The Wild Arctic Char in Swedish Sápmi – from Staple Ingredient to Nostalgic Food

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Abstract

The way food is preserved, prepared and consumed is embedded in cultural symbolism strongly connected to the geographical landscape. This article focuses on the memories of Sami actors within the wild Arctic char value chain to explore how changes in the foodscape influence the way this produce is prepared and consumed in contemporary Sápmi and the use and view of traditional preservation techniques. The empirical material was obtained through interviews and observations with Sami actors as they are the dominant agents related to this produce. Consequently, I traced different narratives attached to the char in the region called Swedish Sápmi and its connection to Sami food culture. Although the wild Arctic char still can be considered a staple ingredient within Sami food culture, it is not widely available nor consumed in the same ways nowadays. As certain traditional cooking and preservation methods such as salting, drying and fermentation are no longer needed to survive the stark winters, and cold technology is widely available, these products and specific flavors has become nostalgic food products, in connection to early memories and tradition. Hence, I argue that the Arctic char has moved from everyday consumption within the mountain Sami to an iconic ingredient within contemporary Sami gastronomy.

Keywords

Sami food culture; wild Arctic char; nostalgia; gastronomy; storage and preservation

> It's familiar [eating char], I have a connection. That's why I am grateful that I have experienced and have the memory of a sooty pot on the open fire, and directly cutting the fish [into it]. Nothing strange, only salty water and fish. And then reindeer fat and freshly baked bread. So, it is anchored to my role model, my mother was my role model [...].

Henrik is a self-employed Sami, who engages in different traditional Sami economic activities. He has worked with fishing and reindeer herding. He is well known within the community as there are few fishermen that are commercially engaged in fishing. In the above quote, he was asked to elaborate on what eating Arctic char means for him, and as all participants in this study, the wild Arctic char is a produce that has

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a strong connection to childhood memories, their parents and the food they grew up eating.

The wild Arctic char is a freshwater fish of the genus *Salveneus* that inhabits the circumpolar region. It can be found in Canada, Greenland and America, as well as Iceland, Norway and Sweden in Europe. [1] The char thrives in cold water streams and therefore inhabits glacier's meltwater flows within the Arctic region. It has a pinkish color as it feeds on invertebrates, plankton, insects and clams. Larger char is also known to feed on other fish and even smaller chars. It spawns from September to October on rocky shores in the shallow parts of the lakes it inhabits.[2] In Sweden, there are two types of Arctic char. This article focuses on *S.alpinus* known as *fjällröding* in Swedish as it is this variety that is found in the mountainous parts of Sápmi.

Sápmi is the region where the Sami people, the only Indigenous people of Europe have traditionally lived, and it expands from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.[3] In Sweden, Sápmi extends from Idre in the north of the Dalarna region to Treriksröset, which encompasses around half of the Swedish territory.[4] Sami culture is strongly connected to reindeer herding, as it is within this geographical location (Sápmi) that reindeer grazing patterns naturally occur[5] and Sami food culture is mostly known to be centered around reindeer products. However, Nilsson et al. found in their study of traditional Sami diet of the early twentieth century that fish was sometimes consumed more often than reindeer meat and this reflects the importance of other activities such as fishing, hunting and picking of berries and herbs, which are also central to Sami food culture.[6] However, there is a lack of research that addresses the importance of fish as a central component of Sami cuisine. Particularly within the field of Gastronomy which studies the way food is

[1] Alan Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food*, 3rd ed., ed. Tom Jaine (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[2] "Röding (stor- och fjäll-)," 2020, accessed 2023-10-31, https://www.havochvatten.se/arter-och-livsmiljoer/arter-och-naturtyper/roding-stor--och-fjall-.html; "Röding, Fjällröding, Bäckröding," Världens Naturvårdsorganisation, 2023, accessed 2/10/2023, 2023, https://www.wwf.se/fiskguiden/roding-fjallroding-backroding/.

[3] Victoria Harnesk, Bianca Brandon-Cox, and Anna-Marja Kaddik, *Smak på Sápmi. Samisk mat - tradition, innovation och framtid*, Slow Food Sápmi (Slow Food 2014); Phebe Fjellström, *Samernas Samhälle i Tradition och Nutid [Lappish society in tradition and the present day]* (Norstedt, 1986).

[4] Ingela Nilsson, *Analys av Sápmi. Regional SWOT inför Landsbygdsprogrammet och Havs- och Fiskeriprogrammet 2014 - 2020* (Sametinget, 2014).

[5] Harnesk, Brandon-Cox, and Kaddik, *Smak på Sápmi,*.

[6] Lena Maria Nilsson, Lars Dahlgren, Ingegerd Johansson, Magritt Brustad, Per Sjölander and Bethany Van Guelpen, "Diet and Lifestyle of the Sami of Southern Lapland in the 1930s-1950s and Today," *Int J Circumpolar Health* 70, no. 3 (Jun 2011), https://doi.org/10.3402/ijch.v70i3.17831.

produced, prepared, served and consumed within a social setting and its connection to a certain region, ethnicity or country.[7]

Within the Sami people, there are various Sami groups who have cultural, societal variations, including languages differences, as Sápmi is a very extensive region. Most of the differences between the Sami groups are connected to historical events such as migration, trade and the formation of modern states within Sápmi and their specific geographical location.[8] This means for example that the fish species consumed by a Sami group varies. Thus, the Arctic char is mostly consumed among the mountain Sami, as it is within this geographical location that the char inhabits. Although it is important to acknowledge the heterogeneity of the Sami people, the different groups also share similarities such as some traditional food preservation practices. Sápmi is a region with stark weather conditions that demanded that the Sami, mastered storage and preservation practices to be able to survive the seasons where no fresh food was available.[9]

However, the Sápmi foodscape is not static and has changed over time. In this article, I follow Johnston and Bauman understanding of foodscape as "a dynamic social construction that relates food to places, people, meanings and material processes."[10] In the Sápmi foodscape, these changes are connected to historical events and the advent of new technology which changed the way food is consumed, prepared, and preserved in the twentieth century. One event is the forced displacement of the northern Sami because of the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway. This culminated in the 1919 convention that regulated the right of Swedish Sami to summer grazing land in Norway, forcing around seventy families to move into southern Swedish Sápmi. This caused some to abandoned reindeer herding and dedicate themselves to other activity, loosing at the same time the Sami status as reindeer herders, according to the Swedish law of the time.[11] Another

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[7] Barbara Santich, "The Study of Gastronomy: A Catalyst for Cultural Understanding," *International Journal of the Humanities* 5, no. 6 (2007), https://doi.org/10.18848/1447-9508/CGP/v05i06/42143; Edgar Rojas-Rivas, Alicia Rendón-Domínguez, José Alberto Felipe-Salinas, Facundo Cuffia, "What Is Gastronomy? An Exploratory Study of Social Representation of Gastronomy and Mexican Cuisine among Experts and Consumers Using a Qualitative Approach," *Food Quality and Preference* 83 (2020).

[8] Phebe, Fjellström, *Samernas Samhälle.*

[9] Suzanne de la Barre and Patrick Brouder, "Consuming Stories: Placing Food in the Arctic Tourism Experience," *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 8, no. 2-3 (2013), https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2013.767811; Yang Yang, Jill E. Hobbs, David C. Natcher, "Assessing Consumer Willingness to Pay for Arctic Food Products," *Food Policy* 92 (2020), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2020.101846.

[10] Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann, *Foodies: Democracy and Distinction in the Gourmet Foodscape*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[11] Sunna Kuoljok, *La Historia Sami* (Kiruna: Sametinget, 1998); Birgitta Jahreskog, *The Sami National Minority in Sweden* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell international in collab. with Humanities P. for Rättsfonden, 1982).

important change in the foodscape was the introduction of cold technologies. In Sweden the freezer was introduced in 1940s, but as it was an expensive appliance, it took some decades to become mainstream.[12] Moreover, in 1959 Swedish state loans for dwelling construction and improvement were made available to Sami families, giving the Sami an easier access to western type of housing, although it was not until the 1970´s that this was more available.[13] Of these changes, the advent of the freezer has been widely studied.[14] However, how the latter and the historical events changed the foodscape and affected traditional preservation practices within Sami food culture has not been sufficiently researched. This article intents to start closing this gap by using the wild Arctic char as a case study and builds upon previous research that investigates foraging, storing, preserving and eating practices from the past in connection to emotions and nostalgia.[15]

Nostalgia can be understood as "yearning for yesterday."[16] This notion has been previously studied in connection to migration, trauma and geographical distance to the place of origin.[17] Nostalgia is commonly understood as initiated by memory, as this connects spaces, time, and people from the past probably lost in the present. These memories can be elicited by objects, images, smells or melodies. This is why food in its sensory dimension is an acknowledged and researched trigger for deep and nostalgic memory which can foster an emotional response.[18] Such emotional response connects individuals to their past, and to all formative experiences

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[12] Matilda Marshall, "Collective Cool: Freezer Lockers and Collective Freezing Practices," *Kulturella Perspektiv – Svensk etnologisk tidskrift* 32 (2023), https://doi.org/10.54807/kp.v32.2146; Matilda Marshall, "The Refrigerator as a Problem and Solution: Food Storage Practices as Part of Sustainable Food Culture," *Food & Foodways* 30, no. 4 (2022), https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2022.2124726.

[13] John Trygve Solbakk, *The Sámi People: A Handbook*, Ny omarb. uppl. ed. (Karasjok: Davvi Girji, 2006).

[14] See Matilda Marshall, "Collective Cool"; Matilda Marshall, "The Refrigerator as"; Elizabeth Shove and Dale Southerton, "Defrosting the Freezer: From Novelty to Convenience: A Narrative of Normalization," *Journal of Material Culture* 5, no. 3 (2000).

[15] See Jón Þór Pétursson and Matilda Marshall, "Pantry Memories : Storing Food and Feelings in Swedish Homes," *Etnologia Fennica 49* (2022), https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4292-4212; Ester Bardone, "Nostalgi Smakar Blåbar," in *Jordnära. Etnologiska Reflektioner över ny nordisk mat*, ed. Y Lindqvist and Österlund-Pötzch (Helsingfors, Sweden: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2018); David E. Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts: an Anthropology of Food and Memory*, Materializing culture (Oxford: Berg, 2001).

[16] Alexandra Vignolles and Paul-Emmanuel Pichon, "A Taste of Nostalgia: Links between Nostalgia and Food Consumption," *Qualitative Market Research* 17, no. 3 (2014), https://doi.org/10.1108/QMR-06-2012-0027.

[17] Louise O. Vasvári, "Culinary Nostalgia and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Addenda to Kinga Király's Az újrakezdés receptjei (2019) / Recipes for a New Beginning (2020)," *Hungarian Cultural Studies* 14 (2021), https://doi.org/10.5195/ahea.2021.437; Vignolles and Pichon, "A Taste of Nostalgia."

[18] Pétursson and Marshall, "Pantry Memories"; Vasvári, "Culinary Nostalgia."

spanning from childhood and onwards. These memories are elicited not only by eating or preparing the food itself but can be evoked by what Vasvári calls the "food talk". It is important to be aware that these memories are not necessarily built upon happy childhood memories which are commonly narrated in sources spanning from recipe notebooks and memoirs, but they can help recreate an idealized past through nostalgic discourse.[19] Furthermore, Vignolles and Pichon found that there are similarities within the sociological function of food consumption and nostalgia, as both assert group belonging and self-identity, formed from early life and thus can be seen as cultural acts.[20]

Sutton suggests that by safeguarding and transmitting the recipes and modes of preparation between generations, memories and histories can also be passed, and that these private memories may also contradict the official version of the past. He argues that remembering food that was either prepared and/or consumed is also a way to mark the rhythms of social life, making distinctions between every day and special occasions. Sutton also explores the way the nostalgic discourse of past food practices incorporates contradictory feelings. An example of this is the way people may mourn the loss of certain flavors and tastes due to changes in food production processes and at the same time be glad that these same changes made the produces safer to eat and store.[21] In line with this, the aim of this article is to explore how changes in the foodscape influence the way the wild Arctic char is prepared and consumed in contemporary Sápmi and the use and view of traditional preservation techniques. To achieve this aim, I use selected empirical material from a larger study that follows the wild Arctic char from lake to plate. In this article, I will focus specifically on the memories of fishing, preparing and eating the wild Arctic char among the Sami participants.

Material and Methods: Fishing Memories

The empirical material was gathered through semi-structured interviews and observations with Sami actors, who are all part of the wild Arctic value chain, as they are the dominant actors of this produce. This is due to the fact that most of the lakes where the Arctic char inhabits are located within geographical locations, called "Sameby". Although the literal translation is "Sámi village", a Sameby is an economic and administrative association and a legal entity with geographical jurisdiction over reindeer grazing areas historically used by the Sami.[22]

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[19] Vasvári, "Culinary Nostalgia."

[20] Vignolles and Pichon, "A Taste of Nostalgia."

[21] Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts.*

[22] "Samebyar," Sametinget, updated 2022-09-09, 2022, accessed 17th January, 2024, https://www.sametinget.se/samebyar; Jahreskog, *The Sami national minority in Sweden*; Victoria Harnesk, Bianca Brandon-Cox, and Anna-Marja Kaddik, *Smak på Sápmi,*.

The recruitment process was done in cooperation with Slow Food Sápmi, a Sami branch organization that focus on developing and safeguarding Sami food, and the right of the Sami to food sovereignty. After first contact with relevant actors I used a Snowball sampling method to reach more participants.[23] All the actors participating in this study are involved in economic activities connected to the fishing, processing, selling, and service of the wild Arctic char within a gastronomic venue (e.g. a restaurant, catering service or gastrotourism, see Table 1).

Table 1: Overview of participants and related companies

Participants	**Activity**	**Observation**
David	Fishing	*
Henrik	Fishing	-
Martin	Processing and sales	Walk-along of premises
Kajsa (married into a Sami family)	Restaurant	"Fish lunch" for Sami elders
Diana	Restaurant	*
Gustav	Fishing/ Catering	-
Erik	Fishing/ gastrotourism	Preparation of char preserves
Astrid		
Kristin		

*Material not included in this article

The interviewees' age ranges from 40 to 80 years old, with an average of 59. All companies are micro to small businesses, with the majority being family businesses. In total, nine interviews and three observations were included in the analysis. The analysis for this article was based on three overarching questions from the interviews which centered on memories of fishing, preparing and eating the char and informal conversations during observations regarding the same subjects. The interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the field notes and pictures taken during observations were written into observation reports. Thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke[24] was performed using the MAXQDA software. All participants have been given fictitious names. Ethical approval was granted by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority (Dnr 2022-00467-01).

[23] Kath Browne, "Snowball Sampling: Using Social Networks to Research Non-heterosexual Women " Internat*ional Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8, 1 (2005), https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/1364557032000081663.

[24] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2022).

Fishing, Preparing and Serving Wild Arctic Char: Yesterday and Today

The results show that over the years changes within the foodscapes have influenced the way the Arctic char is prepared and consumed. These changes are represented through three themes: (1) Summer memories: fishing and eating fresh wild Arctic char (2) Winter memories: the taste of preserved Arctic char and (3) Eating wild Arctic char today.

Summer Memories: Fishing and Eating Fresh Wild Arctic Char

According to all participants the wild Arctic char is regarded as a staple within Sami food culture, particularly during the summer months where the families move up with the reindeers to the cooler climate in the mountains for the marking of the reindeer calves. David, who is a fisherman, fondly remembers these events from his childhood:

> Well, when I was growing up, fish was summer food, so for me, we have been eating fish since I was a child, since I was little. So, it's been natural, that's what we eat and then we've varied the cooking, In the morning it's usually boiled fish and then in the evening, it's more fried or smoked. Cold-smoked fish, that we then fry in the fire. I think that's it, there's nothing better! I have eaten it all my life and for me there's nothing that beats it. Cold-smoked whitefish or char that you roast by the fire and then eat it in one sitting, it's a delicacy.

The closeness to the cold lakes makes fish the primarily fresh produce available for the participants during the summer. Hence, the tradition of eating Arctic char in this season originates from the necessity of procuring food where the family was located, which was up in the mountains where the char inhabits. Reindeer was not slaughtered until the fall, which meant that the participants who craved fresh reindeer meat had to wait for it.

These positive memories of eating fish during the summer months were also nuanced with memories of hardship and hard work. In the absence of modern transport vehicles such as ATV (all-terrain vehicles) they remembered how their parents had to walk down the mountain carrying a heavy load of fish on their backs to sell. Another example is a memory shared by many at the elders' fish-lunch. They told stories about their mothers having to juggle children care and fishing, while the men were taking care of the reindeers. These shared food memories illustrate how food is an important part of creating a shared identity and group belonging[25] as well

[25] Vignolles and Pichon, "A Taste of Nostalgia."

as bringing up contradictory feelings.[26] The yearning for yesterday's simpler times is at the same time a memory of the struggle to provide for the family.

Winter Memories: the Taste of Preserved Arctic Char

The Arctic char was also a staple during the autumn and winter but then mostly preserved. The most common methods to preserve the char until the next spring were to salt it or to dry it. To smoke or dry the char, it is first opened in butterfly (see Figure 1), and then salted, to finally be hung.

Figure 1: Char opened in butterfly, lightly salted and smoked

This technique kept insects and other animals away from the fish. The process was also facilitated by one of the two traditional Sami housing called *tältkåta* (in Swedish, and *lávvuo* in Sami), which is similar to tents or tipi. This type of housing allowed the Sami to follow the reindeer grazing patterns. Henrik described how they used the open fire that is built in the center of the *tältkåta* to cook the food, and how it also allowed to preserve the fish.

> We actually did that [smoke the fish], but it was when we lived in a "tältkåta" and fished, then we smoked, we smoked the fish flat. You split them open and then you flat smoked them, and then you fried them. But there was always leftover fish. These were hung up on a stick in the kåta to be dried. Once dried, then you put them in boiling water.

Salted and fermented char (*saltfisk* in Swedish) was another common way to ppreserve the char during the wintertime. This was done by salting the char in layers inside a barrel which stayed outside the other type of Sami traditional housing, the *kåta* (in Swedish and *goahti, goahte, gábma, gåhte, gåhtie* or *gåetie* in the regional

[26] Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*.

Sami languages, this housing is not mobile, and it is similar to a hut or cabin). Over time, this kind of preservation created a very particular taste due to the type of fermentation that occurred when the fish was pressed down due to the weight. This meant that the last fish from this kind of preservation had a very different taste than the fish that was eaten earlier.

These examples illustrate how food memories allow the participants to recall the rhythms and passing of the seasons, something widely studied with anthropology, ethnography and folklore studies.[27] Furthermore, preservation of the summer food was crucial for winter survival, something that illustrates the characteristics of the Sápmi foodscape of the past. This foodscape was characterized by specific types of housing, harsh winter conditions and all of this without the comforts of modern technology. Thus, preserved food meant survival, something they share with different ethnic groups and national cultures.[28]

Eating Wild Arctic Char Today

Nowadays the wild Arctic char is commonly stored frozen. The cold chain has allowed the wild Arctic char to be eaten and prepared “fresh” (without any preservation method which drastically altered the flavor) during the autumn and winter as well. The ubiquitousness of the freezer (and displacement of preservation methods for food procurement and storage) was visible when David showed the communal freezer container that was rented by the Sameby. It was used by all who went to the mountain to mark the reindeer calves during summer months. The container also served him to store the fished wild Arctic char which was fast frozen in vacuum bags to be sold.

Today salting and drying is very rare. Drying is a process that takes a long time and thus has largely been abandoned. Only some actors process the fish in a similar way to salted fish but without the fermentation as the necessity to make it last throughout the winter has disappeared. Martin who sells and processes the fish explained the demand for this product among private consumers today:

> The most common customers are people, around my age 50-60 + and up who have grown up with salted fish, or their parents, or they have in some way a connection to the mountains or inland where they have eaten salted fish.

The only preservation method that continues to be common in commercial formats is smoking. This method is very popular, both within and outside the Sami community. For the Sami who fish in the mountains and do not have access to freezer containers or boxes, they continue to apply this method. Although this

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[27] Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts,*.

[28] Pétursson and Marshall, “Pantry Memories”; Vasvári, "Culinary Nostalgia"; Bardone, "Nostalgi Smakar Blåbar."

process allows to slow down the decomposition of the char, it still has to be followed by refrigeration or another type of preservation. Astrid, for example, who both fishes and processes the char as well as offering gastrotourism, prepares a conserve with this kind of char in canola oil.

According to all participants, the philosophy behind Sami gastronomy is to appreciate the flavors of the produce and the "purity" of the ingredients. Kajsa describes it like this:

> Then there's smoked fish, you can prepare it in many ways, but lightly smoked char is also good. […] Eh, but it's also very good with boiled potatoes and a little butter on the side. It depends on how you eat it, but just boiled char, lightly salted boiled char on a Gáhkku [Sami flat bread] with a little butter, it's something special. Then you feel these flavors, it is hard to define them with words, so it's hard to explain what a taste is like, but for me it's purity, I can distinguish the flavors, and they marry each other.

Sami gastronomy is, thus, grounded in very basic cooking techniques, such as boiling, and few ingredients, to appreciate the quality of the ingredients in their "natural" state. This minimalistic cuisine also reflects the geography and harshness of Sápmi, where most of the traditional dishes originate from the resources available and the traditional way of living in a *kåta* and/or *tältkåta* with the open fire at the center and the possibilities that these conditions allowed.

Conclusion: from Staple Ingredient to Nostalgic Food

By focusing on the memories of Sami actors within the wild Arctic char value chain, I have explored how changes in the foodscape influence the way the wild Arctic char is prepared and consumed in contemporary Sápmi and the use and view of traditional preservation techniques. The findings show that the journey of the wild Arctic char from a staple ingredient to a nostalgic one, not accessible to all, is in line with changes in the foodscape. Access to modern technology, both transport and storage, have made food available all year long, a phenomenon not unique to Sápmi. Furthermore, the low prices that food enjoys today (despite the recent increase in prices due to high inflation, food represents still a small percentage of a family's income) has also had a significant impact[29] and thus decreased the necessity to rely on the natural resources available for food procurement. This global phenomenon has changed the way people live, and what and how they eat. Hence, the consumption of wild Arctic char is no longer connected to food security for the Sami community but has instead become a delicacy, mostly enjoyed by those who fish it for private consumption. This is because its commercial price is high, something

[29] Colin Michael Hall and Stefan Gössling, *Sustainable Culinary Systems Local Foods, Innovation, Tourism and Hospitality* (London: Routledge, 2013).

that reflects the few commercial wild Arctic char fishermen that exist nowadays. Hence, the Arctic char has moved from everyday consumption within the mountain Sami to an iconic ingredient within contemporary Sami gastronomy.

In particular, the use of salted and dried char today seems to have a different meaning within Sami food culture. From being a staple winter food to a produce that evokes past times. These char preserves are regarded as an acquired taste, as primarily the ones that grew up eating it tend to consume and enjoy it. Hence, the particular flavors that these preservation methods give to the char have a nostalgic connotation for the older generations and are seen as strange by the younger Sami. However, some preservation and cooking practices have remained unchanged. This is the case of smoked char, which is now considered a trademark within Sami gastronomy, despite modern technologies which give simpler solutions to preserve the food products all year long. This shows the constant negotiation between the demands of modern life and the desire to keep traditions alive as part of peoples' identity. The contradictory nature of nostalgic discourse that was found in the food memories explored in this article serve as means to conciliate the mourning for past times while being aware of the advantages of modern life.[30] This is important to avoid the danger of romanticizing the past.

To conclude, this article has shown that some preservation practices are no longer central to the survival of the Sami community, instead, they have become a means to pass on their traditions and history, which is in accordance to other studies on food, memory and nostalgia.[31] In other words, these preservation and cooking practices are also part of Sami food heritage, and inform the relationship of humans and nature.[32] However, as the changing lifestyles do not reflect the same need for them today, they face the risk of disappearing if the knowledge is not transferred to new generations.

Although the arctic char has been fished and eaten by the Sami for generations in the mountain lakes and inland waters of the Sápmi region, the products that is most associated with Sami gastronomy is still the reindeer. This article brings attention to the importance of fish both as a staple ingredient that used to be consumed throughout the year and as an iconic ingredient within contemporary Sami gastronomy.

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[30] Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*.

[31] See Pétursson and Marshall, "Pantry Memories"; Bardone, "Nostalgi Smakar Blåbar"; Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*.

[32] Mari Kivitalo, Kaisu Kumpulainen, and Katriina Soini, "Exploring Culture and Sustainability in Rural Finland," in *Cultural Sustainability and Regional Development*, ed. J. Dessein, E. Battaglini, and L. Horlings (London and New York: Routledge, 2015).