The role of museum institutions in relation to research on Sámi culture, history, and society in Norway until the post World War II years

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Abstract: *This article examines the roles of two Norwegian museums; the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo and Tromsø Museum in Northern Norway, in relation to the production of Sámi research from the end of the nineteenth century until the Post World War II years. By emphasising the academic development of Ole Solberg, Just Qvigstad, Gutorm Gjessing, Knut Kolsrud and Ørnulv Vorren and the development of professional networks, the article calls attention to the establishment of a research strategy in 1913, the establishment of the Institute of Comparative Research in 1923, and the effects of these for studies of Sámi culture and society. Moreover, the article argues that the ethnographer Ørnulv Vorren and Tromsø Museum became important contributors to the advancement of Sámi research and the bolstering of the Sámi ethno-political movement.¹*

Keywords: History of ethnography, Norway, Ethnographic Museum in Oslo, Tromsø Museum, Institute of Comparative Research of Human Culture, studies of Sámi cultures.

In this article, I will illuminate different perspectives related to research on Sámi culture, history, and society at the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo, and what would become the ethnographic department at Tromsø Museum from the end of the nineteenth century until the post-World War II years. Using a biographical approach, where the importance of individual academic

development in relation to the development of networks of professional groups is taken into consideration, I focus on a particular strategy of scientific research on the Sámi. I specifically consider the role of Ole Solberg (1879–1946) and his students and recruits, the archaeologist and anthropologist Gutorm Gjessing (1906–1977), and the ethnographer Ørnulv Vorren (1916–2007), but I will also

shed light on other noteworthy figures in this network. As Solberg, both Gjessing and Vorren were directors of the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo, and/or at Tromsø Museum for more than half a century. By illuminating their manifold approaches, I want to explore how Sámi research was developed in a collaboration between the universities and the ethnographic museums. I am specially interested in how the studies of the Coastal Sámi culture and societies were integrated, in spite of the explicit goal of studying reindeer herding. The concept of the Coastal Sámi included the focus on different groups of the Sea Sámi, the reindeer herding Sámi, the 'Markabygd' Sámi, and a combination of these.² Moreover, the process of the establishment of the Institute of Comparative Research of Human Culture in Kristiania [Oslo] in 1923³ was a model and an inspiration for studies on Sámi culture and society, which have had a lasting impact until today.

OLE SOLBERG AND THE COINING OF A SÁMI RESEARCH PLAN

Ole Solberg started his museum career as associate professor (1906–1908) at the Museum of Ethnography in Oslo, and later he became a research fellow in ethnography (1912–1917) at the University of Kristiania. In 1917, he was appointed professor and director at the museum (Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:42). Solberg's studies of the prehistoric inhabitants of the island of *Dálmomat/Kjelmøy* in Varanger, was according to the archaeologist Inger Storli (1986:47–48) central to the development of the study of the so-called Sámi Iron Age (1909). Solberg carried out studies of the Sámi in Sweden (1902) and the Hopi in Arizona (1903–1904) (Solberg 1906; Gjessing 1962:142–145; Klausen 1981a:141–153; Kyllingstad 2008:340).

During a longer stay at the University of Leipzig, he wrote his thesis in ethnography on religious practice among the Hopi Indians (Isachsen 1948:42), with archaeology and anthropology as subsidiary subjects. From 1914 until the 1930s, he continued to do fieldwork in Sámi settled areas such as in *Aarporte/Hattfjelldal* and *Sázzá/Senja*, among others (Solberg 1934–1944:3–5). His main goal was to build up the museum as an institution of research and mediation. That implied recruitment of researchers within each field, the accumulation of the different collections, and attending to the everyday tasks of the museum (Gjessing & Johannessen 1957). Also included, was the building up of the library, as well as publishing. Solberg stimulated his recruits to become co-editors and to publish source material, in addition to their own studies. Solberg was a skilled collector who made use of both a qualitative and systematic approach. He built up the collections in relation to his own research (Hopi and Sámi), as well as acquired items from other collections from all over the world, as well from indigenous peoples, such as the Inuit (Greenland, Alaska), and the Sámi in Northern Norway (Isachsen 1948:42–43, Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:45, 121, 145–146; Bouquet 1996:47–59). During World War II the Ethnographic Museum, which was located in the center of Oslo, was occupied by the Germans. Solberg sold his own flat, and when his house was confiscated, he lived at the loft of the museum while looking after it and the part of the collections which were not evacuated.

In connection with the upheaval of the Union between Sweden and Norway in 1905, the first case to be settled between the two nations was the disagreement on reindeer herding management and the grazing areas within the two states (Isachsen 1948:45). Solberg's (1928/1913:10–15) approach to the

Fig. 1. Ole Solberg (1879–1946), professor of ethnography and director of the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo 1917–1946. Kulturhistorisk museum, Universitetet i Oslo. Painting: Eivind Engebretsen. Photo: Ann Christine Eek.

the research on other themes such as language, physical anthropology, and law, among others, they were taken care of by researchers in different disciplines at the university. Solberg played a central role in this process, as he had connections to both the museum and the university and he had profound knowledge of the cultures and history of East Finnmark (Isachsen 1948:40–49; Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:36–49; Storm 2010:343–345). Inspired by the German-American anthropologist Franz Boas⁵ (1858–1942), Solberg (in Stang 1928:12) elaborated how the research on the culture of the Arctic People could be executed (Storm 2010:344). He listed ten objectives, or areas, which he found relevant to expand on and concretize relating to the existing sources and the possibilities to engage researchers representing the various disciplines and/or themes (Solberg in Stang 1928:10–15). These objectives, or areas, were listed as follows (here the endonym “Sámi” is used rather than the exonym “Lapps/Lappish”, which was dominant at that time and written by Solberg):

issue was formulated in the “Memorandum”,⁴ which became the basis for the development of a research program at the Institute of Comparative Research on Human Culture ten years later (discussed in detail below). The program was based on the question brought about by the “Reindeer grazing commission” and the management of the border-crossing reindeer herding in the northern part of Norway and Sweden (Stang 1928:10–23; Isachsen 1948:45; Storm 2009:13–44). Focusing on reindeer herding, Solberg developed a comprehensive strategy to approach and develop research on Sámi societies, culture, history and language. Research at the Ethnographic Museum followed the themes sketched out in the strategy. In connection to

1. to shed full light on the activities in connection to the reindeer; herding/ husbandry industry, as an economic basis to focus on the “the real Culture of the Sámi”;
2. Sámi ways of settlement including the nomadic camp and its organisation, also the transition to permanent settlements;
3. the material culture of the Sámi compared to the Scandinavian, Qven, or Russian material expressions;
4. collection of folklore, specimen of music, customs and legal conceptions.
5. studies of the pre-Christian [“old”] religion;
6. linguistic research;
7. research in the early history of the Sámi;

- 64   8. archaeological research within the areas inhabited by the Sámi;
           9. physical-anthropological studies:
           10. research in psychology.⁶

This rather ambitious program was to be accomplished during a five year period. When the period was over, a solid understanding of the first seven areas was expected. The plan had a holistic perspective and applied a comparative approach to build up knowledge by exploring each theme. The main focus was on reindeer herding and husbandry, which was considered to express the “true” Sámi culture (Solberg 1928:13). The perspectives of Sámi history and prehistory were also to be collected and compared with physical anthropological studies. After Solberg became the director of the Museum of Ethnography in 1917, he withdrew from the process.

JUST QVIGSTAD – FURTHER ELABORATION OF THE PLAN

Just Qvigstad (1853–1957), a linguist in Sámi and Finnish, folklorist, and former rector at the Teachers College in Tromsø, replaced Solberg. At the time, Qvigstad was continuing his research on North Sámi language, folklore, and placenames as senior research fellow with grants from the government (Hansen 1992). In 1924, at the age of 71, Qvigstad presented his elaborated version of the plan on Sámi cultural research in his introductory lecture at the Institute of Comparative Research on Human Culture (Qvigstad 1925:60–82; Jølle 2004:314). Departing from a comparative perspective on the reindeer Sámi population, Qvigstad (1925:74) characterized the Sea Sámi population and economy, one of the groups of the Coastal Sámi, echoing a diffusionistic perspective on loans of culture: “Only the

reindeer herding population have generated a particular culture; the Sea Sámi have lived on loans from the Norwegians”.⁷ The plan was further elaborated by professor Fredrik Stang (1928:10–23), the leader of the institute. He worked out an even more detailed and updated plan, tying the different perspectives from Solberg and Qvigstad together.

The research on Sámi culture and society is an example which shows the importance of the Institute of Comparative Research on Human Culture as a national research arena. The institute has been thoroughly examined by the historian Jon Røyne Kyllingstad (2008), who analysed its establishment, social responsibility, and objectives as an arena where the researchers could work across disciplinary borders, elaborate transborder knowledge production, and the results of these processes. As most Scandinavian research at the time, the studies at the Institute of Comparative Research on Human Culture and Museum of Ethnography, was also influenced by German research traditions (Kyllingstad 2008:9–10). Topics, theories, and methodologies covering the first half of the twentieth century were changed due to the influence of the Anglo-American social science tradition, which became of great interest after World War II. Building up the institute as an institution and arena for the production of knowledge and research of international importance was an intensive process during the 1920s and 1930s. Besides invited international expertise, the visiting researchers mainly represented the University of Oslo and other scientific institutions in the capital. In addition, the strengthening of research at the national level and recruitment was emphasised. From 1927 and onwards, researchers from the rest of the country were encouraged to participate by way of grants (Stang 1930:7). There were several

Fig. 2. Just Knud Qvigstad (1853–1957) in conversation with his successor Ørnulv Vorren (1916–2007). Both were northerners. Qvigstad grew up at Lyngseidet in Troms. Vorren grew up in Neiden in Finnmark. Tromsø University Museum.

visiting researchers from Northern Norway as Qvigstad was from Tromsø. Besides several assignments, Qvigstad had been the manager of the “Lappish [Sámi] collection” of Tromsø Museum while being an unpaid member of the board of the same museum during the period 1884–1934 (Hansen 1992:55). Through Qvigstad’s correspondence, there is information about some objects which were gathered for the Sámi collection at the museum. But his collection was mostly in the fields of oral and linguistic information, mainly Sámi language, Sámi placenames, information on sacred places and religious activity, the land use in connection to reindeer herding management, and of folklore.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CROSS-DISCIPLINARY APPROACH

The arena and milieu at the Institute of Comparative Research on Human Culture became important for the development of a cross-disciplinary approach where the research of Sámi culture took place in a multidisciplinary context. In a centennial report, Gutorm Gjessing and Marie Krekling Johannessen (1957:46, 55–57), one of the few female professionals at the time, was responsible for a similar development which took place at the Museum of Ethnography in Oslo. The study of culture of the Arctic peoples was led by professor Solberg as part of a wide approach to ethnographic studies. He put

special weight on recruitment and research on the Sámi in Norway. In addition to research, Solberg emphasised work in the museum. With his knowledge, experience, qualifications and expertise, Solberg was an active supplier of terms and conditions for the development of research on Sámi society and culture. He remained influential until his death in 1947 (Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:150–151). The research, collections, mediation and other tasks at the museum were incorporated into a methodical, systematic working strategy. The comprehensive “Memorandum” from 1913 was a basic element of the plan (Stang 1928:10–15).⁸ This was later confirmed by, among others, Johannes Falkenberg (1944:54; Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:56), one of Solberg’s recruits and students. In the introduction to his ethnographic study in East Finnmark in the 1930s, he referred to the research strategy as a reason and starting point for the study.

Publication was one of the main tasks of the Museum of Ethnography and was instrumental to the mediation, as well as the building up of a library (Isachsen 1948:45–46; Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:86–90,151). The museum’s publications cover many different areas and disciplines and in particular, consist of publications on Sámi historical sources and historical sources of the Inuit in *Kalaallit Nunaat*/Greenland. In relation to the research on Sámi culture and society, a series of monographs were published from the period of 1920 to 1941, while the archival series “North Norwegian collections” was published during the period 1932–1947 (Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:86–90; Storm 2010:345–346). In both series, many new studies were published, including studies conducted by the recruits and important source material, which later formed the basis for research on Sámi culture and society. The main focus

was on Sámi and Norwegian settlement and economies, as well as the religious situation and social relationships in Northern Norway.

TEACHING AND RECRUITMENT

The teaching of ethnography was one of the tasks Solberg developed from 1913, and which he emphasised further as professor at the Museum of Ethnography from 1917 (Isachsen 1948:45). The recruitment of students took place in cooperation with the Institute of Geography at the University of Oslo. The teaching took place at both institutions (confirmed by Ø. Vorren in interviews by author in 1993). The human geographer Fridtjov Isachsen (1906–1979) (1948:41, 45–47) described the cooperation between Solberg and himself. Solberg kept to a formal attitude. At the same time he gave in-depth presentations and induced in the students a good sense of constructive criticism, style, and form. He was seriously concerned about the students gaining the competence to work at a museum (Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:42). He pointed out that the tasks of working at a museum were very specialized and demanded certain professional, occupational, and academic qualifications. Above all, however, the work required a long practical education. This demand was not met by choosing an incidental or casual applicant to the position as director, he expressed. Besides Solberg’s earlier works, there are only a few publications which can be connected to teaching (Isachsen 1948:45; Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:44–45).

During the 1930s, there were students within the philological field who combined geography and ethnography with topics of research on Sámi culture and society. In 1938, the teaching was organized in such a way that once a week, professor Isachsen gave lectures

Fig. 3. Knut Kolsrud (1916–1989), one of Solberg's recruits, later curator at Norsk Folkemuseum (Norwegian Museum of Cultural History) and professor of ethnology at the University of Oslo. Norsk Folkemuseum.

at the Domus Academica, in Urbygningen, according to the accounts of Ørnulv Vorren (Storm's interviews of Vorren 1993).⁹ Isachsen is known to have been a brilliant lecturer and very systematic in his introduction of geographical method. It seems there were few lectures and the students were mostly left to fend for themselves, studying in the reading room at the Museum of Ethnography. To take the exam, the candidate had to give a lecture on a chosen theme. The oral examination was conducted by Solberg and Isachsen.

Solberg's knowledge and research on Sámi culture, from prehistory to contemporary times,

in Northern Norway, led to the recruitment of students in geography and ethnography who wanted to specialise in Sámi research. Among these students were the already mentioned social anthropologist Johannes Falkenberg (1911–2004) who worked at the Museum of Ethnography in Oslo, as well as Knut Kolsrud (1916–1989) and Ørnulv Vorren. During his lifetime, Falkenberg (1944) combined areas of research, themes, and approaches in contemporary studies of the settlement, material culture, and economy of the Sea Sámi population in East Finnmark (Gjessing 1947:49; Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:86–90). As a senior researcher at the end of his career at the Norsk Folkemuseum in Oslo, Falkenberg (1953, 1978, 1982, 1984, 1988) focused on the South Sámi and their situation, especially with regard to reindeer herding around 1900, a phase that was characterized by radical changes. The study was closely connected to the initial strategy of Solberg. During the 1940s and 1950s, Falkenberg (1948) conducted studies of kinship in Aboriginal societies in North West Australia.

KNUT KOLSRUD AND THE STUDY OF THE COASTAL SÁMI

Another recruit of Solberg was the ethnologist Knut Kolsrud (Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:57, 86–90; Rasmussen 1990:136–137; Rogan 2002: 323–324). His field of expertise included geography and sociology, which influenced his choices of studies and methods. His main focus was Coastal Sámi settlement and economy in different regions, especially in the counties of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark, from the sixteenth century onward.¹⁰ Through studies of archival material and fieldwork, he focused on demographic conditions and the material and everyday life in his contemporary

works. As pointed out by the historian Fredrik W. Thue, the studies of ethnography/anthropology witnessed a growth after World War II, as did the social sciences in Norway in general, not least inspired by the development at universities in the USA (Thue 1997:155–167). From 1946 to 1949, Kolsrud attended lectures in anthropology and held a position as a research assistant at the Chicago Natural History Museum (Rasmussen 1990:136–137; Rogan 2002:323–324). Back in Norway, he became the curator at the Norwegian Folk Museum in Oslo. During the period of 1950 to 1960, he was also a senior lecturer at the University of Gothenburg. From 1961 to 1986, he was a professor in ethnology at the University of Oslo. He introduced his students to a whole new focus and understanding of the history and culture of the Coastal Sámi. The point of departure was his work on the Coastal Sámi population and economy in *Ofuohtta/* Ofoten in Troms and at *Čoalmmenuorri/* the sound of Rognsund in Finnmark, as well as other Coastal Sámi settlements (The authors notes from Kolsrud's lectures in Ethnology 1968–1969).

Kolsrud's doctoral thesis on the Coastal Sámi in *Ofuohtta/* Ofoten was completed before 1946, and the next year it was published in the series "North Norwegian collections", edited by Gjessing. Gjessing referred to Kolsrud's thesis as "...methodologically it is primarily historical and the author stresses particularly the demographic evaluation of the material, the ethnographic treatment being secondary" (1947:49). Meanwhile, Kolsrud went to Chicago to study. Because of the war, the master's thesis was published after the doctoral thesis. The master's thesis was a contemporary study of the coastal Sámi population along *Čoalmmenuorri/* the sound of Rognsund – a sound in West-Finnmark in the south leading

Fig. 4. Guttorm Gjessing (1906–1979) receiving the J.K. Qvigstad prize at Tromsø Museum's centennial in 1972. Tromsø University Museum.

to the *Áltavuotna/* Altafjord. The communities where Kolsrud (1955/1943) conducted fieldwork during the war in 1942, were located on the islands of *Stierdná/* Stjernøya and *Sievjul/* Seiland (Gjessing 1947:49). Sámi handicraft, practice and knowledge had gained new value during the years of World War II due to lack of material goods and food. Kolsrud (1961:5–6) developed his later study of the Sámi settlements in the fjords of *Ofuohtta/* Ofoten as an answer to the comments made by Gjessing (1951) during the dissertation. Through the comparative study of the Sámi settlement in the fjords of *Ofuohtta/* Ofoten, *Divtasvuodna/* Tysfjord in Nordland and *Várjjat/* Varanger in Finnmark, he analyzed their opposite cycles of land use. The settled population was here to be

understood as “a processual concept” where the population was located on several dwelling areas throughout a year.

The anthropologist Gutorm Gjessing (1906–1979) was trained as an archaeologist at the University of Oslo where he graduated in 1931. In the late 1920s, he was engaged in different positions, among them, at the Department of Historical and Antiquarian at Tromsø Museum. During the summer seasons he participated in research and fieldwork related to cultural heritage management. From 1936, he contributed as curator, “a professional humanist” as he expressed it himself, and as the manager of the Department of Historical-Antiquarian, until the spring of 1940 and the outbreak of World War II when he moved to Oslo (Tromsø Museum Årsberetninger; Gjessing 1947:47). While working in Tromsø, Gjessing carried out a series of important projects and studies in North Norwegian archaeology – projects on rockcarving as well as other projects. One project was the systematizing of the different cultural historical collections. The Sámi [Lapp] collection was expanded with detailed drawings and comments. He acquired broad experience, qualifications and skills on research and different tasks at the museum, as well as knowledge of the ethnic composition of the North Norwegian population. According to the cultural anthropologist Arne Martin Klausen (1981b:226), this period gave rise to a permanent interest in ‘circumpolar societies’ and ‘cultural space’ – concepts he created, and which became part of the disciplinary vocabulary.

In connection to archaeological findings and excavations, Gjessing became involved in questions about Sámi culture and society. Amongst other topics, he problematized the presentations of the thousand year old textile finding at Skjoldehamn south, at the island

of *Ánddasuolu*/Andøya north in *Viester-Álás*/Vesterålen (Gjessing 1938; Storm 1997; Løvlid 2009). Two years later, together with his wife, he co-published mapping and discussion of the sources of the Sámi dress culture in a cultural historical perspective (Gjessing & Gjessing 1940).¹¹ Simultaneously, in connection with the findings of sown boats and burials at the outer coast of Troms (Bårdset, on the North-Kvaløy island) and Nordland (*Iksnašše*/Øksnes, Skogsøya, *Viester-Álás*/Vesterålen), these questions were discussed (Gjessing 1938; Gjessing 1941). The excavations reflect the composite ethnic population, and his approach followed the same approach as Solberg at *Dállmát*/Kjelmøy. But as Gjessing later recognized, and expressed in a retrospect:

Not until 1936, sixty-four years after its foundation, was a professional humanist appointed to the museum, and for several reasons an archaeologist was chosen. He has more than enough tasks to carry out in his own field, without embarking on “Lapp studies” (Gjessing 1947:47).

ØRNULV VORREN, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW DEPARTMENT AND A NEW RESEARCH PLAN

Until the mid 1930s, it seems like the emphasis on research of Sámi culture, history, and language was taken care until then by Qvigstad and the theologian Kristian Nissen (1879–1968), as members of the board of the Tromsø Museum, but as Gjessing’s comment indicates, the daily operation was in great need of a humanist or social scientist to take on this responsibility at the museum. At that time, plans were articulated to establish and develop a department with special responsibility for Sámi ethnography. This was realized in 1949 when Ørnulv Vorren was employed as

curator at the new department – a position he shared while working as a teacher at the Teacher's Training College (Gjessing 1947:47; Aarseth 1994, Storm 2007a,b). From 1952, the position as curator was turned into full-time, and Vorren was appointed head curator at the department in 1959. Moreover, the University of Tromsø was established in 1968 and the Tromsø Museum was incorporated in 1976. Five years before, in 1971, Vorren became a professor in Sámi ethnography (Fulsås 1993). At the beginning of his commitment to the field, Vorren (1950/1951) formulated “a main program for ethnographic research among the Sámi”. It was a comprehensive plan of both regional and thematic studies on the Sámi cultures in Norway. In contrast to previous research on Sámi culture, it was grounded in fieldwork and communication with representatives of Sámi cultural organizations and institutions. Besides the publishing of books and articles, Vorren took a scientific and systematic approach to building up the Sámi ethnographic collection at the museum, and he put great emphasis on mediation by developing the exhibition “The Sámi culture”, which was opened in 1973 (see Fonneland, this volume).

GJESSING TURNS TO (HISTORICAL) ANTHROPOLOGY – AND THE COASTAL SÁMI

After World War II and the death of Ole Solberg, Gjessing was invited to apply for the position of the director of the Museum of Ethnography in Oslo. In 1946, he was appointed director as a professor in cultural anthropology, in spite of his archaeological background (Klausen 1981b:227). Gjessings change in research orientation toward cultural anthropology was inspired by a visit as a scholar-holder to

the Rockefeller Foundation in the USA 1946–1947 (Klausen 1981b: 227, 230; 2001:304; Jølle 2004:325). He also expressed a critique of the ideal of objectivity within the social sciences. Within the first years at the museum, Gjessing (1947:54) clarified his view in the introduction of “Norwegian Contributions to Lapp Ethnography”. The emphasis was on the study of the Coastal Sámi population and settlements from a combined approach, drawing on archaeological, historical, and ethnographic perspectives:

From the historical-ethnographic point of view, the study of Coast Lapp Culture will be crucial; without it, the question of the origin of Mountain Lapp culture cannot usefully be tackled. The ancient Coast Lapp culture should be approached through a cooperation between the disciplines of archaeology, history, and ethnography: several indications suggest that we have overrated the inland character of the Lapps (Gjessing 1947:54).

The approach was developed further during Gjessings stay at the London School of Economics in 1952 (Gjessing 1954:1, 4). His intense involvement in contemporary Sámi society led to participation in the process of the growing Sámi ethno-political movement, and in the group that formed the *Oslo Sámi Sæervi* (The Oslo Sámi Association) – the first Sámi political organization. He was appointed a member of the Sámi Commission of 1956, due to his political involvement, but also as professor at the Museum of Ethnography. Throughout the years, he participated in public, as well as, scientific discourses by stating his views and interests to the press, both in popular articles and in scientific publications (Klausen 1981a:155–156; Gjessing 1973). The catalogues at Tromsø Museum demonstrate the interest and systematic approach Gjessing used for

Fig. 5. Ørnulv Vorren inspecting a diorama in the exhibition Samekulturen (1973–). Tromsø University Museum. Photo: Kjell Fjortoft.

the collections. During work at the Museum of Ethnography, Gjessing took the initiative to organize the transfer of the Sámi collection from the museum to Norsk Folkemuseum, also in Oslo, grounded in the perspective that the collection should be part of a larger, national context (Gjessing & Johannessen 1957:230–231).

CONCLUDING REMARKS: RESEARCH IN THE LONG RUN

In this article, I have demonstrated the development of research on Sámi culture and societies from the last part of the nineteenth century, until the post World War II period. In particular, I have discussed the

roles of two researchers: the archaeologist/ethnographer/anthropologist Ole Solberg, and the archaeologist and anthropologist Gutorm Gjessing, both of whom established comprehensive research strategies or programs on Sámi culture and society. However, the ethnographer Ørnulv Vorren continued this legacy by followed up with a new research strategy for the next generation of scholars in Northern Norway. With a background in Vorren's comprehensive research program, my objective has been to reflect on and discuss the intentions and content of earlier programs and strategies, as well as illustrate their impacts.

By way of a biographic approach, I have examined the research and work of Solberg and Gjessing, both of whom worked at the

Ethnographic Museum in Oslo. Moreover, apart from international scientific studies, the two researchers carried out substantial studies in Northern Norway. Gjessing worked at the Tromsø Museum for more than a decade. Their work and research led to cooperation with local representatives and to the establishment of the Department of Sámi Ethnography at Tromsø Museum in 1949. Vorren, one of the recruits of Solberg, started to map his future tasks, evidently inspired from his former teacher and colleague. The “Main Program for Research among the Sámi” (Vorren 1950/1951), was an academic platform and key to the future ethnographic research of Sámi culture in combination with Vorren’s assignments at the Tromsø Museum.

An analysis of the earlier programs and strategies make visible why the question of the Coastal Sámi were included and realised in the themes of the culture, history and social relations in spite of the earlier, political emphasis on the reindeer herding society during the turn of the century 1900s (see Baglo, this volume). By way of focusing on each researcher, and their perspective on approaches to Sámi research, as well as their engagement in museum tasks, the article sheds light on the great efforts and interest in enlarging the field of study on Sámi culture, history, and society. The focus on Coastal Sámi societies was one of the themes which became a large part of the Sámi Studies during the 1930s, and in the decades to follow. However, spatial and social studies of reindeer herding management, as it was stated in the initial research program in the beginning of the twentieth century, was followed up by Falkenberg and Vorren. Falkenberg focussed his studies in the south Sámi area, at Røros, while Vorren focussed his spatial studies on the contemporary organization of reindeer herding in Finnmark

and Nordland, in addition to studies on the pre-pastoral Sámi society based on the hunting of wild reindeer.

Through his “Memorandum”, Solberg summed up a strategy that was useful not only in the political context of reindeer herding management across the Swedish-Norwegian border, but also for the plans of the Institute of Comparative Research on Human Culture. Evidently, the strategy was also to give his research, teaching, recruitment of students, and work at the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo a platform. By way of his research with roots in archaeology and practice in Tromsø and elsewhere, Gjessing continued and developed a broad approach as an anthropologist and professor at the Ethnographic Museum in Oslo. In Tromsø, Qvigstad, the humanist specialized in language, folklore, and religious studies, from 1920 until his death in 1957. With this backdrop, the need for a humanist or social scientist to embark on Sámi Studies is, according to Gjessing, obvious. This was the background and the purpose of the establishment of the “Department of Sámi Ethnography” at the Tromsø Museum in 1949.

NOTES

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2. For the term, “Markabygd Sámi” see for example Dikka Storm, “Sámi Natural Resource Exploitation in a Markebygd and Its Significance Today?” *Acta Borealia* 10.2 (1993): 47–61.

3. I have earlier discussed the meaning and role of the institute in relation to research in Sámi culture, history and society (Storm 2010).
4. "The decision of the Board to embark upon a study of the culture of the arctic tribes was based on a memorandum by Professor Solberg, dated Oct. 21, 1913 [...] The Board expressed its agreement with the main points in Professor Solberg's memorandum at a meeting held on Nov.13, 1923; and it appointed a committee to deal with the details of the plan and assume the direction of the work undertaken. Work had since been done in several directions in accordance with the plan thus drawn up". Stang 1928, p.15; Kyllingstad 2008.
5. Franz Boas (1858–1942) born in Westfalen, at that time Prussia. He had his education from Heidelberg, Bonn and Kiel. While working at Berlin Kongelige Etnologiske Museum he began his anthropological studies at Baffin Island, Canada. He emigrated to USA in 1885, and started as curator at American Museum of Natural History in New York and in 1899 got the position as professor in anthropology at Columbia University; Gjessing 1962:144; Hansen 1992 pp. 57–58; https://snl.no/Franz_Boas.
6. 1. Full belysning av reindriftsvirksomheten, som grunnlag for "dagens ekte samiske (lappiske) kultur"; 2. Samiske bosetningsformer inkludert nomadens leirtype og organisering, samt overgangen til fast bosetning; 3. Samenes materielle kultur sammenlignet med skandinaviske, kvenske eller russiske materielle uttrykk; 4. Innsamling av folklore, musikktyper, tradisjon, sedvane og rettsoppfatninger; 5. Studier av den gamle religionen; 6. Lingvistisk forskning; 7. Forskning i samenes tidlige historie; 8. Arkeologiske undersøkelser innen de samiske bosetningsområder; 9. Fysisk-antropologiske studier; 10. Psykologisk forskning (Solberg 1928:10–15).
7. "... Kun renlapperne har frembragt en eiendommelig kultur; sjølapperne har levet på lån fra nordmændene..." (Qvigstad 1925:74)
8. https://snl.no/Ole_Martin_Solberg – Downloaded 24092015; Solberg participated 1909 as a Norwegian expert in the negotiations about the questions about the reindeer grazing at the court in Copenhagen, Denmark (cf. Wiki O. Solberg; https://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ole_Martin_Solberg – downloaded 02052016).
9. Domus Academica, urbygningen; Universitets-anlegget ved Karl Johans gate i Oslo stod ferdig i 1852. Bygningen på østsiden av Universitets-plassen kalles til daglig for Urbygningen. Navnet kommer av 'uret' som henger i ett av vinduene, cf. <https://www.muv.uio.no/uio-historie/bygninger/sentrum/urbygningen/>
10. The thesis about the Coastal Sámi people in Ofoten was completed before 1946 and later published in the serie "Nordnorske samlinger" (Kolsrud 1947) was finished before 1946 at the Museum of Ethnography. The serie was edited by Gjessing, at that time director at the museum (Gjessing 1947:49).
11. Gjessing dated the textiles of the Skjoldehamn finds to the period of the 15th or 16th century. But in recent years some parts of the textiles are dated to about 900 to 1100 after AC.

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