulorianailak atorumar-pa kakinekarume – nutarkinialerume**	ulurianailaq aturumaar-paa kakiniqarumi nutaqqinialirumi	less danger will he/she encounter whilst being tattooed when giving child birth
	= hvis man er bange for at lade sig tatovere vil man opleve større Smerte, naar man skal føde ... siger de gamle	= if one is afraid of being tattooed one will encounter more pain, when one gives birth ... says the old ones	
	Mand og Kone -	Husband and wife -	
	Tegning af Netsit	Drawing by Netsit (Natsit)	
	Umingmagtôrmiô	from Umingmaktuq	

*In the Inuinnaqtun dialect (used here) the stem iji is used for eye in dictionary entries, but is mostly indicated as a prolonged vowel ii in other variants where the stem occurs.

** Rasmussen has underlined the m in both words to confirm that it is the sound he’d actually heard. In most Inuit dialects, in Greenlandic as well, the locative case here would be –ni.

Appendix 3: Translations of Text on fig. 25 from Knud Rasmussen collection

The following translations, provided by Nuka Møller at the Greenland Language Secretariat, are explanations of the three afterlives, as told to Rasmussen by the shaman Angnaituarsuk. Furthermore, Møller notes that “The writing system Rasmussen has used in the notes is the old Greenlandic orthography, whilst the content is written in pidgin form, a hodgepodge of West Greenlandic and the Inuinnaqtun dialect, written down as short notes of information in abbreviations only known to Knud Rasmussen, which make them hard to decipher and translate.”

Knud Rasmussen’s notes	Greenlandic standard orthography (1973)	English
1) <u>agdlermiut</u> – akigtiv- ne – angakkup Angnaituarsúp takusai nangmâmigut arkar- dlune -	1) Allermiut – akitsin- ni – angakkup Angnaituarsuup takusai nammaamigut aqqar- luni -	1) Dwellers below - on the other side* – as seen by the shaman Angnaituarsuk, when he descended through his back pack.
2) <u>angerdlartarfingmiut</u> pavane silame utarkerkátartualuit, igdlue sarkai kersortu- aluit tuminik nokumiugdluit silap kigdlinganîtut takale- kitait tekilaangait kulaumatik pujuagdl...	2) Angerlartarfimmiut pavani silami utaqqqeqqattartualuit illui saqqai qersortu- aluit (?) tuminik noqumiullit silap killinganiittut taqale- qitaat teqilaangaat qulaammatic pujuall...	2) “The eternal settlements of the dwellers of the happy <u>homecoming</u> ”** waits in sila above the forefront of their houses are ... full of (?) tracks the Noqumiut live on the outskirts of sila, butterflies (notes not understandable) fly above them ... smoke...
3) <u>kakínerigtúngôk nokumiunut</u> pivangi- mata, - kakíngitsut angu...tâtdlo noqú- miunut pivangmata ârdlujuvigutdlarît kakerdluigôk pujuag- dlag. dlra. luggagtut ârdlugdlarângamik kakínerigtut <u>angerdlar- tarfingmut</u>	3) kakinnerittunngooq <u>noqumiunut</u> pivangi m- mata, - kakinngitsut angu...taallu Noqumiunut pivammata aarljuittullaariit qaqerluigooq pujuual- lall. llra. luppattut aarlullaraangamik kakinnerittut <u>angerlar- tarfimmut</u>	3) Those with handsome tattoos never goes to <u>Noqumiut</u> (Land of the Crestfallen) Those without tattoos and the bad hunters come to Noqu- miut, they were never able to look up their chins.. smoke .. (notes not understandable) when they looked up those with handsome tattoos to <u>the home coming place</u>

*Aki: other side, Akilineq: land on the other side (presently a designation of the Canadian side from Greenland). In mythology, usually a world beyond our world with fantastic creatures etc.

**As Rasmussen translated it into Danish: “Den glade hjemkomsts evige bopladser.”

Møller also points out that the above notes also became a passage in Rasmussen’s book

Den store slæderejse.¹⁴⁵ The text, translated by Møller into English, is as follows:

Right under the crust of the earth lives the Noqumiut or “Land of the Crestfallen.” Here men who were bad hunters, and women with no tattoos

¹⁴⁵Knud Rasmussen, *Den store slæderejse* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske, 1932), 94.

dwel. They always hang with their heads, and their chin is tucked down to their chests. They are always hungry, since they only live on butterflies; they always squat stooping and with closed eyes. Only when a butterfly flies above them, they lift their head slowly and snap after it, like nestlings after a fly. At the same moment smoke comes from their throat like puffballs exploding.

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