

Vikings, sagas and Wasa bread

It is true to say that France has been one of the main victims of the Vikings from the IXth to the XIth century. There is no denying, on another side, that practically all the chronicles, "histories", poems and the like dealing with the acts of "the proud children of the North" were written by clerics, monks, abbots, that is to say people who were, par excellence, exposed to the raids of the Scandinavians since the strategy of the Vikings consisted, as everybody knows, not in attacking some armies which would have probably been able of defending themselves, but in assaulting and plundering by surprise such undefended places as monasteries, abbeys, churches and defenceless towns. It is, accordingly, simply normal that our annals or chronicles are unanimously stating that the cruel invaders, pityless and harsh as they were, were so to speak an absolute enemy against whom it was impossible to react. So, since the very beginning, the Vikings have been taken as the expression of barbarity itself, bloodthirsty, invincible, ferocious, etc... One has not to look for our French "Viking myth" (1) elsewhere as in the fact that our sources are nearly never the fact of lay people acting as true historians. In other words, a kind of legend has always existed in France, where the genuine face of the Vikings and their expeditions have never been seriously presented.

This was the first constatation and it will last a very long time. We have to wait for the end of the XIXth century to get, at last, really objective and well informed studies (2) to be able of having a faithful image of the Viking phenomenon and of the whole set of pictures attached to it, let us say : sagas, walkyries, runes, mythology of the North, etc... And even so : the success and deep influence of, for instance, Wagner's works in France have done nothing to improve the picture!

Because, and this is the second point, there exists in France, as well in literature as in popular imagery a myth of the North which I shall not attempt to study here but which would certainly deserve a long and deep enquiry. Suffices to say, first that we have never tried to see clearly, even nowadays, what is the North

and what it is not, then, that we are used, I should say : by definition, to see in the North the real place for mystery, strangeness, elsewhere and otherly. Let us remember that the Hyperborea of the Greeks was a fantastical place for all possible wonders and that Jaso going in search of the Golden Fleece sailed, naturally if I may say so, northwards, in the same way as Pytheas trying to find Ultima Thule. As would an author of the beginning of the XIXth century say : "The North has been a country of marvels for all peoples"(3). A quotation that has to be precised by this statement, due to a traveller, in 1929 : "We use to see the Norwegian soul(4) into an uniformity of fog"(5).

The short essay I will propose you would like to offer you a brief image we Frenchmen have nourished of the Vikings and, accessorially, of the sagas since the origins. It could help you to understand the extreme difficulties an honest scholar is fronted to as soon as he has to deal with this matter when he wants to write for his compatriots. I am well aware that we have not the exclusivity of the views I shall sum up here, but I think it is particularly typical perhaps because of our Normandie which owes its name and existence as a province to the Viking Danes (?).

The first period which will be concerned by my little investigation is lengthy : it goes from the IXth to the XVIIIth century. A very simple, very well-known Latin formula will express the Viking myth during such a long time : A furore Normannorum, libera nos Domine : Of the wrath of the Norsemen, deliver us, o Lord! It was a common prayer in our churches in the Middle Ages. Abbon de Fleury (6), Benoît (7), Wace (8), Guillaume de Jumièges (9), Orderic Vital (10), between many other, agree : the Viking are terrific men, their armies are immense and wherever they go, they spread terror, blood and fire. Professor Eichhoff, who writes still in 1851, agrees : "Scandinavia, bloody field of Odin, took all of a sudden a formidable sway and poured over the rest of Europe its swarms of devastating warriors. Those homeless chieftains, pushed over the stormy waves, launched at random by the winds, rushed like birds of prey or like those wolves the names of which they were taking, on defenceless coasts where they exerted their rapaciousness" (2211). They were wild (cruentl, says Abbon) and I have found in a small handbook in history in use to-day in our elementary schools for children nine to twelve years old, such a precision : "They slaughtered everybody. After their

passage, you could walk for hours without seeing the smoke of a roof, without hearing 'a dog barking' (12). Duden de Saint-Quentin or Denis Piramus (13) are greatly responsible for these legends which will, afterwards, find a personification into the figure of Robert le Diable : he is supposed to be the first Normand duke! As they are cruel, the Vikings are, accordingly, very keen in drinking blood. And we find still in 1835, one Licquet, who is supposed to be a good historian, picking up an old detail too precise that their main subject of entertainment consisted in taking infants to their mothers and cast them "to receive them on the points of their spears" (14).

The explanation goes by itself : they were damned pagans (des païens maudits), Satan's faithful servants and they had been sent in France in order to punish this country of its sins. They were, such as Attila had been several centuries earlier, God's flail (le fléau de Dieu), they fulfilled a sacred mission.

A man, or a myth, who will keep well alive until our days, expresses already the whole complex of ideas, pictures and feelings attached to the Vikings : it is Ragnarr Loðbrök (15). A fair number of texts are already dealing with him, as the symbol or incarnation of the Viking. He embodies all the features our Middle Ages put in the word "Normand" : coward, cruel, thief, murderer, addicted to fire and rape. No need to precise that we would try in vain to find any historical evidence of such commonplace pictures. From the very beginning, the Viking myth is, indeed, the Viking mystery, Drinking blood in one's enemies' skulls, killing priests, old people, women and children, setting everything on fire : the Viking has stepped into history for good and it is exactly in this way our present cartoon series depict him.

With Montesquieu and the XVIIIth century on the whole, the atmosphere will slightly change - to add a new and unexpected feature. You remember Montesquieu's theories (16) : because of the coldness of the climate, the energy is greater in the North, people are more courageous, vigorous and superior in many regards to the rest of mankind. Dangerous, as we know nowadays, ideas which remind us of Tacitus' views in Germania, because both works were composed with similar intentions : stigmatizing the so-called indolence of the South by enhancing the equally so-called energy of the North. Montesquieu was to find a faithful and let us say dangerous disciple with P.H.Mallet because the latter, who happened to know

Denmark, was to be the first one to propose a good translation of the Poetic Edda (17) and to write a History of Denmark (1755) which was to take again medieval views on the North and give them a new renown. Madame de Stael (18) and the Pre-Romanticism were to encourage these opinions and to "prove" the superiority of the North in all possible fields, the Viking being only an element into a general theory which could be summed up in another Latin formula, *ex Septentrio lux*. They found a good support in the work of Jordanes where, as you know,, the Goth historian stated that Scandinavia was the *vagina nationum*, the *officina gentium* (19). This was not typically French since Olof Rudbeck, long after Johannes Magnus and Olaus Magnus, was convinced of the same thing. It is surprising to see that our Chateaubriand, in his Etudes historiques, was more or less of the same opinion. The Cruel Viking has disappeared for a while. He is now a model of strength who has entered just in due time the field of History to regenerate the Occident. We are also at the moment when the Ossian-Macpherson poems had become the fashion in our countries. This was a "barbarian" poetry set to regenerate ours. Thence, the confusion between Celtic and Scandinavian-Germanic cultures. The Edda was proposing a strange mixture of let us say non-classical poetry which, really, was the fruit of the Viking genius!

This is sufficient to introduce a far more surprising feature of our Viking myth : the North became the origin of Chivalry. A lot of authors, most of them forgotten now, are sure that the "Normands" brought into France chivalry. A special attention was brought onto the old *hólmanga* to prove the fact and the Scandinavian woman, namely the valkyry, were the proof that, to quote a good historian, H. Prentout (20) : "It is in Normandie that the chivalrous spirit of the French Middle Ages, of the Middle Ages in general, came to its first blossom".

Because - this too is in Montesquieu's theories - the Barbarians who came from the cold were "pure". The South was corrupted. Here equally, the Viking was the arm of God, he played a purifying part. As will, still in 1918, one J. Revel say : "Scandinavia was, in fact, to bring, not devastation, but renovation" (21). Let us remember that Rousseau's meaning about le bon sauvage had brought fresh water to this mill. If you wonder why, here is the explanation : The North was virtuous. Such was the reason why they come, two times, at the exact moment when the South was falling into vice and satanism,

Mallet does not doubt that the Vikings "were sent by Providence" and Chateaubriand does not hesitate to speak of a "miraculous instinct" that guided the conquerors : "they filled a mission they could not explain to themselves". A reliable historian, J.Janin, writing in 1844 (22) is sure that the North brought "energy and liberty".

Such is the Viking at the end of the XVIIIth century : chivalrous, strong, pure, virtuous and sent by Providence to fecundate the worn out Romania, to teach it liberty, justice and democracy. Take a proof of that in Mallet who, necessarily, should I say, takes a model with Ragnarr Loðbrók when he gives us a translation of Krákumál : he only insists on passages where the noble feelings of the hero in his snake pit are well visible : his love for his wife, his children, his noble courage, his virtuous strength. We are far closer to the Table Ronde or to the Amadis des Gaules than to the poèmes barbares.

In this way, the passage to Romanticism proper is easy. A line by Baudelaire who, true to say, did probably not think of the Viking, could illustrate the new face of the myth. That is : "Free man, always wilt thou cherish the sea" (Homme libre, toujours tu chériras la mer). Because it includes the two images which crystalize the myth : the first is liberty, the second is the sea, that is to say, the stage of all possible adventures and prodigious discoveries. Here, I must precise that the Swedes are greatly responsible for this new aspect. I mean Geijer and Tegner, both translated, towards 1840, by X.Marmier (23). In my mind, there are two successive moments in the French Romantic idea of the Viking, which I will swiftly examine here.

In a first time, the Viking acts as a kind of transfer. His field is the sea, not only the adventure in the singular, but still all the possible adventures in the plural. Let us quote, once more, J.Janin (24) with his predilection for the adjective "all" : "These iron men came from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, from all the snows, all the tempests. During ten centuries, they had been living by the sword /.../ Like all the men who were born for war, you will find these rough soldiers in all the expeditions and in all the difficult enterprises." We know, for the rest, the passion the Romantics devoted to the sea. A sort of strange complex, partly sentimental, partly heroic, mystical, historical has been developed through this theme. And I must point out a very surprising detail.

As I have already suggested it, the Frenchmen have been ignorant for a very long time of the Scandinavian and especially Viking history. Excepted on one point ; the possible discovery by the inhabitants of Greenland of Northern America, I have never been able to see why this subject has provoked such a passion with my compatriots but the fact is that, during the last two centuries, they have written far more on this topic than on every other aspect of the Viking phenomenon. And the Romanticism has furiously taken the fact for granted, I shall be satisfied by quoting this poem by one O.J. Richard (25): "Noble Iceland! Be proud when you think of these kings, these Vikings who, everywhere, spread your laws : In Asia and even in Africa! Predecessors of Columbus, their glorious flag, as soon as the Xth century landed in those places which were, later, named America." This, of course - and the link with the first stage of the myth is visible, because of the Vikings' bravery and ferocity. Even Michelet, who, for the rest, is cautious when he has to speak of the Northmen, admires such prowesses. This age was, however, sensitive to the ferocity of the Scandinavian enterprises on the whole, but the strength of the myth is so great that it chose to see it under another point of view : the Vikings hated cowardice, that is the reason why they had to be, sometimes, cruel and wild. X. Marmier is clear : for them "every possible cowardice was repellent /.../ Courage is the supreme virtue; cowardice, the most unforgettable vice." Let us understand that one cannot be brave if one is not ferocious. They were "magnificent rovers /.../ saucy brigands who exchanged the wretchedness of a sterile soil against the vast empire of the waves /...they were/ saekunngar" (26).

This, because they embodied one of the great Romantic ideals, fascinating since the French Revolution, la liberté ou la mort (Freedom or Death). The idea was already present by Montesquieu. The romantic authors will ceaselessly expatiate onto it, I could multiply the quotations. Suffices to give this line by C.V. d'Arincourt (27) about a scald : "The scald sees the death, smiles, darts forth and dies." Where, of course, we find a clear reminiscence if I need to precise it, of Krákumál and hlæjandi skal ég deyja! And d'Arincourt feels the need of explaining his line : he points out, in a footnote : a genuine Viking "had to die laughing and singing, or else, he would die like a coward." Even Victor Hugo who has, in general, avoided such frenzy pictures, has his "reître" (a kind

of Viking, that is!) say : "And we will laugh when we die". I should like to see the whole of this imagery as a manifestation of what could be called the literary temptation of the Romanticism - not to speak of our present time! They simply refuse to try to see reality, they kept firmly to their dreams.

And it is still more visible if we cast now a brief glance on the Viking lady, who was yet simply absent in the myth at its beginning. We have not forgotten, however, that chivalry was born in the North. Accordingly, it is not strange that the "war-like virgins" have attracted our Romantic authors. True to say, they do not always know how they have to depict her : inaccessible virgin, wild warrior, dangerous seeress, black magician. Anyway, Bonstetten is sure that, by the Vikings, "the respect for women had markedly polished morals by the pirates warriors" (28) and all our authors are sure that the Viking lady was very beautiful ("really beautiful with her golden hair, her azure eyes, her bright whiteness and the purity of her complexion" says Lagrèze /29/) Lacouson-Leduc adds that she "possesses still an heroic strength and an admirable wisdom" (30). We are, of course, waiting for the valkyries, here they are : they belong to the myth and this theme is so rich that I cannot develop it here. Because "You cannot ignore it, the whole Antiquity witnesses the fact, every virgin of the North has something celestial" (31).

The following step is far more dangerous because, now, we cannot speak any longer of transfer, but of relief. On the whole, it is chiefly because of his supposed extraordinary individuality that the Viking has so much interested Romanticism : civilized or barbarian, wild or chivalrous, he was prodigiously existing. And therefore, in a second stage, he appears as the pure German, the Übermensch. Here is the origin of a very fearful deviation of the myth. Most of the features we have examined tended to make of the Viking a superior man. But under the influence of the nationalist schools in Germany and in Scandinavia as well, the idea will take shape. We can start with the berserkr who has greatly interested our XIXth century, because of his sacred fury. I have even found a specialist in magics having the berserkr "swallowing" embers and rushing into fire! (32) It was necessary to find an explanation to this uncouth phenomenon. Marnier wants them to eat some sort of venomous herbs. They complied with the need of frenzy, so characteristic of Romanticism. They had to indulge into darkness, occultism,

magics and supernatural. We are astonished to see that even one of the best historians of that century, F. Ozanam (33) was convinced that "the ideal of virtue was this furious raving" We can easily catch a glimpse of the consequences : strength excels right, wer will der kamm and the like. There has existed, there still exists a sulphurous prestige of the fair, naked brute, it craves a deal of sang-froid to fight this nonsense.

Remains that - a new theme which was obviously not indifferent to the XIXth century- the Viking entered so to speak by principle in an epic which would not be anything else but fantastical. In the words of one G. Dozy : "It is the Normands who created the epic literature, as well as they created the chivalrous spirit and the romantic poetry." (1847)(34) An unexpected consequence must be pointed out ; the Viking were spontaneously scalds. It was already Chateaubriand's opinion. He gives a short definition of ... Ragnarr Lodbrök : "Lodbrog, warrior, scald and pirate"! One E. Valjas will repeat, in 1954 (35) : "Poetry was introduced in Normandie by the berserkir (he writes : bersekers). this kind of poets or popular singers were simply scalds." We see the filiation ; sacred fire - furor - gift of poetry - poetical enthusiasm. You notice, by the way, the considerable distance we have covered since the gross barbarians of the Middle Ages. The Viking is the poet (he is called indifferently asd, bard, trouvère and the like.) In this field like in the other ones, he had to surpass!

But on another point of view, far more dangerous, Gobineau had already pushed the idea to its utmost limits. He was obsessed by his ancestors who were genuine Normands (not, of course, Vikings), he was convinced of their superiority : "But, Roman, Welsh... Finally, who is not German has been born to be a servant!" (36). I do not intend to insist on the fatal consequences such theories will have in our century. I simply want to stress the fact that, after Gobineau and up to our days, the Normand writers will rarely fail to exalt their Viking ancestry. In the background of the Viking myth there is an image which resists all our efforts to try to reach the truth : the image of a man, standing, tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, very handsome, he may be a savage or a culture-hero, no matter, he must be exceptional and superior. Siegfried-Sigurd has completely embodied, for the Frenchman-in-the-street, this picture. The reason of Wagner's fortune in my country has not to be sought elsewhere.



Let us conclude on this point. Nobody doubts in France that the Vikings "were fearless seamen, were afraid of nothing and kept singing amidst the storms" (37).

Remains the XXth century, our century; here, we can say that science, history and archaeology as well as philology have progressed. Is the Viking myth dead? Are we allowed to think we know the truth, as far as it is possible, about the Viking, in France? I fear the answer is still negative, although we dispose now of good studies either French or translated from all possible languages. But science is one thing, literature, another. In fact, we do not want to be correctly informed; here lies the strength of the myth.

It seems to me that, informed or not, the Frenchman in 1991 is decided to preserve at least two features of the Viking myth. The first deals with these extraordinary individuals that were the Vikings, according to Romanticism, as we know. The second could appear as a new one; the men of the North had a superiority, nobody tries to contest the fact and this resided in their technical skills. We must find a superiority in the Viking; now, in accordance with the general trends of our time, it lies in technics.

This may take place in a lot of different fields: juridical, military, commercial or purely technical (the ship, the weapons, etc...), The aim is to demonstrate that the Viking civilization was superior to other. "Those people were really men" says A. Manguin (38). The main proof is the ship, which is always called into French, drakkar - and this is an enigma I have never found the explanation of, nor the origin. It could come from dreki, of course, but what about this double k, this first a and this plural form? Anyway, the "drakkar" is so famous in France that, for instance, most of the inhabitants of the Normandie have a sign on the rear of their car which shows precisely a "drakkar". Or let us take scaldic poetry, an art practically completely unknown in my country (39). The rare amateurs who have a vague idea of the thing are sure of its religious, magical, esoteric nature. But the material culture is far more interesting, first of all, I believe, because of the strange vocabulary of this savage language. A well-known novel, La route des cygnes, by René Hardy (1967) offers us a great display of "specific" words such as papars, lûr, knorr, troid, badstêða, feund, vardloktur, bårsærk, thinglög, vergeld, herse, doegr...

which could indicate where he has found them and the way he read them. This is a very rich field. Do see this etymology, by M. Gilbert, for Vikings : vik = bay, ing = child, viking = child of the bay. And I shall not insist on the personal names which are a particularly fertile area, so strange and coming out of a deep science they are. We get, for instance, Alask, Thorun, Friger, Melorka, Beniar (this one, an achievement), and so on. Same for mythology : let us look at Muspelstrem, Heimsdale, Duna (i.e. Íðunn), Fenhir, Jormungand, etc...

I can take a look on the present stage of the question. Up to now, I hope my reader will have got a good idea of the French refusal to try to see the truth in this matter. The Viking allows us to take the exact measure of our literary imagination : we have never attempted to speak of him, we have always spoken of us through him. He belongs to the world of our fancy and, since we are living, nowadays, in an era of commerce and advertisement, the pictures he raises in our imagination are of great utility. I shall take the liberty of joking a little : there is a "club scandinave viking" for body-building, probably because of the physical exercise necessary to become a companion to Ragnarr Loðbrók, here, a Scandinavian warrior - with the unavoidable horns on his helmet - to pack some herring cans, or a good camembert named Viking, with a fragment of the Bayeux tapestry on the cover, those are aliments which could be attributed to "les rudes pirates du Nord", either naturally, like the fish, or by inference - the smell! - like the cheese. But what of the shop for baby's clothes called Le petit viking? what of the blouse (no iron, no crumple) equally called viking? What of the lamp that <sup>has</sup> the shape and name of a Viking with horns, red hair and the rest? I shall stop with Croustik (a word built on croustillant, crust, with a "typical" Scandinavian ending, -ik) : the "golden loaves of the Vikings", specially toasted, wholemeal bread, Swedish process.

It is certainly hard to reconcile these products (and many other, it goes without saying) with the images we have studied above. There is a strong exotic value in the North itself, as I told when I started up. I am sure the Swedish bread is not better than the French one and that the real Vikings, would probably have been horrified by our camembert. On another side, if I see the link

between drakkar and a famous perfume due to Guy Laroche (drakkar noir, eau de toilette) because it is obviously a symbol of virile charm, if I can admit that a pair of scissors could be called "le drakkar", I am rather at a loss to explain why a set of four glasses made in Belgium, is called drakkar. Is that to suggest an idea of strength, of resistance of these glasses to clashes?

I said that the Viking was a symbol, I could as well have chosen to do the same researches with the sagas (40). With a strong difference : they have remained totally unknown in France until, really, the middle of our century. But since approximately 1950, the word and, little by little, the thing itself have become more and more a fashion and it is worth while in which ways it has been received in France. Obviously, rare are the people who speak of sagas and have really read one or several of these texts : I must confess that they remain difficult to be read, even for l'honnête homme and that the present fashion which, doubtless, favours the word, does not lie on a scientific knowledge but reinforces the conclusions we have drawn about Vikings.

It goes without saying that the "folkloric" aspect is present here too : North, cold, mist... It is so to speak normal to see a "renard saga" (a fox saga) or a "saga des fourrures" (41). We can admit also that the epic value of the Íslendingasögur could survive in some of our books or films. P. Bonnacarrère may tell us La saga des parachutistes (1971), Le Monde, write an article on "La saga des banquiers" (1.8.1986) and, respecting one of the great principles of this kind of literature, we should not be surprised to see the word used about certain well-known families such as "La saga des Joxe" (L'Express 16.11.1983) or "La saga meurtrière des Recco" /a family of mafiosi/ (Le Figaro 2.6.1986). But it is strange, to say the least, to read "La saga du chien" (the saga of the dog, being a more or less technical book dealing with our pet animal) or "La saga du téléphone" (Le Monde 24.01.1979) (to tell us the difficulties of the installation of telephone in Egypt). But what about this "saga pain plat" which is Norwegian flatbrød imported and sold in our shops? What have the sagas to do with flatbrød, or with a pair of socks ("saga unisexe"), what have the Vikings to do with this portable shower I found in a shop?

The answer is within our reach and has certainly been guessed by my reader. Real or formidable as they may be,

the northern mists are reigning here, not especially into the scenery itself, but indeed in our heart and imagination. A trouble complex is prevailing here, the ingredients of which are mystery, magic, fascinating obscurity : the whole, in the same time frightening and delicious. Perhaps it is the ultimate refuge of our disappointments, of our shortcomings.

After all... I am perhaps wrong with my determination to reconstitute the precise historical content of these bewitching words, viking, drakkar, sagas, etc... (4B). I am looking pitiful with my Vikings who were first of all extraordinary tagedesmen, my drakkar which is nothing but a knörr, my sagas that have no fragrance of chansons de geste, not to speak of my valkyries who were neither viragos nor sylphids... And poetry? What the devil did I do with poetry? Poetry which, we are sure of that, was born in the North. Primitive poetry symbolized by Ragnarr Loðbrók, esoteric poetry represented by the sagas, romantic poetry embodied in the drakkar. Oh yes, I am wrong! I had rather tell like Hǫgar Dunbr when sailing from England to Norway : "Do sing hard, boys! Do sound, olifants! Soon the drakkars of the valiant vikings will come back to our country, fully loaded with booty "made in England"".

## notes

- (1) see R. Boyer : Le mythe viking dans les lettres francaises. Paris ed. du Porte-Glaive, 1986
- (2) let us say, for instance, to-day, Lucien Musset's works
- (3) J. Gråberg di Hemsø ; La Scandinavie vengée de l'accusation d'avoir produit les peuples barbares... Lyon, Kindelem, 1822
- (4) E. Condroyer ; Des fjords aux tulipes, Paris, Ed. Baudinière, 1929
- (5) but he could as well as have said : the Scandinavian soul
- (6) Le sidge de Paris par les Normands, ed. H. Waquet, P. RIS
- (7) Chronique des ducs de Normandie, ed. C. Fahlin, Uppsala, 1951
- (8) XIIIe siècle
- (9) Le roman de Rou et des ducs de Normandie ed. F. Pluquet, Rouen, 1837
- (10) Histoire de Normandie ed. M. Guisot, 1826
- (11) Essai sur la mythologie du Nord Lyon, 1851 p. 149
- (12) Chaulanges M, et S. Images et récits d'histoire de France. Cours élémentaire, Paris, Delagrave, 1967, constantly reedited. The quotation after Guillaume de Jumièges.
- (13) respectively ; Chroniques de Normandie and La Vie Saint Edmund le Red.
- (14) Histoire de la Normandie, Rouen, 1835
- (15) who is supposed to have besieged Paris towards the middle of the IXth century.
- (16) such as exposed in De l'Esprit des Lois XIV,2
- (17) which he called Monuments de la mythologie et de la poésie des Celtes, 1756, Copenhagen, 1755
- (18) De l'Allemagne
- (19) respectively ; light comes from the North, and, let us say : the source of all/European/nations
- (20) Essai sur les origines et la fondation du duché de Normandie, he writes that still in 1911!
- (21) Histoire des Normands Paris, 1918, I p. 50
- (22) La Normandie Paris, E. Bourdin, 1844
- (23) the poem "Vikingen" especially, Frithiofs saga has enjoyed a remarkable fortune in France. See M. Gravier : Tegner et la France Paris, Aubier, 1943
- (24) La Normandie op.cit. p. 2
- (25) Le roman de l'Islande Niort, L. Clouzet, 1883
- (26) J. D. Scriptor ; Sous l'oeil d'Odin, Levallois-Perret, 1953!
- (27) La Caroléide, Paris, Béchet, 1818 p. 126
- (28) La Scandinavie et les Alpes Genève, 1826
- (29) "really beautiful with her golden hair, her azure eyes, her bright whiteness and the purity of her complexion" Les Normands dans les deux mondes, Paris, Dédot, 1890
- (30) Études sur la Russie et le Nord de l'Europe, Paris, Amyot, s.d.
- (31) op.cit, note 27 supra : "Tu ne peux l'ignorer, l'Antiquité l'atteste, / Toute vierge du Nord eut quelque don céleste"
- (32) E. Salverte ; Des sciences occultes, Paris, Sédillot, 1829
- (33) Les Germains avant le christianisme, Paris, Lecoffre, 1847
- (34) L'influence exercée par les Normands sur l'ancien roman français. Mémoires de la société des antiquaires du Nord, 1845-1847
- (35) La grande aventure des vikings, Paris, La pensée moderne, 1954
- (36) in Manfredine, a poem written between 1838 and 1849
- (37) see note 12 supra
- (38) Au temps des vikings, Paris, Peyronnet, 1864

- (39) see Renauld-Krantz : Anthologie de la poésie nordique ancienne. Paris. Gallimard. 1964, and Régis Boyer : La poésie scaldique Paris. Ed. du Porte-Glaive. 1990.
- (40) Régis Boyer : "La saga française de la saga islandaise" in Revue de littérature comparée 2/1989 pp. 249-258
- (41) in the advertisement for one of our Grands Magasins in Paris
- (42) Régis Boyer : "Brève navigation dans les brumes du Nord" in Le mythe d'Etienne. Paris. Didier. 1979. pp. 23-35, with illustr.