

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIVAL OF THE NORSE GOD TÝR IN NORWEGIAN LITERATURE

Cristina VIȘOVAN

Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai¹

ABSTRACT: Under the pressure of globalisation and immigration, the endemic populations of Western Europe in general and Norway in particular, seem to go back to their cultural roots in order to find an identity. Norse mythology has therefore become fruitful once again and Norse myths, gods and symbols are brought back to life in order to stress the feeling of ethnic belonging. In the present paper I argue that the Norse god of war, Týr, and justice reappears in Norwegian literature as a symbol for contemporary Norwegians who have become tolerant but also as a reminder of, and an urge to appropriate the Viking values of integrity and honour in the contemporary world.

Key words: *globalisation, immigration, endemic population, norwegian literature*

The Context for the Contemporary Revival of Norse Mythology in the Norwegian Society

The present is marked by the phenomenon of globalisation which has transformed the world into a smaller place, bringing various ethnicities, religions and cultures closer than one would have imagined before. While companies can nowadays choose to establish themselves in places where labour is cheaper, people can relocate in order to have a better life or job. Immigration has therefore become a characteristic of our times to such an extent that many people argue that it has become a burden for the Western European countries. But it all started in the twentieth century with the collapse of the former great empires, the emergence of new nation states and of the two World Wars which destroyed the economy of the Western European countries involved in it. At the end of the Second World War, many people could finally go back home from exile while others were encouraged to relocate in order to support the laborious process of rebuilding Western Europe, situation which led to massive waves of immigration. In fact, more than ten million people immigrated to Western

¹Cristina Vișovan is a Phd student at Babeș-Bolyai University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She is currently writing a thesis on the influence of Old Norse mythology on contemporary Norwegian literature. E-mail: cristinas8@yahoo.com.

Europe between 1950 and 1973, determining these countries to put a stop on labour immigration.² However, they soon adopted a humanitarian stance and opened their doors to asylum seekers from The Third World countries while at the same time increasing their immigrant numbers through the establishment of the European Union and its practices of 'internal mobility'.

It was not until the first half of the twentieth century (1905) that Norway finally became an independent nation and a very rich one in the second half. The discovery of oil in the Norwegian waters of the North Sea (1969) led to an unparalleled economic boom in the history of the country, followed by a deficit in the labour force and an imperative to accept labour immigrants from other countries than its Nordic neighbours. These were soon joined by war refugees and asylum seekers, gradually leading to an ethnic diversification of the population of the country. After the turn of the century, the immigration to Norway has doubled and the consequences of this increase have been visible on the Norwegian socio-political scene.³ Feelings of discontent were soon coupled with fear and anger as a result of the chain of terror attacks that haunted Europe after al-Qaeda's attack on the USA in September 2001. People started to juxtapose in their minds the image of immigrant with that of a Muslim, which was in its turn associated with being a terrorist, opening the way for xenophobic and racist tendencies both among common people and right-wing politicians who took advantage of the situation in order to increase their electorate.

Ethnicity, skin colour and culture seem to have become highly visible in contemporary Norway to such a degree that the term 'immigrant' rather refers nowadays to immigrants from outside the European Union who usually have a different skin colour and share a different culture, while immigrants from the European Union are identified through their ethnicity. In addition, the idea of Norwegianness which permeates the public discourse in Norway seems to exclude Islam in so far as one cannot identify oneself as both Norwegian and Somali-born Muslim.

In the contemporary poly-ethnic Norway, Norwegians feel therefore threatened by the mismatch of cultures and they seem to retort to their ethnicity and cultural self-consciousness as a means of stressing their common identity. Certain symbols of Norwegian cultural identity belonging to the common cultural memory have been revitalized as a defence mechanism against the multicultural composition of the new Norwegian nation. Lost in the modern melting pot of cultures, the Norwegians look for a new identity by going back to what makes them unique, to their common cultural roots, such as the Norse mythology.

²"The Changing Face": 20.

³Pettersen and Østby: 78.

Viking Values in a Modern World

On a global level, globalisation has also triggered the revival of pagan groups which try to reconstruct pre-modern pagan traditions in search for their lost identity and as a result of their romanticized notion of nature, incompatible with the technologized urban modern world. The Ásatrú ('Faith in the Æsir') is one example of the modern re-birth of the pre-Christian religions which builds on the Nordic pre-Christian religion as described in the *Eddas* and which was officially recognized as a religion in Iceland in 1972. Nowadays, the Ásatrú seems to encompass three variations:

*"[...] an **antiracist** position that welcomes any genuinely interested person irrespective of race or ethnicity, a **radical racist** position that defines Ásatrú/Odinism as an expression of the Aryan race soul and sees it as an exclusively Aryan path; and an **ethnic** position that, not always successfully, tries to go beyond the issue by claiming that Ásatrú is linked with north European ethnicity."*⁴

A contemporary Norwegian writer who has claimed to be drawn towards Ásatrú is the novelist Andreas Bull-Hansen (born 1972). He has even published a couple of blog posts on the site of The Ásatrú Community (TAC), an American Ásatrú organisation whose aim is to allow *"[...]heathens to freely express their ideas without fear. We do not tolerate racism or hatred of any kind [...]"*; the community also seems to welcome any genuinely interested person irrespective of their ethnicity or religious background, making it possible to include it in the antiracist variation of Ásatrú identified by Gardell.

Bull-Hansen adopts the same antiracist position in one of his blog posts where he argues that the Vikings themselves were not racists because they *"were far too few to allow themselves to be picky when it came to ethnicity and archaeological finds suggest that Norse society was not as mono-ethnic as previously believed."*⁵ He is not drawn towards the Ásatrú as an expression of the Aryan race, but rather because of the wisdom found in the Norse mythology and the spiritual connection with nature. Moreover, the ethics of the Ásatrú seem to be compatible with Bull-Hansen's understanding of the Viking mentality and values of courage, honour, fidelity, self-reliance, perseverance; only by living according to the virtues and morals of their Norse ancestors, can one become the best version one can be.

As opposed to other contemporary nostalgic nationalists who want to reinstate a Golden Age in order to recover their lost power, Bull-Hansen is rather interested in adopting the mentality of the ancient Norseman to the

⁴Gardell: 153, the Italics in the original are changed in Bold.

⁵ Bull-Hansen 2016 k.

modern man.⁶ He has actually claimed to be a modern Norseman who has been living the Viking lifestyle for many years now.⁷ The notion of freedom engrained in the Norse belief system works like a magnet for the Norwegian writer; living in a society which controls people more and more through taxes, bills, rules and regulations, Bull-Hansen feels trapped in a society which favours the representatives of the system and not the masses who live the illusion of a good life in the happiest country in the world while they are actually “*chasing money they will never enjoy and waste their days until all they have left are broken dreams.*”⁸

In Bull-Hansen’s opinion, modern man has turned into a slave and a niding, a weak-willed individual, incapable to speak for himself, “*dumbed down and pacified by TV entertainment, too much food and the lack of intellectual challenges.*”⁹ Being constantly encouraged to be tolerant and cherish peace, he does no longer have the ability to do what is right and fight back, he has lost his integrity. As a consequence, the modern man has also been stripped off the concept of ‘honor’ which in Norway has become synonymous with “*religious intolerance and stupidity.*”¹⁰ In egalitarian Norway, tolerance and acceptance have replaced the feeling of anger and a desire to take revenge through violence that were central in the strong Old Norse honour culture, to the extent that it is possible to talk about an ‘after honour’ culture in which shameful and dishonourable behaviour is appreciated as an image of one’s true self and a mark of honesty.¹¹

The weakening of the modern Norwegian is a painful experience for Bull-Hansen who predicts a dark future for his country and Europe:

“Now, Norway looks nothing like it used to and neither does Europe. There is much more hate now. Some people blame Muslims for everything and some Muslims blame «white» people for every single problem in their lives. The rape statistics are horrifying, and the Muslim «rape game» taharrush is now part of most concerts and celebrations where large crowds of people gather. Terror attacks, Muslim girls being killed by their own family for the «sin» of falling in love, the violence every boy now must face while growing up; this is the world we’re living in now [...] what I’m seeing is a Europe ridden with disease and ruled by cowardly, poorly educated politicians who have no intention of providing

⁶ Another Norwegian writer who has published a novel inspired by the Norse mythology is Cornelius Jakhell (born 1977). In his novel *Gudenæs fall* (*The Fall of the Gods*), the Norse god Odin becomes the voice of the angry white man who feels threatened and marginalized by today’s multicultural society and who is nostalgic about a time when the Norwegian nation was heterogeneous in its composition.

⁷Bull-Hansen 2016 e.

⁸Bull-Hansen 2017 a.

⁹Bull-Hansen 2017 b.

¹⁰Bull-Hansen 2016 d.

¹¹Andersen 2017: 119.

a cure and journalists who have forgotten the concept of truth[...] To be honest, I think Europe will burn.”¹²

The established political elite play a significant role not only in the disease which has covered Europe but also in the confusion of the Western European people who no longer know who they are. According to Bull-Hansen, this elite plays with the concept of ‘identity’ because it favours a collectivist mind set which is harmful to the individual; they are constantly redefining the borders of the ‘group’ so that it suits their globalist agenda: “For example: *We’re all Norwegians -> We’re all Europeans -> We’re all human beings.*”¹³ Therefore Norwegians no longer know who they are and have to start looking for an identity, a journey which seems to lead to their cultural roots in one way or another.

For Bull-Hansen, the journey implies a return to his Norse roots which give him the strength to go on as he feels that he is not alone but the blood and bones of his Norse ancestors;¹⁴ besides, it implies a look back at the Viking philosophy which he appropriates as a defence mechanism against the ills of the contemporary society. Consequently, he constructs his modern identity around the Norse values of courage, self-reliance, perseverance and integrity as well as the idea that man will be remembered for who he was and what he did in life.

Bull-Hansen’s life principles are essential for understanding his literary creations which seem to have been influenced by the Vikings and their mentality:

“[...]my Viking heritage casts a long shadow. I am a most likely a descendant of a Danish chieftain called Skjalm the White, who himself was a descendant of Palnatoke, founder of the Vikings of Joms, and going further back we can find Ragnar Lothbrok, now featured in a famous TV show. I know this is not an exact science, but anyway, I like to believe there is some Viking blood in me. It sort of puts all the pieces of my life together and I think it can be seen in my books.”¹⁵

The revelation that he is a descendant of the Vikings allows Bull-Hansen to adopt a collectivist mind set as his sense of belonging to a larger ethnic group is awakened under the pressure of immigration and the emergence in Norway of criminal immigrant gangs of a different skin colour. These started to appear after the waves of immigration from the nineties and they soon made their presence felt through the establishment of their narcotics business, the beating and killing of innocent people (just because they were of a different skin colour) or the ideologically motivated

¹²Bull-Hansen 2016 h.

¹³Bull-Hansen 2018.

¹⁴Bull-Hansen 2016 f.

¹⁵Bull-Hansen 2015.

bombing of cars.¹⁶ Similar to other ethnic Norwegians, Bull-Hansen claims that the simple fact of being white and Norwegian made him feel threatened by these activities, arousing his anger and desire to fight back. In the aftermath of the terror attacks in Brussels in 2013, Bull-Hansen assumed the position of a spokesman for the Norwegian people who, in his view, are connected through the Viking blood that runs through their veins and threatened the terrorist ‘devils’. By critiquing the Norwegian politicians for their attempts to create bridges to the Muslims, it becomes evident that he also identifies the image of terrorist/criminal with that of a Muslim, even though he otherwise considers both the ‘white’ people and the Muslims responsible for the current situation in Europe.¹⁷ Bull-Hansen’s solution for the extermination of these terrorists goes beyond any other rivalries between the various world nations as, in his opinion, they rather have to work together to get rid of them.

A Norse God in a Modern World

The troubles of the contemporary world become central in Bull-Hansen’s trilogy about the Norse god Týr. Here, the Old Norse myths contained by the *Eddas* are rewritten in such a way as to fit the image of an Asgard under constant pressure from the Vanir gods and their people. These are presented as immigrants in the land of the Æsir where they arrived because of a flood which swallowed their country, Vaneland, forcing the Vanir to start looking for a new home. A war started once they entered Asgard and: “*The Vanir plundered and raped, and the Æsir hated them fiercely. Frey’s men were known for opening the abdomen of the prisoners they took. They burnt the intestines while the prisoner was still alive and could see it, and Freya’s warriors castrated all the men they caught and made them into slaves.*”¹⁸ Throughout the trilogy, the Vanir are described as the terrorists of Asgard who gradually manage to conquer the land; their leaders (Njord, Frey and Freya) gain both land and power in the country of the Æsir due to the tolerance of Odin and his desire for peace. Their immigration to the land of the gods has only negative consequences while their evil deeds spread like a pest over their new home arousing feelings of disgust, hate and a desire to take revenge.

Bull-Hansen re-writes the Vanir of the Norse mythology and uses them allegorically to depict and criticize the immigrant terrorist gangs that

¹⁶Bull-Hansen 2016 b.

¹⁷Bull-Hansen 2016 h.

¹⁸“*Vannene herjet og voldtok, og æsene hatet dem voldsomt. Frøys menn var kjent for å åpne buken på fangene de tok. De brente innvollene mens fangen ennå levde og kunne se det, og Frøyas krigere kasterte alle menn de fanget og gjorde dem til treller*” (Bull-Hansen 2011: 131, my translation).

have tormented the Norwegian society since the nineties. His desire for justice is not satisfied by the Norwegian legal system which:

“[...] is not very good at making people understand they should not do bad things. We don't have good rehabilitation statistics. For example, about 60% of people convicted for violent crimes will be back in prison within 2 years. Secondly, those who are convicted for violent crimes normally get a very mild sentence. When it comes to rape, the statistics are horrifying: Out of the very few that are actually convicted in court, the average sentence is 3 years 4 months, but about 70% of those have their sentence reduced to about 2 years. Read that again. Two – 2 – years for raping a woman.”¹⁹

As a result, he retorts to the Norse mythology and evades into imaginary realms where he can revive the Viking values in an attempt to raise the common consciousness of his fellow Norwegians. It is no wonder that Týr, the Norse god of war and justice is brought to life in Bull-Hansen's trilogy.²⁰ Even though the evidence of the written sources reveals that by the Viking Age he had lost the importance he used to have in earlier periods and had become quite a marginal god in the Norse pantheon, Týr reappears as the main character of this contemporary trilogy.

In *Jotnenshjemkomst* Týr is introduced as Petter Tyrar, a war refugee from Chechnya and a successful example of integration in the multicultural society of Oslo in the year 2042. In the first part of the novel, the Norse god is de-mystified and relocated in the world of the humans, Midgard. Here he is a hard-working man with a stressful job who strives to pay bank loans and support his family, becoming an absent father who only wants to rest once he returns from work. He serves his adoptive country by fighting criminality in a dystopic world which corresponds to Bull-Hansen's pessimistic view of the future of Norway; Oslo has turned into a city where paedophile rings, arsons, car bombs, drug dealers, pimps, human traffickers and daily clashes between the various criminal gangs of different ethnicities seem to be endless. The population of Oslo has become so multicultural in its composition that ethnic Norwegians are hardly visible.

As a police superintendent, Petter Tyrar is good at his job, at obtaining answers from the people he questions even if that implies dubious and sordid methods such as beating them or pouring gas over them. The misery of the city is obvious in the law reforms which allow the Police Force to intercept phone calls, bribe and threaten in order to catch, imprison and condemn the criminals while death punishment has become a regular part of the process. Even though Petter Tyrar's description fits the portrait of the

¹⁹Bull-Hansen 2016 i.

²⁰Whenever I refer to the Norse god of war and justice in the paper, I use the Norse spelling, Týr. I otherwise use the English spelling of the name, Tyr, when referring to Bull-Hansen's character.

modern man who works “almost like a slave, in a human city, among square stone houses”, he also seems to retain traces of the Viking blood that Bull-Hansen believes is ingrained in his fellow Norwegians.²¹ Tyrar feels no repentance or pity for treating the criminals the way he does, it only falls him naturally as he considers them monsters; moreover, he feels “a sort of diabolic pleasure in reading the requests for pardon or the demands to show compassion, only to reply afterwards by sending them the official protocol from the execution.”²²

The desire for revenge which was central in the Old Norse honour culture is awakened in Tyrar by the arrival of an old one-eyed man called Grimnes whom we later find out is Odin himself. At first, Tyrar takes him for just another informant, an asshole with a rotten brain who wants to set him a trap. But Odin leads Tyrar to the alleged murderers of his wife and son and encourages him to take revenge rather than bring them in front of the law: “Do you really want that? I rather think that you want to take revenge. I think you want to kill these people. [...] «Take revenge», he whispered. «It is your right and your duty».”²³

Tyarar manages to avenge his family in line with Bull-Hansen’s conception of justice and his ideas about the so called ‘vigilante effect’; he claims that rather than allowing the sick Norwegian legal system to deal with rapists and thus creating a ‘semi-anarchy’, angry Norwegian men hunt down whoever hurts their loved ones and take revenge.²⁴ These men take the law in their hands and fight back and so does Tyrar; his death on the ‘battlefield’, re-written as a sports hall where Tyrar shoots the supposed murderers, is followed by his revival in the land of the gods where he finds out that he actually is not a simple human being, but the mighty Tyr, a god of war admired and honoured by some, feared by others, the protector of Asgard himself.

But the years spent in Midgard have left their print on Tyr and on several occasions he is told that he has become weak, an idea which once again corresponds to Bull-Hansen’s image of the modern man. From the hard man he used to be during the first war against the Vanir, he has turned into a gentle man incapable of sacrificing one of the Vanir to Hel, the goddess of death, just because he feels that it is not right. He comes to question even the commands of the einherjars, the ones he cherished before

²¹“[...] nesten som en trell, i en menneskeby, blant firkantede steinhus [...]” (Bull-Hansen 2012: 34, my translation).

²²“[...] en slags fandenivoldsk glede ved å lese bønnene om benådning og alle oppfordringene om å vise medmenneskelighet, for deretter å svare ved å sende den offentlige protokollen fra henrettelsen” (Bull Hansen 2011: 13, my translation).

²³“Ønsker du virkelig det? Jeg tror heller du ønsker hevn. Jeg tror du ønsker å drepe disse menneskene. [...] «Ta hevn,» visket han. «Det er din rett og din plikt»” (Bull-Hansen 2011: 46, 48, my translation).

²⁴Bull-Hansen: 2016 i.

living in the world of the humans, as he feels that there is no justice in attacking innocent people, no mercy in burning their houses and provisions, no sincerity in dragging people in a war only to be able to meet his wife and son again, no courage in watching others fight and die for him, no loyalty towards Asgard as he went to war for himself and not for the Æsir, no respect and no honour, just the duty of doing what is right for him and not for Asgard.

Throughout the novel Tyr is forced to look at himself from the perspective of what he used to be before his travel to the land of the humans and his loss of memory - Odin's commander, Asgard's best warrior, "*steaming of the blood of his enemies, trembling of rage and his ecstatic desire to kill*", considered a hero among the einherjars, worshipped as a god of war, the most fearless and courageous of all the Æsir, one who despised peace and was always thirsty for revenge as a means for doing justice and holding power, one who enjoyed seeing others suffer for their evil deeds, one who was feared for his lack of forgiveness and mercy.²⁵ Once he returns to the land of the gods he is no longer willing to sacrifice innocent lives but he gradually experiences feelings which he cannot recall due to his loss of memory: fear and dread, anger and ardour, triggered by his desire to take revenge.

Some of the Norse myths are re-written by Bull-Hansen only to build on Tyr's experienced feeling of hatred towards the immigrant Vanir, such as the episode when the Vanir god Frey cuts his right arm as a punishment for having taken him prisoner during the first war with the Æsir. His thoughts of revenge grow bigger and bigger throughout the first novel of the trilogy while Tyr wanders through Asgard in search for his family, giving him the courage to defy and even threaten Odin and awakening "*something evil and fierce*", something which makes Tyr fear not only the despicable Vanir but also himself.²⁶ In the end, after being reunited with his wife and son, Tyr manages to avenge himself (in the last part of the trilogy) by killing Frey while he leads the einherjars in the final battle of Ragnarok. He once again becomes victorious but this time at the expense of his own life. However, by dying in an honourable way on the battlefield he insures that he will always be remembered in a good way.

Conclusions

The threat posed by globalisation and immigration, alongside the weakening of the modern man have determined the revival of the Norse god of war and justice in Bull-Hansen's novels. By constantly juxtaposing the 'old' and the 'new' Tyr, the Norwegian writer manages to give voice to his

²⁵"Dampende av fiendens blod, sitrende av sinne og drapsrus;[...]" (Bull-Hansen 2011: 263, my translation).

²⁶"Noe vondt og voldsomt [...]" (Bull-Hansen 2011: 383, my translation).

criticism of the contemporary period and nostalgia after a time when anger, a violent temperament and a high sensitivity in regards to the loss of honour where common sense. Just as Tyr is urged to remember his old self, so does Bull-Hansen try to awaken the Viking spirit in his fellow Norwegians by re-writing the Norse myths. Asgard becomes symbolic for Norway and Europe who are 'burning' under the actions of the immigrant criminal gangs and terrorists while the globalist elite is encouraging common people to be more accepting and tolerant. The various races that populate the myths of the *Eddas* have to let go of their enmities and work together in order to defend the Vanir and expel them from Asgard in an image which reminds of Bull-Hansen's discourse on the contemporary situation in Europe. Even though the future of Norway, as imagined by the Norwegian writer, seems dark, Tyr's victory and self-sacrifice as well as the defeat of the Vanir give hope of a life after the final confrontation of powers, the same hope which permeates the Norse eddic poem *Völuspá* (*The Seeress's Prophecy*).²⁷

Primary Sources

- Bull-Hansen 2011: Andreas Bull-Hansen, *The Return of the Jotun*, Ascheoug, Oslo. (*Jotnens hjemkomst*, original Norwegian title)
- Bull-Hansen 2012 a: Andreas Bull-Hansen, *Before the Nine Worlds Crash*, Aschehoug, Oslo. (*Før de ni verdener styrtyer*, original title in Norwegian)
- Bull-Hansen 2012 b: Andreas Bull-Hansen, *Ragnarok*, Aschehoug, Oslo.
- Jakhelln 2008: Cornelius Jakhelln, *The Fall of the Gods*, CappelenDamm AS. (*Gudenes fall*, original title in Norwegian)
- SnorriSturlason. *Edda*, Translated and edited by Anthony Faulkes, Everyman, 1995.
- The Poetic Edda*, Translated with an Introduction and Notes by CarolyneLarrington, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Secondary Sources

- Andersen 2017: Per Thomas Andersen, "After Honor. From Egil Skallagrimsson to Karl Ove Knausgård". *Literature and Honour*, edited by Aasta Marie BjorvandBjørkøy and ThorsteinNorheim, Universitetsforlaget, pp. 105-128.
- Bull-Hansen2015: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "My Viking Heritage", *bull-hansen.com*, 14 Oct. 2015, bull-hansen.com/2015/10/14/my-viking-heritage/. Accessed 21 Nov. 2018.

²⁷*Völuspá* is an eschatological eddic poem in which a new world, with new generations of gods and humans, is predicted to emerge after the final battle Ragnarok.

- Bull-Hansen 2016 a: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "Apes with Guns", *bull-hansen.com*, 18 Mar. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/03/18/apes-with-guns/. Accessed 19 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 b: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "A Message to the Terrorists", *bull-hansen.com*, 23 Mar. 2013, bull-hansen.com/2016/03/23/a-message-to-the-terrorists. Accessed 5 June 2016.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 c: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "Who Were the Vikings?", *bull-hansen.com*, 30 Mar. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/03/30/who-were-the-vikings/. Accessed 15 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 d: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "The Loneliness of the Einherjar", *bull-hansen.com*, 5 Apr. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/04/05/the-loneliness-of-the-einherjar/. Accessed 20 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 e: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "Viking in a Modern World", *bull-hansen.com*, 17 Apr. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/04/17/viking-in-a-modern-world/. Accessed 19 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 f: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "Our Ancestors' Blood and Bones", *bull-hansen.com*, 23 Apr. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/04/23/our-ancestors-blood-and-bones/. Accessed 19 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 g: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "Why Wanting Peace is Bad for You – Continued", *bull-hansen.com*, 4 Jul. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/07/04/why-wanting-peace-is-bad-for-you-continued/. Accessed 19 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 h: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "My Europe is Dying", *bull-hansen.com*, 17 Jul. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/07/17/my-europe-is-dying-continued/. Accessed 20 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 i: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "What Men Really Feel About Rapists", *bull-hansen.com*, 26 Aug. 2016, bull-hansen.com/2016/08/26/what-men-really-feel-about-rapists/. Accessed 21 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 j: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "They Call Us Heathens", *theassatrucommunity.org*, 23 Sep. 2016, www.theassatrucommunity.org/single-post/2016/09/23/They-Call-us-Heathens. Accessed 16 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2016 k: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "Concepts that Meant Nothing to a Norse Heathen". *theassatrucommunity.org*, 25 Dec. 2016, www.theassatrucommunity.org/single-post/2016/12/24/Concepts-that-meant-nothing-to-a-Norse-Heathen. Accessed 15 Nov 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2017 a: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "Why You Can and Why You Don't Have To", *bull-hansen.com*, 16 Apr. 2017, bull-hansen.com/2017/04/16/why-you-can-and-why-you-dont-have-to/. Accessed 19 Nov 2018.

- Bull-Hansen 2017 b: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "The Single Most Important Viking Trait", *bull-hansen.com*, 28 May 2017, <https://bull-hansen.com/2017/05/28/the-single-most-important-viking-trait/>. Accessed 19 Nov. 2018.
- Bull-Hansen 2018: Andreas Bull-Hansen, "The World's Most Dangerous Ideology", *bull-hansen.com*, 2 Jul. 2018, bull-hansen.com/2018/07/02/the-worlds-most-dangerous-ideology/, 21 Nov 2018.
- Gardell 2003: Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood. The Pagan revival and White Separatism*, Duke University Press.
- Hylland 1993: Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Being Norwegian in a Shrinking World. Reflections on Norwegian Identity" in *Continuity and Change: Aspects of Modern Norway*, edited by Anne Cohen Kiel, Scandinavian University Press, pp. 1-18.
- Pettersen and Østby 2013: Silje Vatne Pettersen and Lars Østby, "Comparative Scandinavian Statistics on Integration. Immigrants in Norway, Sweden and Denmark" in *Samfunnsspeilet* 5/2013, Statistisk Sentralbyrå, pp. 76-83, www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/attachment/204333?ts=1497ab86428. Accessed 2 Aug. 2018. ("Skandinavisk komparativ statistikk om integrering. Innvandrere i Norge, Sverige og Danmark", original title in Norwegian)
- Plate 2011: Liedeke Plate, *Transforming Memories in Contemporary Women's Rewriting*, Palgrave.
- Steinsland 2005: Gro Steinsland, *Norse Religion. Myths, Rites, Society*, Paxforlag, 2005. (*Norrøn religion. Myter, riter, samfunn*, original title in Norwegian)
- "The Changing Face of Europe – Population Flows in the 20th Century", *Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century*, Council of Europe Publishing, Feb. 2002, rm.coe.int/1680494249. Accessed 4 Aug. 2018