

Solveig Justine Vanniez-Salvesen

**NEGOTIATING SPACE AND SHAPING DISCOURSE:
PILE O'SÁPMI SUPREME, THE FOSEN CASE, AND SÁMI HERITAGE
IN NORWAY**

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

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I, the undersigned, **Solveig Justine Vanniez-Salvesen**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the negotiations of Sámi heritage in “Norwegian” spaces, specifically through two case studies: *Pile o’ Sápmi Supreme* and the Fosen case. It attempts to expose the different levels of discourse surrounding Sámi heritage in a museum setting and the landscape in Norway. The first chapter deals with the theoretical foundations for this thesis, which lead to the focus on two elements: the art object and the landscape. The second chapter examines the object biography of *Pile o’ Sápmi* by Máret Ánna Sara, its current place at the new National Museum in Oslo, and its role in shaping the Sámi heritage discourse. Subsequently, the third chapter follows the developments of constructing the landscape in visual and legal terms in Norway. It then explores how these definitions and understandings of the landscape have influenced the unfolding of the Fosen case. Ultimately, I examine how the Supreme Court ruling of the Fosen case and the new exhibition at the National Museum, *Moving the Needle* by Britta Marakatt-Labba, not only bring new perspectives - specifically the Sámi perspective – into play but also create new connections between the arts, objects, the landscape, Indigeneity, and heritage.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Description
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
MEP	Ministry of Energy and Petroleum
NVE	Norges vassdrags- og energidirektorat [Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate]
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
DNT	Det Norske Turistforening [Norwegian Trekking Association]
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Preface

Translation disclaimer:

This thesis includes translations of texts and statements from Norwegian to English. Unless indicated otherwise, the translations provided in the text are my own work.

Introduction

In June of 2023, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Norway presented its report to the parliament, revealing the detailed history of the Norwegianization process of the Sámi and other ethno-linguistic minority groups in Norway. Before the establishment of nation-states and borders, the Sámi people, Indigenous to Sápmi, inhabited the northern regions of Fennoscandia. The Sámi have nine distinct living languages, six of which have written standards. Despite the Sámi being ancestral inhabitants of Fennoscandia and the Kola Peninsula for thousands of years, they have endured harsh encounters with southern populations that eventually formed the nations of the region. Sápmi now encompasses parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia (see fig. 1).¹

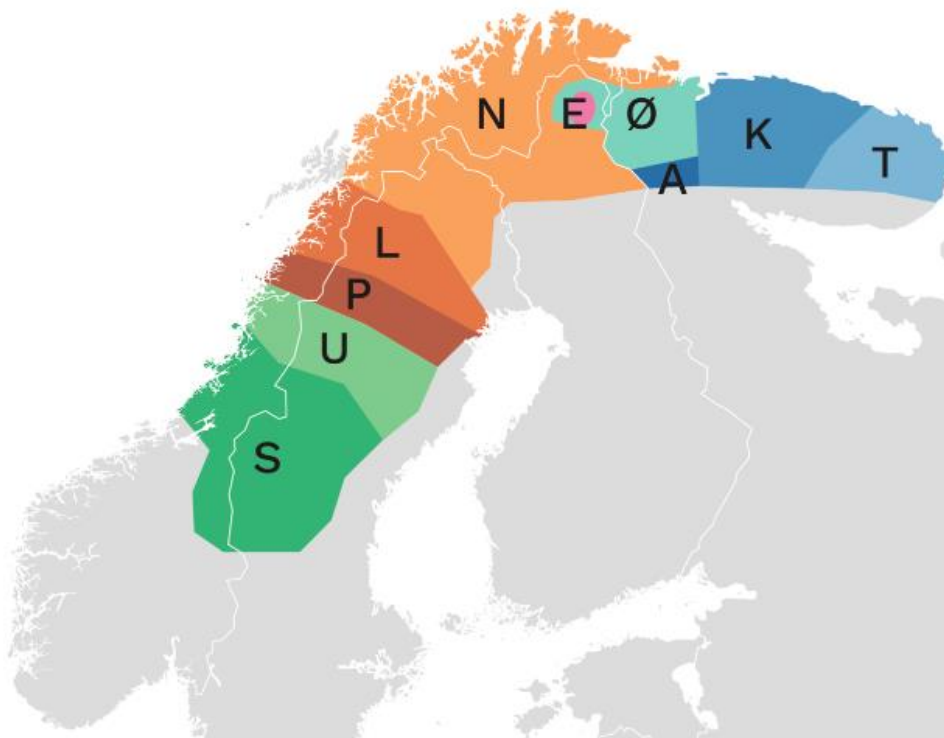


Figure 1. Map over Sápmi and overview of the distinct Sámi languages ²

¹ Astri Andresen, Bjørg Evjen, and Teemu Ryymin, *Sámi History from 1751 to 2010* (Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2021).

² S= South Sámi, U= Ume Sámi, P= Pite Sámi, L= Lule Sámi, N= Northern Sámi, E= Inari Sámi, Ø= Skolt Sámi, A= Akkala Sámi, K= Kildin Sámi, T= Ter Sámi. Store Norsk Leksikon, *Utbreiinga til dei ulike samiske språka. Grensene og inndelinga er omtrentleg*, [The spread of the various Sámi languages. The boundaries and divisions are approximate]2022, <https://snl.no/S%C3%A1pmi>.

The TRC report showcased personal stories of forced relocations, boarding schools, racial abuse, and heritage loss. Earlier in the same year, February 2023, Sámi Indigenous and environmental activists occupied the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy (MEP) in Oslo, demanding the immediate suspension of operations and the demolition of wind turbines in the Sámi reindeer grazing area of Fosen. Fosen Vind is considered one of the largest onshore wind park projects in Europe. It started in 2016 as commissioned by Statkraft, a state-owned hydropower company.³ The project was completed in 2020. However, on the 11th of October 2021 the Norwegian Supreme Court ruled the license for the wind park illegal. On the 23rd of February 2023, it had been 500 days since the Norwegian Supreme Court's ruling.⁴

Finally, retracing the events back a year earlier, to June 2022, the new National Museum in Oslo opened its doors to the public, also revealing Sámi artist, Máret Ánne Sara's art object *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* at the entrance of the museum. *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* was originally created during the first trial of the artist's brother, Jovsset Ánte Sara, in the case against the Norwegian state for the forced slaughtering of his reindeer herd in 2017. The government justified the forced slaughtering of the reindeers for environmental reasons, to preserve the fragile tundra. In consequence, Jovsset Ánte Sara confronted the Norwegian state for its infringement on Sámi cultural practices and land. Young Sámi and environmental activists also protested the lack of action taken by the Norwegian state after the Supreme Court ruled the license of the wind park on Fosen as illegal due to its infringement on the right of South-Sámi reindeer herders to continue their cultural practices.

The discourses surrounding the place and space of Sámi culture in the Norwegian context seem to be happening in different spheres. This master thesis is trying to connect the

³ Susann Funderud Skogvang, "Fosen-saken," in *Store norske leksikon*, March 22, 2024, <https://snl.no/Fosen-saken>.

⁴ Martine Aamodt Hess, "Norway's Treatment of Sámi Indigenous People Makes a Mockery of Its Progressive Image."

two cases, two spheres that at first glance, and especially for outsiders, seem far apart. Scholars and research groups across Norway and other areas of the Nordic region are reflecting on these dissonances, particularly regarding the differences in practice at the theoretical and practical level.⁵ Others, such as art historian Monica Grini, have examined Sámi art within cultural and museum institutions in Norway and beyond. Additionally, various efforts have been made to repatriate Sámi objects to museums in Sápmi, such as the *Bååstede* project.⁶ It appears, however, that within cultural heritage practices, particularly in critical heritage studies, there is a gap in information regarding the various levels of discourse related to Sámi heritage in Norway and the different elements that constitute it.

For this thesis, I would propose to define Sámi heritage more broadly, through engaging with critical heritage studies, identifying heritage as a discourse created through a network of different human and non-human actors.⁷ This is particularly important in avoiding making claims about Sámi heritage, as an outsider myself. In this thesis, I would like to expose how some of these discourses are shaped, instead of defining and claiming what certain aspects of Sámi culture and heritage are. It is crucial in this sense to recognize some limitations of the thesis, which include my own positionality as non-member of the Sámi community. Additionally, for the scope of this thesis, which focuses on two case studies, I have decided to concentrate only on certain elements, *Pile o' Sápmi Supreme* and the landscape. As a result, I have not included interviews of Sámi reindeer herders, activists, artists, or individuals from the Norwegian government or Statkraft.

⁵ Mathias Danbolt and Bart Pushaw, "Institutional Acknowledgements: Introduction to the Special Issue 'The Art of Nordic Colonialism,'" *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 92, no. 2 (April 3, 2023): 67–83, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00233609.2023.2213677>.

⁶ Káren Elle Gaup, Inger Jensen, and Leif Pareli, *Bååstede: Return of Sámi Cultural Heritage*, 2021.

⁷ Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Milton Park, Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2013).

I will also focus on analyzing and identifying the different levels of the discourse in “Norwegian” spaces. I will examine this through two case studies, namely *Pile o’Sápmi Supreme* and the Fosen Case. I believe that these two case studies, on their own, illustrate very different practices of presenting, acknowledging, and preserving Sámi culture and heritage. On the one hand, the National Museum in Oslo, a national institution, exhibits and collects Sámi art objects. At the same time, the National Museum hosts a conference organized by Statkraft, the same governmental company that took part in building the wind park in Fosen.⁸ On the other hand, the Fosen case demonstrates the ways in which Sámi reindeer herders’ concerns about the wind park on their grazing areas would impact their practice, as well as the related preservation of the already vulnerable South-Sámi language and culture is taken into account.

In broader terms, I observe more immediate and concrete structures for the inclusion of Sámi culture, specifically art, in Norwegian and Nordic cultural institutions through temporary exhibitions and collecting efforts. However, as the Fosen case highlights, there are limitations to understanding and including the essential practice of reindeer herding in areas Indigenous to the Sámi, crucial for preserving and continuing tangible and intangible elements of Sámi culture. This, of course, also raises the question of whether art objects in cultural institutions fully convey these Sámi cultural and contextual elements. I propose to explore these tensions through the following questions:

1. How can the display of *Pile o’Sápmi Supreme* at the National Museum in Oslo contribute to the negotiation of Sámi heritage in “Norwegian spaces,” particularly in the Fosen case?
2. How does this exemplify tensions between the recognition of Sámi culture and ongoing threats to Sámi cultural practice?
3. How does the contextualization of art and landscape shape this negotiation?

⁸ NRK, “Aksjonerer for urfolksrettigheter utenfor Statkraft-konferanse,” [Action for Indigenous rights outside Statkraft Conference] *NRK*, June 12, 2023, <https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/aksjonerer-for-urfolksrettigheter-utenfor-statkraft-konferanse-1.16442884>.

I will use the case studies of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* at the National Museum in Oslo and the Fosen case as the starting point to identify the different actors involved in shaping the ideas and discourse surrounding Sámi cultural heritage in the museum. I will use Actor-Network Theory and critical heritage studies to direct and frame how to conceptualize the relevant actors, and the relationship between them. This ultimately will lead me to focus on the object of art itself, *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, and the landscape, as actors in shaping the discourses in their respective context. The two case studies will further be guided by notions taken from the field critical heritage, museum, material culture and landscape studies. I will begin by elaborating on this theoretical background in the first chapter to ground the analysis of the case studies.

In the second chapter, I will give a brief overview of the history of museums, and the national museum in Norway, to place the cultural institutions as one of the founding pillars in forming a national Norwegian identity. I will then look at the biography of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, and how it ended up at the new National Museum in Oslo. More importantly, how its material and value changes through time and thus also influences its meaning today. This leads to reflections on the wider assimilation of Sámi art into the national museum, and whether the placement of the art object transmits not only the context of the piece but also the wider Sámi Indigenous ideas of aesthetics, heritage, land, and culture.

The tensions within the conceptualization of arts and culture in art objects seep through broader epistemological and ontological questions of space and identity in Norwegian context. This exploration will demonstrate the ways in which the landscape, particularly nature, is intricately linked to Norwegian national identity, and through it, heritage. The discussion on landscapes in Norway will be presented in parallel to the Sámi context and the important notion of *meahcci* [landscape]. After this theoretical foundation, I will briefly introduce the Fosen case. I will then analyze three documents: the Statkraft proposal, the Norwegian Water

Resources and Energy Directorate report (NVE), and the Supreme Court ruling. In this analysis, I will look at the language and formulations surrounding the landscape, reindeer herding, and cultural sites in Fosen.

These new connections in the landscape are further materialized in the new exhibition at the National Museum in Oslo by Sámi artist Britta Marakatt-Labba titled *Moving the Needle*, still on show at the time of the submission of the thesis. Here, the connections between the art object, the practice, Sámi history, daily life, and the landscape are not only visible in the art objects themselves but made clear through the text. The artist exposes the connections between the landscape beyond the definition imposed by the Norwegian laws and context, and the Sámi cultural rights - both in its practice and through its motifs. It also underlines the museum's commitment to show different and new aspects of society and reflects on the present tensions.

All in all, Sámi heritage and culture, both in the arts and through the landscape, play a role (or not) in the projection of Norway's future in this case. More importantly, the future, the process of becoming, materialized in the objects of art and the landscape, seem to be somewhat in conflict in these two case studies. In the museum, non-Indigenous and Indigenous objects of art are placed side by side, or even facing each other, retracing a history of silencing and assimilation of Sámi art and heritage. The landscape, the Sámi landscape, is portrayed as a place for establishing Norway as a sustainable energy producer, excluding, and neglecting South-Sámi reindeer herders' perspective and their right of continuation of their cultural practice. These projections of the future are ultimately influenced by some aspects of silencing the past. The new temporary exhibition at the National Museum in Oslo brings forward the silences and gives a voice to the small and bigger aspects of Sámi culture, identity, and heritage in a "Norwegian" space.

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework

Actor-Network Theory and Critical Heritage Studies

Actor-Network Theory

To further engage with Sámi heritage in “Norwegian” spaces, and the relationship to landscape, it is necessary to draw upon theories regarding the relationship between different actors. John Law in 1992 proposed the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) to look at the relationship between space, individuals, discourses, and natural elements.⁹ Further, Bruno Latour brings forth the notion that the social reality is based on shifting networks of relationships between human and non-human actors.¹⁰ According to ANT, social structures are not pre-existing, but are constantly negotiated through networks of heterogeneous actors. These networks include both human actors, such as individuals, organizations, and institutions, as well as non-human actors, such as technology, materials, animals, nature and even ideas.¹¹

Through ANT, there is an emphasis on both identifying the elements that are part of a particular network, but also in turn understanding what kind of meaning or reality this network creates. An important theoretical aspect to draw from this is to redirect the focus on material elements, or non-human actors, and their agency within the networks that are created. This approach contributes to further breaking apart some of the nature and culture divides that are prominent in both sociological studies, but also in heritage studies. Through the aforementioned case studies (namely the object of art *Pile o' Sápmi Supreme* and the landscape in the Fosen case), I choose to focus on two non-human actors in order to reveal further aspects of the different networks being created, and so different sets of social realities.

⁹ John Law, *Organizing Modernity* (Oxford, UK ; Cambridge, Mass., USA : Blackwell, 1994).

¹⁰ Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 3. print. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1994).

¹¹ Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*.

Critical Heritage Studies

This notion of networks forming social realities is also utilized in critical approaches to heritage. Rodney Harrison brings forward the idea that heritage can be understood, and further studied, through looking at what kind of networks, and with what elements, are created when engaging with heritage. In *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, Harrison explores the development and moments that have marked the way we perceive and manage heritage. These perspectives and management of heritage are, as Harrison explains, mostly based on Western traditions, excluding other histories and traditions of heritage.¹² The critical approach to heritage follows a dialogical model, in which heritage arises from the dialogue and connections between human, objects, and non-human actors.¹³ More importantly, these networks or relationships between certain objects, places, practices and individuals are connected with, or represent, the past.¹⁴

Rodney Harrison's ANT allows for both understanding how heritage emerges in a particular setting, but also who is involved in forming the discourse on heritage. Laurajane Smith describes that in heritage, they are different types of discourses. One of them being authorized heritage discourse (AHD), which reflects a dominant narrative that favors monumental and large-scale heritage.¹⁵ This type of heritage discourse is often tied to historical value and expert opinion based on scientific and aesthetic criteria, social consensus, and nation building efforts. However, Smith also puts forward the claim that through involving different kinds of actors in these networks, new practices and understandings can be put forward, which she coins as a subaltern discourse.¹⁶

Smith speaks of these networks as form of discourses, whilst Harrison (through ANT) refers to them as *assemblages* in the context of heritage.¹⁷ It is evident that heritage, in these

¹² Rodney, Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 31-41.

¹³ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 31-41.

¹⁴ Harrison. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 14.

¹⁵ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. (London: Routledge, 2006) 29-34, 44-48, 162-192.

¹⁶ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 29-34, 44-48, 162-192.

¹⁷ Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*.

terms, is shaped through a discourse that revolves around power and politics. By becoming aware of these restrictions, it is possible to form new perspectives and understandings of heritage, in the sense of including new kinds of actors within the network of constructing heritage.

This theoretical understanding of heritage as dialogical and involving different kinds of actors aims to capture heritage beyond AHD or *official heritage*.¹⁸ This is particularly important in the Norwegian and Sámi context, where there has been an imposed heritage and national discourse that intentionally excluded Sámi and other ethnic-linguistic minorities, especially in museums. Including the Indigenous perspective, as Harrison puts forth, implies dismantling certain dichotomies, such as the one between culture and nature. By including the biography of certain art objects, such as *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, or understanding the role of the landscape in the Fosen case, adds other elements to the question of how heritage discourses, and Sámi heritage, are being formed in the Norwegian context.

Museums Studies

Since *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* is exhibited in one of the most significant museum institutions in Norway and the Nordic region, I will also incorporate museum studies in order to reveal the fabric of the museums and its role in nation building processes. In “Narrativity and the Museological Myths of Nationality” art historian Donald Preziosi characterizes museums in the European context as instrumental in producing, storing, and retrieving knowledge through material objects. Preziosi also emphasizes the museum’s role in seeking ‘true’ meaning and usage of objects, extending this concept to art objects and their particular significance within and outside the museum setting.¹⁹

¹⁸ Harrison. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 14.

¹⁹ Donald Preziosi, “Narrativity and the Museological Myths of Nationality,” *Museum History Journal* 2, no. 1 (January 2009): 37–50, <https://doi.org/10.1179/mhj.2009.2.1.37>.

Further, Tony Bennett's *Museums, Power and Knowledge* points towards not only how museums are part of nation building processes, but also towards the relationship between institutions, production of knowledge, and power.²⁰ Bennett also addresses the question of how museums are also part of “a machinery of modernity”²¹ which assembles, orders, and translates certain realities through institutions and objects. These processes happening inside the walls of the museum ultimately have the power to dictate societies' view on reality, and in turn the power to shape new realities.²²

All these processes that Bennett addresses also hold a very important relational aspect that point towards understanding “museums as contact zones,”²³ as illustrated by historian and anthropologist James Clifford in his essay titled similarly. Clifford suggests seeing museums as “contact zones.” A museum should be a place created to enhance cross-cultural communication and exchange. Particularly (and amongst many other things), Clifford suggests that the sensory regime of museums, focused on *the gaze*, should be changed. This, in turn, would challenge the way knowledge of the objects is acquired and translated in the space of the museum. The museum as a *contact zone* also enables subaltern narratives and discourses to be put forward through objects, as will be shown with the case of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*. This conceptualization, by extension puts forth alternative conceptions of the landscape.

Material Studies

Anthropology of Art

The material turn in social sciences, and specifically in anthropology, deals with the need to bring material manifestations of historical and cultural specificities back into focus. Since this

²⁰ Tony Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge*, 1 ed. (Place: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315560380>.

²¹ Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge*, 12.

²² Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge*.

²³ James Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones”, in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, ed. James Clifford (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188-219.

thesis will deal with both an art object and visual representations of the landscape, I draw upon Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency* and contemporary readings of his claims pertaining to anthropology of art such as the essay "Art as Action, Art as Evidence" by anthropologist Howard Morphy.

Gell describes art objects as social agents. One of the main concepts in his works relates to how "works of art, images, icons, and the like have to be treated, in the context of an *anthropological* theory, as person-like; that is, sources of, and targets for, social agency."²⁴ Art objects as social agents also brings forward, once again, ANT and the role of art objects within the network forming the discourse. The notion of agency, to Gell, also implies that the object of art creates a causal action. He further introduces the concept of abduction, which occurs when a viewer encounters an art object and, through a process of interpretation, attributes a certain level of agency to that object. This involves the viewer making inferences about the intentions or meanings embedded in the artwork. The viewer, in a sense, "abducts" the artist's intentions, or the cultural context surrounding the artwork, to make sense of it.²⁵

Gell's approach to the arts is not only an anthropological approach but also an action-based approach, which steers away from theories of aesthetics or visual communication. Over time, this has led to criticism of his theories, especially regarding the aesthetic and cultural aspect of art objects, and how this in turn influences their agency. Morphy speaks of the limitations of Gell's aesthetic understandings, and especially in using aesthetics as a cross-cultural concept. Morphy underlines that art objects are themselves intertwined with social processes. As such, they mediate relationships between individuals and aspects of reality.²⁶

Furthermore, scholars such as Morphy and Elizabeth Burns Coleman, point towards Bourdieu's analysis of fine art, which sets forth the idea that the value of art is connected to

²⁴ Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 96.

²⁵ Gell, *Art and Agency*.

²⁶ Howard Morphy, "Art as Action, Art as Evidence," ed. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (September 18, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199218714.013.0011>.

the market value of objects.²⁷ Additionally, the value creation of art objects is also grounded in the establishment of art canons in Western Europe. Bourdieu asserts, in broader terms, that the aesthetic attitude is thus not universal, and not the same in all Western societies. Rather, aesthetic attitude (in turn aesthetic appreciation), is historically constructed: a product of history.²⁸ This extends the elements in the relationship, from not only the art object and the artist themselves, but the art institution and historical processes.

Ultimately, Gell focuses on the function of art object in a relational context and its agency. However, as Shirley Campbell points in “The Captivating Agency of Art: Many Ways of Seeing” objects of art, and art in the broader sense functions “in different ways and at different levels within a single context.”²⁹ In the case of *Pile o’ Sápmi Supreme*, as a protest and non-western art object, a variety of systems and relations are at play within and outside the space of the National Museum in Oslo where it is exhibited.

Further, Burns, in “Aesthetics as Cross-Cultural Concept,” discusses the development of a general aesthetic sense and the establishment of art institutions. For her, the aesthetic sense in the Western context, which is mostly directed and taught through these art institutions, becomes very much a process of socialization within a culture. Shirley expands on this by pointing out how non-Western and Indigenous art objects are made meaningful to Western sensibilities. This is achieved both through the institution itself and the space of the institution, as well as the contextualization surrounding the art object.³⁰

Aesthetic appreciation, defining art objects, and art institutions are intertwined and shape each other, an anthropology of art (and by extension an anthropology of aesthetics), would put

²⁷Elizabeth Burns Coleman, “Aesthetics as a Cross-Cultural Concept,” *Literature & Aesthetics* 15, no. 1 (2005), <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/LA/article/view/5069>.

²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Historical Genesis of A Pure Aesthetic,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 46 (January 1, 1987): 202. <https://doi.org/10.2307/431276>.

²⁹ Shirley Campbell, “The Captivating Agency of Art: Many Ways of Seeing,” in *Beyond Aesthetics: Art and the Technologies of Enchantment* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2001), 119.

³⁰Campbell, “The Captivating Agency of Art: Many Ways of Seeing.”

the art object at the center of focus. By doing so, it recreates the relations between art object and other elements of the network. Thus, it is not only important to consider the materiality of the art object but also the institutions and the space these objects are placed in. This will help to understand how the value and meanings are translated through the art object itself, and further, how these are channeled through the cultural institutions and wider social structures.

Object Biography

To engage further with *Pile o' Sápmi Supreme* as a social agent and understand the intentions and meanings embedded within it. I will conduct a biography of this art object, tracking and noting its material changes and, by extension, changes in its affect and meanings. This biographical concept is derived from Igor Kopytoff's article, "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process," in which he outlines methods for engaging with object biographies. Through this approach, one would ask similar questions as one would of a person, namely, "where does the thing come from and who made it [...] what are the recognized ages or periods in the thing's life?"³¹ Furthermore, this approach can also help identify moments of uniqueness within the object, as well as those that can be noted as common to different cultures and segments of society.

Kopytoff goes further by tracing the evolution from the singular to the common, using the biography as a tool to trace these changes, as well as the moments in which an object becomes a commodity or experiences a change in its value system. However, the values and driving force of exchange that accompany commoditization can also be altered through the singularization and cultural aspects of the object.³² Overall, Kopytoff underscores that an object has different periods or moments that signify different things to individuals who interact with it, as well as in the meaning of the object itself. An object biography aids in identifying those

³¹ Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of things: commodification as process," *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge UP, 1986), 66.

³² Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of things: commodification as process."

moments of exchange and transition between different realms with differing value systems. This can also indicate how the meaning of the object at its inception might differ from how it is perceived now.

Landscapes Studies: An Overview

To grasp the implications of the landscape within the context of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* and the Fosen case, I would like to step back and reflect on the origins of the conceptualization of landscapes. Drawing upon Denis Cosgrove's exploration of landscape through scientific and artistic lenses over time, he finds the initial conceptualization of landscape was influenced by the Cartesian model, which delineated a separation between subject and object, as well as nature and culture. Cosgrove was a geographer who first examined the significance of landscapes in human and cultural geography, particularly within Western Europe from the fifteenth century onwards, which expanded into how spatial imagery and depictions contribute to the formation and transmission of knowledge. More significantly, Cosgrove bridges the gap between geographical and visual knowledge, as well as cultural studies, also reflecting on how visual representation of the landscape, amongst others, greatly influence the scientific pursuits of the landscape.³³

Cosgrove further examines the role of the landscape in the transition from feudal to capitalist societies. He attempts to reconcile the disciplines dealing with landscape, namely geography and the arts (visual and literary), by tracing the term's emergence in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, not only as an idea related to the visual arts, but also as a *way of seeing*. Landscape, as a visual term, serves to conceptualize and visualize the external world, highlighting the construction and appropriation of space through ideas of perspective and form

³³ Denis E. Cosgrove, "Geography is everywhere: Culture and Symbolism in Human Landscapes", in *Horizons in Human Geography*, ed. Derek Gregory & Rex Walford, (Macmillan, 1989), 118-135.

in the visual arts of the Renaissance.³⁴ Thus, landscape becomes not only a specific *way of seeing* the world, but also a means of projecting outward, and by doing so, projecting into the future of space and time.

Cosgrove also deals with the relationship between this early conceptualization of landscape and aesthetic developments, juxtaposing it with the German term *Landschaft*, which lacks specific aesthetic or visual connotations and simply denotes an area. However, it is argued that this neutrality is difficult to accept given the influence of artistic and visual ideology geography. Especially since in the nineteenth, German geographers were also preoccupied with the notion of nationhood and the ancestral ties of the German people. In this way, both painting and geography employ visible forms to synthesize a whole and connect it with questions of nationhood. Cosgrove highlights that in the early stages of landscape painting, the organized landscape implied the elimination of evidence of tension between social groups or individual relations in that environment.³⁵

This synthesis contributes to the elimination of tensions or conflicts within portrayed landscapes, maintaining the *status quo* by presenting a harmonious natural and social order. Moreover, as landscape overlaps between artistic and geographic modes, public policy may further an idea of natural and social harmony. Ultimately, Cosgrove underscores that landscape is both a social product and a *way of seeing*, in both artistic and scientific senses. Although in his works, Cosgrove has particularly focused on the Italian, English and German context, his ideas can be extended to other areas in Europe, such as Norway.

³⁴ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 13-69.

³⁵ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*.

In landscape studies, various perspectives exist regarding the understanding and definition of landscapes and their relationship with heritage and culture. One significant aspect, particularly relevant to Fosen and this thesis, involves viewing landscapes as a system of signs. Understanding landscapes in this manner entails recognizing them as a text, a repertoire of signs opens to interpretation, contributing to the creation of meaning and value.³⁶ Thus, landscapes and by extension heritage, are in a constant state of evolution. This approach emphasizes their processual and relational nature in shaping cultural discourses, as put forth by Harrison and Smith in critical heritage studies. Furthermore, this perspective underscores the importance of considering both material and intangible aspects of heritage and landscape, such as physical features and attached values.³⁷

This background on landscape studies is important in examining Norwegian portrayals of landscapes, where certain subjects such as Sámi reindeer herders are omitted, and the Indigenous community and natural environment are depicted as harmonious and totalizing. This is not only the case in landscape paintings as such, but as presented by Cosgrove, the influence of the totalizing depiction is evident in both national narratives and ideas about the area culturally aligned with the nation. This ultimately influences public policy laws defining areas of natural environment, and thus determining who is present in this landscape and who has the cultural and legal right to these demarcated areas.

Tim Ingold further expands on these notions in his article “Temporality of Landscapes” specifically moving away from a naturalist or culturalist view of the landscape and rather suggests thinking of landscape from a more “dwelling perspective.”³⁸ Ingold further explains

³⁶ Geir Grenersen, Kjell Kemi, and Steinar Nilsen, “Landscapes as Documents: The Relationship between Traditional Sámi Terminology and the Concepts of Document and Documentation,” *Journal of Documentation* 72, no. 6 (October 10, 2016): 181–96, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-01-2016-0010>.

³⁷ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*.

³⁸ Tim Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape,” *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (October 1993), 152. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.1993.9980235>.

that perceiving the landscape is an act of remembrance, which also relates to thinking of landscapes as places where meanings are “gathered from”³⁹ rather than “attached to.”⁴⁰ The landscape is an array of related features, which can be extended to both features in the landscape and activities, something that Ingold refers to as ‘taskscape’.⁴¹ Ingold situates this in the context of the ‘North’ and the Sámi through its historical and geographical particularities.⁴² In relation to the case at hand, it is how the landscape can hold elements of the past that are also projected into the present and, ultimately, the future.

Methodology

With this theoretical basis, I will now explain how I construct this methodologically in the thesis. First, I will use case studies, namely *Pile o’ Sápmi Supreme* in the National Museum in Oslo and the Fosen case, to understand how Sámi heritage is negotiated in “Norwegian” spaces. The theoretical framework has helped identify certain elements in this negotiation from the discourses around Sámi heritage in Norway. More importantly, it allowed me to use the case studies as a primary source. This is complemented by field observations, interviews, legal texts, and close readings of secondary literature.

In the case of the art object *Pile o’ Sápmi Supreme* at the National Museum in Oslo, I conducted semi-structured interviews with both the curator, Randi Godø, and the conservator, Anja Sandtrø, of the art object. I visited the National Museum twice, reviewing the text and the audio guide of *Pile o’ Sápmi Supreme*. I also visited the rest of the exhibition, noting art objects denoted as Sámi in the exhibition space and collection. Furthermore, I examined the latest exhibition at the National Museum, *Moving the Needle*. This is important to understand more

³⁹ Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape,” 155.

⁴⁰ Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape,” 155.

⁴¹ Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape.”

⁴² Tim Ingold, “The North Is Everywhere,” in *Knowing from the Indigenous North* (Routledge, 2018).

broadly how the National Museum in Oslo engages with Sámi artist and art object beyond their permanent exhibition and *Pile o' Sápmi Supreme*.

Regarding the Fosen case and the examination of the placement of South Sámi reindeer herding cultural practices there, I reviewed secondary literature on landscape in the Norwegian and Sámi context. Additionally, I examined the laws regarding nature, nature and culture protection, and reindeer herding to gain an overview of the legal ramifications of these elements in Fosen. This formed the basis of the discourse analysis conducted on three documents related. I focused the analysis on three categories: reindeer herding, landscape, and cultural sites. I conducted field research in Fosen, visiting the site of the wind park and examining cultural sites mentioned in the documents to assess their status after the installation of the wind turbines.

Chapter 2: Beyond the Object? Tracing the Journey of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* to the National Museum

In this chapter I will first examine the historical and conceptual journey of the new National Museum in Oslo and its engagement with Sámi art. This chapter will connect to ideas of national narrative, viewing the museum as instrumental in producing, storing, and retrieving knowledge through and beyond the objects of the collection. I will do this through a historical overview of the National Museum in Oslo and through engaging with authors such as Preziosi and Bennett. I will then look at how Sámi objects are now being integrated into the permanent exhibition, and the acquisition of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* placed at the entrance of the museum affect the conceptualization and narrative of the museum.

Next, I will investigate the biography of Máret Ánne Sara's art object, *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, tracing its material changes to the acquisition made by the National Museum in 2017. Following that, I will explore the relationship between the object of art and its placement at the entrance of the National Museum. This examination will be guided by Kopytoff's frames of object biography but also Alfred Gell's notion of art and agency. Through its current placement at the entrance of the National Museum, I will trace how it relates to its initial meaning as a protest artwork, and possible connections to ongoing intrusions on Sámi territory, such as the Fosen case.

The National Museum in Oslo

Historical Background

In navigating the fabric of Norway's museum evolution from the Early Modern period to the present day, I will turn to historian Arne Bugge Amundsen's emphasis on historical context and the entanglement of museums and cultural institutions with the construction of national identity and the study of material culture in Norway. In his article "National Museums in Norway" Amundsen clearly emphasizes that discussing the development of museums requires acknowledging the Norwegian historical context.⁴³

With this newfound independence, after the dissolution of the Norwegian and Danish kingdom in 1814, relative to Norway's union with Sweden, cultural elites (many with Danish ancestry or close ties to Danish scholars and literature) sought to construct a distinct Norwegian historical and national narrative. This emerging nationalistic narrative centered on an independent Norway its origin dating back to the Viking Age and the medieval kingdom.⁴⁴

As scholars and politicians strived to find a distinct Norwegian national identity in the nineteenth century, Norway began shaping its museum policies. While there was no explicitly labeled 'national' museum, various museum initiatives existed, some of which adhered to "ideologically national"⁴⁵ practices. These museums were often established alongside university collections and served academic purposes.⁴⁶ In 1836, the parliament established the National Gallery of Art, which has since become a symbol of the city and country's development as a cultural nation. The primary objective of the gallery was to introduce

⁴³ Arne Bugge Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway," in *Building National Museums in Europe 1750-2010*, 2011, 653–66.

⁴⁴ Bugge Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway."

⁴⁵ Bugge Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway," 658.

⁴⁶ Bugge Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway."

international art to the Norwegian public. Simultaneously, it placed significant emphasis on Norwegian contemporary art from the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

Subsequently, the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design emerged from the initiative and collection of Henrik August Grosch, who gathered Norwegian popular arts and crafts to promote a certain national aesthetic. Over time, the collections expanded to encompass both national and international objects within the realm of arts and crafts. The intent was to illustrate how Norwegian artists engage with aesthetically established designs and that Norway has a place in the European culture and artistic endeavors.⁴⁸

Fast forward to the twenty-first century, in 2003, when the Norwegian government decided to merge the National Gallery, Museum of Contemporary Art, the Norwegian Museum of Architecture, and the Museum of Decorative Arts and Design into one organization. This merger resulted in the foundation of the National Museum of Art, Architecture, and Design. This consolidation laid the groundwork for the contemporary National Museum, which officially opened in June 2022.⁴⁹

In the past, the museums sought to accompany the creation of the nation through objects that could be related to the territory itself. Further, museums contributed to the imagery of nations as *imagined communities*.⁵⁰ In the beginning of the twentieth century, the role of the museum also included constructing the young Norwegian nation to the same level as other European nations, through the arts and other objects. Today, the creation of a National

⁴⁷Bugge Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway."

⁴⁸ Bugge Amundsen, "National Museums in Norway."

⁴⁹ Annette Faltin, "Nasjonalmuseet," [National Museum] in *Store norske leksikon*, April 20, 2024, <https://snl.no/Nasjonalmuseet>.

⁵⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London ; New York: Verso Books, 2006).

Museum, as such, underlines the pursuits of consolidating different objects and art objects under one historical trajectory and narrative.

Conceptual Framework of the New National Museum

I will now transition to the conceptual framework of the new National Museum, and how it is associated with trends and ideas inherited from the nineteenth century. Specifically, the conscious approach to assembling, interpreting artifacts, and constructing a narrative that attempts to reflect and mirror Norway's current societal reality.

The new building, inaugurated in June 2022, hosts different national collections, and has allowed for the National Museum in Oslo to become a historical and architectural landmark, both nationally and in the Nordic region. The new National Museum is divided thematically in two main parts. The first exhibits objects from ancient times up to the 1970s, while the second focuses on Visual Arts from 1500 to now, with two rooms focusing on architecture. The light hall on the third floor focuses on temporary and international exhibitions, with an initial exhibition on Norwegian contemporary art.⁵¹

The modern and open turn seems to also be part of the museum's goal and strategy to “to make art accessible to everyone - and easily.”⁵² As emphasized through the strategy plan of the museum, the values are focused on being “open, fearless, give acknowledgment,”⁵³ and to reflect the current society. This strategy is also reflected in the structure of the exhibition rooms which focus on large open spaces in which the different objects of art are to be in dialogue with each other.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Yngve Sikko, “Nasjonalmuseet Er Stort Og Tilfredsstillende,” [The National Museum is large and it satisfies] accessed May 23, 2024, <https://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/i/y4oyQA/nasjonalmuseet-er-stort-og-tilfredsstillende>.

⁵² ‘About the National Museum’. Nasjonalmuseet. October 14, 2023, <https://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/en/about-the-national-museum/>

⁵³ Nasjonalmuseet. ‘Nasjonalmuseets strategi 2020-2025’. [National Museum Strategy 2020-2025] Accessed 30 December 2022. <https://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/om-nasjonalmuseet/styret-organisasjon-og-ansatte/nasjonalmuseets-strategi-2020-2025/>.

⁵⁴ Sikko, “Nasjonalmuseet Er Stort Og Tilfredsstillende.” [The National Museum is large and it satisfies]

This consolidation seems in line with the ideas expressed and sought throughout the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century. The chronological division of the museum, and the open spaces of the exhibition rooms, focus on recreating a sense of a historical narrative through the different artworks and objects. Their relationships both fall under a chronological development, but also a theme that underlines the narrative created through the socio-political and research focus of the museum.

Museums assemble and compose artifacts so as to fabricate and construct what it is as reliquaries they are at pains to witness or prove: the actual existence of the identity, mentality, spirit, soul, or style of a nation or people.⁵⁵

As underlined by Preziosi above the museum plays a crucial role in constructing a national identity or spirit. This is achieved specifically through objects and artworks that collectively, as well as individually, serve as a form of evidence for a particular conception of a nation. The objects exhibited at the National Museum in Oslo are not all “Norwegian” as categorization was more ambiguous before 1814. The past and present conception of a Norwegian identity has been shaped by various national and minority groups, including the Swedish, Danish, and Sámi.⁵⁶ Despite the diversity in the collection, with objects originating from different geographical locations, the name of the new museum, National Museum, implies that the objects and artworks are integral to this conceptualization of a national identity.

The conceptualization of both a national identity and narrative extends to the connection between different objects exhibited in the museum. The connection is forged through both the chronological elements and the distinct themes associated with each historical period. This interplay imparts a sense that the objects, despite their diverse origins, are to some degree “Norwegian” or linked to the Norwegian nation. This connection is particularly

⁵⁵ Preziosi, “Narrativity and the Museological Myths of Nationality,” 45.

⁵⁶ Monica Grini, “Så fjernt det nære: Nasjonalmuseet og samisk kunst,” [So Distant, the Close: National Museum and Sámi Art] *Kunst og Kultur* 102, no. 3 (October 14, 2019): 176–90. <https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-3029-2019-03-04>.

emphasized within the conceptual framework of the museum as a ‘national’ museum, contributing to the narrative that reflects the conception of a Norwegian identity and community.

Sámi art at the National Museum

As I have examined the historical and conceptual foundations of both the old and the new National Museum, and the way in which it relates to the construction of national identity. I will now navigate the challenges of the categorization and representation of Sámi art in National Museum in Oslo, echoing the insights of scholar Monica Grini. The section looks at the complexities of categorizing Sámi art within the broader Norwegian context. I will look at inclusion of Sámi art in shaping dialogues, emphasizing its role in expressing contemporary societal changes.

The new National Museum not only explores new ways of showcasing objects of art but also encompasses and highlights Sámi art. This shift was officially announced as part of the effort to strengthen the Sámi collection in 2018.⁵⁷ This commitment was symbolized through the acquisition of *Pile o’ Sápmi Supreme* by Máret Anne Sara. Grini further describes that, to categorize something as Sámi, the artist must self-identify as Sámi or be “identified” as such.⁵⁸

Grini explains that in trying to get an overview of Sámi art in the National Museum's collection, it became apparent that the museum lacked a clear overview of the Sámi art already in its possession.⁵⁹ The museum categorized art by nationality, and ‘Sámi’ was not recognized as a separate category but rather considered a minority within the larger nations of Norway,

⁵⁷ Grini, “Så fjernt det nære: Nasjonalmuseet og samisk kunst.” [So Distant, the Close: National Museum and Sámi Art]

⁵⁸ Monica Grini, “Sámi (Re)Presentation in a Differentiating Museumscape: Revisiting the Art-Culture System,” *Nordisk Museologi* 27, no. 3 (January 28, 2020): 169–85.

⁵⁹ Grini, “Så fjernt det nære: Nasjonalmuseet og samisk kunst.” [So Distant, the Close: National Museum and Sámi Art]

Sweden, Finland, and Russia.⁶⁰ This goes in line with how Preziosi establishes the relationship between both the museum, museum objects and the construction of a national identity.

The fabrication of any identity or social reality is a function of its imagined relationships to alternative identities, and so may rightly be understood as a function or artifact of its imagined othernesses. Creating an identity simultaneously erases others, and consequently each coexists as a kind of artifact or effect of its other.⁶¹

Even with the awareness of the National Museum's lack of categorization of Sámi art in the past, Preziosi highlights that in any given context of constructing an identity there is an elimination or subversion of another. After the dissolution of the Danish-Norwegian Kingdom, and the Norwegian state started to perceive itself as a unified community, the elimination of Sámi identity was an inevitable outcome, both due to the Sámi's diverse languages, traditions, and norms, and that it did not fit within the view of a Norwegian national identity in the beginning of the twentieth century. This would go in-line with Bennett's observation of the consolidating nature of museums, and how it reinforces truths and certain knowledges about, in this case, Norwegian nationhood.⁶²

The inclusion of Sámi objects of art in the collection, however does not guarantee that the translation of Sámi aesthetics or the significance of certain symbols, for example, will be apparent in the overall narrative of the museum.⁶³ Grini suggests that the works of Hans Ragnar Mathisen (see fig.2), Synnøve Persen⁶⁴ (see fig.3), and Sara can be viewed as powerful expressions of contemporary global or international changes while underlining specific

⁶⁰ Randi Godø (Curator of Contemporary Art at the National Museum in Oslo), interview, Solveig Vanniez, Oslo, Norway, October 26th 2023.

⁶¹ Preziosi, "Narrativity and the Museological Myths of Nationality," 42.

⁶² Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge*.

⁶³ Monica Grini, "Sámi (Re)Presentation in a Differentiating Museumscape: Revisiting the Art-Culture System," *Nordisk Museologi* 27, no. 3 (January 28, 2020): 169–85, <https://doi.org/10.5617/nm.7740>.

⁶⁴ Both and Synnøve Persen are part of a Sámi artist group that was also exhibited at Documenta 14, for example. Synnøve Persen is the artist behind *Blueprint for a Sámi Flag* which became a symbol of protest, used during the Alta conflict in the late 1970s. Hans Ragnar Mathisen is a multi-artist known for works such as *Map over Sápmi*, reinterpreting the colonial maps through writing the names in Sámi language. (Grini 2019)

moments of, *contact zones*, embeddedness and frictions in the relationship between ‘Sámi’ and ‘Norwegian’.⁶⁵



Figure 2. Draft for Sàbmi by Hans Ragnar Mathisen (1975)⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Grini, “Samisk kunst og norsk kunsthistorie. Delvise forbindelser.” [Sámi Art and Norwegian Art History. Partial Connections]

⁶⁶ Hans Ragnar Mathisen, *Draft for Sàbmi*, 1975, Ink and pencil on transparent paper, 742 x 880 mm, National Museum in Oslo, <https://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/samlingen/objekt/NMK.2018.0077>. (photo: Børre Høstland)



Figure 3. *Draft for Sámi Flag* by Synnøve Persen (1972)⁶⁷

These differences become even more pronounced as the new exhibition space and strategy involve the interaction between ‘Sámi’ and ‘Norwegian’ objects of art. The art objects in dialogue with each other contribute to a specific meaning within the chronological and thematic aspects of the exhibition. Some art objects, like Persen’s, emphasize moments of friction and a desire to misalign with values and realities that other “Norwegian” objects of art in the same room might portray.⁶⁸ Just as *Pile o’ Sápmi Supreme* was part of bringing to light the ongoing threats to the continuity of the Sámi way of life with the imposition of the Norwegian state, Máret Anne Sara’s object of art is now also owned by the Norwegian state. This leads to the question of the place and role of objects art in a state institution, a state that still poses a threat to the continuation of the Sámi way of life and culture.

⁶⁷ Synnøve Persen, *Draft for Sámi Flag*, Textile 735 x 1060 mm, National Museum in Oslo, <https://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/samlingen/objekt/NMK.2017.0205>. (photo: Marvin Pope)

⁶⁸ Grini, “Samisk kunst og norsk kunsthistorie. Delvise forbindelser.” [Sámi Art and Norwegian Art History. Partial Connections]

Pile o'Sápmi Supreme: an object biography

In order to understand the place of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* at the National Museum in Oslo, I will first look at its initial display in front of the Inner Finnmark⁶⁹ District Court as a protest artwork and the artist's "personal cry"⁷⁰ against the forced slaughtering the reindeers of the artist's brother. As we transition to the next phase, Documenta 14 in Kassel, Germany, I will investigate the development of *Pile o'Sápmi* in response to legal battles, taking on new forms and engaging with diverse contexts. I will trace the development from its original manifestation as a pile of raw reindeer heads to its exhibition at Documenta 14. Subsequently, I will look at the acquisition of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* by the National Museum in Oslo, tracing the journey from its provocative beginnings to its current status as a museum artifact with nuanced implications for both art and current activist's endeavors, such as with the Fosen case.

Through this journey, I engage with Kopytoff's practice of tracing moments of change and exchange of an object for example through biography. I divided the biography of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* into three distinct moments in which I look at the material, contextual and personal changes of the object, ultimately also marking the changes in the meaning and value of the art object. For the biographical method to objects, I will also engage with Gell's notion of art objects and art objects as social agents. Ultimately *Pile o'Sápmi* has changed in agency through both the material and geographical changes, and thus also the kind of social relations that are mediated through the object. The biography of the *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* will end at its current exhibition at the National Museum in Oslo, where I will look more closely at how this new context and placement of the art object not only influences its agency but its aesthetic features.

⁶⁹ The northernmost region is located in Norway, also part of Sápmi territory.

⁷⁰ *Creative Time Summit Toronto / Love and Living - Máret Anne Sara*, 2017.

Pile o'Sápmi in Finnmark



Figure 4. *Pile o'Sápmi* in front of the Inner District Court in 2016⁷¹

The first time *Pile o'Sápmi* (see fig. 4) was displayed for the first time in front of the Inner Finnmark District Court in 2016 during the artist's, Máret Ánne Sara, brother court case against the forced slaughtering of part of his reindeer herd, a consequence of the Norwegian Reindeer Herding Act of 2007.⁷² The installation was placed in front of the courthouse, a stack of two-hundred unprocessed reindeer heads. These heads were arranged in a conical shape, featuring a small Norwegian flag at the top of it. The heads were in a frozen state but still oozing blood, and they retained their eyes, lips, brains, and fur. As light snow showers fell and covered the

⁷¹ *Pile o'Sápmi* (2016) in Tana. *Two hundred raw reindeer heads, one Norwegian flag* (photo: Iris Egilsdatter). Máret Ánne Sara/BONO 2019.

⁷² Following the enactment of the Reindeer Herding Act in 2007, the government has implemented substantial culling quotas for Sámi reindeer herders, attributing them to environmental harm resulting from overgrazing. As stipulated by the act, each herder is mandated to cull a significant portion of their herd to follow the upper limit of the numbers of reindeers per *siida* (a group of reindeer herders belonging to a specific district) specifically affecting younger herders by diminishing already modest-sized herds to economically unsustainable levels. This also jeopardizes their direct right and use of land, as well as their cultural right to practice reindeer herding, which, in Norway, can only be undertaken by Sámi individuals who are members of *siida*.

pile with a see-through, white layer, the blood created marks on the snow.⁷³ When necessary, Sara cleared the snow, tending to the lifeless heads and ensuring their visibility to the passersby during the court proceedings.⁷⁴

At the Creative Time Summit⁷⁵ in Toronto, Máret Ánne Sara explains how *Pile o'Sápmi* started first and foremost as “a personal cry for attention and help.”⁷⁶ It is a call for attention to the structural mechanisms that continue to infringe upon the cultural and human rights of Sámi communities. The piece itself also evokes another representation of the systems that have sought control over Indigenous land.

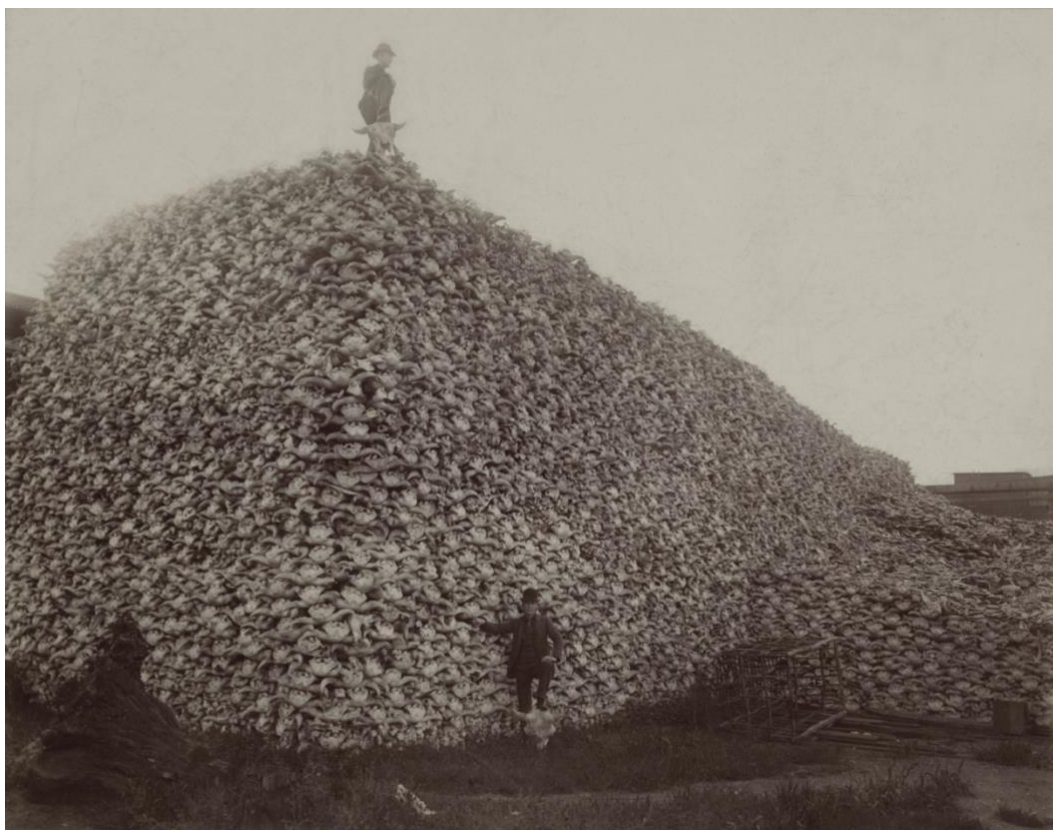


Figure 5. Photograph of pile of buffalo bones from mid 1870 ⁷⁷

⁷³ Hansen, Hanna Horsberg Hansen, “Pile o’Sápmi and the connections between art and politics,” *Research in Arts and Education*,” 2019, no. 1 (February 1, 2019): 81–96, <https://doi.org/10.54916/rae.119275>.

⁷⁴ Hansen, “Pile o’Sápmi and the connections between art and politics.”

⁷⁵ The Creative Summit is an annual event bringing together artists, activists and others to reflect on the most pressing issues. The 2017 edition happened in Toronto around the theme of “Homelands and Revolution”.

⁷⁶ *Creative Time Summit Toronto | Love and Living - Máret Ánne Sara*, 2017.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kLpF9Ch4T3o>.

⁷⁷ File:Bison Skull Pile Edit.Jpg, May 19, 2023.

https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bison_skull_pile_edit.jpg&oldid=1155716995.

Its shape and goring appearance which also points towards another image of that is evoked in the title - “pile o”. *Pile o’bone* is a photograph (see fig. 5) from the 1870’s showing new citizens of Canada next to and on top of a pile of buffalo skulls.⁷⁸ The photograph points towards how the extermination of the buffalo population enabled settlers to exert control over Indigenous communities by controlling their access to essential food resources and livelihood.⁷⁹ It is both a massacre of an animal population but also of an Indigenous population, that not only had to surrender to the settler’s way of life but were also left to starve. The photograph inadvertently showcases the power relationship between the settlers and the Indigenous populations, the use of Indigenous livelihood for the settlers’ own benefit and to exercise control over the Indigenous community.⁸⁰

Pile o’Sápmi, positioned in front of the District Court in Finnmark, primarily served as protest art against the Norwegian government’s decision to mandate the slaughter of sections of the Jovsset Ánte Sara’s herd through the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 2007. This forced slaughtering is not only seen as an assault on the traditional way of life for many Sámi reindeer herders but also as an infringement on their cultural rights inherited and exercised through their herds and by extension their access to the land.⁸¹

The Reindeer Husbandry Act is seen as a threat on both Sámi culture and history, with the targeted disruption of reindeer herding practices holding a historical and cultural importance. In the nineteenth century, the nomadic lifestyle of Sámi reindeer herders served as a site of preservation against intense forms Norwegianization. Consequently, reindeer herding

⁷⁸ Hansen, “Pile o’Sápmi and the connections between art and politics.”

⁷⁹ David D. Smits, “The Frontier Army and the Destruction of the Buffalo: 1865-1883,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1994): 313-338. <https://doi.org/10.2307/971110>.

⁸⁰ Hansen, “Pile o’Sápmi and the connections between art and politics.”

⁸¹ Anna Sejbæk Torp Pedersen, “Contesting Histories – You Cannot Beat a Troll with Its Own Tricks,” December 15, 2019, <https://tijdschriftkunstlicht.nl/40-contesting-histories-you-cannot-beat-a-troll-with-its-own-tricks-anna-sejbaek-torp-pedersen/>. 56.

is not only a livelihood but also a symbol of resistance.⁸² The reindeers are deemed as a threat to the natural environment due to over-grazing.⁸³ The ecological sphere is emphasized, which aligns with the historical notions of landscape in Norway that ideally wants to preserve biodiversity, while also creating an aesthetically pleasing environment.⁸⁴ The aesthetic value is imbued with national tropes, that are also repeated and highlighted at the National Museum in Oslo through objects of arts depicting this canonized image of Norwegian land.⁸⁵ Máret Anne Sara's art object also challenges this perception through the artist's own intentions and the context it was created out of.

The two hundred raw reindeer heads still bleeding on the white snow challenge this notion of a protected and aesthetically pleasing landscape. Furthermore, the Norwegian flag atop a pile of reindeer heads clearly manifests an abuse of power, and the juxtaposition with the image from Canada draws a parallel to how Indigenous peoples worldwide have been historically treated as well as the continuation of these relationships of power.⁸⁶ Furthermore, the piece shows how the *animal itself*, as part of the land of the Indigenous communities, represents access to the land, and the knowledge it holds. The mass murder of the buffalos, or the forced slaughtering of the reindeers in Sápmi, threatens the preservation and continuation of a system of knowledge and cultural practices.⁸⁷

In this context, *Pile o' Sápmi* as an object of art is a connecting element to the artist's intention to draw attention to her brother's case, and the court case happening simultaneously as the art object is being displayed. Although attended to by Máret Anne Sara, it is *Pile o' Sápmi*

⁸² Torp Pedersen, "Contesting Histories – You Cannot Beat a Troll With Its Own Tricks." 57.

⁸³ Tor A. Benjaminsen et al., "Misreading the Arctic Landscape: A Political Ecology of Reindeer, Carrying Capacities, and Overstocking in Finnmark, Norway," *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography* 69, no. 4 (August 8, 2015): 219–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2015.1031274>.

⁸⁴ Benjaminsen et al., "Misreading the Arctic Landscape."

⁸⁵ Edla Netland. "Landskap i norsk samtidskunst - en semiotisk studie av tre kunstverk," [Landscape in Norwegian Contemporary Art – a semiotic study of three artworks] 2018.

⁸⁶ Hansen, "Pile o' Sápmi and the connections between art and politics."

⁸⁷ Benjaminsen et al., "Misreading the Arctic Landscape."

that brings attention to the case, and action around it. Furthermore, the goring appearance of the object of art seems to speak to alternative aesthetic sensibilities. I would argue that in its display and form *Pile o'Sápmi* is not adapted to western aesthetic forms, rather speaks to a set of symbols and practices particular to both Sámi and Indigenous art.

Pile o'Sápmi at Documenta 14



Figure 6. *Pile o'Sápmi* in Tromsø ⁸⁸

Jovsset Ánte Sara won the case in the district court, however the decision was appealed by the Norwegian government. *Pile o'Sápmi* took a new dimension as the raw reindeer heads were left to dry and decompose whilst they were waiting for the next trial.⁸⁹ Some of the dried skulls were then placed in front of the Regional Court in Tromsø (see fig. 6). This formation of skulls

⁸⁸ *Pile o' Sápmi* (2017) in Tromsø. 35 reindeer skulls in plexiglass (photo: Matti Aikio).

Máret Ánne Sara/BONO 2019

⁸⁹ *Creative Time Summit Toronto / Love and Living - Máret Ánne Sara*, 2017.

became the basis for the later development of *Pile o' Sápmi* that was exhibited at Documenta 14 in Kassel, Germany.

Documenta is an exhibition of contemporary art that takes place every five years. It is considered one of the most important exhibitions of contemporary art globally. Documenta showcases a diverse range of artistic expressions and serves as a platform for artists from around the world. The exhibition often explores social, political, and cultural issues.⁹⁰ More importantly, as part of a contemporary art exhibition *Pile o' Sápmi* went from being a solely a protest art piece to an art installation with a protest message.

In Documenta 14, the art object changed from its organic form of a pile of two hundred raw reindeer skulls to four hundred gathered skulls from the Guovdageaidnu slaughterhouse.⁹¹ The heads were skinned, and all the soft parts were removed, the skulls were boiled to remove any remaining soft tissue. The process revealed the bullet holes in the reindeer skulls.⁹² The bullet holes show how the reindeer were killed with a pistol shot in the forehead. This is a practice imposed by the Norwegian government as the animals are deemed to undergo a more ethical and painless death, rather than the traditional way of killing the reindeer⁹³ by the Sámi which would allow them to use all of the parts of the reindeer.

⁹⁰ Frans Josef Petersson, "We Need to Reclaim the Narrative of Documenta 14 as a Radical Exhibition," *Kunstkríttikk*, October 11, 2017, <https://kunstkríttikk.com/we-need-to-reclaim-the-narrative-of-documenta-14-as-a-radical-exhibition>.

⁹¹ *The Parliament of Bodies: Pile o' Sápmi* with Máret Anne Sara and Candice Hopkins, <http://www.documenta14.de/en/calendar/24863/pile-o->

⁹² Andreas Breivik, "Forced into Politics," *Kunstkríttikk* (blog), December 13, 2017, <https://kunstkríttikk.com/forced-into-politics>.

⁹³ One way of killing the reindeer according to Sámi tradition is by piercing the reindeer's heart to allow it to bleed out, and thus also be able to use all the parts of the reindeer (Sara, Syse, and Mathiesen 2022).

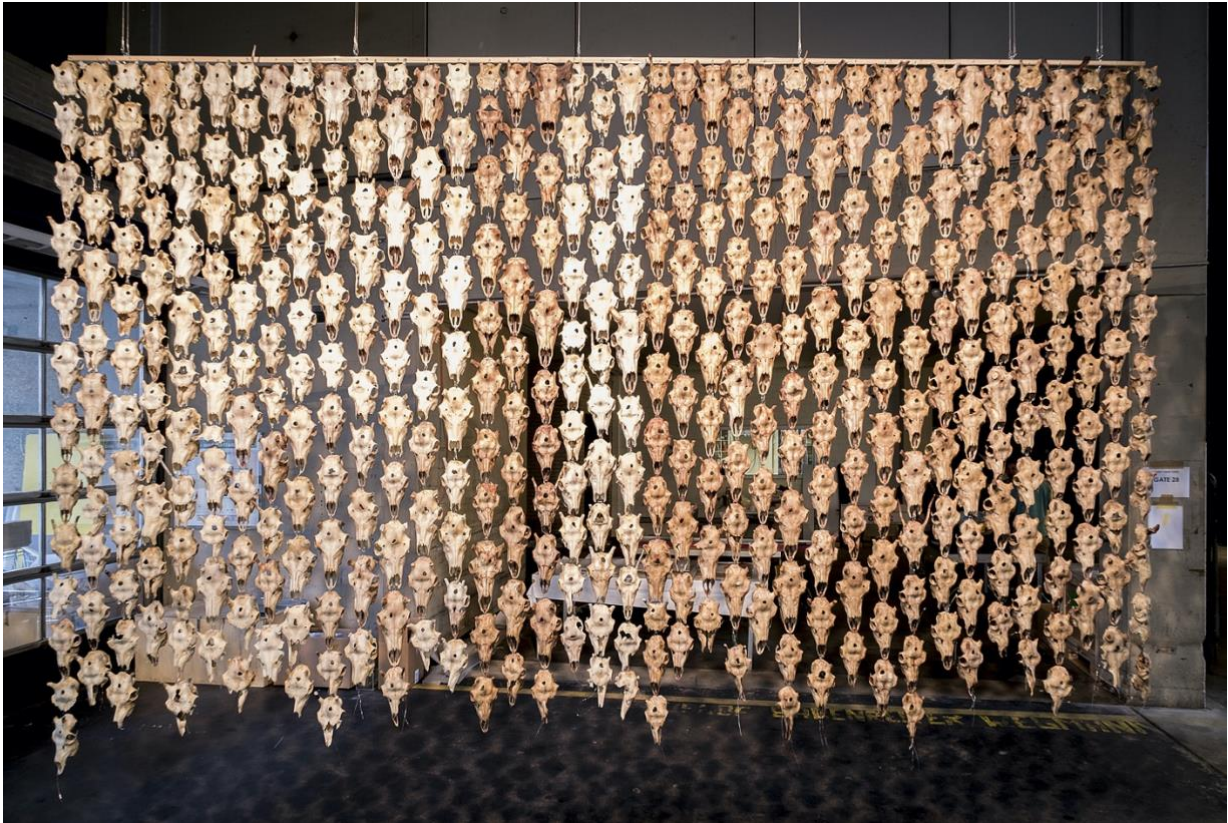


Figure 7. *Pile o'Sápmi* at the Neue Neue Galerie in Kassel ⁹⁴

In Kassel, the piece was hung up through holes in the back of the skulls and connected them by using a fine metal wire running from the nose to the rear (see fig. 7). Eleven heads formed each vertical row, creating a curtain-like arrangement measuring three meters in height and four meters in width.⁹⁵ The skulls varied slightly in color, the contrast in shades between rows produced vertical stripes reminiscent of those on the Sámi flag.⁹⁶ The reminiscence of the Sámi flag is a reference to Synnøve Persen's *Blueprint for a Sámi flag*. Persen's flag is made up of three colors, red, a thinner strip of yellow and blue. As one can see, the reindeer skulls are arranged with two different tints, the lighter ones forming a thinner strip between the two others.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Máret Ánne Sara, *Pile o'Sápmi*, 2017, various materials, installation view, Neue Neue Galeri (Neue Hauptpost), Kassel, documenta 14, (photo: Mathias Völzke).

⁹⁵ Hansen, "Pile o'Sápmi and the connections between art and politics."

⁹⁶ Godø, interview.

⁹⁷ Breivik, "Forced into Politics."

Pile o'Sápmi at Documenta 14 was also surrounded by smaller lightboxes one with an image of *Pile o'Sápmi* in front of the District Court and another photograph of *Pile o'bones*, and an object of art called *Pile o'Sápmi – Power Necklace*⁹⁸. The curtain of reindeer skulls is contextualized through the smaller pieces around it. The object of art is referred to its own past, its first apparition and to other Indigenous struggles.⁹⁹ The exhibition is less startling when compared to the decaying pile in front of the District Court. The presentation highlights how the assimilation policy persists to the present, as Norwegianization continues through the Reindeer Husbandry Act. By safeguarding reindeer herding with intricate laws and rendering it economically unappealing, the tradition becomes challenging to sustain and transmit to succeeding generations.

Documenta 14 was a huge opportunity to showcase *Pile o'Sápmi* to the international community and public. Some art critics saw this edition of Documenta and the use of Indigenous objects of art to be a sort of superficial understanding of the Indigenous perspective and artistic expression.¹⁰⁰ Documenta 14 is an exhibition space and institution that perpetuates ideas of fine art that are tied to a Western institution. This in turn also puts forth the “equivocation between aesthetics and fine art.”¹⁰¹ The art objects chosen for the 2017 edition of Documenta were attempting showcase an alternative to western paradigms and had an “ambition to show artists from different backgrounds on their own terms.”¹⁰² However, as Hansen discusses *Pile o'Sápmi* in this case becomes “a medium fulfilling the curator’s aims and political agenda at Documenta.”¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Two hundred miniature reindeer skulls cast of porcelain from reindeer bone ash, they are held together by silk thread and white reindeer leather. The necklace refers again to the photograph and the context of the Cree community in which the buffalo bones were used to make porcelain. It also echoes the necklace that is worn by the mayors in Norway. (Hansen, 2019)

⁹⁹ Breivik, “Forced into Politics.”

¹⁰⁰ Petersson, “We Need to Reclaim the Narrative of Documenta 14 as a Radical Exhibition.”

¹⁰¹ Burns Coleman, “Aesthetics as a Cross-Cultural Concept,” 49.

¹⁰² Petersson, “We Need to Reclaim the Narrative of Documenta 14 as a Radical Exhibition.”

¹⁰³ Hanna Horsber Hansen, “Pile o'Sápmi and the connections between art and politics,” 92.

The relationship involving the object of art, the artist, and the audience is not solely confined to these elements; instead, *Pile o'Sápmi*, its agency - the way it can provoke certain actions or affects - is also channeled through the physical space, interaction with other objects, and the curator's agenda. The viewer not only accesses the artist's intents through extensive contextualization of the art object but also engages with other actors. Furthermore, with the specific context of Documenta 14, *Pile o'Sápmi* is channeled through a space imbued with a particular status and speaks to a more western set of aesthetic sensibilities. The contextualization and the still imposing display of the art object provides further possibilities for relations, and social relations mediated through the material form of *Pile o'Sápmi*.

Pile o'Sápmi Supreme to the National Museum

In the span of a few months, *Pile o'Sápmi* has been in various locations both within and outside of Norway. It has interacted with a variety of different landscapes and contexts, some following the artist's initial intentions of it being protest art and being exhibited in unconventional places, such as in front of the district court in the snow or, as we will discover, in front of the Norwegian parliament in Oslo. In Documenta 14, *Pile o'Sápmi* occupied a more curated and intentional spaces, serving as both part of the curator's intentions and as a representation of the Sámi struggle. Simultaneously, as *Pile o'Sápmi* gained national and international attention, the National Museum in Oslo became more aware of its lack of Sámi art. Thus, in line with the extension of the Sámi collection and acquired renown through Documenta 14, the National Museum bought *Pile o'Sápmi* from Máret Anne Sara in 2017.¹⁰⁴

However, before being acquired by the National Museum and after the Documenta 14 exhibition in Kassel, Máret Anne Sara's piece underwent another transformation. The artist's brother won the court case in the Inner District Court; nevertheless, the case was appealed by the Norwegian government to the Supreme Court. Sara's object of art was then placed in front

¹⁰⁴ Godø, interview.

of the parliament in Oslo, the same place where protests during the Alta-conflict and more recent protest for the Fosen case took place. The Alta Conflict¹⁰⁵ happened in the 1980's, when the Norwegian state sought to build a hydroelectric dam in 1973 on the Alta-river, in the heart of Sápmi, between Kautokeino and Alta, that would submerge large portions of Sámi land and the Sámi town of Máze. The project was immediately met with large protests, both at the construction site in Alta and in front of the Norwegian parliament.

Pile o'Sápmi became *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* to underline how her brother's case, and the Norwegian government's appeal, reached the Supreme Court, where her brother eventually lost the case.¹⁰⁶

The transition of *Pile o'Sápmi* can also be understood as a loss and transition from the dead animal—still bleeding in Tana—to the skinned, dried skulls preserved in the museum collection, stripped of its aura and separated from its original purpose, space and time. Hopefully, the work can prove Groys and Benjamin wrong. As part of a permanent exhibition, the size and potential 'aura' of the curtain of skulls may be perceived as a strong representation of the Norwegian colonial history as well as the Sámi resistance.¹⁰⁷

Hansen emphasizes not only the material transition but also the influence of various key actors on the interpretation and portrayal of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, including curators, visitors, activists, and the exhibition spaces themselves. The inherent limitations of museum spaces, typically constrained in both size and design, significantly impact how the art object is understood. Randi Godø, stressed that one of the factors for the purchase of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* was the profound and almost shocking effect the art object had on viewers, an experience she herself encountered in Kassel. This impact was partly attributed to the strategic placement of the piece at Documenta 14 where Randi Godø first saw the work in person - a

¹⁰⁵ The dam was eventually built; however, the protests would set the tone for the Sámi political agenda in the Norwegian society for the following years. More significantly, it led to the establishment of the Sami Parliament, and an apology from King Harald of Norway for the Norwegianization and assimilation policies towards the Sámi.

¹⁰⁶ Godø, interview.

¹⁰⁷ Hansen, "Pile o'Sápmi and the connections between art and politics," 93.

curtain of reindeer skulls in the middle of the exhibition room - creating a scenario where one could almost inadvertently collide with *Pile o'Sápmi*.¹⁰⁸

The affect of the art object on the viewer might change through being placed in the museum, the gore, and the raw reindeer heads of its first apparition may appear almost sterile and sanitized for the visitors against the wall in the entrance of the National Museum. This transition from the visceral and emotive display of *Pile o'Sápmi* in its original form to its preservation as skinned, dried skulls within the museum collection. It not only signifies a loss and detachment from its original “aura”¹⁰⁹ but also raises the questions of how it has changed from its original purpose to its current display at the National Museum in Oslo.

Pile o'Sápmi Supreme at the National Museum in Oslo



Figure 8. *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* in the foyer of the National Museum in Oslo¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Godø, interview.

¹⁰⁹ Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” 1969.

¹¹⁰ Máret Anne Sara, *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, 2017, National Museum in Oslo. photo: [Matti Aikio]

Pile o'Sápmi Supreme underwent various changes, with its acquisition by the National Museum in Oslo, the piece is now on permanent display for the foreseeable future. Godø described that the current placement of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* is planned for as long as possible.¹¹¹ The contract stipulates that it will be up for the next 10 years, it can be taken down and loaned to other institutions, but it cannot be put in storage.¹¹² Part of the contract requires that the art object cannot be stored away, and the moment it would be, the art object would return to a Sámi institution. The contract is also said to have been inspired and structured through a dialogue between Máret Ánne Sara and Māori communities, and how they structure contracts or official agreements with museums.¹¹³

Other parts of the terms of the contract are related to conservation and preservation of the object of art, especially since it is made up of organic material. The contract stipulates that any replacement or intervention should be done by the artist herself or a practitioner of *duodji*.¹¹⁴ *Duodji*¹¹⁵ can be seen as an attitude or a material approach that is related to philosophy, practice, and a field of knowledge. It involves working in a manner that minimally interferes with the existing environment and ecosystem.¹¹⁶ For instance, this is achieved through expertise in reuse and the use of natural or animal materials. This approach is also evident in the object of art itself, which is made up of reindeer skulls that would have otherwise not been used. Liisa Rávna Finbog Sámi scholar and *duojár* further explains that *duodji* functions as part of Sámi epistemology of aesthetics and systems of relations that create bonds of kinship.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Godø, interview.

¹¹² Godø, interview.

¹¹³ Godø, interview.

¹¹⁴ Anja Sandtrø (Conservator of Contemporary Art), interview, Solveig Vanniez, online, February 15th 2024.

¹¹⁵ *Duodji* is the name for traditional Sámi craft in Sámi language. *Duodji* objects hold both utilitarian and aesthetic value. *Duojár* refers to the person that practices and makes *duodji*.

¹¹⁶ Grini. "Sámi (Re)Presentation in a Differentiating Museumscape: Revisiting the Art-Culture System."

¹¹⁷ Mathias Danbolt, "It Speaks to You: Making Kin of People, Duodji and Stories in Sámi Museums" (University of Copenhagen, April 9, 2021), <https://artsandculturalstudies.ku.dk/calendar/2021/it-speaks-to-you/>.

This stipulation speaks to the museum's aim to reconcile and preserve the connection between the practice and the objects.¹¹⁸ This can then be extended to the Sámi's systems of knowledge related to the arts as such. Here Gell, understandings of the social interaction between artists, art object, audience, and the exchange of intentions and permutations of meaning are especially important.

Although *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* (see fig. 8) is now in the foyer of the museum and not in an exhibition space, presented explicitly as a museum object, there is still a process through which the art object enters the realm and conceptualization of the museum. Through the National Museum's specific goals of reflecting on current society, one could speak about the integration and acknowledgment of Sámi art and culture into the majority society. Simultaneously, it becomes part of a broader historical and, to some extent, national narrative. As Hansen remarks that *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* "will be included in a Norwegian canon of art, admired for its aesthetic qualities and provenance."¹¹⁹

Pile o'Sápmi Supreme also seems to occupy a more ambivalent position. The art object was positioned at the entrance of the museum; it neither interacts with other artworks nor is placed within a specific chronological or thematic category. Instead, it stands in-between, in a sort of *liminal space*¹²⁰, in which visitors cannot avoid it, yet they also have a choice regarding the degree to which they interact with it. It is still a museum object, a relic as Preziosi would say, but not quite in the same terms as those in the galleries above.

¹¹⁸ Sandtrø, interview.

¹¹⁹ Hansen, "Pile o'Sápmi and the connections between art and politics," 93.

¹²⁰ Liminality was first coined by ethnographer Arnold Von Gennep. Further developed by Victor Turner liminality or liminal space would refer to a space of transition between events, or two states of being. It can be a time or space that also incites transformation, and changes of norms.

Furthermore, as it stands at the entrance the contextualization of the piece only happens through guided tours, previous knowledge, reading the brief explanation of the piece¹²¹ or listening to the audio guide. In the audio guide, the visitors can hear a retelling of the case and explanation of the art object by Máret Anne Sara. In the audio guide the artist herself emphasizes how the forced slaughtering of the reindeers leads to bankruptcy, and thus also forces her brother and family “away from our culture, from our inherited rights and away from our traditional land areas.”¹²² The audio guide and the text give the visitors the opportunity not only to get the context behind the name and the art object itself. It allows them to interact with artist herself through the audio and get a wider understanding of the implications of the art object. It is still a free choice by the visitors whether they will listen to the audio guide or not, however it gives the viewer the opportunity to pause in front of the art object before entering the main exhibition space of the museum.

The decision to exhibit the artwork in the foyer rather than within the museum itself introduces an element of ambiguity. However, Godø emphasized that the decision was driven by a deliberate intention to maintain part of the art object’s aura by not placing it in the main gallery and ensure continuous accessibility to the Sámi community (as anyone can enter without paying until this point).¹²³

In this way, there is a dual essence to Máret Anne Sara’s object of art at the National Museum in Oslo. On the one hand it portrays the assimilation of Sámi narratives, as explored with Hansen’s claims on how the art object becomes integrated into the Norwegian art canon,

¹²¹ The text next to *Pile o’Sápmi Supreme* goes as follows: “*Pile o’Sápmi Supreme* alludes to ‘Pile o’Bone’, an event that symbolizes the oppression of indigenous people in North America. In order to drive out native americans, European settlers slaughtered their buffalo herds. The title invites us to view Sami history as part of a global oppression of indigenous peoples. Reindeer skulls with bullet hole in the forehead indicate the seriousness of the situation. to *Pile o’Sápmi Supreme* is a protest against Norwegian policies that impact reindeer herding and land rights in Sápmi. It shows the fatal consequences of neo-colonisation for Sámi culture.” (Exhibition text, National Museum in Oslo)

¹²² *Pile o’Sápmi Supreme*, audio guide.

¹²³ Godø, interview.

while bearing witness to historical resistance of Sámi and Indigenous communities. Although it symbolizes and embodies these elements together, it remains contentious whether the agency and the affect it had when placed in front of the Inner District Court in 2016 remain the same. In some ways, it might not, the object of art has both changed in material, placement and to some extent purpose. It seems that at this stage, *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* embodies several intentions from different people and spaces. Has it retained its agency, or has it become indexical of other people's intentions and uses?

Beyond the object? Negotiation or assimilation at the National Museum

Until now, I have examined the space of the National Museum and its historical implications, the object biography of *Pile o'Sápmi*, and the interaction of the two through the exhibition of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* at the National Museum in Oslo. The question, however, remains as to whether the agency of the object in dialogue with the past, present, and future Sámi struggles for the protection of land, a way of life and heritage is still influential in “Norwegian” spaces. It also relates to the initial role of *Pile o'Sápmi* as a protest art piece in connection with the court case of Máret Anne Sara's brother.

In the context of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* at the National Museum in Oslo, the lingering inquiry pertains to whether the art object's agency, functioning as an index of the artist's agency, is translated in its current exhibition. Additionally, it raises the question of whether, beyond solely embodying the artist's intentions, the art object, as a tangible entity, possesses its own agency and influence. Its placement at entrance of the National Museum in Oslo contributes to not only its influence in current Sámi issues, but the translation of the context that it came from and the aesthetic implications of it.

Through the first exhibition of *Pile o'Sápmi* in front of the district court, Máret Ánne Sara connects it to the memory and past struggles of other Indigenous communities. It also expresses, in a gory and shocking manner, the effects of the Norwegian reindeer law on the reindeers themselves and the individuals affected by it. The later exhibition and the revelation of the bullet holes further demonstrate the ways in which the Norwegian state intervenes in the Sámi way of life, as they substitute the methods used by Sámi with new ones that are deemed more effective.

All these details are both part of the material object itself, the evidence of various kinds of intervention on the reindeers, whether through traditional Sámi reindeer herding practice or methods forced onto by the Norwegian state. However, the symbolism of the bullet holes or the evocation to the Sámi flag are not inherently discernable to the viewer as they enter the National Museum. Even with the descriptive text placed next to the art object, and the audio guide, such things as the Sámi flag are hard to discern. The placement of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* in the National Museum's foyer emerges as a symbol in an in-between space, inviting a reconsideration of individual and collective identities within the context of the museum's historical narrative, as further explored by Preziosi,

We imagine ourselves to be what our historical relics (both individual and communal) can be read as implying we have long been in the process of becoming. The management and control of how this is to be made legible is centrally and crucially important to any society's sense of its own present and future.¹²⁴

In conclusion, while *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* is not part of the main exhibition, it is in the foyer, creating a notion of in-between and liminal space. It is not fixed and permanent, despite the curator and the contract suggesting otherwise. However, as Preziosi points out, it is more about the impact of being inside the National Museum in Oslo, especially as a symbol of

¹²⁴ Preziosi, "Narrativity and the Museological Myths of Nationality," 41.

this new museum. *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* is now part of how individuals entering the museum, Norwegian society at large, might envision this new Norwegian art canon and historical narrative that assimilates the Sámi perspectives and practices into one.

Sámi art in the National Museum implies an aspect of assimilation of Sámi aesthetics into the Norwegian art canon.¹²⁵ The placement of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* at the entrance of the museum also implies a transitional space but ultimately actively or passively contributes to the audience's ongoing experience during their visit. The material form and the technical aspects that also form the art object stands as a mediating point of forming new kinds of relations between the artists, the audience and the wider societal context. Furthermore, with the specific terms outlined in the contract and the growing awareness of Sámi art and aesthetics, the exhibition of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* positions itself in the negotiation, or rather as potential starting point, carving out a space in the narrative of Norwegian identity and history.¹²⁶

Pile o'Sápmi Supreme at the National Museum in Oslo represents the past, present, and future struggles for the safeguarding of land and, consequently, the cultural rights of Sámi communities in Norway and beyond. The raw heads staining the white snow in Tana, evolving into sanitized, sterile, and aestheticized skulls in *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, not only are witnesses to the infringements of the Norwegian government on the Sámi way of life but also provide material evidence of such infringements.

An "imaginary" herd has been reconstructed and now stands at the entrance of the National Museum in Oslo. Although currently owned by the Norwegian state, *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* was acquired on Máret Anne Sara's own terms, embodying various intentions and narratives. Above all, it encapsulates the tensions within a Norwegian historical narrative that

¹²⁵ Hansen, "Pile o'Sápmi and the connections between art and politics."

¹²⁶ Grini, "Sámi (Re)Presentation in a Differentiating Museumscape."

is divided, somewhat confused and still being produced. These traces are being pieced together through a new national institution that reflects on its own past of othering and overlooking of Sámi art, reconstructing a whole through objects and space. *Pile o' Sápmi Supreme* claims a solemn place at the entrance of the National Museum; it is there to stay for ten years, resisting the current and future initiatives of the Norwegian state intervening upon the Sámi way of life and land. Outside the main galleries of the museum, Máret Ánne Sara's art object stands both out of time and somewhat out of place, or exactly where it should be?

Chapter 3: The Landscape that prevails...

In this chapter, I will first examine how the landscape was constructed in Norway through the arts and the inscription of new laws regarding nature conservation and the definition of nature. This overview will demonstrate how the landscape, particularly nature, is intricately linked to Norwegian national identity and heritage. I will then provide an outline of how the landscape is understood in the Sámi context, specifically through the notion of *meahcci*, and how this perspective might align more closely with Ingold's notions of landscape as dwelling and *taskscape*. With this foundation, I will introduce the Fosen case and highlight some of the key moments relevant to the thesis. I will then review and analyze three documents: the Statkraft proposal, the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE) report, and the Supreme Court ruling of 2021.

In this analysis, I will focus on the language and formulations surrounding the landscape, reindeer herding, and cultural sites. Ultimately, the documents also point toward earlier notions and legal structures surrounding the landscape in Norway, with ideas of an empty landscape, a mystical one full of wildlife, or a landscape used for economic benefits. However, the Supreme Court ruling not only underlines the relationship between the landscape in Fosen, reindeer herding, and Sámi culture, but also helps reconceive the landscape in Fosen through these new connections.

Constructing the Landscape of Norway

Conceptions of Landscape(s) in Norway

In the previous chapter, I looked at the relationship between the nation building processes with Norway's independence from Denmark in 1814, and the construction of cultural institutions promoting a new and independent national and historical narrative. As scholars and politicians were part of this nation building project, painters and other artists also had an important role in forming this new identity.

The landscape of Norway has been crucial in shaping Norwegian identity and heritage. The idea of the pure, untouched, and wild Norwegian landscape was an integral part in constructing and interpreting a new national identity in the mid-nineteenth century. Norway also holds a long tradition in landscape painting, and in landscape as a theme in the arts in general.¹²⁷ Art historian, Sigrid Lien also highlights how J.C. Dahl's renowned painting *Birch Tree in a Storm* (see fig. 9) from 1849 was not only perceived as an accurate depiction of the Norwegian landscape but was also allegorically interpreted as symbolizing the resilience of the Norwegian people amidst challenging natural and political conditions.¹²⁸ The birch tree was a consistent motif for painters in Norway during the national romantic period, as seen with *Old Birch Tree* (see fig. 10). The birch stands steady in changing political winds, as a symbol of the struggle to survive in a beautiful but harsh.

¹²⁷ Sigrid Lien, "Not "just Another Boring Tree" - Landscape as a Marker of Identity in Norwegian and Sámi Photography," *Kunst Og Kultur*, no. 3 (2014).

¹²⁸ Lien, "Not «just Another Boring Tree» - Landscape as a Marker of Identity in Norwegian and Sámi Photography."



Figure 9. *Birch Tree in a Storm* by Johan Christian Dahl (1849) ¹²⁹



Figure 10. *Old Birch Tree* by Thomas Fearnley (1839) ¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Johan Christian Dahl, *Birch Tree in a Storm*, 1849, oil on canvas, KODE Museum, Bergen, <https://digitaltmuseum.no/021047869157/bjerk-i-storm-maleri>.

¹³⁰ Thomas Fearnely, *Old Birch Tree*, 1839, oil on canvas, National Museum in Oslo, <https://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/en/collection/object/NG.M.00363>, (photo: Børre Høstland.)

As with the cultural institutions, landscape paintings were outlets to explore, identify and define the boundaries of Norway, both in territorial and cultural terms. The landscape paintings presented a medium through which a continuity between the landscape, its people and its history was tied together. The young Norwegian nation could be visualized through the landscape paintings but also its people could be projecting their own identity onto it. In this way the landscape would also be considered a reflection of Norwegian identity.

As depicted in Norwegian landscape paintings, the land was either conceptualized as empty or as a land tied to the works of the peasantry with few depictions including Sámi communities or reindeer herding. Cosgrove points out that the more common narratives around the landscape also tend to totalize and eliminate any points that would bring a level of conflict.¹³¹ The Sámi's traditional nomadic lifestyle were viewed as primitive, and assimilation policies aimed to modernize and *civilize* them. More importantly the Sámi culture was viewed as a 'dying' indigenous culture, that should be assimilated rather than preserved.¹³² These assimilation policies took various shapes, however two that are relevant to the discussion are the limitation of land rights and the forced resettlement of reindeer herders to Sweden.¹³³

The Norwegianization policies took place between the mid-nineteenth century and the official end of the Norwegianizations policies in 1959. Some of these policies related to the restriction of Sámi cultural practices and language, while others related very much to the use and management of land in Sápmi areas by Norwegian authorities.¹³⁴ One of the earlier enactments of this policy was through the common Sámi law¹³⁵ between the Swedish and Norwegian kingdoms of 1883, which gave priority to land rights and use by Norwegian

¹³¹ Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*.

¹³² Grini, "Samisk kunst og norsk kunsthistorie. Delvise forbindelser," 49.

¹³³ Elin Anna Labba, *The Lords Sent Us Here: About the Forced Settlement of the Sámi* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2021).

¹³⁴ Susann Funderud Skogvang, "fornorskingsspolitikk," in *Store norske leksikon*, December 13, 2023, <https://snl.no/fornorskingsspolitikk>.

¹³⁵ *Felleslappeloven* in Norwegian

farmers. It also regulated the movement of Sámi reindeer herders between Sweden and Norway. However, with the dissolution of the Swedish and Norwegian union in 1905, Norway took further steps to control and regulate its territories, especially in Sápmi. The forced resettlement law was enacted in 1919 with a new reindeer grazing convention forced the resettlement of Sámi reindeer herders from their summer grazing area on the Norwegian coast to Sweden.¹³⁶ This was based on the idea that Norway should enjoy ‘nature of its own’¹³⁷ but also give more space for agriculture.

Lien further explains that the Sámi people’s collective memories are deeply rooted in the landscape and their intimate knowledge of it, as well as their constant negotiation or struggle to keep and be in their Indigenous land, leading much of contemporary Sámi art to focus specifically on landscapes.¹³⁸ One example is the works exhibited at the National Museum in Oslo by artists such as Máret Anne Sara or John Savio. Additionally, the current exhibition of Britta Marakatt-Labba’s *Moving the Needle* takes a stance on visualizing both Sámi history and climate issues from an Indigenous perspective, engaging with the Alta conflict in the 1980’s to today’s the Fosen case. This exhibition explores how to visualize the landscape differently, incorporating daily activities and the inclusion of Sámi myths and symbols in it.

One can observe a further development of the idealized landscape through the creation of the Norwegian Trekking Association (DNT) and the establishment of trekking to experience Norwegian nature. Ween and Abram in their article “The Norwegian Trekking Association: Trekking as Constituting the Nation” explain how the movement served as a means of solidifying or materializing an aestheticized landscape relatively untouched by humans, which

¹³⁶ Labba, *The Lords Sent Us Here: About the Forced Settlement of the Sámi*.

¹³⁷ Labba, *The Lords Sent Us Here: About the Forced Settlement of the Sámi*.

¹³⁸ Lien, “Not ‘just Another Boring Tree’ - Landscape as a Marker of Identity in Norwegian and Sámi Photography.”

should also be experienced in a controlled and practiced manner. It served to further delineate the separation between wild and urban spaces, where the first one should be protected and only enjoyed in specific ways.¹³⁹

Ween and Abram further discuss this phenomenon and its relation to the nation-building project in Norway during the mid-nineteenth century. The authors specifically connect the founding of the DNT, the production of “texts, guides, and maps”¹⁴⁰ and the cultivation of the Norwegian people’s knowledge and interest in the nation’s nature. DNT formed part of creating the visual and experiential manifestations of the delimitation of the Norwegian territory.¹⁴¹

These various segments and directions, while exploring different motifs within their respective ways, ultimately played a role in shaping distinct yet intersecting ideas about the Norwegian landscape. A common characteristic among them is the depiction of an idealized, aesthetic, and controlled landscape, positioning the Norwegian territory as authentic to the nation while also relating it to contemporary European landscapes. In summary, one can observe the development of cultural institutions and scholarly discourse surrounding artistic expressions in Norway, alongside a focus on the landscape as a tool for promoting a specific narrative and conception of the emerging Norwegian nation.

The establishment of assimilation policies targeting Sámi and other minority communities in Norway, along with their limited land rights, reflects the culmination of both artistic and scientific understanding of the nation and its landscape. This also pertains to nationalistic movements at the end of the nineteenth century, such as those in Germany and,

¹³⁹ Ween, Gro, and Simone Abram. “The Norwegian Trekking Association: Trekking as Constituting the Nation.” *Landscape Research* 37, no. 2 (April 2012): 155–71.

¹⁴⁰ Ween and Abram, “The Norwegian Trekking Association,” 158.

¹⁴¹ Ween and Abram, “The Norwegian Trekking Association.”

by extension, Norway, in which cultures and nations are related to their geographical roots.¹⁴²

Although linked to specific historical developments and the past, this in turn also impacts how the landscape is perceived and interacted with today.

Defining the Landscape in Norway

As I follow Cosgrove's argumentation, the visual representation of the landscape seeps into the legal realms, defining and structuring the landscape into a vision. This vision of the landscape was then actualized through legal definitions and codes of nature, which not only influence legal practices concerning the natural environment but also the *way of seeing* the landscape.

I will review three different laws. The first one, the Law on *Naturfredning* [Nature Conservation] that was adopted in 1910, *Friluftsløven* [Law on activities in the Open Air] adopted in 1957. These two legal documents give various definitions on both how to define natural and urban environments, but also how individuals should interact with the landscape. These legal frameworks also to varying degrees and in different ways, identify and define: an empty landscape, a mystical landscape full of wildlife, and a landscape used for economic benefits.

The first law on nature protection in Norway was passed in 1910, Law on *Naturfredning* [Nature Conservation]. This law laid out some of the guiding principles on the protection of natural areas based on "scientific or historical reasons, or because of the natural beauty or uniqueness of the areas"¹⁴³ that shall be decided by the King of Norway. The law also outlines how these areas shall be protected and the way to interact with it. Some trees, for example, were deemed natural monuments, underlining both the scientific and cultural purpose of the

¹⁴² Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, 254-272.

¹⁴³ Norway, Klima- og miljødepartementet, [Ministry of Climate and Environment] *Lov om naturfredning*, 1910, §1. <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLO/lov/1910-07-25-3>.

laws on nature.¹⁴⁴ The protection of natural areas, or different plants for example, was not only for scientific reasons but also a response to the expansion of urbanized or industrialized areas. It also puts forth a *way of seeing* nature as a natural document, a part of cultural history, that would present a certain continuity in both the imagination and materialization of the landscape in relation to the newly formed Norwegian nation.

This bridging of the natural and cultural aspects continues in the revised version of the 1910 law on nature conservation, namely *Friluftsloven* [Law on Activities in the Open Air]. The primary objective of the law is to safeguard the right to access and explore nature, regardless of land ownership. This legislation ensures non-discrimination, granting both Norwegian citizens and foreign tourists equal rights to enjoy nature under its provisions.¹⁴⁵ Prior to the law's implementation in 1957, Norway had a well-established tradition of public utilization of its natural landscapes as seen with trekking and the founding of DNT.

One of the key motivations behind the law was to formalize this longstanding tradition of public engagement with Norwegian nature. Its overarching aim is to conserve nature while facilitating public enjoyment of outdoor recreation. *Friluftsloven* seeks to protect the natural environment and facilitate unrestricted access to nature, thereby preserving and enhancing opportunities for outdoor recreation as a leisure activity.¹⁴⁶ This in some ways formalizes the earlier stipulations through the guides, maps, and recommendations from DNT, ultimately also formalizing the socially accepted ways of being in and seeing the landscape.

¹⁴⁴ "Nature Conservation in Norway", *Trondheim's Turist Association Yearbook*.

¹⁴⁵ Marianne Reusch and Gunnar Eriksen, "friluftsloven," [Law on Activities in the Open Air] in *Store norske leksikon*, February 6, 2024, <https://snl.no/friluftsloven>.

¹⁴⁶ Reusch and Eriksen, "Friluftsloven." [Law on Activities in the Open Air]

In addition, *Friluftsloven* also defines the difference between different kinds of landscapes, namely *utmark* [outfield], *innmark* [infield] and *villmark* [wilderness]. In the law *innmark* and *utmark* are defined as

Innmark is considered in this act such as courtyards, house plots, cultivated land, meadows and cultivated pastures and similar areas where public traffic would cause undue inconvenience to the owner or user are counted as inland or similar to inland. Uncultivated, smaller plots of land that are located in cultivated land or meadows or are fenced in together with such areas are also counted as *innmark*. The same applies to areas for industrial or other special purposes where public traffic would be an undue inconvenience to the owner, user or others. By *utmark*, this Act means uncultivated land which, according to the preceding paragraph, is not counted as *innmark*.¹⁴⁷

According to Ween and Lien in “Decolonization in the Arctic? Nature Practices and Land Rights in the Norwegian High North,” both the concept of *friluftsliv* and the classification of various types of landscapes stem from urbanized Norwegian individuals. This differs from the perceptions of landscape that prevail in the North, and those held by individuals from the area.¹⁴⁸ Specifically, Ween and Lien describe the North as “barren; wide; open expanses of quiet wilderness, apparently untouched by human presence.” This reflects the notion of nature as a separate space, distinct from everyday life.¹⁴⁹ Importantly, these ideas encapsulate the definition of *friluftsliv* and what the *friluftsloven* promotes - a particular landscape to be enjoyed without human interventions such as vehicles and urbanization of natural areas. The authors explain that this is based on an agricultural perspective, which distinguishes between *innmark* and *utmark*, as well as the historical and contemporary reliance of Norwegian smallholders on access to resources beyond their property.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Norway. Ministry of Climate and Environment. *Friluftsloven*, §1a.

¹⁴⁸ Gro B Ween, “Decolonialization in the Arctic? Nature Practices and Land Rights in the Norwegian High North,” 2012.

¹⁴⁹ Ween, “Decolonialization in the Arctic? Nature Practices and Land Rights in the Norwegian High North.”

¹⁵⁰ Ween, “Decolonialization in the Arctic? Nature Practices and Land Rights in the Norwegian High North.”

***Meahcci*: Sámi landscapes**

In the previous section, I examined landscape formation and understanding in both the cultural and legal spheres in Norway, driven by nation-building interests and overarching concepts of dividing the landscape into natural versus human-influenced areas. Furthermore, it is evident that the Norwegian context has several particularities. One of these, as mentioned earlier, is the concept of *friluftsliv*, as well as nature protection practices. These not only relate to national identity but also to the relationship between natural features and a “Norwegian” heritage. However, these notions are still guided by a totalizing and essentializing understanding of landscape, which, in the case of Finnmark, has led to the erasure of Sámi land use, with most of the area being defined as *utmark*.¹⁵¹

I will now turn to both the Sámi vocabulary and concept for landscape, namely *meahcci*. I will examine the significance of the word in terms of rethinking and reconceptualizing the landscape in Sápmi, Norway, as well as further landscape studies theories that help frame these ideas. Additionally, I will explore how *meahcci* is translated to *utmark* in Norwegian law, and how this translation narrows down the understanding of landscape in Sápmi and also mistranslates the term *meahcci*. Ultimately, I will discuss how this mistranslation might influence both policies and projects in Sápmi areas.

Liv Østmo and John Law in their article “Verbing Meahcci: Living Sámi Lands” speak of re-understanding the logic of the word *meahcci* to also understand once again the meaning of the word in relation to the land and landscape. The authors underline that Sámi is relatively a

¹⁵¹ This relates to Finnmark Commons. Namely that 95% of Finnmark is considered *utmark*. The Finnmark Act of 2005 not only brought to light a new configuration of the legal and bureaucratic framework of the area but also provided an alternative conceptual and historical framework for understanding the landscape through tranfering the owenship of the Finnmark commons to an entity called *Finnmarkseiendommen*. There is more to say about the history of Finnmark as ‘commons’ and the implications of the the Finnmark Act.

verb and action-based language.¹⁵² This is also the case for *meahcci* which the authors identify as “a creative collection of practical places and relations – a set of activity spaces or taskscapes.”¹⁵³ It is places, locations where people undertake different kinds of activities, whether it would be fishing, hunting, berry picking which is also connected to their livelihoods.¹⁵⁴ Ingold would refer to this as *taskscapes*, socially constructed space of activities, which also extends to a notion of landscapes continuously coming into being around the activities of individuals. It can also be related to not just human activity as such but rather different kinds of entities forming relations in constant renegotiation.¹⁵⁵

Østmo and Law say that the diversity and plurality of *meahcci* practice, a definition that is mistranslated into Norwegian as *utmark*. As defined in the previous section the *utmark/innmark* division is created through the dichotomy of cultivated and uncultivated land, land with or without habitation. In the Sámi version of *Friluftslivloven*, *utmark* and *meahcci* are equated to be the same. This mistranslation originates from the Norwegian parliament that perceives the terms as synonymous: “*meahcci* shall be understood as identical to *utmark*.”¹⁵⁶ These are the provisions outlined in the Norwegian national *Friluftslivloven*. In turn, it places the definitions and understandings of *utmark* onto the Sámi term.

The earlier discussion on the logic of *meahcci* illustrates why Sámi land practices in this sense involve working the land without any notion of wilderness, or a clear distinction between nature and culture. In addition, they do not conceive of it as a delineated territory on a map, but rather as a collection of circumstantial and practical task-related *meahcit* in plural form. These

¹⁵² Solveig Joks, Liv Østmo, and John Law, “Verbing *Meahcci* : Living Sámi Lands,” *The Sociological Review* 68, no. 2 (March 2020): 305–21, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026120905473>.

¹⁵³ Joks, Østmo, and Law, “Verbing *Meahcci*: Living Sámi Lands,” 307.

¹⁵⁴ Joks, Østmo, and Law, “Verbing *Meahcci*: Living Sámi Lands.”

¹⁵⁵ Ingold, “The Temporality of the Landscape.”

¹⁵⁶ Norway. Ministry of Climate and Environment. *Friluftslivloven*, (Translation by Joks, Solveig, Liv Østmo, and John Law)

meahcit entail interactions with different human and non-human entities. In all these regards, *utmark* is foreign to *meahcci*, as the latter embodies landscape, space, time, human and non-human relations.¹⁵⁷

In Western conceptions of nature, nature is an agent that just is and that can be considered, in some cases, outside the influence of human activity. Reetta Toivanen and Nora Fabritius point out that “all human land use is intertwined with political contexts and power relations; no land use is solely ‘natural’ or ‘cultural’.”¹⁵⁸ Harrison also speaks of this embeddedness through “alternative heritage ontologies” and the recognition of “ontological plurality.”¹⁵⁹

In these terms, Harrison also speaks to the way that different actors, human or non-human, interact and influence each other. The connection between different actors allows for what Harrison calls “a broader natural-cultural assemblage.”¹⁶⁰ This collection of different “beings” also presents us with the possibility of a “multiplicity of forms of existence”¹⁶¹ can be valued equally through understandings of knowledge systems, and further understanding the way that they influence each other. It can also avoid universalization that nullifies or silences different modes of existence within a system.

Throughout this general overview, I have examined the development of the landscape through paintings, the practice of being in nature in social and legal terms, and how it has been associated with certain nation-building processes in Norway. It is also clear that from the beginning, Sámi practices and communities were not included in this visualization and conceptualization of the Norwegian landscape, both in the arts and in legal frameworks. Rather,

¹⁵⁷ Joks, Solveig, Liv Østmo, and John Law. “Verbing *Meahcci*: Living Sámi Lands.”

¹⁵⁸ Reetta Toivanen and Nora Fabritius, “Arctic Youth Transcending Notions of ‘Culture’ and ‘Nature’: Emancipative Discourses of Place for Cultural Sustainability,” *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, Indigenous Conceptualizations of ‘Sustainability,’ (April 1, 2020), 60.

¹⁵⁹ Harrison, “Beyond ‘Natural’ and ‘Cultural’ Heritage,” 24.

¹⁶⁰ Harrison, “Beyond ‘Natural’ and ‘Cultural’ Heritage,” 32.

¹⁶¹ Harrison, “Beyond ‘Natural’ and ‘Cultural’ Heritage,” 34.

Sámi and other minority groups were excluded from this vision and expected to assimilate into this new Norwegian society.

However, as mentioned previously, in the last decades, there has been an increase in the inclusion of Sámi views in the cultural and legal realms. There is still a disconnect in the implementation and understanding of the Sámi perspective, specifically in the conceptualization and use of the landscape. As this last section shows, the legal definitions of the differentiation between *utmark* and *innmark*, for example, not only exclude Sámi practices and perspectives on nature but also mistranslate and limiting the term for landscape, *meahcci*, to *utmark*.

Prevailing landscapes: The Fosen case

In this section, I will give a brief overview of the Fosen case and the status of it in our present day. I will then look at specific documents that marked the development of this case, and how the landscape is mentioned and understood in general but also in relationship to South-Sámi reindeer herding and preservation of cultural practices.

In 2000, the energy situation in Trøndelag became a pressing issue for Norwegian authorities due to increased energy consumption and limited production.¹⁶² In 2006, several wind park projects, including the four wind parks in Fosen, were proposed by the state-owned company, Statkraft. In 2013, the NVE granted its final approval for the licenses and expropriation permits for two large wind power developments in Roan and Storheia located on the Fosen peninsula in Trøndelag.¹⁶³ The Roan wind power plant was commissioned in 2019,

¹⁶² Olje- og energiministerens redegjørelse for Stortinget om regjeringens oppfølging av Fosen-saken.” [The Minister of Petroleum and Energy's report to the parliament on the government's follow-up of the Fosen case] (regjeringen.no, March 13, 2023), <https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/1/id2966316/>.

¹⁶³ Kirsti Strøm Bull, “Comment on HR-2021-1975-S Fosen-case,” Juridika, November 24, 2021, <https://juridika.no/innsikt/kommentar-til-hr-2021-1975-s-fosen-saken>.

with 71 turbines, and became Norway's largest wind park at the time. The Storheia wind park was completed in 2020, with 80 turbines, and became Norway's largest windmill farm.¹⁶⁴

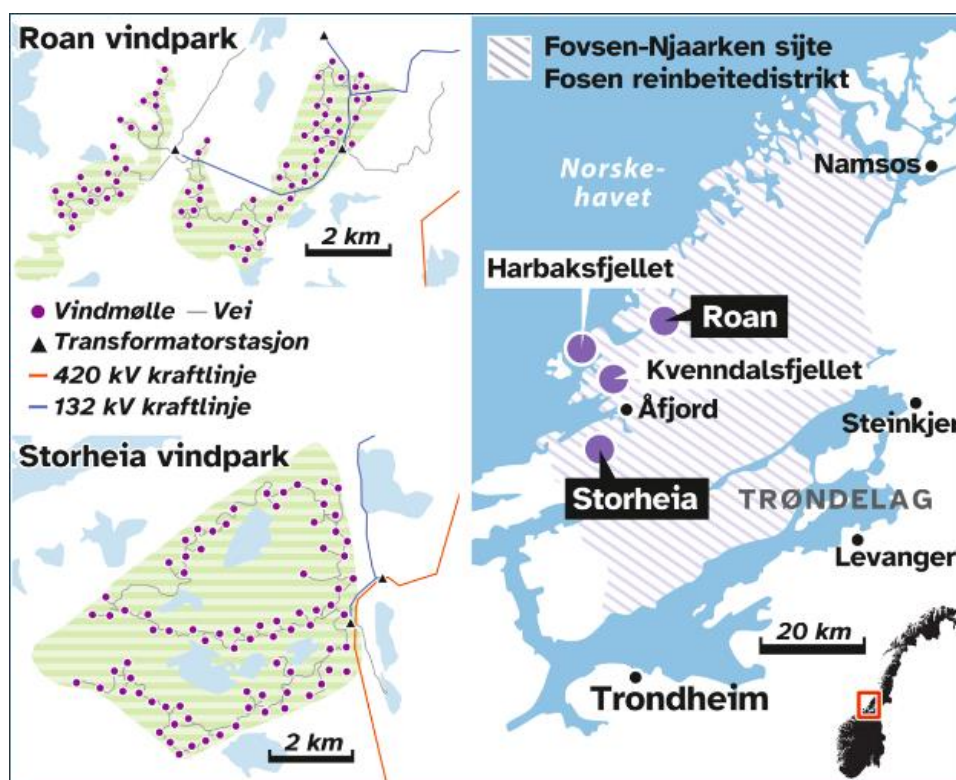


Figure 11. Windmill farms on Roan and Storheia, and Fosen reindeer herding district¹⁶⁵

Storheia and Roan are also located on reindeer grazing area (see fig. 11). The Fosen windfarm project is in Trøndelag and consists of two *siidas*, a *siida* share is a family group or individual who practices reindeer husbandry, South Fosen *sijte*¹⁶⁶ and North Fosen *siida*, each divided into three *siida* shares. The reindeer grazing district has a maximum capacity of 2100 animals and is divided into seasonal grazing areas that together cover an area of 4339 km².¹⁶⁷ This region is part of the South-Sámi area, which has unique cultural practices and language.

¹⁶⁴ Susann Funderud Skogvang, "Fosen-saken," in *Store norske leksikon*, March 22, 2024, <https://snl.no/Fosen-saken>.

¹⁶⁵ Nyhetsgrafikk/NTB, *De omstridte vindkraftverkene i Roan og på Storheia*, [The controversial wind farms in Roan and Storheia] <https://snl.no/Fosen-saken>.

¹⁶⁶ *Sittje* is the South Sámi word for *siida*.

¹⁶⁷ Frode Støle, "Fosen: Wind Power and Reindeer Herding - Now What?," *1,5 Law Firm* (blog), accessed May 22, 2024, <https://enkommafem.no/en/posts/supreme-court-fosen>.

The South-Sámi language, known as *áarjelsaemien giiele*, is listed as endangered by UNESCO, with only 500 native speakers remaining.

It was not until the final licensing approval given by the NVE directorate that the MEP was made aware of the extended impacts the windmill farm would have on the Sámi reindeer husbandry and by extension South- Sámi culture and language. By this time, the licensing was appealed by Nord-Fosen *siida* and Sør-Fosen *sijte*. In 2018, the appeal reached the Supreme Court, to the invalidity of the license on the windfarms was based on, amongst other things, the violation of Article 27¹⁶⁸ of United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which states,

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.¹⁶⁹

This appeal went to the Supreme Court in both 2018 and 2020. In 2018, the Supreme Court ruled to allow for the construction of the wind park. The decision seemed prioritize socio-economic and political benefits¹⁷⁰ over the potential threats to Sámi rights to cultural practice through the loss of reindeer grazing area.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, in retrospect the Supreme Court admitted to lacking sufficient knowledge particularly regarding Sámi law, rights, and practices during its ruling in 2018.

Eva Fjellheim explains in her article “‘You Can Kill Us with Dialogue:’ Critical Perspectives on Wind Energy Development in a Nordic-Saami Green Colonial Context” that knowledge transfer and perspective sharing in the courtroom are limited, especially in cases where state consultation and dialogue with Sámi communities are contested. Fjellheim notes

¹⁶⁸ The Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway, Ministry of Justice and Public Security, article 108. <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/1814-05-17>.

¹⁶⁹ “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,” 2200A (XXI) §27, accessed May 22, 2024, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>.

¹⁷⁰ The state-owned company, Fosen Vind, running the wind turbines made about 1 billion dollars of profit in the last quarter of 2022, which would be about 15 million dollars per day.

¹⁷¹ Støle, Frode. “Fosen: Wind Power and Reindeer Herding - Now What?”

that “displacement,” “miscommunication,” and “domination” are common in these dialogues.¹⁷² This is important in considering how notions and conceptions of the landscape and their implications are translated, and ultimately considered by Norwegian authorities.

In the Fosen case, displacement occurred when consultation or compensation was postponed due to so-called ‘lack of cooperation’¹⁷³ from Sámi reindeer herders, as seen in the 2018 Supreme Court ruling. Miscommunications stem from, according to Fjellheim, epistemic frictions, where the importance of reindeer herding and the preservation of the Sámi landscape as a crucial part of Sámi ancestral knowledge and identity formation was not considered.¹⁷⁴

Finally, the Supreme Court decision was appealed once again. In October 2021 the Supreme Court deemed the licensing of wind farms on Storheia and Roan illegal due to their violation of Article 27. The Supreme Court ruled the licenses illegal based on Article 27, however the wind turbines on Fosen continued operation. Although according to the Article 27 states are obliged to repair the human rights violation and to compensate for human rights violations.¹⁷⁵

On 27th of February, coinciding with 500 days after the Supreme Court ruling, a group of activists (composed of Sámi activists, reindeer herders, cultural actors, and climate activists from the Nature Youth group) occupied the MEP building and the Sámi activists wore their *gákti*¹⁷⁶ inside out echoing the protest in the case of the Alta-protest in the 1980’s.¹⁷⁷ The

¹⁷² E.M Fjellheim. “You Can Kill Us with Dialogue:” Critical Perspectives on Wind Energy Development in a Nordic-Saami Green Colonial Context. *Hum Rights Rev* 24, 25–51 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12142-023-00678-4>

¹⁷³ “Olje- og energiministerens redegjørelse for Stortinget om regjeringens oppfølging av Fosen-saken.”

¹⁷⁴ Fjellheim, ““You Can Kill Us with Dialogue.”

¹⁷⁵ “Pursuant to article 2 (3) (a) of the Covenant, the State party is under an obligation to provide the authors with an effective remedy. This requires it to make full reparation to individuals whose Covenant rights have been violated. Accordingly, the State party is obligated, inter alia, to provide adequate compensation, to the authors for the harm that they have suffered; engage in meaningful consultations with the authors’ communities in order to conduct needs assessments; continue its implementation of measures necessary to secure the communities’ continued safe existence on their respective islands; and monitor and review the effectiveness of the measures implemented and resolve any deficiencies as soon as practicable. The State party is also under an obligation to take steps to prevent similar violations in the future.” (*International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 1976.)

¹⁷⁶ *Gákti* is the name in Sámi for Sámi traditional clothing.

¹⁷⁷ Skogvang, “Fosen-saken.”

demands of the Fosen activist group included the demolition of the windfarm and an immediate halt to its functioning, with the land returned to the Sámi reindeer herders.¹⁷⁸ The demands put forth the vital importance of the landscape to both Sámi identity across regions but also Sámi Indigenous knowledge through the landscape. Furthermore, the collaboration with other climate activists also underlines the importance of Sámi Indigenous knowledge to solve climate issues.¹⁷⁹ The activists were ultimately removed by police, but the protests continued in other forms of civil disobedience and demonstrations across Oslo.

During the spring of the same year, mediation attempts were initiated between the two *siida* of the Fosen reindeer grazing district and the respective wind power companies. As an agreement was still to be reached, the Fosen activists marked the two-year anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling through further demonstrations and commemorations. With no final agreement reached, and none of the demands of the activist being met, some of the Sámi youth activists requested and got an audience with the King.

In December 2023, mediation between Fosen Vind DA and Sør-Fosen *siitje* resulted in an agreement between the two parties. Once implemented, the agreement will compensate for the natural interventions that have led to the loss of winter grazing land for reindeer herding in Sør-Fosen.¹⁸⁰ The main components of the mitigation measures include financial compensation, replacement grazing areas that the state has committed to providing, as well as granting Sør-Fosen *siida* a right of veto concerning the continued operation of the license after the current 25-year period has expired. Nord-Fosen *siida* and Roan Vind also reached an agreement as of March 2024. The agreement largely mirrors the agreement Fosen Vind DA made with Sør-Fosen *siitje* regarding mitigation measures. Under this agreement, the state also

¹⁷⁸ Natur og Ungdom. ‘Fosenaksjonen, dag for dag’, [Fosen protest day by day] Natur og ungdom, 6 March 2023. <https://www.nu.no/fosenaksjonen-dag-for-dag/>.

¹⁷⁹ Aamodt Hess, Martine. “Norway’s Treatment of Sámi Indigenous People Makes a Mockery of Its Progressive Image.” *Jacobin Mag*, March 13, 2023. <https://jacobin.com/2023/03/norway-sami-indigenous-people-reindeer-herding-wind-turbines-dispossession-protest>.

¹⁸⁰ Skogvang, “Fosen-saken.”

commits to providing new winter grazing areas for Nord-Fosen *siida* as compensation for lost grazing land in Roan.¹⁸¹

All in all, the Fosen case gained extensive media coverage and became a point of discussion in the public sphere, engaging different levels of society in Norway and other Nordic countries. The Fosen case also brought forth not only the current infringement made on Sámi communities and land, but also past infringements and not yet implemented plans for further wind parks and electrification grids across Sápmi in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Furthermore, it highlighted the importance of more clear understandings, translations and communication between the different parties involved, such as the State, Sámi communities and private companies. In this instance, this section also underlines how the voice and concerns of Sámi reindeer herders were not considered during the initial phases of the project. In the few cases they were included the knowledge and concerns voiced were not deemed important enough to significantly alter the wind park plans. The fact that these misunderstandings or different sets of value stem from differing understandings of the landscape, and particularly reindeer herding. It becomes evident when looking at the language and formulations employed in the three documents that mark the different significant moments of the Fosen case.

Fosen Vind and Conflicting Landscapes

As I followed the curves of the regional road 715, they suddenly appeared. Slowly, I could see more and more of the individual wind turbines above the mountain horizon. I got closer and more of them appeared. Like trolls forming part of the mountain, the wind turbines emerged out of the landscape, revealing themselves only partially. These parts are somewhat elusive, depending on the curve of the road. But when I reached the plateau on Storheia and saw the immensity of the wind park, the view was rather dystopic. Wind turbines were on all sides, some only a few meters away others in the horizons.¹⁸²

With this overview of the different developments of the Fosen case throughout the years, I will now turn to three of documents of this case. Namely the initial proposal by 1) Statkraft (2006)

¹⁸¹ Skogvang, “Fosen-saken.”

¹⁸² Personal vignette from the field.

2) the appeal document from the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (2007),
3) the Supreme Court (2021) ruling document invalidating licenses for the windmill farm on Fosen. I decided on these three documents as they signal both important moments in the Fosen case but also, they mark changes in formulation and understanding of the relationship between Fosen, as a landscape, South-Sámi reindeer herders and continuation of Sámi cultural practice.

I will analyze these documents through the lens of landscape studies and discourse analysis. I will include a table at the beginning of each section to highlight the segments in the documents that pertain to either the landscape, Sámi reindeer herding or heritage sites. In addition, I will trace the change from the mere mention of Sámi reindeer herding areas and their connection to Sámi cultural practice, to a clear emphasis on the relationship between Sámi reindeer herding, Sámi cultural practice, and preservation in Fosen. Furthermore, these three documents propose different ideas of the landscape, and the relationship between the landscape, cultural memory and the continuation of Sámi culture and reindeer herding practice.

A new landscape in Fosen: The Proposal

STATKRAFT PROPOSAL TEXTUAL OVERVIEW

SÁMI REINDEER HERDING	<p>“All wind park areas [...] are located within the operational area of Fosen reindeer grazing district, and the areas are used to varying degrees as winter grazing areas”¹⁸³</p> <p>“The reindeer grazing district does not have a clear distinction between the various seasonal pastures, as is the case in many other reindeer grazing districts. Movement and dynamic use of the entire operational area is therefore typical feature of reindeer husbandry in Fosen.”¹⁸⁴</p>
LANDSCAPE	<p>“When planning wind park, it is often the visual effects of the development that receive the most attention. [...] How the visual impression will be from existing buildings will be assessed as part of the impact assessment. [...] The installation of construction roads will also have landscape impacts, and these impacts will be assessed.”¹⁸⁵</p>
CULTURAL SITES	<p>“We are not aware of any automatically protected cultural monuments within the planning areas. The work on the report has not revealed any information about cultural environments of special value in the planning areas. However, there is potential for the discovery of Sámi cultural “memory sites” and cultural “memory sites” related to hunting and trapping in the mountain areas”¹⁸⁶</p>

Figure 12. Table of Statkraft Proposal Textual Overview

In 2006, Statkraft published the first wind park license proposal in Fosen. The document is entitled *Four wind farms on Fosen - Report and proposed assessment program* but will be referred to as the ‘Stakraft proposal’ from now on. The Statkraft proposal speaks about different aspects of this new wind park project from the localization, production of energy and its legal basis. Furthermore, the proposal addresses the potential impacts the wind park might have on

¹⁸³ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen,” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen] 14.

¹⁸⁴ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen,” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen] 36.

¹⁸⁵ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen,” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen] 29.

¹⁸⁶ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen,” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen] 30.

wildlife, landscape, cultural sites, and reindeer herding, to name the ones relevant for this research. The project is described as both holding national and international importance by aligning with overarching national and global goals of a sustainable future: the “green turn”¹⁸⁷, and how this will take place in the Fosen landscape. The project proposal puts forth three ideas of the landscape, related to earlier notions prominent in the Norwegian context, namely the landscape as an empty one, a landscape used for economic gains, and a mystical landscape full of wildlife, with some reindeers in the distance.

Firstly, the proposal underlines that there are no known protected areas or cultural heritage sites within the specified area. The proposal underlines that Statkraft is not aware of any automatically protected cultural heritage sites, but that there is “potential for discoveries”¹⁸⁸ of Sámi cultural heritage sites in the area. In relation to nature conservation, the report states that “no areas protected or proposed to be protected under the Nature Conservation Act will be directly affected by the planning areas for the wind farms.”¹⁸⁹ Lastly, the proposal mentions briefly that the project might affect the reindeer herding district but only in “a varying degree.”¹⁹⁰ In this manner, the proposal ensures that the wind park is not associated with entities that possess obvious legal grounds for safeguarding. These statements not only disconnect the potential impacts of the wind park onto either cultural sites or the landscape, but also makes it seem that the landscape is ‘empty’, there are no cultural or natural sites of significant value that will be affected by the wind park.

The proposal sets forth that there will be minimal impact on nature and cultural sites, this argumentation is also extended to reindeer herding areas that the proposal acknowledges is present. Namely, “all wind park areas [...] are located within the operational area of Fosen

¹⁸⁷ “The authorities want to increase investment in new renewable energy sources, and wind power is currently the most economically and technically interesting alternative. There is great potential for the development of wind power in Norway” (Statkraft, 5)

¹⁸⁸ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen,” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen] 9.

¹⁸⁹ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen,” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen] 9.

¹⁹⁰ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen,” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen] 30.

reindeer grazing district, and the areas are used to varying degrees as winter grazing areas.”¹⁹¹

In reference to the table above (see fig. 12), the reindeer husbandry areas in Fosen are qualified by the proposal as “dynamic” with no “clear distinction between the various seasonal pastures.”¹⁹² This formulation both makes the implication that the reindeers, and by extension the reindeer herders, change their area of grazing, and are not tied to the placement of wind park in Storheia. This misconception ultimately disconnects the reindeer, South-Sámi reindeer herders from the specific landscape, as well as the understanding of the landscape as *meahcci*.

More importantly, the proposal does not associate reindeer herding with Sámi culture, rather reindeer herding is referred to as a form livelihood.¹⁹³ Omitting the relationship between Sámi culture and reindeer herding also omits the cultural value linked to the concept of Indigeneity. This is important, because as Indigenous peoples, Sámi communities through various provisions, such as Article 27, have legal protection. This protection can be viewed as a form of legal recognition and national acknowledgment of Sámi culture.

The Statkraft proposal does not address the legal rights of the Sámi or Sámi reindeer herders describing reindeer husbandry as an ordinary industry, where operations are detached from the Sámi, culture, and the landscape. Acknowledging the relationship between Sámi culture and reindeer herding would not only invoke specific rights of cultural practice but also refer to the connection, through *Reindrifstloven* [Reindeer Husbandry Law], between the cultural and generational practice of reindeer herding and a specific reindeer grazing area that is given through this right,¹⁹⁴ and by extension the legal frameworks set by the Norwegian Constitution and ICCPR.

¹⁹¹ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen.” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen]

¹⁹² Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen.” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen]

¹⁹³ Statkraft, “Fire Vindparker På Fosen.” [Four Wind Parks on Fosen]

¹⁹⁴ “Only persons who are entitled to a reindeer that gave the right to own reindeer in the Sami reindeer grazing area.” (*Reindrifstloven*, article § 9)

There are two notable inconsistencies in this proposal regarding the landscape. First, the initially described empty landscape, deemed suitable for a wind park, is later described as rich in wildlife and natural value. Despite this, the wind turbine is portrayed as detached from this environment. Consequently, the landscapes are presented as distinct and unconnected areas. This separation externalizes and abstracts the negative impacts of the wind turbine on reindeer herding or wildlife, distancing them from its immediate surroundings.¹⁹⁵

On the one hand, the wind park is disconnected from the landscape, which could potentially include cultural sites, diverse wildlife, and reindeer herding. In relation to reindeer herding in the area and other potential cultural sites, the proposal underlines that the wind park will not directly affect them. On the other hand, the proposal emphasizes that the reindeer grazing areas are more flexible and will be able to adapt to new areas in Fosen outside of the wind parks. Finally, the proposal further disconnects reindeer herders from the landscape by failing to mention the relationship between the Sámi as an Indigenous group and their connection to reindeer herding, along with the cultural rights this entails. Máret Ánne Sara, in *Pile o' Sápmi Supreme*, explains that losing the status of a reindeer herder also means losing a cultural right associated with the land for the reindeer herder and their family. This fact is not considered in this initial proposal and is further dismissed through the disconnection between reindeer herding and Sámi culture in the Fosen landscape.

¹⁹⁵ The Statkraft proposal is analyzed in a similarly critical way by the MA thesis of Linnea Aslaksen, “Fra en ordinær sak til en nasjonal kontrovers Konkurrerende verdsettinger av vindkraftverk og reindrift: En praksisorientert analyse av saksdokumentene til Storheia Vindpark” [From an ordinary case to a national controversy Competing valuations of wind farms and reindeer husbandry: A practice-orientated analysis of the case documents of Storheia Wind Farm], Master thesis, Senter for Teknologi, Innovasjon og Kultur [Center for Technology, Innovation and Culture], Universitetet i Oslo, 2021. I thank my external reader, Dr. Monica Grini, for calling my attention to this work.

Re-evaluating the landscape in Fosen: The Report

NVE REPORT TEXTUAL OVERVIEW

SÁMI REINDEER HERDING	“It is not doubtful that Sámi people are to be regarded as an ethnic minority, and that the practice of reindeer herding is to be regarded as a cultural practice protected by Article 27. The cultural practice may not be denied, but a measure may have greater benefits for society than the measure entails disadvantage for reindeer husbandry” ¹⁹⁶
LANDSCAPE	<p>“NVE notes that the landscape in the area is varied, ranging from outer coastal zones to mountainous areas dominated by more large-scale terrain forms. NVE notes that the development of wind power will no doubt add an industrial element to the coastal landscape.”¹⁹⁷</p> <p>“Storheia wind power plant will affect the landscape from several surrounding “friluftsliv” areas”¹⁹⁸</p>
CULTURAL SITES	“The direct consequences of the turbine points and internal roads are considered to have a small to medium impact on cultural monuments and cultural environment due to conflict with Sámi cultural landscape.” ¹⁹⁹

Figure 13. Table of NVE Report Textual Overview

After the publication of the Statkraft proposal Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE) prepared its assessment report, that would include the position and considerations from different organizations and actors affected by the wind park project on Fosen. The report made by NVE also included an evaluation to varying degrees of the visual, natural, and cultural impacts of the wind park in the different areas as well as assessing the impacts of protected cultural sites²⁰⁰. The NVE document also evaluates the impact on reindeer herding in different areas of the wind park. This was done in relation to appropriate laws and

¹⁹⁶ NVE, “Bakgrunn Utredningsprogram,” [Background Assessment Program] 2007, 82.

¹⁹⁷ NVE, “Bakgrunn Utredningsprogram,” [Background Assessment Program] 51-52.

¹⁹⁸ NVE, “Bakgrunn Utredningsprogram,” [Background Assessment Program] 68.

¹⁹⁹ NVE, “Bakgrunn Utredningsprogram,” 77.

²⁰⁰ *Kulturminne* [cultural memory]

conventions brought forward by the Reindeer husbandry Management²⁰¹ and Fosen Reindeer Grazing District²⁰².

The assessment of the project through inquiry of different actors goes proposal through different criterions, such as “landscape and visual impacts,” “*friluftsliv*,” “cultural memory and environment” and “Sámi interest and reindeer herding.”²⁰³ Each of these categories of assessment are evaluated for each planned wind park on Fosen. The overall impact assessment is made to identify whether some changes in the placement of the wind park needs to be made.



Figure 14. Picture from Kammen Grave Memorial in Harsikva²⁰⁴

Differing from the initial project proposal by Statkraft, NVE examines several cultural memory sites protected under the *Kulturminne Loven* [Law of Cultural Memory] would be affected by the wind park to varying degrees. However, NVE mostly emphasizes how wind turbines would visually affect these sites. The document highlights, for example, how a cultural

²⁰¹ *Reindriftsforvaltningen*

²⁰² *Fosen Reinbeitedistrikt*

²⁰³ NVE, “Bakgrunn Utredningsprogram.” [Background Assesment Program]

²⁰⁴ Solveig Vanniez, May 4, 2024.

memory site automatically protected would be visually affected by the wind turbines, specifically that the turbines would be visible from the site itself, as shown from a picture of this site as of today (see fig. 14). This site is primarily managed by the Science Museum in Trondheim, however in the same area different entities in the same area oversee the sites, some are also being managed by the Sámi parliament. The appeal document acknowledges these sites and mentions that they will be visually affected by the wind park. While the visual impact of the wind park on these sites is considered, it is not deemed important enough to warrant a change in the placement of the wind turbines unless it directly interacts with the site itself.



Figure 15. A friluftsliv area and wind turbines from Storheia in the distance²⁰⁵

Aside from local authorities, DNT or the National Heritage board participate in the risk assessment of the different sites. The NVE report also brings the reindeer herder's perspective through participation of Reindeer Husbandry Management²⁰⁶ and Fosen Reindeer Grazing

²⁰⁵ Solveig Vanniez, May 5, 2024

²⁰⁶ Reindriftsforvaltningen

district²⁰⁷. First and foremost, unlike the Statkraft proposal, the report underlines and incorporates the reindeer herding practice within the landscape, focusing on the landscape of Storheia. In the section regarding ‘Sámi interest and reindeer herding’ the document goes into detail about which areas are used the most in relation to reindeer herding, and therefore places the practice of reindeer herding into the landscape of Fosen.

This differs from the Statkraft proposal, which made it seem that the areas were not as defined, or interchangeable. Furthermore, the report points out different laws and convention, such as Article 27 from ICCPR, that both outlines Sámi rights and protects their rights to continue their cultural practice. NVE acknowledges the relationship between Sámi communities, their rights and the practice of reindeer herding in Fosen. However, these rights and conventions are not directly applied to this case, based on the premise that specifically Article 27 pertains to the rights of individuals and not communities or a group, as *siida* is considered the latter.

In the contribution by the reindeer associations in Fosen, they point out how their reindeer district is already at its *tolerance limit*. It is close to its limit due to the building of cabins, farming, *friluftsliv*, regulated rivers and water in the area, making the point that reindeer herding would not manage another intervention. *Tolerance limit* is often used in the context of threatened and vulnerable nature. Furthermore, in the Norwegian context this aspect of *tolerance limit* and vulnerability of natural areas also must be established through different scientific procedures that would assess in specific ways how the area in question will be affected. This association with *tolerance limit* seems to be made by the reindeer herders to push towards further research on the effects of the wind park on reindeers and thus reindeer herding before building the windmills at all. It also seems to challenge the argument made by the

²⁰⁷ *Fosen Reinbeitedistrikt*

Statkraft proposal and NVE report, namely that there is no sufficient knowledge to establish that the wind park will affect the reindeers.²⁰⁸

In this document, the means to show that reindeer herding is threatened by other interventions on the area is by saying it is at its *tolerance limit*. As explained earlier, however, this is associated with nature conservation and protection, which entails detailed scientific grounds for the claim. This is important in understanding that both claims, either regarding the cultural practice of Sámi reindeer herders in Fosen or the possibility that the practice of reindeer herding might not be able to continue due to interferences in the land itself disrupting the reindeer herding, are sometimes dismissed because of the limited legal basis and scientific knowledge.

This, further, relates to what Cosgrove and Ingold would identify as the two extremes of either viewing the landscape in its cultural or natural realm. However, in both these cases, there is a totalization of the practice and the way that it relates to the landscape. There is also a lack of knowledge about the influence of the wind turbines on the reindeers, which underlines association Sámi reindeer herding exclusively to nature, rather than a more complex image of the interaction between the landscape, reindeer herding and Sámi Indigenous culture.

Nevertheless, the report does include the reindeer herder's perspective and underscores the relationship between reindeer herding and the continuation of South-Sámi culture in accordance with Article 27 of the ICCPR. Even so, the *collective* nature of reindeer herding is given as a reason for the inapplicability of Article 27 in this case.

²⁰⁸NVE, "Bakgrunn Utredningsprogram." [Background Assessment Program]

The Landscape that prevails: The Ruling

SUPREME COURT RULING TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

SÁMI REINDEER HERDING	<p>“When assessing the validity of the licence decision, the key evidentiary issue is which parts of the siidas' late winter pastures near Storheia and Roan windfarms are lost, and the significance thereof for reindeer husbandry. Late winter grazing takes place from January to around Easter, over a period of approximately 90 days. A condition for late winter grazing is that the reindeer have access to lichens. Lichens are particularly accessible in bare rock areas with high wind-blown ridges, but this depends on the snow conditions in the relevant year. Only a small part of the total area referred to as late winter pasture allows the reindeer to graze. The turbines in the two windfarms are placed alongside the mountain ridges and thus in areas well suited for late winter grazing”²⁰⁹</p>
LANDSCAPE	<p>“According to Article 27 ICCPR, a violation occurs not only when an interference entails a total denial of the right to cultural enjoyment, but also when it has a considerable impact. When a cultural practice is vulnerable to begin with, a violation occurs already when the interference has a “a certain limited impact”. [...] Indigenous people' connection to the land must be included in the assessment.”²¹⁰</p>
CULTURAL SITES	<p>“It is also a factor in the assessment that the South-Sámi culture is particular vulnerable. Traditional reindeer husbandry is what carries this culture and the South-Sámi language. The interference does not imply total denial of the reindeer herders right to enjoy their own culture on Fosen.”²¹¹</p>

Figure 16. Table of Supreme Court Ruling Textual Overview

²⁰⁹ Anke over Frostating lagmannsretts overskjønn 8. juni 2020. Saks nr: HR-2021-1975-S, 20-143891SIV-HRET, 20-143892SIV-HRET, 20- 143893SIV-HRET (Norway's Supreme Court 2021), 13.

²¹⁰ Anke over Frostating lagmannsretts overskjønn 8. juni 2020. Saks nr: HR-2021-1975-S, 20-143891SIV-HRET, 20-143892SIV-HRET, 20- 143893SIV-HRET (Norway's Supreme Court 2021), 7.

²¹¹ Anke over Frostating lagmannsretts overskjønn 8. juni 2020. Saks nr: HR-2021-1975-S, 20-143891SIV-HRET, 20-143892SIV-HRET, 20- 143893SIV-HRET (Norway's Supreme Court 2021), 25.



Figure 17. Storheia wind park²¹²

In the last two documents, namely the Statkraft proposal and NVE report, it became apparent that first, Sámi cultural practice is dissociated from reindeer herding and the landscape in Fosen. Secondly, that the cultural practice is recognized but not validated in relation to a group of reindeer herders. Rather, the practice of reindeer herding is associated with natural terms of *tolerance limit*, which is threatened by not only the wind park but other factors, such as roads and building of cabins in the area. Furthermore, the documents point towards the lack of sufficient knowledge on the scale or dimension of the impact on the reindeers and reindeer herding.

After the license was approved by the NVE, there were several other appeal cases made through the District Court by both the North and South-Fosen *siida*, and through internal negotiations Statkraft with the involved companies attempted to find a compromise, mainly

²¹² Solveig Vanniez, *Storheia wind park*. May 5, 2024.

through financial compensation to the reindeer herders. The case was brought to the Supreme Court in 2018. Due to the scope of this thesis, I will not be going into the details of these appeals and negotiation, but rather turn to the Supreme Court ruling of October 2021.

The judgement document from the Supreme Court starts by giving an overview of the case and retelling the different phases of the demands from the reindeer herders and the other actors involved. Supreme Court outlines that some areas were reconsidered through the appeal of the reindeer herders, however the windmills are still present still on the North and South Fosen area. The document also underlines that in 2014, the *Sør-Fosen sittje* demanded an appraisal due “to be ruled inadmissible on the part of Storheia windfarm, principally because the license decision was a violation of minorities’ rights under Article 27 ICCPR to enjoy their own culture.”²¹³

The NVE Report also mentions the ICCPR Article 27 as one of the legal documents to be considered in relation to the consideration of not building the wind park in Fosen. The report by the NVE concludes that on the one hand Article 27 considers individuals and not groups of people, and a *siida* is considered as a group rather than an individual. The Supreme Court document also points out that in the Norwegian law the interpretation of Article 27 can only be applied to individual and not to groups of people such as *siidas*. However, it clears this ambiguity through evoking Article 27, and emphasizes that the protection can have certain ‘collective features.’ The *siida* is part of the ‘collective nature of the cultural practice’ of reindeer herding renders it applicable to the Fosen case.

All in all, the Supreme Court’s ruling differs from the appeal document in that it sees South-Sámi culture as vulnerable in terms of preservation of language and cultural practices. More importantly, it highlights the connection between the continuation of South-Sámi culture and

²¹³ “Licenses for Wind Power Development on Fosen Ruled Invalid as the Construction Violates Sami Reindeer Herders’ Right to Enjoy Their Own Culture,” accessed May 23, 2024, <https://www.domstol.no/en/supremecourt/rulings/2021/supreme-court-civil-cases/hr-2021-1975-s/>.

reindeer herding. With this connection, reindeer herding is understood as vital component to preserving South-Sámi culture. The Supreme Court's ruling establishes new connections that elevate the value and importance of reindeer herding in its context.

In some ways, it is not necessarily about further the empirical or scientific knowledge that makes the case strong; rather, it is these new connections that help us rethink or reconceptualize this landscape, partially through the Sámi perspective. More importantly, as mentioned previously, the Supreme Court's ruling rejects the idea that the Fosen landscape was meant for the wind park. Thus, it underlines how the wind turbines directly affect reindeer herding and, ultimately, South-Sámi culture, which is closely connected to the landscape of Fosen and cannot be extended to other areas.

Further, in thinking about landscape studies and how they can inform our understanding of the case, as well as how Sámi heritage is being negotiated through these documents, all the documents had a particular *way of seeing* the landscape in Fosen. On the one hand, the landscape was proposed as a perfect place for the windmills. On the other hand, the landscape was also seen as a fundamental part of green and sustainable turn in Norway. It was only in the Supreme Court ruling that there was an acknowledgment of the multiplicity of connections and relationships between Sámi culture, reindeer herding, and the landscape in Fosen.

Britta Marakatt-Labba embroiders Sámi life and history. Her imagery ranges from scenes of everyday life to the vastness of the cosmos. As an artist and environmental activist, she **creates embroideries that tell about Sámi culture, the landscape, and the life of reindeer in a natural world under pressure**. Using her experience and knowledge of reindeer herding, *duodji*, mythology and history, she illustrates the dangers of wide-scale industrialization, the repression of culture, and the unbalanced use of natural resources. Marakatt-Labba's art has had a major impact on Sámi identity building and a new generation of activists.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Exhibition Text, *Moving the Needle*, National Museum in Oslo.

The exhibition *Moving the Needle* at the National Museum, with the opening text quoted above, further aligns aesthetic practices, Sámi culture, the landscape, and the ongoing environmental threats in Sápmi. The opening text also highlights the importance of activists and, to a certain degree, artists in raising awareness about these topics, translating the Sámi worldview, and bringing it into “Norwegian” spaces. It also materializes the multiplicity of relations and the entanglement of practices taking place in the landscape and beyond, as well as the profound effects of intrusions such as the Fosen wind park.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have grounded my work in actor-network theory, museum studies, object biography and landscape studies, which together guided the examination of the establishment of the national museums in Norway, the object biography of *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* and the Fosen case. I used the two case studies as starting points for thinking about how Sámi heritage was translated and negotiated in “Norwegian” spaces. I also examined how this reflects (or fails to reflect) ongoing tensions between the recognition of Sámi culture and current threats to Sámi cultural practice exemplified by the Fosen case.

At first glance, the National Museum appears to have made the right decision by exhibiting *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* at the museum entrance. However, as one looks closer, and especially when bringing in the art object itself to the focus, the value and meaning of the art object seem to not only change, but also be changed by the environments it is in. The art and museum institutions also influence greatly, as put forward by Bennett and Preziosi, not only the kinds of art objects a society is exposed to but also how to understand them, and the institutions' role in formulating and understanding the past through them.

The past seeps into present conceptions of the landscape, and particularly of the Arctic landscape. Jovsset Ánte Sara's case (and thus *Pile o'Sápmi*, showcased in Chapter 2) is also about conceptualizing, imagining the Arctic tundra with reindeers and the Sámi communities and the sustainable relationship or tension between the two.²¹⁵ Importantly, for *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, another aspect is also at play. That is how its material and meaning has changed through its different forms and exhibition. It becomes clear that the art object, *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, has been channeled through the institution itself. Its aesthetic affect and agency have

²¹⁵ Benjaminsen et al. “Misreading the Arctic Landscape.

also changed since its first appearance as a pile of raw reindeer heads. However, through the audio guide and further engagements with Sámi art similarly to the *Moving the Needle* exhibition, *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme* becomes a departing point in forming new networks of relations informing the Sámi heritage discourse in a “Norwegian” space.

Pile o'Sápmi Supreme hangs, and will remain for the years to come, in the foyer of the National Museum in Oslo, in the same city that in February and October 2023 witnessed Sámi youth and Nature youth activists demanding the immediate suspension of the Fosen wind turbines following the Supreme Court decision of October 2021. The Sámi activists not only wanted for the wind turbines to be demolished, but also for their cultural rights, and with it right to existence in the landscape, to be recognized and respected. Once again, at first glance the Supreme Court ruling seems to mark a significant change in the discourse surrounding Sámi heritage in relation to a practice, such as reindeer herding, in the Norwegian landscape.

However, as the Norwegian government wants to safeguard the nature in the Arctic from the over grazing by the reindeer. Simultaneously, the Arctic and its fragile tundra is becoming the site of what it is labelled as a sustainable and modern transition, through wind parks and the extension of electrical grids.²¹⁶ Máret Anne Sara also points out that the reason for the reduction of the number of reindeers in the area is not only to protect the land, but also to make the natural resource present in the reindeer grazing areas available for the future.²¹⁷ These intrusions are justified as part of the sustainable turn, and they are also portrayed as an intrinsic part of the future of these seemingly ‘empty’ areas of Northern Norway. The related legal documents and the wider discourse surrounding them, especially statements from the government, were discussed in Chapter 3. The documents also underline the societal and

²¹⁶ Fjellheim, E.M. “You Can Kill Us with Dialogue.”

²¹⁷ *Pile o'Sápmi Supreme*, audio guide.

economic benefit of the wind park in Fosen, and how this change contributes to shaping a new potential future for Norway. Ultimately, this points towards the way that the landscape is very interchangeable and moldable in how it is perceived and actualized.

In the case of Fosen, the discussion is not only about how the landscape is being constructed as a site for the sustainable turn in Norway. Rather, that a variety of conflicting ideas of the landscape collide. They include an empty landscape, a mystical landscape full of wildlife, and a landscape that can be expropriated for economic benefits, in addition to the Sámi landscape (*meahcci*). Through the historical overview of the conceptualization of landscape in the Norwegian context, and the three documents pertaining to the Fosen case, a negotiation of these different ideas of the landscape are taking place. Harrison's notion of *assemblage* in cultural heritage, which is closely related to Actor-Network Theory (ANT), demonstrates how combining various elements can reveal the different kinds of networks formed by various actors.

The evolution of approaches to include different aspects of the landscape, namely South-Sámi reindeer herding, cultural sites, and the continuity of South-Sámi culture through reindeer herding in Fosen, can reveal different *ways of seeing* the landscape. Thus far, the research and the discourses surrounding this case are rather focused on the dichotomies of both how Fosen is viewed and used, and the place that Sámi communities carve out for themselves in this landscape. However, in my thesis I have tried to show that the conflict in this landscape is not only about the dichotomies of nature versus culture. Rather, as the Supreme Court ruling shows, it highlights the new connections, and the ways that the different elements are made to connect with each other to create a new perception and understanding of the landscape. By doing so, it highlights the intrinsic relationship between the land, reindeer herding and the continuity of South-Sámi culture.

Both in the institutions of arts and in the landscape more broadly, there is a way that these negotiations have the potential to be used as starting points for considerations not only about the past but, more importantly, the future. On the one hand, the National Museum in Oslo projects a new national historical narrative that includes Sámi and other ethnic-linguistic minorities' art, among art objects considered part of the Norwegian art canon. On the other hand, the Fosen landscape serves as a backdrop for how Norway envisions its future as a main actor in the sustainable turn. In both cases, however, other actors such as Sámi or Nature Youth activists, artists, and objects of art are challenging or renegotiating these potential futures by also bringing up the past and its heritage. In building upon this thesis, I would include interviews with Sámi activists, reindeer herders, *duojár*, and practitioners in the cited institutions as avenues for further research.

Ultimately, these new connections and intertwinement both within the museum and in the Fosen landscape are ultimately materialized through Britta Marakatt-Labba's current exhibition at the National Museum. *Moving the Needle* not only expresses awareness about degradations and intrusions on the Sámi landscape, but also brings forth an alternative manifestation of the relationship between the Sámi landscape, worldview, and heritage, in negotiation with, and in a "Norwegian" space.

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