

The Advent of Christianity and Dynastic Name-giving in Scandinavia and Rus´

by Fjodor Uspenskij

In Rus´ and Scandinavia, both countries that embraced Christianity relatively late, the assimilation of Christian names (that is, names with Christian origins) proceeded in different ways during the periods immediately following the two conversions. Naturally, a great number of new names were introduced into the cultures of the two countries along with Christianity. The Church apparently made every effort to propagate these names by assigning them to all newly baptized Christians. However, in Rus´, Scandinavia and other countries converted in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the gradual adoption of Christian names did not have at first a negative or destructive impact on pagan naming traditions. The traditional pagan corpus of names continued to be extremely viable, and name-giving remained one of the most stable, conservative spheres of culture.

The original pre-Christian names established connections between the name-holders and their families, pasts, presents and futures. Christian names, though wholly supported by the Church, remained for a rather long time no more than words with no additional meanings or connections. This situation could lead to a system of dual names, wherein each person bore both a traditional name that ran in the family and was unrelated to Christianity, and a Christian baptismal name.

The choice of a name for any individual is of great significance in any cultural tradition. Yet when a name must be chosen for a prince who will be the future ruler of a country, then this naming becomes central to the existence of the dynasty, and, sometimes, to the existence of the country itself. The name (or names) of a royal heir determines his place in the dynasty and the status that he may hope to achieve according to the expectations of his parents. Thus through their chosen names, such princes actualized the history of the family, planned future alliances and sometimes took the first steps towards future wars. The history of princely naming is, in some sense, the most concise and concentrated history of the dynasty.¹

1 For details, see Fjodor Uspenskij, 'Dynastic Names in Medieval Scandinavia and Russia (Rus´): Family Traditions and International Connections', *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica: Tidsskrift för nordisk personnamnsforskning*, 21 (2003), 15–50; id., *Name und Macht: Die Wahl des Namens als dynastisches Kampfinstrument im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004); Anna Litvina and Fjodor Uspenskij, *Výbor imeni u russskikh kniazeti v 10 – 16 vv.: Dinasticheskaia istoria*

It should be noted that in the ruling dynasties of both Rus' and Scandinavia, the approach to the naming of potential heirs was extremely conservative. Male infants who were to become the rulers of their native land were given traditional names running in the family. For those who were newly converted or for Slavs and Scandinavians who were on the threshold of Christianization, such family-bound names were apparently equally significant. In Scandinavia, the original names inherited from the pagan era were not lost even after conversion, and remained in the general stock of names.

The choice of name for the legitimate male offspring of an aristocratic family was made according to certain rules: usually the name of a deceased ancestor through the male line was chosen. Through this name, the heir and hence the future of the dynasty was connected with the history of the family. By inheriting names strictly through the male line, the dynasties preserved and reinforced family integrity and continuity. Through dynastic marriages, the heir could be tied to numerous ruling families of Europe, but at the same time his name underlined his cultural, political, and ethnic identity — his belonging to a particular dynasty.

Thus, the corpus of male names for each dynasty was limited, with names repeated from generation to generation, and specific names the property of certain families. Any changes in this sphere were signs of fundamental changes in the life of a medieval dynasty. It should be noted that innovations could appear in the dynastic name corpus in two quite different ways. So far I have considered the naming of the main heir of the family, the future ruler. Here, changes were rare, though quite rapid when they did occur — the whole image of the dynasty could be significantly changed over one or two generations. On the other hand, the names of legitimate heirs were not the only ones included in the name stock of each ruling family. The naming of minor members of the dynasty — daughters, illegitimate sons and the offspring of the female line — was less immune to external influence. Their names may be assumed to have had somewhat 'diplomatic', mediatory functions.² Providing and reinforcing newly acquired relationships and responding to the claims of the church, the names of minor members of the family gradually expanded the corpus of dynastic names. It was thus enriched with new names that created a potential source of names for the main heirs.

In the late tenth and the eleventh centuries, the borders of the tribal world were broken and the already branching system of names acquired new dimensions. As has been mentioned, it became necessary to combine the requirements of family tradition — the universal Christian stock of names — with the need for political expediency, since political relations had become no less important than family re-

skvoz prizmu antroponimiki (Moscow: Indrik, 2006); and Fjodor Uspenskij, 'A Brief Survey of the Anthroponymic Situation in the Rurikid Dynasty (from 10th to 16th centuries)', *Studia anthropologica Scandinavica: Tidsskrift för nordisk personnamnsforskning*, 26 (2008), 5–24.

2 Cf. Uspenskij, 'Dynastic Names', pp. 28–34; and id., *Name und Macht*, pp. 14 and 24–26.

lations. Additional mechanisms of naming were accepted and the existing archaic approach was no longer predominant.

In Rus', Denmark, Sweden and Norway and in the countries that took longer to embrace Christianity, the naming principles of the ruling dynasties were very similar, Rus' being closer in this respect to Denmark than to Norway. In both Rus' and Denmark, the multi-name system became more frequent — so that it was possible for a person to have several names in some cases, not only a Christian name and a secular name. The double-name system common to this era can be found not only among the Rus' and Danes (some cases are reported for the Swedes as well — *Önundr-Jakob*, for instance), but also among the Hungarians (for example: *Vaik-Stephan* or *Geza-Magnus*), Bulgarians (*Boris-Michael*), Croats (*Zvinimir-Demetrius*), Czechs (*Swyatobor-Frederick*) and the Obodrites.³ Among all the countries mentioned, a constant and extensive exchange of names and, to some extent, of name-giving principles occurred. These common principles may be accounted for by certain typological similarities between the Scandinavian and Rus' cultural traditions and by the common history of the ruling families, manifested in real historical situations.

In the following paragraphs I shall describe a number of these situations and show how names were exchanged, how 'a feedback connection' by means of names was formed in dynastic marriages and how the stock of names was gradually enlarged and underwent sudden changes.

The Anglo-Saxon manuscript known as the *Liber Vitae of the New Minster, Winchester*, mentions among the kindred of the Danish and English king Knútr Sveinsson (the Great), his sister's name in a Latinized form: *Santslaue soror CNVTI regis nostri*.⁴ Undoubtedly, this designates a Slavonic name, which, for example, takes the form *Świętosława* in Polish.⁵

3 On the problem of the double-name system, see Johannes Steenstrup, 'Dobbelte Navne: Erik Lam-David', *Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift*, 4, 6 ser. (1892–94), 729–41; Heinz Zatschek, 'Namensänderung und Doppelnamen in Böhmen und Mähren im hohen Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für sudetendeutsche Geschichte*, 3 (1939), 1–11; Jacek Hertel, 'Problem dwuimiennosci u Piastów we wcześniejszym średniowieczu (do potomstwa Bolesława Krzywoustego włącznie)', *Onomastica*, 24 (1979), 125–42; Gertrud Thoma, *Namensänderungen in Herrscherfamilien des mittelalterlichen Europa* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1985), pp. 36–44.

4 *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. by Simon Keynes (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), p. 95, fól. 26v; *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. by W. de Gray Birch (London: Hampshire Record Society, 1892).

5 Cf. *Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych*, ed. by Witold Taszycki, 6 vols (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdansk: Wydawn. Polskiej Akad. Nauk, 1966–83), v, pp. 404–5; *Joannis Dlugossii seu Longini canonici Cracoviensis Historiae Polonicae*, ed. by J. Ż. Pauli and A. Przewdziecki, 5 vols (Cracow, 1873–78), i, p. 398 (s.a. 1089); Franz Miklosich, *Die Bildung der slavischen Personen- und Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg, 1927), pp. 95 and 173; Michael Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia: Two Notes', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 29 (2000), 261–78 (p. 265); Rafał T. Prinke, 'Świętosława, Sygryda, Gunhilda: Tożsamość córki Mieszka I i jej skandynawskie związki', *Roczniki Historyczne*, 70 (2004), 81–110 (p. 101); Jakub Morawiec, 'Liðsmannaflökkur: The Question of its Potential Function and the Audience of the Poem', in *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North*, ed. by L. P. Słupecki and J. Morawiec (Rzeszów: University of Rzeszów, 2009), pp. 109–11;

Few owners of this name are known among the Slavs of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Many suppositions have been made concerning its origin and the stages of its usage by the Slavs, but they have concerned the male rather than the female variant of the name. Most of them relate to the name of the famous prince of Rus' Swiatoslav, who lived several decades before the Danish Swiatoslava.⁶

The coincidence of the names of these two characters points to the similarity of their origins, although their dynastic destinies are different. Apparently, the same name served quite different functions: it was given to a girl born in the family of the Danish king and to a boy whose family had lived and ruled in Rus'. Nevertheless, the reasons for the naming of the son of Igor and Olga may be revealed by an examination of the background to the naming of the 'Danish' Swiatoslava.

We know a great deal about the numerous blood ties of the Danish dynasty with Slavic rulers in the tenth to eleventh centuries. As mentioned above, Swiatoslava is known to have been a sister of Knútr (the Great), and it is known also that Knútr's father, Sveinn-Otto Haraldsson (Forkbeard), had a Slavic wife. Different sources contain somewhat conflicting data about her; nevertheless she undoubtedly belonged to the Polish royal family. It is reasonable to assume that the same Slavic princess was the mother of Knútr the Great and his sister with the Slavonic name *Swiatoslava*. It therefore seems that Knútr's sister was named to underline the connection with her mother's family; in other words, this was a family name carried by the female line.

It is a remarkable fact that the same Slavic family connections also influenced the naming of Knútr, though not in such a direct way as with the naming of his sister. When he was born, he was named *Knútr*, an original Scandinavian name, which later became one of the favourite names of the Danish dynasty. Bearing this name he was the ruler of Denmark, England and Norway. However, this was his secular name, and the Danish kings, like the Rus' princes, were known to take an additional name at baptism. Thus the baptismal name of Knútr the Great, according to Adam of Bremen and an entry in the calendar in the Leofric Missal, was *Lambert*.⁷

Fjodor Uspenskij, 'What's in a Name? Dynastic Power and Anthroponymics in Medieval Scandinavia and Rus' (the case of *Swyatoslav* and *Swyatoslava*)', in *Vers l'Orient et vers l'Occident': Mémoire, Identité*, ed. by Pierre Bauduin and Alexander Musin (Caen, in print).

6 The origin of the first Slavonic name of the prince Swiatoslav remains unknown for two reasons. First, since the tenth and eleventh centuries in Rus' only the prince Swiatoslav, son of Igor, himself is known to bear this name, and his various offspring are named after him. According to Anatoly Chlenov, 'K voprosu ob imeni Sviatoslava', in *Lichnyie imena v proshlom, nastoiashchem i budushchem: Problemy antroponiimiki* (Moscow, 1970), p. 327, the name *Swiatoslav* presents some artificial construction combining the translations of the names *Rurik* (= *Hrörek* < **Hrōþirīkaz* 'mighty of fame', 'famous') and *Oleg* (= *Helgi* 'holy'). This interpretation of the name *Swiatoslav* seems to me rather witty but not quite correct. In the Scandinavian tradition the given name could be derived from the name of an ancestor, however, there are no recorded cases of such combined translations of two traditional names into a foreign vernacular language, for the Scandinavians or their neighbours. The presence of the female variant of this name is valuable evidence in favour of its natural occurrence in the corpus of names of the Slavic ruling families. Furthermore, it is not clear at what point this name entered the Rurikids' family. The fact that the prince of Rus' received it from his mother's family like his Danish namesake cannot be excluded.

7 See Adam, *Gesta*, schol. 37 [38], p. 112; Jan Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen, mit einem Katalog der libri vitae und Necrologien*, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung, 20 (Berlin:

Why Knútr received this very name and the circumstances surrounding his baptism are not known in detail. It is likely that Knútr was christened Lambert because this was the name of the Polish king Meshko II Lambert, son of Boleslav the Brave, who was a close relative on his mother's side.⁸ It seems that by the time of Knútr's baptism, these Polish dynastic connections had become important for the Danes, thus explaining the choice of the baptismal name *Lambert*, a very popular one in the Piast dynasty.

Thus, Knútr the Great and his sister Swiatoslava were at least 'half Slavs',⁹ even though Knútr was the king of Denmark in the Viking Age period and rarely interfered in the affairs of the Slavic world. Swiatoslava's connection through the female line with a noble Slavic family was directly reflected in her name, though this was due to the fact that in the Danish ruling dynasty her position was insignificant. Her name does not recur later in the Danish dynasty, and only one *Swiatoslava* is recorded in early twelfth century Denmark.¹⁰ On the other hand, the Slavic family connections of her brother (one of the key figures of the Middle Ages in Denmark) played a minor role in both his dynastic naming and his dynastic life. In a sense, names thus determined the destiny of the ruling family's offspring more than their biological links with a particular ethnos.

The fact that Igor's son, the representative of the third Varangian generation, was given a Slavonic name *Swiatoslav* showed that a new episode in the history of the family had begun. The prospects of the family were once and for all connected to the new motherland, though the Scandinavian contacts were not completely lost and from time to time could be renewed through dynastic marriages. The princely anthroponymicon became more and more Slavonic, although, a number of Varangian names (*Igor* < *Ingvarr*, *Oleg* < *Helgi*, *Gleb* < *Guðleifr*, *Iakun* < *Hákonr*, *Rogvolod* < *Ragnvaldr*) firmly entered the Rus' corpus of names. With every new generation, the Varangian names were increasingly recognized as being traditional rather than foreign. Beginning with the era of Swiatoslav's son, Volodimer the Great, a new and more complicated mechanism of princely name-giving began to develop.

de Gruyter 1988), pp. 253–57; id., 'Prayers for King Cnut: The Liturgical Commemoration of a Conqueror', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by C. Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford: Paul Watkins Publishing, 1992), p. 235.

8 See Oswald Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* (Cracow: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1895), pp. 50, 65, note to tables I.12 and II.6, cf. pp. 52–54; Jacek Hertel, *Imiennictwo dynastii piastowskiej we wcześniejszym średniowieczu* (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 103–4; and Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia', pp. 261–68.

9 The possibility cannot be excluded that Knútr and Swiatoslava may have had Slavic relatives besides those on their mother's side, although this has not been proven. The wife of their paternal grandfather, Haraldr Gormsson (Bluetooth), was a Slav called *Tofa*. She was a daughter of Mstivoy, apparently the princely ruler of the Slavic tribe Obodrites. It is not entirely clear whether Tofa was their grandmother, i.e., whether she had been the mother of Svein Haraldsson (Forkbeard).

10 See *Danmarks Gamle Personnavne, I: Fornavne*, ed. by G. Knudsen and M. Kristensen (Copenhagen: Gad, 1936–41), col. 1314.

In pre-Mongolian Rus', secular princely names such as *Swiatoslav*, *Volodimer*, *Vsevolod*, *Mstislav*, *Iaropolk* and *Igor* were apparently used most frequently. The majority of names used by the growing princely family were repeated, inherited from previous generations. In this case, the repetition of names and name continuity, typical of a family-based culture, also expressed the idea of inherited power in the form of ancestral rights to principedom and to land.

The heir of the dynasty had to bear the name of some ancestor, the family tradition being rather indifferent to the ethnic or linguistic origin of the chosen name. For example, by the middle of the eleventh century the name *Igor* (from Scandinavian *Ingvarr*) and the Slavonic *Swiatoslav* were equally suitable for heirs of the princely families, because by that time there had been Rurikids who had held both of these names.

To be sure, we do not always know why specific princes were named as they were, but the study of the whole corpus of names allows us to reconstruct or at least guess at these reasons. The corpus of princely family names constituted a rather complicated but harmonious and well-organized system. A central principle of this system was names given in honor of some deceased ancestor, and if the name was chosen for a boy, the names of the ancestors by the male line were obviously preferred.

In general, the process of name-giving was closely connected with strategies of power. The choice of a 'prototype'-ancestor, after whom the newborn was named, depended on the place in the princely hierarchy that the relatives were planning for the child. The name for the child was chosen, as a rule, by the father or grandfather, in other words by the oldest living ancestor in the male line. As already noted, this was usually the name of some dead ancestor; certainly there was a strict prohibition against the name of a living father or grandfather. Thus, a strong chain of continuity was created in which all the members of the family, living and deceased, had their own roles.

In certain cases, children might receive names from their mother's family. However, for male offspring, most typically, these would be additional family names. For example, Prince Mstislav the Great featured in the Icelandic sagas (and in one German source written in Latin) under the name *Haraldr* (or in Latin transcription — *Aroldus*). The reason is that not only was he the son of Volodimer Monomakh and the great-grandson of Iaroslav the Wise, but he also belonged to a no less noble Anglo-Saxon family through his mother's line. The famous king Harald Godwinsson — who perished in the battle at Hastings in 1066 and was the last English ruler defeated by the Northmen — was the grandfather of Prince Mstislav, for Harald's daughter Gyða while living in exile journeyed to Rus' in order to marry Volodimer Monomakh.¹¹

11 There are other Rus' princes known in Scandinavia by their extra Scandinavian names. One of the sons of Iaroslav the Wise was known in the Icelandic sources by his Scandinavian name Holti the Brave (*inn frækni*). Different researchers have identified him with different persons: with Il'ia, Swiatoslav, Iziaslav, Vsevolod (for detail see: Fedor Braun, 'Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum

We also know that Mstislav was married to a Swedish princess, and for her the name *Haraldr*, Scandinavian in origin, would have been familiar and usual. However, this name with its Western cultural orientation is not applied to the eldest son of Volodimer Monomakh in any Rus' sources. In Rus' this son of Volodimer Monomakh was known as *Mstislav* or, in some special situations, as *Fjodor / Theodore*, which was his baptismal name. In other words, the name of the prince's son was taken from his father's family, while names from his mother's family were typically

des X.–XIV. Jahrhunderts', in *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70. Geburtstag* (Halle: Max Niemayer, 1924), p. 155; Elena Rydzevskaia, 'Iaroslav Mudryi v drevne-severnoi literature', *Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta istorii materialnoi kul'tury*, 7 (1940), p. 67; Jonathan Shepard, 'Yngvarr's Expedition to the East and a Russian Inscribed Stone Cross', *Saga-Book*, 21 (1984–85), 222–92 (p. 284, note 10); Tatjana Jackson, 'Islandskie korolevskie sagi kak istochnik po istorii Drevnei Rusi i ee sosedei (11–12 vv.)', in *Drevneishie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* (Moscow: Nauka, 1991), pp. 159–63; ead., *Islandskie korolevskie sagi o Vostochnoi Evrope (pervaia tret' II v.)* (Moscow: Ladomir, 1994), p. 157. The most valid option, it seems, is to identify Holti with Vsevolod Iaroslavich which is confirmed by the data of Óláfr Tryggvasson's Saga by the monk Odd (version S) (*Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar af Odd Snorrason munk*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen: Gade, 1932), p. 21). Here Holti, the son of Iaroslav the Wise and the father of Volodimer, is called Haraldr's father. Thus, the name *Holti* is included in genealogical chain: Iaroslav — Vsevolod (Holti) — Volodimer — Mstislav (Haraldr). However, the fact that Vsevolod (= Vissivald) and Holti were both mentioned as the sons of Iaroslav the Wise in *Heimskringla* contradicts the identification of Holti with Vsevolod: 'Then Ingigerðr got married to Iaroslav. Their sons were Valdamarr, Vissivaldr, Holti the Brave', Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, 3 vols, Samfund til Udgivelse at gammel nordisk Litteratur, 23 (Copenhagen, 1893–1900/1), II, p. 182. It is not clear why the same man could be called simultaneously (and without any comments) by two different names: the original Scandinavian Holti and Vissivald, well known to the Scandinavians.

It cannot be excluded that another offspring of Iaroslav and Ingigerd was known in Sweden by his Scandinavian name. In one of the scholias to Adam, *Gestae*, schol. 84 [85], p. 197, it was told that the Swedes asked a certain Anunder (Önundr) to come to the throne: 'Quo mox depulso accersitus est Anunder a Ruzzia, et ilio nihilominus amoto Sueones elegerunt quondam Haquinum. Iste accepit matrem Olaph iuvenis in matrimonio' ('Soon he [Hallstein Steinkelsson – *F.U.*] was banished and Anunder from Rus' was invited (to take his place), however, having removed him, the Swedes chose a certain Hakvin. He married the mother of Óláfr the youth'). In other scholia to Adam, this Anunder was said to be a Christian whom the Swedes drove away because he refused to make sacrifices to the gods (*ibid.*, p. 259, schol. 140 [136]). Nothing more is known of Anunder, although some suppositions have been advanced concerning his identity. Most historians tend to identify Anunder with the Swedish king Ingi the Old: Bernhard Schmeidler, *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost-Europa vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1918), p. 313; Gertrud Thoma, *Namensänderungen in Herrscherfamilien des mittelalterlichen Europa* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1985), p. 215. This seems unlikely, since Adam of Bremen is known to have finished his *Gesta* in about 1070 and King Ingi was not mentioned there. However, Ingi the Old is a historical character who reigned during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries (it was his daughter Kristín who became the wife of Mstislav-Haraldr the Great). Why should this king (who had a dynastic name) take another dynastic Swedish name, that of Anunder? Considering the unlikelihood of this, one can assume that these are different persons and Anunder ruled earlier than Ingi. It is likely that Anunder was actually invited from Rus', and thus it is possible that he was from the Iaroslavichi's family. In this case, he was like all Iaroslavichi from the marriage with Ingigerðr, and a grandson of the Swedish king Óláfr Skötkonung through the female line. In the power vacuum that existed at that time in Sweden, the rights of the grandchildren through the female line acquired additional significance. His name, *Anunder*, is in line with this hypothesis, for it was the name of Princess Ingigerðr's own brother Önundr-Jakob Ólafsson. The question of which of the Iaroslavichi might have carried the name *Anunder* as one of his names requires further investigation. Scholarly literature has also suggested that the holder of the Scandinavian name *Sveinn* or *Svenki* was the prince Mstislav of T'mutarakan' (Shepard, 'Yngvarr's expedition to the East', p. 251).

secondary at best. This was the case not only for the offspring of royal unions with Westerners, but also for those of unions with those from the nomadic East.

As we can see, the nature of the name itself was, in some sense, indifferent to family tradition. No matter whether a name was Slavonic or Scandinavian, pagan or Christian, it must have related to the pre-existing family 'prototype', connecting its bearer with his or her relatives in some sense. It is for this reason that new, non-family names entered the dynastic tradition with great difficulty, penetrating the Rus' royal dynasty more gradually.

Facing the vast expansion of Christian names, the princely tradition immediately worked out a 'response strategy' in the form of a dual naming system. Each prince — beginning with Volodimer-Basil the Great who converted Rus' — had a Christian name as well, but over time the Christian names began to supplant the traditional dynastic names. At this point, in my opinion, family tradition did not disappear but rather began to change. Many principles of naming were preserved, but the names, the units of the name corpus, were gradually replaced by other ones. As early as in the second half of the eleventh century there were princes that were mentioned in the chronicle exclusively by their Christian names. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the number of such members of the prince family had increased, and by the middle of the thirteenth century their numbers were quite great. By the fifteenth century, old secular names had completely fallen out of use by the ruling family. However, the questions are: what was the situation at the beginning of this process, and which Christian names were the first to be used without secular names in that period?

The earliest of all these names are *Basil*, *Roman* and *David*, the Christian names of the saint brothers Boris-Roman and Gleb-David and of their father Volodimer-Basil. It is important to note that all these princes were famous as saints at that time. Thus, the Christian names of the younger relatives had already been the names of ancestors who were particularly revered by the Church and subsequently canonized. Conventionally, the Christian name was introduced into dynastic history in the following way: at first, some prince venerated by the Church bore the name as a second, baptismal one; later, his grandson was given this name as his only one, because for him this name then became both a family and a Christian name.

This was a practice that extended not only to the names of the canonized princes. Rather soon, other Christian names of ancestors began to appear as the single names of princes. Three such names can be found in the family of Volodimer Monomakh, belonging to his younger sons, who were apparently the offspring of his second marriage. Why, then, do we know well the secular names of Monomakh's elder sons but know only the Christian names of his younger sons? What made Volodimer-Basil Monomakh name his children *George*, *Roman* and *Andrew*?

In order to begin to formulate an answer to this question, we must make a short digression. In all things concerning naming practices, Volodimer Monomakh always

singled out the figure of his grandfather Iaroslav the Wise. In his Testament, he emphasized particularly that his own name had been given to him by Iaroslav:

Азь худьи дедомъ своимъ Ярославомъ [...] наречнемъ въ крещении Василии Русьскымъ именемъ Володимиръ отцомъ възлюбленнымъ и матерью своею Мьномахы.

I, wretched man that I am, named Vasili at my baptism by my pious and glorious grandsire Yaroslav, but commonly known by my Russian name Vladimir, and surname Monomakh by my beloved father and mother.¹²

However, as it may seem, none of his children were named after this great-grandfather. Indeed, there was no one named *Iaroslav* in Monomakh's family. It may seem that Volodimer Monomakh did not even give any of his children the name of his father *Vsevolod*, though the some of the youngest of these were born undoubtedly after Vsevolod's death.

However, the names of the father and grandfather of Volodimer Monomakh were in fact present in his family. We must remember that the Christian name of Iaroslav the Wise was *George*, and Vsevolod, the son of Iaroslav, received the name *Andrew* at his baptism. Most likely, Volodimer Monomakh's second marriage meant a new starting-point in his naming strategy. The opposition between children born to a ruler by different marriages is a trivial thing in medieval history. Having adult sons by his first marriage and no intention of depriving them of their family rights, Volodimer apparently wanted to give the same rights to his children by his second marriage. The secular names of his elder children unambiguously marked their high positions in the system of family relations. Monomakh could ensure such a high position in the family for his younger offspring only by taking a different approach to the choice of names. The names had to be taken from the set of the family names with easily recognizable prototypes.

Volodimer Monomakh gave his eldest son by his second marriage the name *George*, the Christian name of his grandfather Iaroslav-George the Wise. Hence, the name *George* appeared to be a family name and a Christian name at the same time, and the dynastic fate of George the Long-Armed (the founder of a new branch of the family, who ultimately inherited the throne of Kiev) made this name a prestigious family name for his descendants.

Another son of Volodimer Monomakh was given the Christian name of Monomakh's father, Vsevolod-Andrew. It is noteworthy that this son of Monomakh was born later than one of his grandsons. The grandson was called *Vsevolod*, while the son was given the baptismal name of the ancestor *Andrew*.

12 *Lavrentevskaia letopis'*, ed. by A. F. Karskii, PSRL, 1 (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1926–28), col. 240; English translation is from 'The Russian Primary Chronicle', transl. by Samuel H. Cross, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 12 (1930), pp. 301–2.

Monomakh's third son by his second marriage was also known only under the Christian name *Roman*. This naming is related to the baptismal names of the martyr princes Boris-Roman and Gleb-David. The names of these saintly brothers had been repeatedly reproduced by that time in the Rurikid family.

So, George the Long-Armed was given the Christian name of his own great-grandfather, and George's brother Roman was given the Christian name of the great-grandfather's brother. The grandfather's baptismal name was given to another of Monomakh's sons by the second marriage, who was named *Andrew*. We should recall that we know this grandfather and great-grandfather predominantly by their secular names. However, their baptismal names were also well known to their contemporaries and descendants. Hence, after some time they could be recognized as family names. Thus, although originally Christian and family names had been opposed to each other, subsequently by the twelfth century the Christian name began to take on both the function of baptismal name and of family name.

As has already been mentioned, in the dynasty of Rurikids up to some time there was a strict prohibition against giving a newborn the secular name of a living ancestor. The eldest son of a prince was often named after his great-grandfather because his grandfather was still alive at the time when his eldest grandson was born. It was for this reason that the grandfather's name was often given to one of the younger grandsons, although, from the point of view of family continuity, it would be ideal if the eldest grandson could receive the name.

In the twelfth century it can be observed how some of the accepted 'rules' for the choice of secular names simply do not work in the choice of a Christian name.¹³ In particular, a son could be called by the name of his living father. Generally speaking, in many European dynasties the tendency for a father and son to share the same name became the norm over the course of time – this was very attractive in terms of assuring continuity of power. This was so even though this principle, as has already been noted, was at odds with traditional family practices. In the Rurikid dynasty, the naming of a son after his living father appears to have been possible only when the original secular names of the princes (i.e. the non-Christian names that are not listed in liturgical calendars) were replaced by Christian ones. However, can we say that with the total adoption of Christian names by the princes, the family principles of name-giving were completely forgotten? In light of this discussion, we can conclude that despite appearances, this was not the case; these same principles were simply manifested in different forms and came about as a result of other notions and mechanisms.

13 For details, see Litvina and Uspenskij, *Vybor imeni u russkikh kniazei*, pp. 163–74; and Uspenskij, 'A Brief Survey of the Anthroponymic Situation', pp. 12–18.

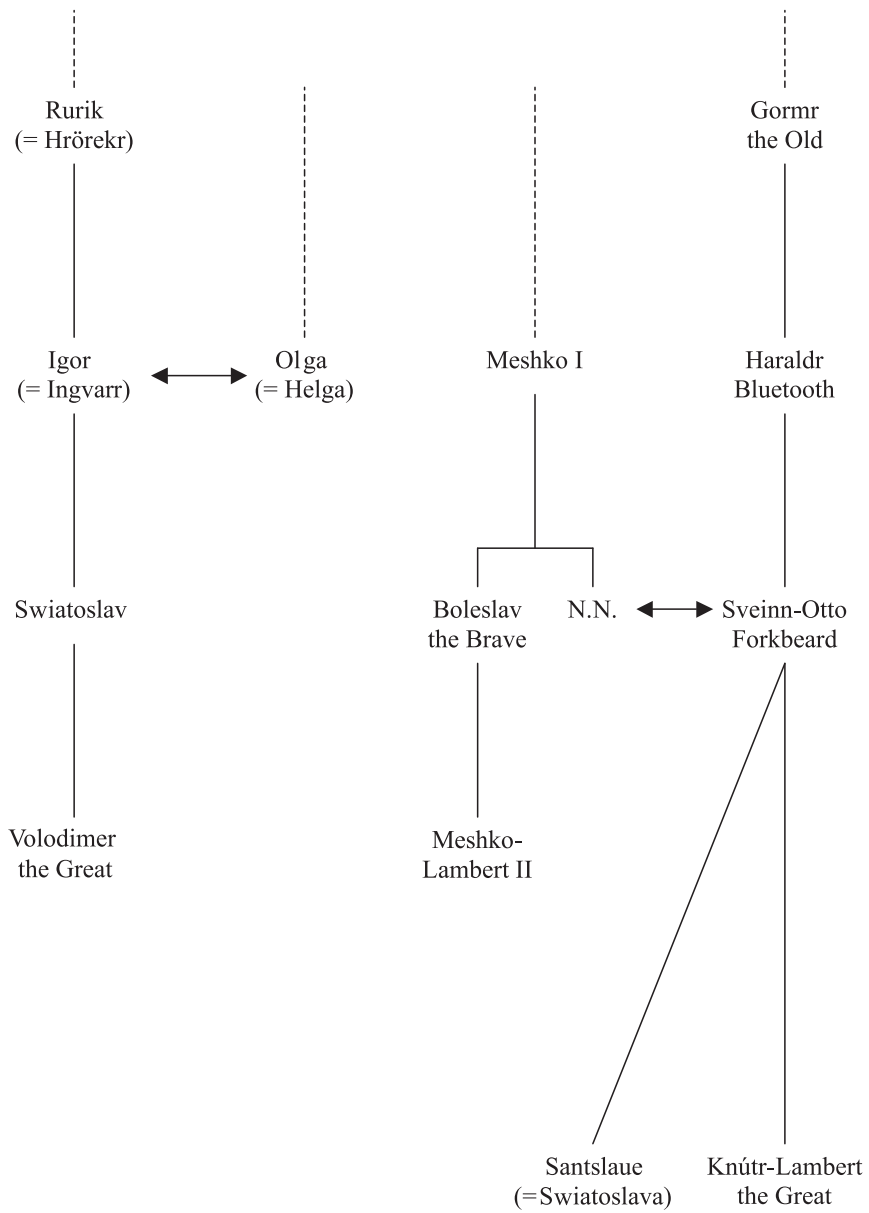


Fig. 12. Matrimonial links between the Rus', Polish and Danish ruling families.

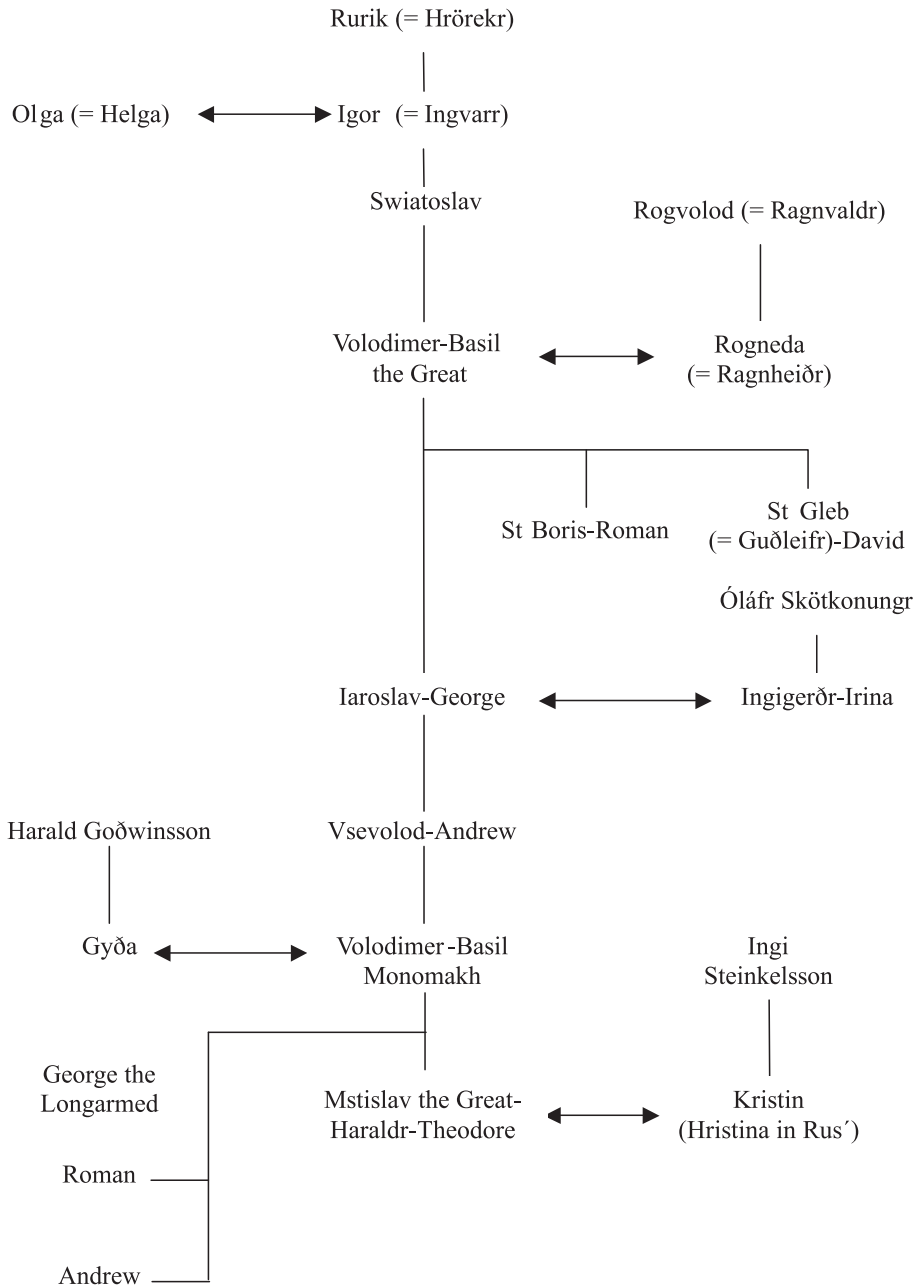


Fig. 13. Matrimonial links between the Rurikids and the Swedish and Anglo-Saxon royal families.