

**Constructed Primitivism & Global Ethnic
Identity:
The Revitalization of Indigenous Religion in Scandinavia**
Milo Teplin

Definition of Terms:

Asatrú: the practice of rites and rituals patterned on pre-Christian Nordic religions in the modern day, with a few Gœthi usually is an elected position held for several years, referring to those done in Scandinavia and the United States, philosophical emphasis on communal harmony

Forn Seiðr: the practice of rites and rituals patterned on pre-Christian Nordic religions in the modern day, led by one Gœthi at a time (a seasonal position rotated around the community), usually referring to those done in Denmark and Germany, philosophical emphasis on ancestor worship

Gœthi: a religious leader, spiritual advisor, often acquired through apprenticeship

Høf: a sacred meetinghouse or temple

Kindred: in Nordic reconstructionism, a group united by religious practice and mutual philosophy

Neo-Heathenry/Neo-Heathen: a term often used by practitioners of Asatrú, Forn Seiðr, and similar faiths, to describe their philosophy and/or religious ideals

Sumbel/Sombel: a ritual in which participants stand in a circle, and three toasts are given by each person in the circle, with a drink being taken and some drink spilled at each toast. Typically, there is a toast for someone who has passed, one honoring someone who either is present or who was unable to attend, and lastly making a vow or a boast.

Abstract

Asatrú as a religious movement in Scandinavia, particularly in Iceland, shows a continuing line of dialogue dating back at least to the 16th Century. At its core, the practice of Asatrú and its place within society reflects the push towards creating a model of the “ideal Scandinavian”. The very act of promoting this mythology of larger-than-life role models also reflects what is valued by the society. Examining how this religion is used as a tool for group cohesion further reveals such things as what other cultures are seen to represent, and what is important when defining such terms as “strength,” “citizen,” and “sacred.”

Introduction

There has been an increasing trend over the past fifty years in both the United States and in Western Europe to reject the monotheistic religions that had dominated the worldwide theological conversation for the past 1500 years. Attempts to find a religion that eschewed organizational structure, an elite of intermediaries, and magical thinking started in the Enlightenment period, but gained a second wind at the turn of the century, gaining more and more popularity as technology pushed us onto the moon and global trade shrank the world. A common point in all of these “new age” cults is that they seek out pantheons and beliefs that are native to the land of the practitioners, highlighting the foreign origin of monotheistic religions, and distancing themselves from such practices. Constructing a philosophy around what is known about pre-Christian practices brings up issues about nationalism, globalism, and how spirituality can be augmented to ameliorate one’s place in a rapidly changing world.

Constructed primitivism is more than a matter of more than how and where one conducts religious rites for someone practicing today. While ideas behind the structures of social hierarchy and the historical accuracy of interpersonal roles can be debated, the act of choosing one system over another speaks volumes. Creating an Asatru kindred, however, is not a matter of reaction against modern conventions in favor of a mythic pre-Christian lifestyle. Because such ideals go back into the medieval period, a modern day convert from that culture could not be easily said to be acting as a reactionary. Could anyone studying Scandinavian culture even section off between ancient religious archetypes, medieval idealism, and modern-day revitalization?

Globalization

According to census data, in 2009 there were 2,700 practicing members of Asatru among Iceland’s population of 329,000 people, and this number has been steadily on the rise since then

(Friedman 2015). These numbers reflect those who were formally polled by the government as active practitioners in the religion, and numbers vary wildly on how many Icelanders ascribes to Asatrú as a philosophy (Ruether 2005, Raczynski 2016). The flexibility on how much influence Asatrú can have on someone's life is similar to Shintoism in Japan. While it is an official religion, it is also a moral philosophy, one that allows for the incorporation of other practices, such as Buddhism, as much as it can stand alone as a practice (Susumu 2005).

Asatrú as a philosophy stresses individual ability as well as community ties. There is a strong emphasis of self-reliance and self-improvement for the sake of both celebrating and cultivating strength and as a demonstration of what it means to be an adult. Strength, meaning more than just in the physical sense, though the physical is something that is idealized. Weathering the elements and being level-headed in times of great emotion are both kinds of strength that are stressed as ideals. Spending time recreationally outdoors no matter the weather, whether for a religious or a secular event, is a typical part of many kindred activities that highlights part of this philosophy. The *sumbel*, a feature of nearly all Asatrú gatherings, is always held outdoors, at least partially so that the drink that is spilled lands on the earth (Asprem 2008, Wodening 2011, Kroasskova 2014).

The religion of Asatrú is typified by communal practice, and as such the idea of a sacred space is one that is created by group consensus as much as an area being associated with one deity or another. A member of a kindred is characterized by their active participation in the community, not just in the context of religious functions, but in being a reliable source of help to other neighbors. Donations of time and goods to the community at large is the primary display of this ideal (Wodening 2011, Stinson 2013, Snook 2015)

Iceland Over Time

Since the early 1970s, Asatrú has been recognized as one of the official religions of Iceland, and in 2014 one of the kindreds has broken ground an official Høf. A perceived return to an idealized form of spirituality of the past is the driving force behind the published writings of members of these kindreds. Generally, these people lead very modern lives in metropolitan areas (Asprem 2008, Wodening 2011, Stinson 2013). Moreover, the elements of holding on to an ethnic identity are often as prevalent as the need to find personal divine revelation.

The beginning of the neo-Norse religious movement can truly be traced to the Germanic Romanticism movement of the 19th century. While this movement is known widely for the contributions to literature, fine art, and music, there was a driving force behind all of these achievements to regain a connection to a larger-than-life Germanic identity. Much of this discussion was created by and for academics who reinterpreted and extrapolated from classical texts. Writers such as Johann Gottfried Herder took the descriptions of the Germani tribes from the works of Tacitus in the 2nd century. Though the Germani were a people who didn't actually live in what later became Germany, Tacitus had described them in terms that Romantics such as Herder, Grimm, Montesquieu, and Goethe identified with: being hardened by a harsh climate, worshipping its women, being prone to drinking, enjoying nature and simple pleasures, and being faithful. This was the beginning of the *Völk* movement, which by the mid twentieth century would be swept up by ideas of eugenics and vehement nationalism. However, at its start *völkisch* ideals were in good company. In the 16th century a renown historian and runic scholar in Sweden, Johannes Bureus, would claim that the 6th century Roman ethnography *Getica* was in fact about the Swedish people. Bureus, and others such as Olaus Rudbeck and Ole Worm, championed the idea of Scandinavia being the oldest surviving culture of mankind. With this

Götic movement came the championing of the Norse as the ideal culture to model a nation after, and the promotion of such works as the *Edda*. (von Schnurbein 2016, Snook 2019, Dijk 2017)

What is particularly interesting is how prevalent these exact archetypes are in 21st century neo-Heathenry. The *Edda*, today referred to as the *Poetic Edda*, stands as a case in point. Even though this was a specifically Christian work by the monk Snorri Sturluson for a Christian audience, written some two centuries after the Christianization of Scandinavia, it serves a function of nationalistic preservation. That is, Snorri was a Christian preserving a piece of Scandinavian history despite contemporary efforts to wipe out pagan influences, which created a new set of mythology that would later influence people who sought to promote both religious ideas and nationalistic ones (Dronke 1969, St John 2001, Asprem 2008). The *Edda* restructures Nordic myth into a Christian framework, often changing the relationships and roles of each member of the pantheon from what is seen in earlier Nordic mythologies. And yet when it was written in the 12th century, it still captured an worldview of epic proportions, which continued to impress and influence later writers. Modern-day adherents of Asatrú will most often find their split on the opinions they hold of Snorri and the *Edda*, whether it is a sacred text or an example of the Christianization of their faith. (Dronke 1969, Faulkes 2005, von Schnurbein 2016)

Re-Imagined Communities

A nation-wide effort towards the restructuring of communal spiritual identity is far from new. The Sherpa in Nepal had a similar campaign of restructuring in the 1920s and 1930s (Ortner 1999: 94-145). While the region had previously had religious influence from India and China, there was a sudden period of building Buddhist monasteries and a widespread rejection of Hinduism. The upper classes, who had the wealth to support this campaign, had a history of trading with the primarily Hindu areas of India and Tibet. These business partners looked down

upon these upper-class Sherpa because of where traders fell in their caste-based worldview. By creating structured, spiritual wealth to draw from, these Sherpa traders sought to create a more equal moral footing when dealing with the neighboring Hindu groups. Moreover, the lower-class Sherpa who would travel to Darjeeling to look for mountaineering work would use this newly unified religious identity to both cater to the desires for the exotic of the British who employed them, and to petition the lamas for backing when imposing Buddhist customs of respect while on the mountains. (Ortner 1999: 128).

Just as the Sherpa upper classes promoted a rebuilding of national identity through revitalizing the local religion, so to have the Icelanders of the 20th century embraced Asatrú. This is seen even if conversion has not taken place. Promoting a singular national character will draw upon historical models in any movement. In Iceland that includes revering an ideal of personhood based upon Norse and Viking models, just as Asatrú does (Sullivan 2011, Bellah 2011, Wodening 2011). The long history of Scandinavia creating a unified identity apart from Europe has drawn upon this same sentiment. “A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, thing set apart and forbidden” (Durkheim 1912: 47) By revering and promoting the preservation of the natural landscape, as well as promoting the ideals of being individually capable and an asset to the community at large, Iceland creates a mythic ancestor that practitioners of Asatrú seek to emulate.

To examine the rekindling of Norse traditions, one is actually examining several similar religions based out of pre-Christian folk traditions, tracing them back to either Scandinavian or Germanic origins. Asatrú, Forn Seiðr, and Odinism are the most common iterations of these belief system in in practice today. Asatrú stems from Scandinavian folk traditions, particularly

those which took root in Iceland and parts of the United Kingdom (Sullivan 2011). Forn Seiðr, by contrast, usually refers to folk traditions that specifically stem from Denmark or Germany. These two are nearly identical in 21st century practice, and are distinguished differently by different kindreds. Yet it is not nearly so straightforward as to say Göticism became Asatrú and Völkischism became Forn Seiðr. Whereas earlier movements sought to use Norse mythos as a symbolic framework by which to examine modern and often Christian ideals, neo-Heathenry invokes that mythos at face value. Religion as a purposeful construction highlights the concept that religion can be and often is fueled by “the human ability to fantasize, create alternative worlds, dance, sing, tell stories, and enjoy doing creative things in social contexts” (Bellah 2011: 64).

If second-order thinking is “self-conscious thinking about thinking, and about religion, philosophy, and so on” (Bellah 1912: 275), then where does the process of actively declining a belief system that is wholly metaphorical, and instead invoking an ideology of ancestor- and nature- worship fall? For many who have turned to neo-heathenry, the answer is a simple one. Returning to a more hands-on approach to faith, one that requires physical participation in rites and regular communal involvement, creates a feeling of commitment. This makes the idea of personal revelation both seem more attainable and more important (Wodening 2011, Stinson 2013, Snook 2015). Communal physical labor that is used as a tool by which to better achieve the personal, internal, labor of divine revelation is a common trope in several religions. The Jewish kibbutz as well as the Hindu tantras of yoga employ this same basic principal of physical exertion in order to focus the mind. Asatrúarfélagið, the largest kindred in Iceland, not only is very vocal in local demonstrations about climate change, but held a highly publicized “funeral”

for a melted glacier, and leading members have led sit-ins at government buildings (Berg 2001, Asprem 2008, Wodening 2011, Stinson 2013, Snook 2015, Dijik 2017).

Identity, Conflict, and Racism

One delicate and volatile part of the revitalization of indigenous religions is how far new members want to push the idea that a religion is exclusive to a single ethnic group. Radical traditionalism is a complex movement within Asatrú that strives to both return to some kind of ideologically pure model of conduct, and establish a cohesive identity within the context of modern globalization. However this ignores the fact that so many of the Nordic nations of the 10th and 11th century, where many of these ideas are supposedly from, were on the forefront of active globalization at the time (Berg 2001, Markússon 2014, Snook 2015, Kroasskova 2014). The goals of a cohesive Scandinavian entity date back to the Skara Convention of the 14th Century, and are reflected politically and economically today in the Norden movement between the governments of Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, Norway, Greenland, and such territories as the Faroe Islands (Banas 2017).

Patterning a religious dogma to reflect a religious system that had been largely out of use for a millennia has created a rift among practitioners of Asatrú. The importance of direct divine revelation versus the reliance upon secular material and historical record colors the difference in method among all kindreds. “Secular scholarship on primeval paganism is widely seen as the fundamental ground of authority on what Heathen religions are in the twenty-first century” (Seigfried 2017). While this can be simply a framework by which to better analyze religious expression, this also leads to many kindreds being shunned and accused of using Asatrú to promote an agenda of white supremacy. Such a rift had in fact ended the annual *Lightning on the Plains* gathering of North American heathen and pagan groups, when the activity of Neo-

Nazis caused the founding members to shut down the event after it ran for six years. Several scholars directly examine the takeover and absorption of kindreds in the United States in particular into the Neo-Nazi movement (Seigfried 2017, von Schnurbein 2016, Snook 2017, Berger 2012). The presence of these kindreds have actively sewn distrust among groups, each claiming others of hijacking their faith (Glazier 2015, Seigfried 2017). In Europe and Scandinavia in particular, the European Congress of Ethnic Religions (ECER) actively works to prevent the promotion of Nazi propaganda by pagan groups, and serves to promote cultural networking, as well as source legal aid for groups in need, such as the Romuva in Lithuania (ECER official website, 2019).

Radical traditionalists are “characterized as more anti-modern and anarchist than anything else, hoping to cut away structures of modern life seen as oppressive and obstructive and thereby clear the way for the revival of what are considered older and better ways of thinking and being” (Strmiska 2010). These feelings recall the *völkisch* movement in its heyday, separate from later ideas such as those found in Odinism. Above all, the ideals of rugged independence and ambitions of ideological purity highlight these codes of conduct, and regular outdoor activity (Berg 2001, Markússon 2014, Kroasskova 2014).

Conclusions

By converting to these communities of constructed primitivism, are we seeing a method of coping with or balancing of the modern lifestyle? The construction of an idealized primitivist religion necessitates an assessment of what this community is separate from, and the environment that the community is interacting with. The Asatrú kindreds in Iceland perpetuate an ideal that not only fits within the context of their religious dogma, but also within the context of mythic national identity. By establishing a model of behavior from which to draw from, the

Asatú movement both aligns itself with Götis ideology and distances itself from white supremacist ideology. This doesn't jut create an us-v-them dichotomy, but contributes to the cultural definitions of social roles and appropriate behavior in a way that lends historical and theological legitimacy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Äikäs, Tiina; Puputti, Anna-Kaisa; Núñez, Milton; Aspi, Jouni & Okkonen Jari (2009) *Sacred and Profane Livelihood: Animal Bones from Sieidi Sites in Northern Finland*, Norwegian Archaeological Review, 42:2, 109-122
- Äikäs, Tiina & Salmi, Anna-Kaisa (2016) *North/South Encounters at Sámi Sacred Sites in Northern Finland*, Historical Archeology, 49:3, 90-109
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., and Steven J. Sherwood. "Mythic Gestures': Robert N. Bellah and Cultural Sociology." *Meaning and Modernity: Religion, Polity, and Self* (2002): 1-14.
- Anderson, Benedict Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread on Nationalism Verso Books 1991
- Anderson, E.N. *REVIEW ESSAY: Robert Bellah's Religion in Human Evolution* Equinox Publishing Ltd 2014
- Asprem, Egil. "Heathens Up North: Politics, Polemics, and Contemporary Norse Paganism in Norway." *Pomegranate* 10.1 (2008).
- Banaś, Monika. "In the Name of Odin I pronounce you husband and wife: Neo-Pagan movemes as a sign of reshaping the social and cultural order in contemporary Nordic countries." Walking the Old Ways in a New World: contemporary Paganism as lived religion Katowice : Sacrum Publishing House pg 45- 65 (2017).
- Bellah, Robert Neelly. "Religious evolution." *Readings in social evolution and development*. Pergamon, 1970. 211-244.
- Bellah, Robert N. *Beyond belief: Essays on religion in a post-traditionalist world*. Univ of California Press, 1991.
- Bellah, Robert N. *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2011, xxvii + 746 pp
- Bellecourt, Clyde (ed.) *AIM: Past, Present Future (official booklet)* International Indian Treaty Council, San Francisco CA
- Berg, D. "Modern Pagans (interview with Jörmundur Ingi, head of Ásatrú in Iceland)." *Iceland Review* 39.2 (2001): 42-46.
- Berger, H. A. (2012). *Contemporary Paganism: Fifteen years later*. Alternative Spirituality and Religion Review, 3(1), 3–16
- Bilefsky, Dan *Voodoo, an Anchor, Rises Again* The New York Times April 8, 2011
- Blain, Jenny. *Nine worlds of seid-magic: ecstasy and neo-shamanism in north European paganism*. Routledge Press, 2003
- Brault, Emily R. Sweating in the Joint: Personal and Cultural Renewal and Healing Through Sweat Lodge Practice by Native Americans in Prison (PhD Dissertation) Graduate School of Vanderbilt University August 2005
- Carter, Rebecca L. Understanding Resilience Through Ritual and Religious Practice: An Expanded Theoretical and Ethnographic Framework *Megacities: Resilience and Social Vulnerability*, United Nations University No. 10 pp. 73-81 2008
- Castañeda, Luis M. (2014) "Island Culture Wars: Selden Rodman and Haiti", *Art Journal*, 73:3, 56-69
- Cave, Alfred A. Prophets of the Great Spirit: Native American Revitalization Movements in Eastern North America University of Nebraska Press 2006

- Champagne, Duane. "Social Structure, Revitalization Movements and State Building: Social Change in Four Native American Societies." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 48, no. 6, 1983, pp. 754–763
- Cole, Kendra, "The State and the Spirits: Vodou and Religious Repression in Jim Crow New Orleans" (2019). Honors Theses. 658. University of Southern Mississippi, May 2019
- Compton, Wade; Matatu, Leiden Culture at the Crossroads Vodou Aesthetics and the Axis of Blackness in Literature of the Black Diaspora ProQuest Issue 27/28 (2003): 481-513,541
- Dijk, Lotte. *Ásatrú: An Enchanting Hybrid of Past and Present* MA Dissertation University of Iceland School of Humanities, Medieval Icelandic Studies 2017
- Donnelly, Brian, *Census reveals huge rise in number of non-religious Scots* The Herald, Scotland, Sept 2013
- Dronke, Ursula *The Poetic Edda: Heroic Poems* Oxford Clarendon Press, 1969
- Durkheim, Emile The elementary forms of the religious life, a study in religious sociology MacMillan Press New York 1912 [trans. Swain, Joseph Ward, 1915]
- Edvinger, Britta Wennstedt & Broadbent, Noel D. (2006) *Saami Circular Sacrificial Sites in Northern Coastal Sweden*, Acta Borealia, 23:1, 24-55
- Faulkes, Anthony (ed.) *Snorri Sturluson: Edda. Prologue and Gylfaginning*, London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2005
- Felix, Emmanuel Jr. Understanding Haitian Vodou Xulon Press USA 2009
- Foxcroft, Nigel H. Psychogeographic Impact on Malcolm Lowry's Consciousness: From the Zapotec and Aztec Civilizations to Taoism University of Brighton, UK
- Friendman, Uri "Big in Iceland: Paganism" *The Atlantic* November 2015
- Funkschmidt, Kai (2018) Norse Revival: Transformations of Germanic Neopaganism, *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 33:3, 610-612
- Gardell, Mattias. "Gods of the Blood: Pagan Revival and White Separatism" (2003) *unpublished* Duke University 2019
- Goldstein, Warren S. "Norse Revival." *unpublished* Academia.edu 2019
- Grobsmith, Elizabeth S. (1989) The Impact Of Litigation On The Religious Revitalization Of Native American Inmates In The Nebraska Department Of Corrections, *Plains Anthropologist*, 34:124, 135-147
- Gründer, René. "Neo-Pagan traditions in the 21st Century: Re-inventing Polytheism in a Polyvalent World-Culture." *Religion, Tradition and the Popular. Transcultural Views from Asia and Europe* (2014): 261-282.
- Gunnell, Terry. "Occasional Rituals of the Ásatrúarfélag in Iceland." *unpublished* Academia.edu 2019
- Harvey, Graham, Indigenous Religions: A Companion A& C Black Publishing 2000
- Heinämäki L., Xanthaki A. (2017) Indigenous Peoples' Customary Laws, Experiencing and Protecting Sacred Natural Sites of Sámi and other Indigenous Peoples Springer Polar Sciences pg 65-82
- la Hermandad Odinista del Fuego Sagrado en México, <http://www.angelfire.com/folk/sagradofuego/principal.htm> official website, sourced November 2019

- Irwin, Lee. "Freedom, Law, and Prophecy: A Brief History of Native American Religious Resistance." *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1997, pp. 35–55
- Johnson, Greg (2002) Tradition, Authority and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, *Religion*, 32:4, 355-381
- Kail, Tony M. Magico-Religious Groups and Ritualistic Activities: a Guide for First Responders CRC Press Boca Raton, FL USA 2008
- Kaplan, Jeffrey. "The reconstruction of the Asatru and Odinist traditions." *Magical religion and modern witchcraft* (1996): 193-236.
- King, Winston L. Review of The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion by Mircea Eliade *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* Vol. 9, No. 1 (Spring, 1970), pp. 70-72
- Kosmin, Barry A. & Keysar, Ariela (PIs) *Religious, Spiritual and Secular: The emergence of three distinct worldviews among American college students: A Report based on the ARIS 2013 National College Student Survey* Institute for the Study of Secularism in Society and Culture, Trinity College Publishing Sept 2013
- Kracht, Benjamin R. Religious Revitalization Among the Kiowas: The Ghost Dance, Peyote, and Christianity University of Nebraska Press 2018
- Krasskova, Galina. "Jefferson F. Calico, Being Viking: Heathenry in Contemporary America." *Pomegranate: The International Journal of Pagan Studies* 20.2 (2019): 267-270.
- Leach, Evan A. Voices From the Pagan Census: A National Survey of Witches and Neo-Pagans in the United States University of South Carolina Press, USA 2003
- Lewis, James R. Magical Religion and Modern Witchcraft SUNY Press USA 1996
- Markússon, Guðmundur Ingi. "The Salience and Relevance of Modern Icelandic Ásatrú: A Preliminary Case Study in the Immunology of Culture." *Religious Narrative, Cognition and Culture: Image and Word in the Mind of Narrative* (2014): 281.
- McPherson, Dennis H.; Rabb, J. Douglas Indian from the Inside: Native American Philosophy and Cultural Renewal, 2d ed. McFarland Press 2014
- Medicine, Bea (1981) Native American Resistance To Integration: Contemporary Confrontations And Religious Revitalization, *Plains Anthropologist*, 26:94, 277-286
- Miller, Jennifer A. Iceland. Lerner Publications, 2010.
- Mills, Alexander R (pen name Tasman Forth) The Odinist Religion: Overcoming Judeo Christianity Melbourne, Ruskin Press 1939
- Moore, M. (1998). "Coalition Building between Native American and Environmental Organizations in Opposition to Development: The Case of the New Los Padres Dam Project" *Organization & Environment*, 11(3), 287–313
- Morris, Christopher. "The New Romantics: Norwegian Black Metal and National Identity." *unpublished* Academia.edu 2019
- Näkkäljärvi K., Kauppala P. (2017) *Sacred Sites of the Sámi – Linking Past, Present and Future* Experiencing and Protecting Sacred Natural Sites of Sámi and other Indigenous Peoples Springer Polar Sciences pg 117-128
- Nrenzah, Genevieve Modernizing Indigenous Priesthood and Revitalizing Old Shrines: Current Developments on Ghana's Religious Landscape (PhD dissertation) Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies, University of Bayreuth, Germany February 2015

- Ogunleye, AR Cultural identity in the throes of modernity: an appraisal of Yemoja among the Yoruba in Nigeria Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Vol 7 No 1, pp 60-68, 2015
- Ortner, Sherry B Life and Death on Mt Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering Princeton University Press Oxford, UK 1999
- von Schnurbein, Stefanie. "Creating the Paradigm: Historical Preconditions of Modern Asatru." *Norse Revival*. BRILL, 2016. 17-53.
- von Schnurbein, Stefanie. "Asatru—An Academic Religion?." *Norse Revival*. BRILL, 2016. 251-297
- von Schnurbein, Stefanie. "Asatru—A Religion of Nature?." *Norse Revival*. BRILL, 2016. 180-215.
- Raczyński, Rafał. "State–Church Relations in Iceland." *European Journal of Science and Theology* 12.4 (2016): 49-62.
- Ruether, Rosemary Radford. "The normalization of Goddess religion." *Feminist Theology* 13.2 (2005): 151-157.
- Seigfried, Karl EH. (n.d.) "A Better Burden: Towards a New Ásatrú Theology."
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books
- Snook, Jennifer. "Reconsidering Heathenry: The construction of an ethnic folkway as religio-ethnic identity." *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 16.3 (2013): 52-76.
- Snook J., Horrell T., Horton K. (2017) *Heathens in the United States: The Return to "Tribes" in the Construction of a Peoplehood*. In: Rountree K. (eds) *Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and Modern Paganism*. Palgrave Studies in New Religions and Alternative Spiritualities. Palgrave Macmillan, New York
- Snook, J. (2015). *American Heathens: The politics of identity in a Pagan religious movement*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press
- St. John, G. (2001). Australian (alter)natives: Cultural drama and indigeneity. *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, 45(1), 122–140
- Stinson, M. L. (2013). Nine worthy steps to advance Heathenry. *Kansas city Heathen*, 30 September 2013
- Strmiska, Michael. "Tyr: Myth-Culture-Tradition, Volumes 1 (2002), 2 (2003-04), and 3 (2007-08), ULTRA Publishing, Atlanta, Georgia." *Pomegranate* 12.1 (2010): 118-121.
- Strmiska, Michael. "Ásatrú in Iceland: the rebirth of Nordic paganism?." *Nova religio* 4.1 (2000): 106-132.
- Sullivan, Lawrence Native Religions and Cultures of North America: Anthropology of the Sacred Bloomsbury Publishing USA 2003
- Sullivan, Paul. *Waking up in Iceland*. Bobcat Books, 2011.
- Susumu Shimazono, State Shinto and the Religious Structure of Modern Japan, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Volume 73, Issue 4, December 2005, Pages 1077–1098
- Wallace, Anthony F. C. Revitalization Movements *American Anthropologist* Vol 58 Iss 2 April 1956 Pages 264-281
- Wodening, S. (n.d.). On tribalism. *Gamall stein*, Retrieved August 15, 2015
- Wodening, S. (2011). A case for tribalism. *Heathen future*, 13 November 2011

York, Michael *Civil Religion Aspects of Neo-Paganism* Pomegranate . Nov2004, Vol. 6 Issue 2, p253-260