

JAKUB MORAWIEC

## OLD NORSE STUDIES IN POLAND. HISTORY AND PERSPECTIVES

**Abstract:** History of Old Norse studies in Poland consists of two main elements: attempts to use sagas, especially kings' sagas as valuable addition to source data in research on early medieval Poland and Scandinavia and literary studies connected with saga translations in Polish and promotion of the genre among both professional and general audience. Both strands are continued. What makes the present perspective different from the past on is the fact, that one can talk about more coherent research, including both literary and historical aspects. Besides, this research, still with prospects to develop, has much more advanced international approach. Thus being important addition to medieval studies in Poland.

**Keywords:** Old Norse literature, history of Poland and Scandinavia, Viking Age

This short survey aims to recapitulate the most important moments in the history of Old Norse studies in Poland and highlight the perspectives of future research in the field. Such an overview, hopefully, will reveal its impact and importance for general medieval studies in our country and beyond. Despite the fact, that saga studies have never been institutionalized in more advanced way in Poland, local academia has shared some enthusiasm and interest in Old Norse accounts finding sagas, especially kings' sagas as valuable addition to source data in research on early medieval Poland and, in wider perspective, territories of Western Slavs.

Consequently, one can label as characteristic feature of scholarly interest in Old Norse accounts in Poland the fact, that sagas had for long time remained attractive mainly for historians, even archeologists, with very marginal attention from both linguists and literary historians. It resulted with very dominant approach to sagas as historical accounts and negligence of purely literary aspects of the genre. Both lack of access to original editions and texts of particular sagas and very scarce knowledge of Old Norse language had been another important features of the phenomenon. Most of the research and first translations, used to rely mainly on German editions. Obviously, these factors had heavily influenced scope Old Norse studies in Poland being at the same time important point of reference for present and planned-in-future endeavors.

Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861) is traditionally considered as the godfather of Polish historiography but he can be also treated the same way considering Polish Old Norse Studies. The acknowledged politician and historian became

very passionate about history and religion of Viking Age and medieval Scandinavia already during his studies at the Vilnius University. This interest resulted with his first publication on both, the Poetic and Snorri's, Eddas (*Edda czyli Księga religii dawnych Skandynawii mieszkańców – Edda it is the Book of religion of ancient inhabitants of Scandinavia*)<sup>1</sup>. Although the study was in large extent recapitulation of Paul Henri Mallet's research on eddaic lays and Snorra Edda, Lelewel was able to provide his own conclusions, especially regarding the importance of Scandinavian mythology for wider European cultural legacy. The work included samples of translations from both Eddas (fragments of *Völuspá*, *Hávamál*, *Gylfaginning* and *Skáldskaparmál* respectively).

Lelewel continued his interests in Eddas during his work as the professor of history at the Vilnius University. It was marked by his second study on Eddas (*Edda to jest Księga religii dawnych Skandynawii mieszkańców*)<sup>2</sup>, that to some extent meant reworking of his previous publication. Lelewel corrected the text and provided some critical comments. Following the original text, he divided Snorra Edda into three parts: Dämesagas (mythological stories), Kenningar and Skallda<sup>3</sup>. In fact Lelewel was interested particularly in Dämesags and translated only this part of the Edda. According to his division, *Gylfaginning* and "Braga-rádr" were separate stories of the first part, despite the fact, that actually the latter constitutes beginning

<sup>1</sup> Lelewel 1807.

<sup>2</sup> Lelewel 1828.

<sup>3</sup> Lelewel 1828, 103-104.

of *Skáldskaparmál*. Lelewel found two following parts as mainly dedicated to skalds. Thus one can assume that what he called Kennigar was the main part of *Skáldskaparmál* and Skallda corresponds to *Háttatal*.

Lelewel's second study was supplemented by his own essay on Germanic and Scandinavian pagan beliefs. The text proves that it's author was fully aware of current trends in Nordic studies. It includes, among others, question of originality of vision of pre-Christian beliefs in the North in Snorr's Edda. Obviously, most of Lelewel's conclusions lost its accuracy however both his contributions leave no doubt that he did his best to obtain his sources and was well orientated in scope of Old Norse legacy and current research on it. It is real pity that another wave of Eddas' researchers in Poland appeared after almost 150 years gap.

Although Lelewel's contributions could not find immediate followers, intellectual circles in 19<sup>th</sup> century Poland continued being fascinated by Old Norse legacy. One should mention direct influences of *Völuspá* and other eddaic lays visibly seen in Julisz Słowacki's *Lilia Weneda* and *Król-Duch*<sup>4</sup>. The first Polish edition of Helmold's Chronicle by Jan Papłoński<sup>5</sup>, featured some additional material, among others a study on Wolin/Jomsborg, written by Russian scholar, Timofiej Granowski. His text included translations of parts of *Jómsvíkinga saga*. These fragments were used year later by Józef Granowski, who composed tripartite poem "Wikingi z Wolina" that, in poetic form, recapitulates story of Jomsvikings, at least in version available to the author. The poem was published in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany", one of the most popular Warsaw journals, but did not reach wider reaction and quickly remained in oblivion. One cannot however ignore the fact that Grajner's poem is evidence of relatively early knowledge and fascination in legend of Jomsborg, that although too intriguing to be avoided, did not find quick and wider scientific resonance<sup>6</sup>.

Grajner's poem is good example of obvious limitations in growth of interest in Old Norse sagas, mainly caused by lack of access to wider scope of editions and translations. This important obstacle in promotion of medieval Scandinavian literature was partly overcome by initiative undertaken by Artur Górski (1870-1959), who in 1931 published collection of Icelandic sagas, translated by him into Polish<sup>7</sup>. Górski's main attempt was to provide stories that, even if they were found good literary pieces, were first of all depictions of society he found somehow idealistic and worth following. Górski was one of the most prominent representatives of cultural, mainly literary, trend in

Poland called "Młoda Polska", that strongly opposed ideas of Positivism and aimed to recultivate fascination with the romantic ideology and ideas. For Górski medieval Scandinavia was once lost world of personal freedom and happiness, close human relation with nature and promotion of individual valours. Górski found sagas as "firstborn phenomena", amazed by their value as a evidence of life and culture of noble refugees who decided to escape from authority of oppressive king Harald Fairhair. The romantic view of the Icelandic "republic of free farmers" is a reflection of his dream of a free Republic Poland. The sagas in his imagination were created by admiration for some people and events, living memory of tradition, told during long winter evenings, by the fireplace, and people doing some housework at the same time.

Górski's translations were based on German editions. Lack of both access to original texts and language (Old Norse) resulted with numerous errors and generalizations, that, corrupting the translated texts, led to distortions and misunderstandings. For example, contrary to original story, Górski's translation of *Gunnlaugs saga* results with impression that Gunnlaugr and Helga were together again after protagonist return to Iceland from voyages abroad.

On the other hand, Artur Górski took care of making his translation as much comprehensible for Polish reader as possible. One can see it noting instances in the translation, when some specific Scandinavian terms are substituted by Polish ones. Supposedly, they were believed to be equivalents, explaining nature of particular phenomenon.

For example, *Alþing* is almost always called in Polish *wiec* (*assembly*). The term not only preserves some early medieval flavor. More importantly, it refers to Slavonic tribes of that period, that were considered as symbols of independent, egalitarian and untroubled life. This point of view, represented definitely by Artur Górski, saw both early medieval societies, Slavs and Icelanders, as sharing very similar political and social conditions.

In the case of poetry, for example of such renown skalds like *Gunnlaugr* or *Gisli*, we deal with paraphrases and additions that make particular stanzas quite far from originals regarding both the content and style. In sum, thanks to Górski's initiative, Polish reader, for the very first time in fact, got a quite wide access to treasury of medieval Icelandic literature. On one hand it meant a chance to imagine its wealth and scope, on the other it did not mean a chance to learn its nature and specificity.

Access to German translations of Icelandic sagas affected also Polish medievalists of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially those who dealt with beginnings of Polish state. Stories found in *Jómsvíkinga saga* and various redactions of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, especially those referring to close political and dynastic contacts between Scandinavian and Slavonic rulers, were found to be too attractive to be neglected. That's why prominent scholars like Karol Szajnocha, Oswald Balzer, Stanisław Zakrzewski,

<sup>4</sup> The problem has been recently very well studied by R. Majewska 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Papłoński 1862.

<sup>6</sup> The poem has been recently reissued in a separate edition Józef Grajner 2014.

<sup>7</sup> A. Górski 1931. The edition was reissued in 1960 under slightly changed title, A. Górski 1960.

Kazimierz Wachowski, Józef Widajewicz, Zygmunt Wojciechowski and Leon Koczy, contributed their numerous studies to Scandinavian factor in the history of early Piast monarchy<sup>8</sup>. Special attention was drawn to Burizleifr, who was mainly identified with Bolesław Chrobry, sometimes with Mieszko I<sup>9</sup>. Saga accounts had been found then as an important and reliable supplement to source data, providing crucial pieces of information regarding Pomeranian policy of Polish rulers and their contacts with contemporary Scandinavians. Enthusiasm towards content of particular sagas was even more as they seemed to prove that first Polish rulers were powerful enough to play important role not only in the Western Pomerania but also in the whole Baltic zone. It explains great interest in stories of Jómsvikings, Sigvaldi, Styrbjörn and Olaf Tryggvason and their contacts with Slavs. Scholarly enthusiasm was accompanied by very low level of source criticism and understanding of the nature of saga narratives. Obviously, it was mainly due to lack of any saga studies in Poland at that time and access to contemporary research on Scandinavian medieval literature<sup>10</sup>.

This attitude was quite abruptly questioned and neglected by Gerard Labuda, whose research in this aspect should be seen as part of wider anti-Normanism movement, so active in Soviet block at that time<sup>11</sup>. In numerous works, Labuda did his best to criticize former views of Polish historiography regarding sagas and their importance in research on early medieval Poland<sup>12</sup>. According to him medieval Scandinavian sources in general were late and corrupted and thus absolutely unreliable. Stories listed above should be treated as legends fictitious tales and effects of medieval imagination and not as reflex of real events in the Baltic zone. Paradoxically, in the case of Labuda, grand criticism towards saga accounts was accompanied by deep interest in the genre, relatively good recognition of its nature and some, although still limited, access to contemporary saga scholarship<sup>13</sup>. Labuda's prominence and position among Polish medievalists resulted with almost total negation of saga research in Poland and stopped any attempts to

use its data in historical studies for few decades, with the effect very similar to effect Weibull's theory on Scandinavian historiography.

Despite this, mid-20<sup>th</sup> century also brought more and more interest in Scandinavian literature among Polish readers. It resulted also with new attention on Icelandic sagas, this time however seen only as an examples of cultural and literary legacy justifying rise of Nordic literatures as separate phenomenon. This new period was marked by translations of few sagas prepared for Polish publishing houses by Apolonia Załuska-Strömberg, a philologist living in working in Sweden (Stockholm, Uppsala). For the very first time, new translations were to be made by a specialist who was undertaking her own research on medieval language and literature of the North, who knew original language of the sagas and had constant access to contemporary scholarship of the field.

Between 1968 and 1974 translations of following sagas were released: Gunnlaugs saga, Njáls saga, Egils saga Laxdœla saga<sup>14</sup>. The first one was published by Ossolineum, the rest by Wydawnictwo Poznańskie. Due to different publishers, character of these editions also vary. Translation of Gunnlaugs saga supposedly meant to be like in a type of critical edition with introduction and apparatus. Rest of editions lacks most of these features, being addressed to more general reader. One has to note, that, considering the size of most of these sagas, translation process was a huge effort. Apolonia Załuska-Strömberg confirms that in her correspondence with Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz. Additional element, that heavily influenced the final effects, was the fact, that Załuska-Strömberg resided in Sweden and her cooperation with both publishers, especially with Wydawnictwo Poznańskie was far imperfect and meant constant communication and editorial problems.

Załuska-Strömberg's translations provide much better representations of original texts and allow reader to be better orientated in nature of the genre. Załuska-Strömberg was fully aware of necessities in this case, that's why her introductions to both Gunnlaugs saga and Poetic Edda refer not only to these particular pieces but to the whole literary and historical background decisive for rise of literacy in the North.

Both didactic and popularizing aspects of these translations affected its, sometimes low, quality. Apolonia Załuska-Strömberg herself thought that Polish translation of Egils saga does not have to contain Sonatorrek, protagonist's poem voicing his mourning after death of his sons, as Polish reader can fully understand Egill's emotions knowing Kochanowski's *Treny*. Her policy of translation and edition of skaldic poetry seems to be controversial as well. Gunnlaug's stanzas are rather paraphrasd than translated

<sup>8</sup> Szajnocha 1858; Balzer 1895; Wachowski 1914; Wachowski 1931; Zakrzewski 1921; Zakrzewski 1925; Koczy 1932; Koczy 1934; Widajewicz 1931; Widajewicz 1935; Widajewicz 1953; Wojciechowski 1939.

<sup>9</sup> Widajewicz 1933-1934.

<sup>10</sup> Undoubtedly, Koczy's study *Polska i Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów* may be considered as the most coherent analysis of Polish-Scandinavian relations in the Viking Age and complete overview of attitude towards Old Norse narratives of that time.

<sup>11</sup> Polish perspective of the Norman controversy has been recently summarized by Boroń 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Labuda 1953; Labuda 1962; Labuda 1964; Labuda 1988.

<sup>13</sup> Labuda 1960; Labuda 1961; Labuda 1999 (features excerpts from skaldic poetry). Labuda was also said to prepare his own translation of Jómsvikinga saga, the project that had never seen the light.

<sup>14</sup> Załuska-Strömberg (ed.) 1968a; Załuska-Strömberg (ed.) 1968b; Załuska-Strömberg (ed.) 1973; Załuska-Strömberg (ed.) 1974.

as Załuska-Strömberg's ambition was to render as much as possible specifics of the genre. Numerous inconsistencies, errors and cuts (genealogies and poetry in *Njáls saga*) regarding geography and history of the North, inappropriate vocabulary and lack relevant commentary prove, that Wydawnictwo Poznańskie did not know how to edit and publish properly such specific narratives as Icelandic sagas.

Fortunately, translation of Poetic Edda meant Apollonia Załuska-Strömberg's reunion with Ossolineum. It was definitely decisive for much better quality of the edition, especially as one can deal with much more complicated and sophisticated piece than "classic" sagas<sup>15</sup>.

Although most saga readers in Poland have come across Załuska-Strömberg's translations, very often as a moment of initiation in discovering saga world, the editions did not have wider impact on both saga studies and further translations in Poland then. Moreover, for various reasons, Załuska-Strömberg's name had been gradually left on the margins and almost put into oblivion. It is not until recently when the first serious attempts to continue and distinguish her achievements appeared.

As I have noted above, Labuda's criticism discouraged following generations of historians to use sagas in their research. However, the last two decades of the last century brought important changes in this tendency. Among features that enabled these changes was development of archaeological studies on Scandinavian presence among the Slavs<sup>16</sup>. Studies on settlement, trade connections, material culture and funerary rites to list only those most important problems, revealed how strong were ties within the whole Baltic zone<sup>17</sup>. Obviously early medieval settlement in Wolin appears here as the special case, being the most eminent representative of material, cultural and political interchange between Scandinavian and Slavs – relations recorded in both material and written sources<sup>18</sup>. What seems to be especially important, is the fact, that studies on various aspects of Scandinavian culture appeared to be a good occasion to find references in Old Norse literature and Polish archaeologists often find it as important aspect of their research.

Development of research on mutual contacts within the Baltic zone in the Viking Age included also comparative studies on pre-Christian religions and beliefs. The latter topic is mainly represented by works of Leszek Słupecki, who provides important works on both Slavonic and Scandinavian paganism. It includes studies on

Nordic mythology, rituals and cosmological concepts and its main written reservoir, namely Old Norse narratives<sup>19</sup>. Słupecki's studies heavily influenced revival of Polish interest in sagas as important sources for political, social and cultural developments in medieval Scandinavia<sup>20</sup>. At some point he managed to patronize generation of young scholars, representing various disciplines (history, history of literature, archaeology), who followed his example in exploration of Old Norse narratives within their own studies. It is important to note, that Słupecki's guidance has been crucial for internationalization of Polish research and making it part of global trend<sup>21</sup>.

It seems justified to speak about quite lively Old Norse scholarly circle in Poland, that has prospects to grow and is able to make important additions to both Polish medieval studies and general studies in nordistics. Nowadays one can easily observe some consolidation and integration of so far separated activities<sup>22</sup>. Self-awareness of necessity of interdisciplinary and international approach to undertaken studies seems to be important advantage of contemporary generation of Old Norse scholars in Poland. It is not so difficult to point at the effects. Just to list only few: series of international conferences and projects, systematic participation in Saga Conferences, new translations of Icelandic sagas, and last but not least, separate studies on various aspects of history and literacy of medieval Scandinavia.

There are of course some postulates for the future. Old Norse studies in Poland need more institutional support. It means a need to create a centre of such studies and more regular inclusion of Old Norse topics within study programmes of history, archaeology and philology. Despite recent important contributions still much is to be done in the field of saga translations. Polish editions of big compendia of kings' sagas (*Morkinskinna*, *Fagrskinna*, *Heimskringla*, *Knytinga saga*, *Jómsvíkinga saga*) will be undoubtedly very useful for all medievalists in our country. Problem of Slavonic presence in Old Norse narratives also needs further studies, this time including our knowledge on nature and specifics of the genre. The latter element requires constant internalization of research undertaken here. Evidence of recent years show that one can be quite optimistic in that matter.

<sup>19</sup> Słupecki 1996; Słupecki 1998; Słupecki 2000a; Słupecki 2003; Słupecki 2004; Słupecki 2007.

<sup>20</sup> Special importance should be credited to his contribution on Jomsborg legend, see Słupecki 2000b.

<sup>21</sup> It is enough to mention series of international conferences on Paganism and Christianity in medieval Scandinavia in Rzeszów and Zakopane between 2007 and 2011. Most of the proceedings has been published, see Słupecki and Morawiec (eds.) 2009; Simek and Słupecki (eds.) 2013.

<sup>22</sup> Among results of this consolidation one should mention the first Polish handbook on Old Norse literature, that will be published in September 2015, see Morawiec and Neubauer (eds.) 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Załuska-Strömberg (ed.) 1986.

<sup>16</sup> Scholarship on that subject is too large to be listed here but has been recently summarized by Duczko 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Duczko 1997a; Duczko 1997b; Duczko 2000; Bogucki 2004; Gardela 2011; Gardela 2013.

<sup>18</sup> Filipowiak 1985; Filipowiak 2004; Filipowiak and Gundlach 1992; Duczko 2000; Stanisławski 2007; Stanisławski 2013a; Stanisławski 2013b.

Literature

- Balzer O. 1895. *Genealogia Piastów*. Kraków.
- Bogucki M. 2004. *Viking-Age ports of trade in Poland*, „Estonian Journal of Archeology” 8 (2), 100-127.
- Boroń P. 2013. *Norsemen and the Polish territories in the early Middle Ages – theories, ideas and speculations*. In: S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski (eds.), *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*. Wrocław, 33-51.
- Duczko W. 1997a. *Scandinavians in the Southern Baltic between the 5th and the 10th centuries AD*. In: P. Urbańczyk (ed.), *Origins of Central Europe*. Warsaw, 191-211.
- Duczko W. 1997b. *Real and imaginary contributions of Poland and Rus to the conversion of Sweden*. In: P. Urbańczyk (ed.), *Early Christianity in Central and East Europe*. Warsaw, 129-135.
- Duczko W. 2000. *Obecność skandynawska na Pomorzu i słowiańska w Skandynawii we wczesnym średniowieczu*. In: L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski (eds.), *Salsa Cholbergiensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu*. Kołobrzeg, 23-39.
- Duczko W. 2013. *With Vikings or without? Scandinavians in early medieval Poland. Approaching an old problem*. In: S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski (eds.), *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*. Wrocław, 19-31.
- Filipowiak W. 1985. *Die Bedeutung Wolins im Ostseehandel*. In: S.-O. Lindquist, B. Radhe (eds.), *Society and Trade in the Baltic during the Viking Age*. Papers of the VII<sup>th</sup> Visby Symposium Held at Gotlands Fornsal, Gotland's Historical Museum, Visby, August 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup>, 1983. Acta Visbyensia 7, Visby, 121-138.
- Filipowiak W. 2004. *Some aspects of the development of Wolin in the 8th-11th centuries in the light of the results of new research*. In: P. Urbańczyk (ed.), *Polish Lands at the Turn of the First and the Second Millenia*. Warsaw, 47-74.
- Filipowiak W., Gundlach H. 1992. *Wolin-Vineta. Die tatsächliche Legende vom Untergang und Aufstieg der Stadt*. Rostock.
- Gardeła L. 2011. *Zatrzymani kamieniami? Zachodnio-słowiańskie groby atypowe na tle skandynawskich i anglosaskich praktyk funeralnych*. In: J. Wrzesiński, W. Dzieduszycki (eds.), *Kim jesteś człowieku? Funeralia Lednickie – Spotkanie 13*. Poznań, 169-192.
- Gardeła L. 2013. *Dead or Alive? – „Chamber Graves” and their inhabitants in the Old Norse literature and Viking-age archaeology*. In: S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski (eds.), *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*. Wrocław, 373-393.
- Górski A. 1931. *Saga o Gislim wyjętym z pod prawa i inne sagi islandzkie*. Warszawa.
- Górski A. 1960. *Sagi islandzkie*. Warszawa.
- Grajnert J. 2014. *Wikingi z Wolina*, Ł. Narolski (ed.). Wodzisław Śląski.
- Koczy L. 1932. *Związki małżeńskie Piastów ze Skandynawami*. „Slavia Occidentalis” 11, 22-41.
- Koczy L. 1934. *Polska i Skandynawia za pierwszych Piastów*. Poznań.
- Labuda G. 1953. *Saga o Styrbjörnne, jarlu Jomsborga*. „Slavia Antiqua” 4, 283-332.
- Labuda G. 1960. *Źródła, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski*. Warszawa.
- Labuda G. 1961. *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*. Warszawa.
- Labuda G. 1962. *Polska a Skandynawia w IX-X w.* In: *Początki Państwa Polskiego. Księga Tysiąclecia 1*. Poznań.
- Labuda G. 1964. *Fragmety dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej 2*. Poznań.
- Labuda G. 1988. *Wolinianie – plemię pomorskie czy wieleckie*. In: G. Labuda, S. Tabaczyński (eds.), *Studia nad etnogenезą Słowian 2*. Warszawa, Wrocław, Kraków, 65-76.
- Labuda G. 1999. *Słowiańszczyzna starożytna i wczesnośredniowieczna*. Poznań.
- Lelewel J. 1807. *Edda czyli Księga religii dawnych Skandynawii mieszkańców*. Wilno.
- Lelewel J. 1828. *Edda to jest Księga religii dawnych Skandynawii mieszkańców*. Wilno.
- Majewska R. 2013. *Arkadia Północy. Mity eddaiczne w „Lilli Wenedzie” i „Królu-Duchu” Juliusza Słowackiego*. Białystok.
- Morawiec J., Neubauer Ł. (eds.) 2015. *Sagi Islandzkie. Zarys dziejów literatury staronordyckiej*. Warszawa.
- Papłoński J. (ed.) 1862. *Helmolda Kronika Słowiańska z XII wieku*. Warszawa.
- Simek R., Słupecki L. P. (eds.) 2013. *Conversion. Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*. Viena.
- Słupecki L. P. 1996. „...kastad i fyrir bord onvegissulum sinum”. *Obrzęd zajmowania ziemi przez pierwszych osadników islandzkich*. In: Z. Kurnatowska (ed.), *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie średniowiecznej 1*. Wrocław, 89-95.
- Słupecki L. P. 1998. *Wyroczenie i wróżby pogańskich Skandynawów*. Warszawa.
- Słupecki L. P. 2000a. *‘Cultural’ and ‘Natural’ in Norse Pagan Religion*. In: W. Iwańczak, K. Bracha (eds.), *Człowiek i przyroda w średniowieczu i wczesnym okresie nowożytnym*. Warszawa, 65-72.
- Słupecki L. P. 2000b. *Jómsvíkingalög, Jómsvíkingar, Jomsborg/Wolin and Danish circular strongholds*. In: P. Urbańczyk (ed.), *The Neighbours of Poland in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century*. Warsaw, 49-60.
- Słupecki L. P. 2003. *Mitologia skandynawska w epoce wikingów*. Kraków.
- Słupecki L. P. 2004. *Konwersja jako zamach stanu. Przyjęcie chrztu przez Islandię w 1000 roku*. In: A. Sołtysiak, J. Olko (eds.), *Zamach stanu w dawnych społecznościach*. Warszawa, 237-248.

- Słupecki L. P. 2007. *Kobieta jako wróg. Królowa Gunnhilda Özurardóttir i skald Egil Skalla-Grimsson*. In: J. Olko, P. Prządka-Giersz (eds.), *Wyobrażenie wroga w dawnych kulturach*. Warszawa, 139-154.
- Słupecki L. P. and Morawiec J. (eds.) 2009. *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North*. Rzeszów.
- Stanisławski B. M. 2007. *Sztuka wikingów z Wolina*. „Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie” 4, 28-50.
- Stanisławski B. M. 2013a. *Norse Culture in Wolin-Jomsborg*. In: S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski (eds.), *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*. Wrocław, 193-246.
- Stanisławski B. M. 2013b. *Jómsswikingowie z Wolina-Jómsborga. Studium archeologiczne przenikania kultury skandynawskiej na ziemię polskie*. Wrocław.
- Szajnocha K. 1858. *Lechicki początek Polski*. Lwów.
- Wachowski K. 1914. *Jomsborg. Normanowie wobec Polski w X wieku*. Warszawa.
- Wachowski K. 1931. *Norwegowie na Pomorzu za Mieszka I*. „Kwartalnik Historyczny” 45, 181-210.
- Widajewicz J. 1931. *Najdawniejszy piastowski podbój Pomorza*. „Slavia Occidentalis” 10, 57-63.
- Widajewicz J. 1933-1934. *Burysław*. „Rocznik Gdański” 7-8, 23-36.
- Widajewicz J. 1935. *Przy ujściu Odry w drugiej połowie X w.* Poznań.
- Widajewicz J. 1953. *Kontakty Mieszka I z państwami nordyjskimi*. „Slavia Antiqua” 4, 131-140.
- Wojciechowski Z. 1939. *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X wieku*. Katowice.
- Zakrzewski S. 1921. *Mieszko I jako budowniczy państwa polskiego*. Warszawa.
- Zakrzewski S. 1925. *Bolesław Chrobry Wielki*. Lwów.
- Załużska-Strömberg A. (ed.) 1968a. *Saga o Gunnlaugu Wężowym Języku*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków.
- Załużska-Strömberg A. (ed.) 1968b. *Saga o Njalu*. Poznań.
- Załużska-Strömberg A. (ed.) 1973. *Saga Rodu z Laxdal*. Poznań.
- Załużska-Strömberg A. (ed.) 1974. *Saga o Egilu*. Poznań.
- Załużska-Strömberg A. (ed.) 1986. *Edda Poetycka*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków.

## Streszczenie

### Badania nordystyczne w Polsce. Ich dzieje i perspektywy na przyszłość

Dzieje badań nordystycznych w Polsce tworzą od początku dwa główne płaszczyzny: badania historyczne, w których sagi, przede wszystkim sagi królewskie, stanowią ważny element dostępnej bazy źródłowej w studiach nad wczesnośredniowieczną Polską i Skandynawią oraz badania literackie, których istotnym przejawem są tłumaczenia sag na język polski oraz promocja tego gatunku wśród badaczy oraz generalnego odbiorcy. Obie płaszczyzny są nadal rozwijane. Co odróżnia ich dzisiejszy stan od przeszłego to zdecydowanie większe nastawienie na interdyscyplinarność i koherencję badań oraz ich wymiar międzynarodowy. To powoduje, że studia nordystyczne w Polsce, wciąż z możliwościami do rozwoju, stanowią ważną część krajowej mediewistyki.