

PROJECT DESCRIPTION: *THE LIMITS OF DISCREPANCY: MAPPING VARIATION IN PRE-CHRISTIAN NORDIC RELIGION*

LUKE JOHN MURPHY, APPLICATION TO THE BERNADOTTE PROGRAMME OF THE ROYAL GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ACADEMY FOR SWEDISH FOLK CULTURE, JANUARY 2017

ABSTRACT

There is a growing acceptance that pre-Christian Nordic religion was not a single monolithic cultural system, but rather varied along a range of geographic, social, temporal, and even cognitive axes. Despite this, relatively little scholarly attention has yet been paid to distinct articulations of Late Iron Age Nordic paganism, and there has been no systematic attempt to establish the limits of – or the axes along which – such pre-Christian religion varied. This project seeks to address precisely this lack, producing not only four articles – three case studies and a methodological essay – but allowing the applicant to seek further funding to hold a conference (and thus establish a lasting scholarly network) addressing regional, temporal, and social discrepancies in pre-Christian Nordic religion during the Late Iron Age. Employing a balance of etic methods developed in the Study of Religion and emic approaches favoured in philological research, the articles proposed here will examine a range of archaeological, textual, and toponymic evidence, and argue for several distinct articulations of pre-Christian religion (including household cult, Gotlandic religion, and the limits of regional variants). It is hoped that the work outlined in this project will result in a conscious debate about the relationship between such articulations and their aggregate assemblage, and thereby contribute to several areas of interest to the Bernadotte Programme of the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture, particularly the study of pre-Christian Nordic religion, but also to the wider Study of Religion, Nordic cultural history, and Viking Studies.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The scholarly study of pre-Christian Nordic religion has a long and storied history, stretching back at least as far as the works of the Icelandic scholar-statesman Snorri Sturluson in the 1220s.¹ Until only relatively recently, academic work on Late Iron Age and Early Medieval Nordic culture was – consciously or not – inspired by the discovery of the Indo-European linguistic roots of philology,² and sought to reconstruct a single, unified picture of “how things really were”. In the Study of Religion, this often took the form of attempts to restore a consolidated mythology of the pre-Christian inhabitants of the region, such as Gabriel Turville-Petre’s discussion of “the Norse Olympus”.³ Whether deliberately or not, much modern scholarship has, like Turville-Petre’s *Myth and Religion of the North*, been influenced by *Snorra Edda*’s presentation of a rationalised mythological world simultaneously inhabited by a range of supranatural beings from gods and *jǫtnar* to *dvergjar*.⁴ Such approaches do not, however, allow for the diversity inherent in a “single culture” that spans a huge geographic area (from modern Russia in the east to North America in the west) and many centuries of history (arguably from the sixth to the early thirteenth century in some areas), and which calls assumptions of a “common religion” into question.

This is not to say that no work has been done on localised or specific articulations of pre-Christian Nordic paganism. Yet what studies of religious diversity there have been have tended to concentrate on one of two axes of variation: distinctive regional and geographic models on the one hand, and articulations based on social status on the other. Examples of the former include

examinations of the cults of particular gods in different regions,⁵ work on the range of Swedish and Danish sacrally-charged buildings now dubbed “cult houses”,⁶ and my own previous work, which has drawn on theoretical developments in the wider Study of Religion to examine both geographic and temporal variation in the sacrally-charged spaces of the pre-Christian Nordic region.⁷ Studies of the religions practiced by different social classes have understandably tended to focus on the warrior elite, whose descendants are responsible for much of our medieval textual source material.⁸ There has also been some movement towards a more abstract discussion of these discrepancies in recent years: John McKinnell first argued that pre-Christian religion was *Both One and Many* in 1994, Fredrik Svanberg pushed for *Decolonizing the Viking Age* in 2003, and Stefan Brink demonstrated intense regional variation in sacral toponymy in 2007.⁹ Jens Peter Schjødt has proposed four potential axes for religious variation (2009; 2012), and Andreas Nordberg’s analogy of articulations of a religion as comparable to the dialects of a language helped communicated the issue to a wider audience.¹⁰ These developments have led to a slow groundswell of dissatisfaction with the idea of a single reconstructable pre-Christian religion practiced throughout the Nordic region.

However, despite this rising awareness, there has been no systematic study of the limits of the diversity Nordic paganism exhibited, nor of the axes along which it varied. The project outlined in this application therefore intends to catalyse a conscious debate regarding the tension between unity and diversity in pre-Christian Nordic religion. It will produce not only a number of pilot-study publications, but also involve seeking further funding for the holding of a conference at Stockholm University in 2018, and thus the establishment of a scholarly network focused on synthesising the academic output of scholars from different disciplines and national backgrounds. The Department of Ethnology, History of Religions, and Gender Studies is an ideal proving ground for this project given the range of methodological approaches and empirical data under study there: the research programme in ethnology has a traditional focus on “pre-industrial culture of Sweden and the other Nordic countries”,¹¹ the programme in gender studies focuses on the effects of variant identities on cultural output (including religion),¹² and the programme in the history of religions has not only a strong profile in pre-Christian Nordic religion, but also in a range of historic and contemporary religious systems from elsewhere in the world (such as Islam) that feature a range of articulations.¹³ Prof. Olof Sundqvist, the proposed mentor of this project, has not only a good deal of supervisory and project-management experience, but is one of the foremost scholars worldwide on pre-Christian Nordic religion. Much of his work has direct relevance to the proposed project, particularly his work on the distinctly-Swedish Late Iron Age Uppsala cult, the influence of the Roman Mithras cult on Early Iron Age Germanic religion, and the formation of localised Saints’ cults in the early medieval Nordic region.¹⁴ It is therefore hoped that this project and the academic milieu at Stockholm University will enrich one another, and allow for a great deal of productive cooperation.

OUTCOMES

The project for which this application seeks support has two main outcomes: a number of scholarly publications, and a lasting effect on ongoing academic discourse on pre-Christian religious history. They may be summarised as follows:

- Direct Results:
 - The revision and subsequent publication of three articles presently in preparation

- The research, writing, and eventual publication of one completely new article supporting the aims of this project
- Indirect results: the writing and submission of funding applications to funding bodies in support of:
 - A conference on the theme of discrepancies between articulations and the systems they constitute in pre-Christian Nordic religion
 - An ongoing network of international scholars from a range of disciplines working on localised articulations, including a number of workshops and publications

The publications envisaged as resulting from this project include the revision and subsequent publication of three articles presently in preparation, each of which deals with themes of variation and unity in pre-Christian Nordic religion. ‘Domestic and Household Religion in the Pre-Archaic North: Pre-Christian Private Praxis’ argues for a distinct articulation of Nordic paganism based in the household, and is intended for both scholars of Iron Age Scandinavian culture and historians of comparative religion more generally. It is anticipated this article will be submitted to journals that address both of these audiences such as *Temenos* or *Chaos: Skandinavisk tidskrift for religionshistoriske studier*. ‘Processes of Religious Change in Late-Iron-Age Gotland II: Centralisation, Enclosure, Privatisation, and Nationalisation’ builds on my forthcoming chapter in the edited volume *Place and Space in the Medieval World* to deconstruct the complex of religious and cultural changes accompanying Christianisation in Late Iron Age Gotland, and is intended for an audience of academics interested in both Gotlandic culture and the Christianisation of the Nordic region, potentially in a journal such as *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* or *Fornvännen*. ‘Reasoning Our Way to Privacy: Towards a Methodological Discourse of Viking Studies’ is a methodological polemic calling for greater conscious discussion of methods and theories employed in the study of cultural phenomena in Late Iron Age Scandinavian culture, and it is hoped that it will be published in a high-impact journal such as *The Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* or *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*.

In addition, this project is intended to produce an entirely new study of regional articulations of pre-Christian Nordic religion. As outlined above,¹⁵ there have been a number of studies of regional cults dedicated to a range of supranatural beings, some of which also seem to have been venerated across the Nordic region, while others appear to have had only geographically restricted followings. This new article will offer an overview of previous scholarship on the topic and synthesise their findings, before attempting to establish the limits of variation that appears to have been acceptable for such localised cults. Key case studies are expected to be based on medieval textual accounts and archaeological evidence for the cults of Óðinn in Iceland, Þórr in both Gotland and Iceland, and Freyr in Sweden and Iceland. On the basis of these findings, the case of Þorgerðr Hölgabrúðr – seemingly an independent goddess worshipped in northern Norway – will be examined, and her relationship to regional female figures such as Freyja and Frigg discussed. This article is intended to demonstrate the value of deliberate examination of the relationships between individual articulations and the whole they constitute, and will be submitted for publication in a journal with a wide readership such as *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia*. This work will also form the basis of a number of presentations at academic conferences and workshops during the period of the project, with the aim of not only increasing the quality of the eventual study, but also of promoting and discussing future developments in the study of diversity and discrepancy in pre-Christian Nordic religion. These presentations are expected to include seminars at the project’s proposed host institution.

This project is also intended as a pilot study for future work. Any funding received from the Bernadotte Programme will thus also be used to allow me to draft and submit further funding applications to other funding bodies. The immediate aim of these applications will be the holding of a conference at Stockholm University on the theme of the project, tentatively entitled 'Unity and Diversity: Articulations and their Assemblages in pre-Christian Nordic Religion'. It is hoped that this conference would attract interest from a number of motivated scholars from across the Nordic region (and potentially beyond), and thus allow the foundation of an ongoing academic network. Subsequent funding applications would focus on supporting the holding of a number of workshops and seminars in this network, which – it is hoped – will produce a number of publications in the form of both multi-author edited volumes and single-author monographs.

Finally, the project outlined in this article will allow me scope for a significant degree of professional and personal development. If successfully funded, it would be my first post-doctoral research position, enabling me to develop and further establish the scholarly material presented in my PhD dissertation – particularly in disseminating (via publication) the material that makes up the three articles in preparation described above. It would therefore also allow for significant improvement to my publication profile, and give me highly valuable experience at running a small research project. I would also anticipate making the most of the opportunities inherent in being based at a new institution in an entirely new country, and would seek to engage in the scholarly milieu at Stockholm University by participating in seminars, workshops, and conferences. I therefore believe the support of the Bernadotte Programme would greatly increase my future academic value to (and employability at) Nordic research institutions.

TIMELINE

The project outlined in this application is designed to start in September 2017 and last until March 2018 (i.e. eight months over two semesters). It is planned that the first semester (autumn 2017) will be employed in the revision of the three articles presently in preparation, and to conduct fundamental research towards the new article. This research will be presented at local seminars at Stockholm University, and the feedback and input so gained incorporated into future drafts of the material. Initial, small-scale funding applications for the planned conference will be drafted and submitted to funding bodies offering mobility funding such as *Nordplus*, *Kulturkontakt Nord*, the *Erasmus Programme*, and *Nordforsk*. The spring semester 2018 will be used for final revisions to any articles in press (typesetting, etc.), and for the drafting of the fourth, new article, which – it is hoped – will be ready for submission by the close of the project. Further presentations at international conferences will run alongside this drafting process, allowing the presentation of substantial material to a wider scholarly milieu. A second round of funding applications (incorporating any feedback received from the first semester's applications) for conference funding, support of the putative network, and future post-doctoral positions will be submitted to funding bodies with wider areas of interest, such as the *Velux fonden* and *A.P. Møller og Hustru Chastine Mc-Kinney Møllers Fond til almene Formaal*.

It is thus anticipated that the project would be complete by the close of the spring semester 2018, but would result in a conference in late 2018 and a number of subsequent publications in the following years. The project is thus expected to have lasting effects not only for my own academic career and the scholarly milieu of Stockholm University, but also to contribute to several academic areas of interest to the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture, particularly the study of pre-Christian Nordic religion, but also to the wider Study of Religion, Nordic cultural history, and Viking Studies.

¹ On Snorri Sturluson's life and works, see Arthur G. Brodeur, "The Meaning of Snorri's Categories," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 36, no. 4 (1952): 129–48.; Margaret Clunies Ross, *Skáldskaparmál: Snorri Sturluson's Ars Poetica and Medieval Theories of Language* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1987); Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1994); Clunies Ross, "The Conservation and Reinterpretation of Myth in Medieval Icelandic Writings," in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross, 42 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 116–39; Sigurður Nordal, *Snorri Sturluson* (Reykjavík: Þór. B. Þorláksson, 1920); Heinrich Beck, Herbert Jankuhn, and Reinhard Wenskus, "Die religionsgeschichtlichen Quellen der Gylfaginning," in *Germanische Religionsgeschichte: Quellen und Quellenprobleme*, ed. Heinrich Beck, Detlev Ellmers, and Kurt Schier, 5 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 608–17; Anthony Faulkes, "The Sources of Skáldskaparmál: Snorri's Intellectual Background," in *Snorri Sturluson. Kolloquium anlässlich der 750. Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, ed. Alois Wolf (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1993), 59–76; Faulkes, "Snorri Sturluson: His Life and Work," in *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink and Neil S. Price (London: Routledge, 2008), 311–14.

² Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* (Göttingen, 1819); cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. (Weisbaden: Marix Verlag, 2007).

³ E. O. Gabriel Turville-Petre, *Myth and Religion of the North: The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), 23.

⁴ General handbooks on pre-Christian religion that present a (more or less) rationalised picture of pre-Christian religion include not only Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* and Turville-Petre's *Myth and Religion of the North*, but also Jan de Vries (in German), *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, 3rd ed. (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970); Folke Ström (in Swedish), *Nordisk hedendom*, 2nd ed. (Lund: Berlingska boktryckeriet, 1967); Ólafur Briem (in Icelandic), *Norræn goðafræði*, 3rd ed. (Skálholt: Prentsmiðjan Edda hf., 1968); Hilda Ellis Davidson (in English), *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964); and, more recently, Gro Steinsland (in Norwegian), *Norrøn Religion: Myter, Riter, Samfunn* (Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S, 2005).

⁵ Work on local cults includes studies of Óðinn in Iceland (E. O. Gabriel Turville-Petre, "The Cult of Óðinn in Iceland," in *Nine Norse Studies*, V [London: The Viking Society for Northern Research, 1972]; Terry Gunnell, "From One High One to Another: The Acceptance of Óðinn as Preparation for the Acceptance of God," in *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Leszek Paweł Ślupecki and Rudolf Simek, *Studia Mediaevalia Septentrionalia* 23 [Vienna: Fassbaender, 2013], 153–78.); Þórr in Iceland (Gunnell, "Pantheon? What Pantheon? Concepts of a Family of Gods in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions," *Scripta Islandica* 66 [2015]: 55–76); the Vanir in Sweden (Olof Sundqvist, *Freyr's Offspring: Rulers and Religion in Ancient Svea Society* [Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2002], 225–240); Lýtir in Sweden (Dag Strömbäck, "Lýtir – En Fornsvensk Gud?," in *Festskrift Til Finnur Jónsson 29. Maj 1928* [København: Levin & Munksgaard, 1928], 283–93); and the northern Norwegian figure of Þorgerðr Hølgabrúðr (Nora K. Chadwick, "Thorgerðr Hølgabrúðr and the Trolla Þing: A Note on Sources," in *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950], 397–417; John McKinnell, "Þorgerðr Hølgabrúðr and Hyndluljóð," in *Mythological Women: Studies in Memory of Lotte Motz*, ed. Rudolf Simek and Wilhelm Heizmann [Wien: Fassbaender, 2002], 265–90; Gunnhildur Røthe, "The Fictitious Figure of Þorgerðr Hølgabrúðr in the Saga Tradition," in *The Fantastic in Old Norse/Icelandic Literature: Preprint Papers of the Thirteenth International Saga Conference*, ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst, and Donata Kick, vol. 2, 2 vols. [Durham: The Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006], 836–45).

⁶ Research on so-called "cult houses" has largely been conducted in archaeology. See discussion and further references in Luke John Murphy, "Continuity and Change in the Sacred Social Spaces of the Pre-Christian Nordic World," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 12 (2016). Key archaeological works in this area include Josefine Franck Bican, Anna Severine Beck, and Susanne Klingenberg, "Pre-Christian Cult Sites - Archaeological Investigations," in *Challenges and Solutions. Northern Worlds – Report from Workshop 2 at the National Museum, 1 November 2011*, ed. Hans Christian Gulløv, Peter Andreas Toft, and Caroline Polke Hansgaard, trans. James Manley (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2012), 261–68; Tom Christensen, "Lejre Beyond Legend: The Archaeological Evidence," *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 10 (1991): 163–85; Oliver Grimm and Alexandra Pesch, eds., *The Gudme - Gudhem Phenomenon: Papers Presented at a Workshop Organised by the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (ZBSA), Schleswig, April 26th and 27th, 2010*, vol. 6, *Schriften Des archäologischen Landesmuseums. Ergänzungsreihe* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2011); Lars Larsson, *Continuity for Centuries: A Ceremonial Building and Its Context at Uppåkra, Southern Sweden* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2004); Karsten Kjer Michaelsen, *Jernalder i Danmark og Gudme* (Glamsbjerg: Alrune, 1996); Ann-Lili Nielsen, "Pagan Cultic and Votive Acts and Borg: An Expression of the Central Significance of the Farmstead of the Late Iron Age," in *Visions of the Past: Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*, ed. Hans Andersson, Peter Carelli, and Lars Ersgård, 19 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997), 373–89.

⁷ Luke John Murphy, "Holy Groves, Rocky Places, and Sacral Constructions: The Establishment of Sacred Social Space in Viking-Age Pre-Christian Scandinavia," *The Retrospective Methods Network Newsletter* 1 (2010): 51–52; Murphy, "The Scale of 'Private' Religions in Pre-Christian Scandinavia: Theoretical and Empirical Questions," in *The Sixteenth International Saga Conference: Sagas and Space, 9th-15th August 2015, University of Zürich and University of Basel, Switzerland*, ed. Jürg Glauser et al. (Universität Zürich: Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Skandinavische Studien, 2015), 214–15; Murphy, "Continuity and Change in the Sacred Social Spaces of the Pre-

Christian Nordic World”; Murphy, “Between Unity and Diversity: Articulating Pre-Christian Nordic Religion and Its Spaces in the Late Iron Age” (PhD Dissertation, Aarhus University, 2017); Murphy, “Processes of Religious Change in Late-Iron Age Gotland I: Rereading, Spatialisation, and Inculturation,” in *Place and Space in the Medieval World*, ed. Meg Boulton, Heidi Stoner, and Jane Hawkes, Routledge Research in Art History 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2017). cf. discussion of theoretical developments in the Study of Religion in Jeppe Sinding Jensen, *The Study of Religion in a New Key: Theoretical and Philosophical Soundings in the Comparative and General Study of Religion*, Studies in Religion 3 (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003); Jensen, “On How Making Differences Makes a Difference,” in *Introducing Religion: Essays in Honor of J. Z. Smith*, ed. Willi Braun and Russell T. McCutcheon (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 140–62; Jensen, “Revisiting the Insider-Outsider Debate: Dismantling a Pseudo-Problem in the Study of Religion,” *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 23 (2011): 29–47; Jensen, “Closing the Gaps - Some Notes on the Making of Perspectives,” *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, 2015, 1–13; Till Mostowlandsky and Andrea Rota, “A Matter of Perspective? Disentangling the Emic–Etic Debate in the Scientific Study of Religion\,” *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, 2015, 1–20.

⁸ On so-called *Männerbünde*, see, for example, Michael Enright, *Lady with a Mead Cup: Ritual, Prophecy and Lordship in the European Warband from La Tène to the Viking Age* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996); Otto Höfler, *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1934); Kris Kershaw, *The One-Eyed God: Odin and the (Indo-)Germanic Männerbünde*, 36 (Washington: Journal of Indo-European Studies, 2000); John Lindow, *Comitatus, Individual and Honor: Studies in North Germanic Institutional Vocabulary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Andreas Nordberg, *Krigarna i Odins sal. Dödsföreställningar och krigarkult i fornordisk religion*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Akademityck AB, 2004); Arnold H Price, *Germanic Warrior Clubs: An Inquiry into the Dynamics of the Era of Migrations and into the Antecedents of Medieval Society* (Tübingen: Lück und Mauch, 1994); Jens Peter Schjødt, *Initiation Between Two Worlds: Structure and Symbolism in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religion* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2008); Lily Weiser, *Altgermanische Jünglingsweißen und Männerbünde. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen und nordischen Altertums- und Volkskunde* (Baden: Konkordia A.-G., 1927).

⁹ John McKinnell, *Both One and Many: Essays on Change and Variety in Late Norse Heathenism* (Rome: Il Calamo, 1994); Fredrik Svanberg, *Death Rituals in South-East Scandinavia AD 800-1000: Decolonizing the Viking Age 2* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003); Stefan Brink, “How Uniform Was the Old Norse Religion?,” in *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World: Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. Judy Quinn, Kate Heslop, and Tarrin Wills (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 105–36.

¹⁰ Andreas Nordberg, “Continuity, Change and Regional Variation in Old Norse Religion,” in *More than Mythology: Narratives, Ritual Practices and Regional Distribution in Pre-Christian Scandinavian Religions*, ed. Catharina Raudvere and Jens Peter Schjødt (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2012), 119–51; Jens Peter Schjødt, “Diversity and Its Consequences for the Study of Old Norse Religion: What Is It We Are Trying to Reconstruct?,” in *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North*, ed. Leszek Paweł Ślupecki and Jakob Morawiec (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2009), 9–22; Schjødt, “Reflections on Aims and Methods in the Study of Old Norse Religion,” in *More than Mythology*, ed. Raudvere and Schjødt (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2012), 263–87.

¹¹ e.g. Stefan Arvidsson, “Myt idag: Tankar om myt, politik och kultur i vår samtid,” *Chaos - Skandinavisk Tidsskrift for Religionshistoriske Studie* 53 (2012).

¹² Fataneh Farahani, “Diasporic Narratives of Sexuality: Identity Formation among Iranian-Swedish Women” (PhD Dissertation, Stockholm University, 2007); Lena Gemzöe, *Feminine Matters. Women’s Religious Practices in a Portuguese Town* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2000).

¹³ Stefan Arvidsson, *Aryan Idols: Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Niklas Foxeus, “Mimicking the State in Burma/Myanmar: Royal, Nationalist and Militant Ideology in a New Buddhist Movement,” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 172, no. 2–3 (2016): 197–224; Peter Jackson, “The Merits and Limits of Comparative Philology: Old Norse Religious Vocabulary in a Long-Term Prospective,” in *More than Mythology*, ed. Raudvere and Schjødt (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2012), 47–64; Terje Østebø, “Localising Salafism: Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia” (PhD Dissertation, Stockholm University, 2008).

¹⁴ Olof Sundqvist, *Freyr’s Offspring: Rulers and Religion in Ancient Svea Society* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2002); Olof Sundqvist, “Uppsala och Asgård. Makt, offer och kosmos i forntida Skandinavien,” in *Ordning mot kaos - studier av nordisk förkristen kosmologi*, ed. Anders Andrén, Kristina Jennbert, and Catharina Raudvere, Vägar till Midgård 4 (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2004), 145–79; Olof Sundqvist, “St Erik and Old Uppsala: Interpreting Cultural Symbols in the Context of Religious Change,” in *Royalties and Sanctuaries - Religious and Historical Symbols in the Context of Cultural Change in Sweden and England C. 1000-1600*, ed. Henrik Ågren and Elisabeth Michelsson, Institutionen för humaniora och samhällsvetenskaps skriftserie 15 (Gävle: University of Gävle, 2009), 11–35; Olof Sundqvist, “Erik den Helige och Gamla Uppsala – Om tolkningen av religiösa symboler vid tiden för Sveriges kristnande,” *Föreningen för lärare i religionskunskaps årsbok*, 2011; Olof Sundqvist, “Gamla Uppsala som förkristen kultplats: En översikt och en hypotes,” in *Gamla Uppsala i ny belysning*, Religionsvetenskapliga studier från Gävle 9 (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2013), 69–112.

¹⁵ cf. note 5.