



11th Century Genealogical and Onomastic Connections between Old Rus and the British Isles

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Abstract. This paper had its origin with a lecture given at MGIMO University in 2023 on an obscure matter of 11th century history. It seeks to develop the central theme of that talk, which is that genealogical research, combined with linguistic insights taken from onomastics, can contribute to reaching a more accurate understanding of medieval political history. As such, an attempt will here be made to further develop this theme. What will herein appear will be neither a political nor a social history. It will be a genealogically based historical study of a small number of individuals that occasionally uses onomastics and epigraphy as supporting evidence. As such, nothing written was done so in order to prove or disprove a politically motivated point, but rather as a part of what most concerns genealogy, which is the placing of the genealogist, himself or herself (or, in this case, the author), as accurately as possible within the flow of human history by the means of studying one's direct ancestors and their network of family members. Analysis was done on a certain small prosopographically organized (i.e. centred on a network of specific individuals) set of data dealing largely with the family connections (both marital and genetic) of Vladimir the Great of Old Rus, Vladimir's wives Rogneda of Polotsk and Anna Porphyrogenita of the Eastern Roman Empire, Vladimir's children Dobroniega Maria of Poland and Yaroslav the Wise of Old Rus, Yaroslav's wife Ingegerd of Sweden (known in Russia as Irina), and Agatha, the mother of Saint Margaret of Scotland. The geography of the genealogical relationships involving these individuals covers a multitude of European countries, reaching from Scotland and England at one geographic extreme to Old Rus, the first Bulgarian empire, and Byzantium at another. This study, though genealogical in nature, mirrors the political history the above-mentioned individuals represent, a history that can be seen as following trade routes, meaning that, though mutual impact at both a familial and political level was real between the opposite sides of the European continent, it happened very largely by way of Scandinavia and, to a rather lesser extent, through the Holy Roman Empire. The genealogy shows that Scandinavian countries, as a unit, had a far greater role to play for both the British Isles and for Old Rus than either of these regions had for each other. Likewise, the genealogical backgrounds of the individuals covered in the four tables attached as an appendix to this article would suggest that, in terms of political and, most likely, economic historical importance, the impact of Old Rus would surely have been stronger on the British Isles than that of these islands on Old Rus. And, though the two geographic units the genealogy reflects are on the opposite sides of Europe, what can be shown is that a normally imperceptible, yet very real, relationship occurred which, as the centuries passed, increasingly changed history significantly in both directions.

Keywords: 11th century European history, prosopography, genealogy, onomastics, Old Rus, Bulgaria, Byzantium, Holy Roman Empire, France, Wessex, Scotland, England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Denmark

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Генеалогические и ономастические связи между Древней Русью и Британскими островами в XI веке

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Аннотация. Данная статья основана на лекции, прочитанной автором в МГИМО в 2023 году и посвящённой одному малоизученному вопросу истории XI века. В ней рассматривается центральная тема этой лекции: как генеалогические исследования в сочетании с лингвистическими знаниями из области ономастики могут способствовать более точному пониманию средневековой политической истории. В связи с этим в настоящей работе предпринимается попытка развить эту тему. Представленное здесь исследование не является ни политической, ни социальной историей. Оно представляет собой основанное на генеалогии историческое исследование небольшой группы людей с использованием ономастики и эпиграфики в качестве подтверждающих данных. Таким образом, ничто из написанного не имело целью доказать или опровергнуть какую-либо политически мотивированную точку зрения, но, скорее, следовало подходу, свойственному генеалогии, а именно: как можно точнее определить место генеалога (или, в данном случае, автора) в потоке человеческой истории посредством изучения своих прямых предков и их родословной. Анализ был выполнен на основе небольшого просопографически организованного (т.е. сосредоточенного на сети конкретных лиц) набора данных, охватывающего, главным образом, семейные связи (как супружеские, так и генетические) Владимира Великого из Древней Руси, его жён Рогнеды Полоцкой и Анны Багрянородной из Восточной Римской империи, детей Владимира Марии Добронеги Польской и Ярослава Мудрого из Древней Руси, жены Ярослава Ингерды Шведской (известной в России как Ирина) и Агаты – матери святой Маргариты Шотландской. География генеалогических связей, связанных с этими лицами, охватывает множество европейских стран, простираясь от Шотландии и Англии на одном географическом полюсе до Древней Руси, Первого Болгарского царства, и Византии на другом. Данное исследование, хотя и генеалогическое по своей природе, отражает политическую историю, представленную вышеупомянутыми лицами, историю, которую можно рассматривать как историю, связанную с торговыми путями. Это означает, что, хотя взаимное влияние как на семейном, так и на политическом уровне между противоположными сторонами европейского континента было реальным, оно происходило в основном через Скандинавию и, в меньшей степени, через Священную Римскую империю. Генеалогия показывает, что скандинавские страны как единое целое играли гораздо большую роль как для Британских островов, так и для Древней Руси, чем каждый из этих регионов друг для друга. Аналогичным образом, генеалогическое происхождение лиц, представленных в четырёх таблицах, приложенных к данной статье, позволяет предположить, что с точки зрения политического и, скорее всего, экономического исторического значения, влияние Древней Руси на Британские острова, несомненно, было сильнее, чем влияние этих островов на Древнюю Русь. И хотя две географические единицы, отражённые в генеалогии, находятся на противоположных концах Европы, можно показать, что между ними имела место обычно незаметная, но вполне реальная связь, которая с течением столетий всё больше и больше меняла историю в обоих направлениях.

Ключевые слова: европейская история XI века, просопография, генеалогия, ономастика, Древняя Русь, Болгария, Византия, Священная Римская империя, Франция, Уэссекс, Шотландия, Англия, Дания, Швеция, Норвегия

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1. Introductory notes

Any point for starting or, sometimes, even for ending a historical study is arbitrary. This article focuses on the 11th century because most of the people it deals with lived in or into the 11th century. But, to understand why they were important sometimes requires jumping backwards and forwards one or two hundred years in each direction and in dealing with source material that is often of questionable reliability.

Of course, it is a big jump from Old Rus to the British Isles of the 11th century and vice versa, involving many other countries, including the Bulgarian Empire, the Eastern Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, France, and, among the nations of the British Isles, England and Scotland. Though there are many points, both temporal and spatial, from which this historical discussion could begin, what was chosen was to begin with Old Rus, before considering the British Isles.

As any historical study depends on establishing usable chronology, Vladimir the Great's second wife, Anna Porphyrogenita, will act as a point of departure, leading to coverage of Dobroniega Maria, Vladimir the Great, Rogneda of Polotsk, Yaroslav the Wise, and Ingegerd (Irina in Russia) of Sweden, before ending things with a discussion of Agatha, the mother of Saint Margaret of Scotland. Many long-enduring historical controversies among historians that surround the genealogical details of these individuals will be faced.

2. Bias in history writing

Research bias is a very real phenomenon. Many scholars maintain, for instance, that Yaroslav cannot be the son of Rogneda of Polotsk, that he has to be the son of Anna [14, p. 284]. Others, in agreement with the Primary Chronicle of Nestor, claim the opposite [21, p. 97]. And, then, though the Greek chronicler George Cedrenos, writing in the lifetime of Dobroniega Maria, Vladimir the Great's daughter, makes it clear that Anna Porphyrogenita did not die until after her husband Vladimir the Great [2, p. 478], almost all scholars maintain that she did that Vladimir had to have had a German princess as a third wife, and that Dobroniega Maria has to be the daughter of this third wife [26, p. 128].

Moreover, discussions of the family relationships of Russian princes tend to be infected by political bias, and the political bias of the political elites of other countries have, especially in the West, so far, resulted in non-Russian scholars more or less automatically viewing Russia and Russians negatively. Thus, we still face a situation where a connected, non-politically biased, genealogically based, history of the medieval rulers of Russia (and, it must be admitted, also elsewhere) does not seem to have yet been written. But, when it comes to building a proper understanding of the times in which they lived, it would seem that exploring the family relationships with one another of past elites would be an essential matter that would be worthwhile as a means of removing the politically inspired mythological overlay that often surrounds the activities of past elites.

3. Linguistic considerations

Nevertheless, writing about historical matters, involves facing the linguistics of whatever one wishes to study. And, what comes to mind first is what we might call the "lost and gained in translation" phenomenon. No matter what medieval European language it might be written in, whether it be English, French, Latin, Old Church Slavonic, or Greek, the need to gather data from as many sources as possible inevitably forces a researcher aiming to complete any study that is not extremely precisely focused to rely on modern translations of often imperfectly understood documents and monuments of sometimes dubious reliability.

Also, translators, according to differences in temperament, employ different methodologies and produce translations with different audiences in mind. Small, and sometimes not so small, details get handled in different ways. Not only is there the issue of the original chronicler's sources and the reliability of the account he or she has produced, but there are other matters that will appear to cause trouble in a translated text. As such, we will find that the spelling of names will often be regularized, ambiguity in the original text will be handled in different ways, and innumerable small details of collective significance found in the original text will be reproduced differently, if at all. For the medieval era, there is, additionally, the matter of the number of relevant handwritten medieval texts that are available when a translation is made and how these texts might or might not have been collated. Thus, not only when reading Russian chronicles translated into English, but also when reading modern English translations from all medieval languages, including English and Latin, no translation can be read uncritically and all translations, no matter how essential, must be treated with care.

Thus, no translation or edited text is a truly primary source, which can be defined as being original documents, photographic copies of such texts, or printed versions which preserve every detail of the original text. We can, therefore, say that this article is not based on primary sources of information. The texts available which can be said to approximate such primary texts were normally published translations of texts, which, in many aspects, have been modernized for the sake of scholarly convenience. Thus, there is much that was lost from view, including palaeographic evidence.

This is unfortunate because the original scribal fonts were subject to changes in fashion that tended to be both generational and regional. For example, English fonts up to the beginning of the 12th century tend to rather more closely (though by no means exactly) resemble modern printing house fonts than those of succeeding centuries, when Western European fonts tended to become more ornate and, consequently, depending on the handwriting peculiarities of the individual scribe, much more difficult for a modern researcher to read.

Obviously, medieval scribal productions are universally full of potential pitfalls and often of great difficulty to use. But, as printing did not make its appearance in Europe until around 1439 [19, p. 58–60], such texts, whether they are directly referred to or are made use of in a published format, are mostly all we have at our disposal for creating human history from. Moreover, in their raw, unmediated, form, the linguistic and the palaeographic peculiarities unique to any given scribe, when taken together, mean that no historical researcher has enough time in any one lifetime to rely on such documents exclusively.

The problem is further complicated when, in addition to dealing with matters related to the history of Roman Catholic Europe, we also have to deal with people and events of Orthodox Europe. Moreover, we must expect that similar obstacles to understanding the past will be found to exist in Orthodox Europe, that changes in palaeographic fashion will have changed the shape of fonts used in writing, and that variation in the spelling of names and technical terms taken from local languages will also exist.

4. Onomastics in the context of historical research

We can expect to have to deal with a common issue found with regard to the newly Christianized Slavic and Scandinavian countries in the 10th and 11th centuries, namely that recently Christianized ruling family members had Christian names which they received upon baptism and which they used in addition to their birth names. Thus, Saint Vladimir was baptised as Basil [23, p. 330]. On the other hand, King Swein, the father of King Canute, was baptised as Otto [25, p. 78].

Additionally, names functioned, in a sense, as family property that were shared with newly born family members and there was an unspoken tabu against giving the name of a famous person who had possessed an uncommon name to newly born infants who were not descendants of that person or otherwise closely related. Thus, the Karl (Carolus, in Latin, or Charles in French or English) of Charlemagne was, for several centuries after his death, unrecorded as having been given to someone not directly descended from Charlemagne, himself [27, p. 299]. Nevertheless, names of famous individuals were sometimes assigned to important converts for reasons of state. And, sometimes, the name of the godparent or sometimes of someone in the godparent's family was given [28, p. 74].

Most commonly, though, it was customary throughout Europe to give a grandparent's name to a grandchild or, if not the grandparent, the names of relatives who might have recently passed away. Thus, in 1054, Yaroslav's daughter, the Queen of France, seems to have named her newly born daughter, Emma, after Emma of Normandy, the widow of the queen's mother's half-brother, a dowager queen of England who had recently died in 1052 [26, p. 11]. Wherever we might look in medieval Europe, name-giving traditions appear remarkably uniform, so much so that the onomastics of family naming patterns is often enough to establish a presumption of a relationship between people, even when documentary evidence doing so is not available, as can be seen in the case of a certain descendant of Charlemagne, Charles Constantine, an obscure 10th century count of Vienne who people consider to be the grandson of the Eastern Roman Emperor Leo VI and nephew of Constantine VII, based on the uniquely strong onomastic evidence that his double name provides [27, p. 307].

5. The beginnings of Old Rus

As people do not exist in a vacuum and since we are dealing with the first individuals to rule the whole of the European Russian territories, we would do well to ask ourselves what it was that motivated the many Slavic, Uralic, Baltic and Turkic tribes of Old Rus to unite in forging a common political identity under the rulership of the Rurikids. And, the conclusion reached when approaching this question with a genealogical bias at play was that we should look to Novgorod, rather than to Kiev or Moscow for an answer. After all, it was the power of Novgorod that allowed the conquest of Kiev in the early 880s by Oleg [4, p. 60–61]. And, it was the power of this city that allowed Vladimir to conquer Polotsk in 980 [ibid., p. 91–92], a territory which we now know as Belarus. Furthermore, it was the power of Novgorod that protected Yaroslav the Wise [ibid., p. 135], and it was here where he retreated to whenever he felt himself in danger.

Inevitably, one question leads to another. In this case, the question became what it might have been that would make a not particularly large city that looks so isolated on the map so important. Questions, however, are sometimes enough to lead to sudden enlightenment. A good map and an hour or so reading a translation of the Primary Chronicle by Nestor showed that Russia was developed by Vladimir, Yaroslav, and their ancestors along rivers [4, p. 60–61, 81, 84–85]. The aim of the Rurikid dynasty, it would seem, was not to micro-manage the lives of the peoples of Russia, but to control the flow of trade along its rivers. The beginning seems to have been to control river access to the Gulf of Finland and, through that, to the lands of the northern Baltic Sea. Plus, it was also well placed to control trade with the Arctic Ocean territories. The next step was to control as much of the Volga river trade as possible in the direction of the Caspian Sea [ibid., p. 96], where Novgorod trading interests would have envisioned greater profit by being able to expand their activities in the direction of early medieval caravan routes to that led to China, Iran, and India. Other rivers they eventually seem to have sought control over were the Dnieper and the Don going to the south to the Black Sea in the direction of Constantinople, and the Western Dvina, giving access to Rügen, the most important trading center in the southern Baltic Sea.

It can, therefore, be argued that the true beginnings of Russia were commercial in nature and are to be found on the river trade of Russian rivers. Russia, thus, would seem to have been created for the benefit of Novgorodian trading interests and managed by the early Rurikids with these trading interests at heart, to create a trading monopoly which was finally achieved by Vladimir and his son Yaroslav. Thus, by the time Yaroslav died, the Russian state controlled all of the big rivers in what are now European Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus.

It should be noted that the Rurikids, from the time of Vladimir the Great's father, Svyatoslav, also wanted to control the Danube [4, p. 86], but, in this, they failed. They failed because of Bulgaria and because of Byzantium [ibid., p. 89–90].

Russia, as portrayed by Western authors, has never been free from the bias that permeates their writing of its history. Thus, depending on the era, Russia was somehow too Oriental to be really European, or too despotic, or too primitive. But, nothing seems primitive about this earliest period of Russian history, even as early as the Primary Chronicle's record of Russia's first treaty regulating trade between Russia and the

Eastern Roman Empire in around 906 [4, p. 64–69]. To organize a trading empire going from Scandinavia and the northern parts of Western Europe to Persia and India, and reaching from the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean, does not indicate that a primitive culture was at work, nor does it indicate that a primitive political organization was in control of things.

6. Genealogical connections of the Rurikids: Anna Porphyrogenita

In considering the genealogical connections of those covered in this paper, it was decided to start with Vladimir the Great's second wife, Anna Porphyrogenita, because confronting the problems involved with the basic chronology of her life was far less challenging than with the others and because accurately dating her life meant that estimating the chronology of the others for whom available data was otherwise insufficient, would become less difficult.

Anna Porphyrogenita was born on 13 March 963 [2, p. 245]. The source is from a historical compilation dating in its original form to as early as the late 1050s and for which there is evidence it was written by a high ranking imperial court official whose name has been here Anglicized as Geoge Cedrenus [13, p. 8–9]. It should be noted that his career as an imperial official would have covered large parts of the reigns of the Anna Porphyrogenita's niece, the Empress Zoe, Zoe's various husbands, and Anna's other niece and Zoe's co-empress, the Empress Theodora. The reliability of this date of birth has, thus, so far not been challenged, nor is it likely to be questioned in the future, as the context in which it is given is persuasive.

We are also fortunate in that the just mentioned source also specifies when and where Anna Porphyrogenita died, being 1022 in Russia [2, p. 478]. The same source also clearly states that she was a widow at the time of her death. However, 1022 contradicts the 1011 year of death given for Anna in the Primary Chronicle, a document thought to have been written in Kiev in the 1010s by the monk Nestor and then edited by another monk Sylvester in 1016 [21, p. IX].

Being of fundamental importance for the writing of Russian history, the Primary Chronicle's weaknesses tend to be ignored. But, in spite of its general accuracy, weaknesses abound. It shows an obvious dependence on the vagaries of oral history sources, is episodic in nature, and gives many instances where history is very obviously being written as the writer thinks it should have happened rather than as it actually could have happened. But, this is common to practically all medieval historical writing, so we are left with a general rule of thumb with regard to conflicts between two or more medieval manuscripts of equal value by different authors with regard to matters of a factual nature, which is to give priority to the work with the earliest date of composition. Thus, being composed roughly 60 years earlier than the Primary Chronicle by Nestor and only around 35 years after Anna Porphyrogenita is said to have died, a decision was made to give preference to the historical compilation made by Cedrenus.

However, this does not mean that the year 1011 was pulled out of thin air by Nestor. Numeration was, throughout Europe, alphabetically based and Arabic numerals were not used. In Roman Catholic Europe, people made use of the Latin alphabet, and in Orthodox Europe, depending on the era and the location, either the Greek or the Cyrillic alphabets were put to use for purposes of enumeration. Moreover, it was common throughout Orthodox Europe to use the Anno Mundi system of dating events, which meant starting as year one with the year God was thought to have created the universe. Thus, in the oldest text of the Primary Chronicle (the Laurentian Manuscript), the year 1011 is written as 6519 (or, as found appearing in the original manuscript: В лѣтѣ .ѡсѣ. ѡї.) while 1022 becomes 6530 (В лѣтѣ .ѡсѣ. ѡї. ѡї¹). There is, furthermore, no guarantee, though, that the numeration system (perhaps a date of completion inscribed on Anna's sarcophagus by Greek artisans) used by the Laurentian Manuscript scribe would have been exactly the same numeration system as would have been employed by Nestor's source for the chronicle entry date in question or by Nestor, himself, for that matter.

¹ litopys.org.ua/lavrlet/lavr06.htm (accessed 13 August 2025)

Furthermore, scribal handwriting peculiarities, stoneworker inscription clumsiness, damage to documentary sources, and scribal disabilities, such as dyslexia, anywhere down the line of transmission could have all played a role in skewing the dating of events, not only for the Primary Chronicle, but for any other chronicle produced anywhere in the medieval world. However, if we accept the dating of Cedrenus over that of the Primary Chronicle with regard to Anna Porphyrogenita, we will find ourselves with a chronology that allows names to be added to a passage concerning the events of 1018 in Kiev and Poland by Thietmar of Meresburg that could be seen as contemporaneous with Anna's lifetime, for it is there that we find her described as Yaroslav's stepmother and where, along with Yaroslav's wife and sisters, she is being offered to him in exchange for Yaroslav releasing to her father the Polish king's daughter [30, p. 264–265].

Although both Thietmar of Meresburg writing sometime between 1015–1018 [ibid., p. 243–244] and Nestor around 90 years later in the Primary Chronicle claim that Anna's husband was a sex addict [4, p. 94], writing during Anna's lifetime, Thietmar, in particular, emphasizes the positive effect Anna had on her husband's character [30, p. 244]. In this context, we should also note that he calls Vladimir a great fornicator, not a great adulterer [ibid., p. 243–244], thus indicating that Vladimir's sexual escapades might very well have been before and not during his marriage to Anna. In further support of this possibility, after Vladimir's death, but several years before that of Anna, Thietmar of Meresburg also notes that the sarcophagi of Vladimir and Anna were located next to each other [ibid., p. 244]. He might thus be presumed to have been a faithful husband to his second wife Anna, whom the Primary Chronicle refers to as the Tsarina [21, p. 136, 144, 145, 159], the female form of the title given by the Primary Chronicle to her two brothers, the Emperors (the Tsars) Basil II and Constantinos VII [ibid., p. 132, 135]. Moreover, this title used in reference to Anna Porphyrogenita was not used elsewhere in the Primary Chronicle for any other female belonging to the Rurikid ruling family. Thus, from a contemporary Russian perspective, it would seem that she was not viewed as a mere princess consort of a ruling prince, but as an empress in her own right.

Anna was said to have been reluctant to marry Vladimir, and it is claimed that her brothers forced her to do so [4, p. 112]. Nevertheless, she seems to have soon adapted to her new role and, out of the two, Vladimir and Anna, Anna appears as the stronger individual, with the inference being that it is quite possible that Russia owes more to her and less to Vladimir than the history books have so far written. And, in confirmation of this opinion, we only need to look at Vladimir's first laws of Russia, where, in the preface to these laws, Vladimir states that he is ordaining his law for the Russian state and the Russian church with the approval of the princess, his wife [6, p. 148]. Another result of this marriage, one for which there is evidence dating to 1016, seems to have been the establishment of a Russian Orthodox monastery at Mount Athos [7, p. 7]. Moreover, Anna's family relationships, direct and indirect, with the ruling families of the Eastern Roman Empire, the Bulgarian Empire, and the Holy Roman Empire positioned her as a natural point of contact and made her impossible to ignore (see table 3 of the appendix).

Concerning whether Anna and Vladimir had children or not, there has been many centuries of controversy. However, new research on the graffiti led a Ukrainian scholar in recent years to see the frescoes of the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kiev as being evidence that Saint Sophia Cathedral was founded by Vladimir in 1011 in what can be seen as a form of glorification for himself and Anna and that it was largely finished, though not yet dedicated, by the time of his death in 1015 [22, p. 79]. So, though it is, obviously, a matter of scholarly dispute, there is, nevertheless, a case to be made that the Cathedral's original princely family frescoes may have been meant to represent Vladimir, Anna, and Vladimir's children, rather than representing Yaroslav and his family members.

7. Genealogical connections of the Rurikids: Dobroniega Maria

Under the influence of German scholars, it is now accepted as orthodoxy by most scholars that Vladimir had a third wife married in the years between 1011 and 1015 [26, p. 128]. And, based on this assumption, there are those who assert that Vladimir's daughter Dobroniega Maria had to have been the daughter of this third wife. However, accepting 1022 as Anna's year of death means rejecting the

existence of a third wife and as Dobroniega Maria did not marry and begin having children until after her marriage to Casimir of Poland in 1041–1042 and did not stop having her five known children until, at the earliest, 1049 [ibid., p. 120], she could not have been a daughter of any sex partner of Vladimir prior to his marriage with Anna Porphyrogenita in 988 [21, p. 137].

If we assume that Maria Dobroniega is legitimate (and there is no compelling reason not to), then the best way to estimate her year of birth is to subtract the year of her presumed mother's birth in 963 from the last possible year in which her youngest known child was born (1049) and divide the resulting number (86) by two and add this number (43) to the birth year of the mother (Anna Porphyrogenita). This will generate an approximate birth year of 1006 for Maria Dobroniega compared with a known birth year for her husband Casimir of 1016 [26, p. 120], making her roughly 10 years older than her husband.

Marriage brought significant political benefits for Dobroniega Maria's husband, so he made the best of it by immediately having as many children as possible. Dobroniega Maria is, thus, recorded as having at least five children in a maximum of eight years, with her youngest child being born no later than 1049 [26, p. 120] when she would have been around 43 and her husband 33. As it was, she survived her husband who died in 1058 by living until 1087 [ibid.]. However, for medieval Europe, Dobroniega Maria's situation, though exceptional, was not unique, as we also have the case of Eleanore of Aquitaine (1122–1204) who was 12 years older than her second husband, Henry II of England (1133–1189), and who had the last of eight children by him (the future King John, 1167–1216) when she was 45 years old [ibid., p. 83].

8. Genealogical connections of the Rurikids: Vladimir the Great

Mention of Vladimir is first made under the chronicler's entry for 968 where he is described as one of three children left by his father under the care of his father's mother in Kiev [4, p. 85]. It is unlikely that, in such a situation, the oldest would have been much more than 15. In 970, Vladimir's father Svyatoslav gave his son Yaropolk Kiev as an appanage and his other son Dereva with no mention of regents being appointed for either [ibid., p. 87], meaning that in this year they would have been perhaps no older than around 16 and 17, respectively. The people of Novgorod then demanded a prince of their own also, but as Vladimir's apparently two older brothers refused, Vladimir the Great himself was then sent to Novgorod together with his uncle Dobrynya, indicating that he was still a child [ibid., p. 87]. In around 971, Vladimir's father arranged a marriage for his older son Yaropolk with a Greek woman of great beauty who had been a nun [ibid., p. 91]. In 972, Vladimir's father died, and in 973, Yaropolk became recognized as prince. In 976–977, Yaropolk killed his brother Oleg and, being afraid for his life, Vladimir fled from Russia [ibid., p. 91] in 976. Even though Vladimir continued to depend on his uncle, judging from his subsequent actions, it would seem likely that he was perhaps around 20 when he returned to Novgorod in 978 with a force of Scandinavian mercenaries to take control of that city from Yaropolk's representatives [ibid., p. 91]. By 980, he had conquered Polotsk, married its heiress Rogneda, overthrown his brother Yaropolk who was killed in the process, and sired at least two children, one by a Czech woman [ibid., p. 94] and another by Yaropolk's widow [ibid., p. 93]. By 988, he had four sons and two daughters by Rogneda as well as an indeterminate number of other children by other women [ibid., p. 94]. In 988, he married Anna Porphyrogenita [ibid., p. 113]. Bruno of Querfurt, a German missionary to the Pechenegs, wrote a letter to the German king Henry II in around 1007 describing Vladimir's kind treatment to him and his worry that he would be ill-treated by the Pechenegs [10, p. 11–12]. Another contemporary, Thietmar of Meresburg, wrote shortly after Vladimir died that his wife Anna had had a positive influence on him and that, though he had been "a great and cruel fornicator", he had done much good as a king [30, p. 244]. Vladimir was, thus, a mixed bag. He left Kiev with a reputation for being a great city and he became known as a saintly ruler in his own lifetime [ibid.]. But, he also had a reputation for being a great sinner, which is reported in the early 12th century composition, the Primary Chronicle [4, p. 94], as well as by his German contemporary, Thietmar [30, p. 243–244]. However, whatever he may have been in life (c. 958–1015), in death his place of rest was a sarcophagus placed next to that of his wife, Anna Porphyrogenita [ibid., p. 244].

9. Onomastic evidence for Boris and Gleb being Anna Porphyrogenita's sons

The maternal parentage of Vladimir's sons, Boris and Gleb, has long been the subject of debate. The Primary Chronicle specifies, under the entry for 988, that, as other sons, they were given appanages [4, p. 119]. It should be noted that the Chronicle, which was written in the early 12th century, merely provides a list. It does not specify that any of the sons were actually given an appanage in this year or that all of them were given appanages at the same time.

Thus, other than the children specified here and there as being older than Yaroslav (and Boris and Gelb are not in this group), we are left guessing as to what year they actually might have been born. However, if we assume that these two had the same mother and that they were baptised after Vladimir's conversion to Christianity and marriage to Anna Porphyrogenita, there are onomastic reasons for presuming that Anna is their mother. And, even though the Primary Chronicle of Nestor states that they were the sons of a Bulgarian woman [21, p. 97], this designation does not automatically cause the exclusion of Anna, either.

One reason is because Anna was a member of what historians have named the Macedonian dynasty [27, p. 249], even though Anna's father's family was neither ethnically Greek nor Bulgarian in origin, but rather Armenian [ibid., p. 247]. This was because the father of Basil I, the first emperor of this dynasty, had been taken captive in a war between the Eastern Roman Empire and the Bulgarian Empire and had been moved to a location in Macedonia which was then ruled by Bulgaria. It was there that the future Basil I was born and from which his dynasty became known as the Macedonian dynasty [ibid., p. 249]. That, in addition to her being related to the then Bulgarian Tsar, meant that, in popular imagination, she could have been confused by some as having been a Bulgarian.

But, more importantly than this is taking into account a widespread characteristic of European onomastic history, which is that the naming of children among the political elite has always had political implications. We can safely assume this would be true with Boris and Gleb, too, no matter who their mother might have been. But, if it were Anna, for a man with the political ambitions of Vladimir, such an onomastic imperative would have been inescapable.

Thus, it is noteworthy that the names the two were christened with, Roman and David, though the equivalents of the names of two even earlier Orthodox saints, Saint Roman [31, p. 175] and Saint David [16, p. 101], were not names of Slavic origin. Roman, the name Boris was christened by, is the Russian version of the name of Anna's father, Romanos II [26, p. 128], whereas Boris, itself, was not only the name of a contemporary Bulgarian Tsar [ibid., p. 167] who was a second cousin of Anna (see table 3 of the appendix), but also the name of an even earlier Bulgarian Tsar who had been canonized soon after his death in 907 [18, p. 176]. Additionally, during the first years of Anna's marriage to Vladimir, Roman was the name of yet another Bulgarian Tsar, a younger brother of the just-mentioned Tsar Boris [26, p. 167] and was yet another second cousin of Anna. As neither Bulgarian Tsar had any children in a position to succeed to the Bulgarian throne [ibid.], the naming of Vladimir's son Boris and the christening of him as Roman, at the very least, suggests political significance with regard to the Bulgarian empire.

But, we also need to remember two things. One is that neither of Anna's brothers had any sons. And, another is that it was customary throughout Christian Europe to give the name of one's parents, of recently departed relatives, and/or of godparents to one's children. And, giving a grandchild a grandparent's name was especially common. Thus, if Anna had sons, it would have been expected that, barring politically compelling reasons not to, she would have had her oldest son christened as Romanos, which in both Russian and Bulgarian would have been Roman. Thus, barring evidence to the contrary, the onomastics would suggest that Anna may very well have been the mother of Boris (baptized as Roman) and that he would have been a first son, being born perhaps around 889 or 890. We can also presume that Vladimir and Anna would have been tentatively signaling to the world their hope that Boris would not only one day become the Great Prince of Old Rus, but also the Tsar of Bulgaria and, eventually, the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire.

On the other hand, David, the name Gleb had been christened with, had also become a Bulgarian royal family name in 997 with the appearance of the new Cometopuli dynasty of Bulgaria [26, p. 168], as it was the name of the then dead brother of Tsar Samuel, the first tsar of this dynasty [ibid.]. In fact, 997–998 was a time of major warfare for Vladimir with the nomadic Pechenegs and a time when it would have been advisable, no matter what his secret wishes might have been, to cultivate good relations with the new rulers of Bulgaria. If Gleb were yet another of Anna's sons, we can easily imagine him being born around 998 and can even imagine that Tsar Samuel's wife Agatha, a woman of Greek origin [ibid.], may very well have been Gleb's godmother, thus offering a possible explanation for the original source of the Primary Chronicle entry claiming that Boris and Gleb were the sons of a Bulgarian woman [4, p. 94].

10. From Alfred the Great to Rogneda of Polotsk

In the case of Vladimir's first wife, Rogneda, her short and unhappy life offers very little with which to construct a plausible chronology from. Nevertheless, it is possible that Rogneda of Polotsk, Yaroslav's mother, was the great granddaughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I and his first wife Eadgyth of Wessex (c. 912–947), who was the daughter of King Edward and the granddaughter of Alfred the Great [26, p. 73].

In 929, Eadgyth married the future German king and Roman emperor, Otto I, who was roughly the same age, and in rapid succession in 930 and in 931–933 had two children, Liutpold and Liutgard, who can be clearly be documented as the offspring of both of them [9, p. 3]. However, there was also a third child, whose mother is unspecified, but who is recorded as having been the daughter of Otto I [33, p. 17] and who, it will be argued, could have been born as early as 932 to Otto and his first wife.

As for German scholars, they have been arguing about everything regarding this lady since the 16th century onward [15, p. 205]. Due to the ease with which medieval German scribal fonts can be misinterpreted, some scholars have read the lady's name as Richluit, others as Richliut, others as Richlint, and still others as Richlite. Additionally, she has been referred to under the guise of various spelling modernizations, including Richlind, Richlinda, Reglind, and Reglinda. Richlint, due to its use by the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* series, will be used, although the onomastics of the names of Otto's two oldest children, Liutpold and Liutgard, would suggest that the "lint" of "Richlint" might be a misreading of the original handwritten source and that "lint" should have been read as "liut" as in "Richliut" which would be the same word root used in the names of the two children assigned to Otto and Eadgyth, and thus might have been the original intended spelling of her name.

The lady in question was married to the count of Öhningen, and is found as such in a charter dated to 965 [11, p. 462], which also refers to her as the daughter of the then emperor Otto I and in which four of her sons are named and all are said to be in agreement with a transfer of property Richlint and her husband are authorizing. In an early medieval German work of princely family history, she is said to have had four named and unnamed daughters, of whom one of the unnamed daughters is said to have married the king of the Rugorum (the Russians) [32, p. 734]. In a related genealogical summary, though, it states that Richlint's unnamed daughter married the king of the Rugiorum (the people of the then South Baltic Slavic island state of Rügen) [33, p. 17].

As the 965 charter mentions the names of four sons of Richlint, we can work on the assumption that Richlint had to have been born before the death of Eadgyth, the first wife of Otto I in 947 [9, p. 3]. A further assumption is made that, due to the youth of the emperor at the time of his marriage in 929 [ibid.], it was unlikely, though of course not impossible, for Richlint to have been born before that date. As Otto I and Eadgyth of Wessex (the granddaughter of Alfred the Great) seem to have produced no surviving children after the first years of their marriage, it will be assumed that Richlint was born about 932 as the couple's second daughter. As members of this imperial family tended to marry early [ibid.], though perhaps only 33 at the time of 965 charter, Otto I's daughter could conceivably have found herself married off as early as 945 and already a grandmother.

The wife of the king of the Rugorum/Rugiorum could, thus, have been born as early as 946. And, though the chronology is tight, she could have married and had a child by 962. If Rogvolod of Polotsk also had commercial interests in Rügen, which is not implausible, considering the power he would have exercised over the trade flowing through the Western Dvina River, then he would have been someone of importance for the commercial interests of the Holy Roman Empire, which, from the 940s onward, showed an increasing interest in bringing Rügen under their control [5, p. 134–135]. He was, thus, someone who could have had the support of the Holy Roman Empire in the establishment of his state and who, in addition to being the prince of Polotsk, could have also been one of the local rulers of Rügen. Moreover, being in the position he was in, Rogvolod could also have been someone a German chronicler writing more than 100 years after the fact would have described in Latin as having been a king, just as we see Vladimir and Yaroslav later described. Rogneda, according to this scenario, could have been anywhere from 12 to 18 when forced into a marriage in 980 with Vladimir, a marriage that involved the destruction of her family.

Considering 10th century marriage patterns, Rogneda, at the time of her marriage, may have been as young as 12 or 13, but it is hard to believe that she would have been more than 15 and still unmarried at the time of her marriage to a man who, in one way or another, had been forced on her and whom she seemingly had no say in choosing. And, as she is said to have had six children in eight years [4, p. 94] to a man she could not have loved, she must have been traumatized, with the marriage unlikely to have been a happy one.

The motivation for acquiring Polotsk as the result of a military campaign seems to have emanated from Novgorod's commercial elite [ibid., p. 91–92]. Whether as a direct result or as an indirect result, though, Rogneda's father and brothers were killed. Rogneda being the only person of her family left, marriage with her assured Vladimir and his Novgorod supporters of territory providing unhindered access to the southern Baltic Sea through the Western Dvina River, along with control over a significant portion of the trade in Baltic amber, a trade that seems to have pre-dated even the Roman Empire [3, p. 12]. Moreover, with Polotsk, Vladimir and his followers would have come into undisputed possession of the shortest inter-river, overland portage connection from Novgorod to the Dnieper River and, with that, greater profits off the Black Sea trade with the Balkan Peninsula, Asia Minor, and with the western Mediterranean, generally.

Considered holistically, when Vladimir divorced her in favor of a more profitable match with Anna Porphyrogenita, Rogneda of Polotsk might have been no more than 23 years old. Already long traumatized by a destiny she had not chosen for herself, when divorce freed her from Vladimir, she chose to live out most of the rest of her relatively short life (estimated as from about 965 to 1000) in a way so as to guarantee that her oldest son would be allowed to inherit Polotsk unhindered as an inheritance coming to him from his mother. And, in this, she must have found her last years to be her best.

11. Genealogical connections of the Rurikids: Yaroslav the Wise

But, it is not with Rogneda's oldest son by Vladimir, but possibly her youngest son, Yaroslav the Wise, with whom this paper shall be concerned. In spite of clear mention by the Primary Chronicle of him being Vladimir's son by Rogneda [4, p. 94], historians are divided over whether Rogneda or Vladimir's second wife, Anna, is his mother. For this reason, starting off here with a brief discussion of his likely year of birth seems to be in order.

It is often written that Yaroslav had to have been born in the 970s, on the assumption that Yaroslav cannot have been an infant in 988, the year of the chronicle entry for which it is written that he, together with Vladimir's other sons, is said to have received an appanage [4, p. 119]. However, most medieval manuscript copies of the Primary Chronicle in the entry for 1016, if conservatively interpreted, would only seem to indicate that in this particular year he was 28 years old and nothing more [21, p. 176].

And, in fact, when the skeletons that were found in the tomb of Yaroslav and his presumed wife were examined just before World War II, it was determined that the skeleton of the man was that of someone who had died at between 60 and 70 years of age, whereas the skeleton of his probable wife, on the other

hand, was between 50 and 60 years of age at death [29, p. 40]. Moreover, the scientists were able to show that the two skeletons matched what Russian histories had prepared them to expect with regard to the Grand Prince and his wife [ibid., p. 41]. As for Yaroslav, both the Primary Chronicle [21, p. 197] and the Novgorod Chronicle [20, p. 4] put his death in 1054. Thus, taking all evidence together, a best estimate of Yaroslav's lifespan would be from perhaps sometime in the last half of 887 to sometime in the first half of 1054. It also means that Rogneda has to be his mother, as, even if he were born in 888, it is unlikely for Vladimir and Anna to have produced a child born in that year.

12. Genealogical connections of the Rurikids: Ingegerd of Sweden

In the case of Yaroslav's wife, if the Primary Chronicle is correct in her dying in February of 1050 [21, p. 191], the above-mentioned, pre-World War II, skeletal analysis would indicate her to have been born between 990 and 1000. A further examination of the sarcophagus remains in 2009 confirmed that the woman's skeletal remains (the man's had disappeared) were probably those of Ingegerd and that she would have died at between 45 to 55 years of age [29, p. 40]. The 2009 data allows for Ingegerd of Sweden's birth year estimate to be placed between March of 994 and January of 995 to March of 1004 and January of 1005. As it is, 994/995 is when King Eric the Victorious of Sweden is killed [26, p. 114], thus preventing the skeletal evidence of 2009 from ruling him out as Ingegerd's father.

Thus, if the 2009 skeletal data is Ingegerd's, the question, then, becomes one of whether King Eric's son, King Olaf, who died in 1022 [26, p. 114], could also have been her father by a last likely date for her birth in January of 1005. European sources give conflicting evidence. In one late 11th century source she is presented as a legitimate daughter of Olaf and as the wife of Yaroslav who was designated as a saint [1, p. 67]. In another somewhat later, yet still respectably early source, we see Yaroslav's wife referred to as the king of Sweden's sister under what would have been the baptismal name of Margaret [17, p. 25]. But, if her baptismal name were Margaret, then, in an era before Christianity divided into Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, this does not easily explain why she was called Irina in Russia and not Marina which would have been the expected translation of her baptismal name into Russian.

So, turning to Olaf I of Sweden, his birth has been estimated as being as early as 985. This is because he would have had to have been 14 or older to have received church recognition as an adult [8, p. 27], but this did not automatically happen after his father was killed in 994/995. First of all, he lived with his mother a certain number of years in Denmark where she married the Danish king Svend, by whom she appears to have had in rapid succession at least four children [26, p. 97]. Thus, it was not until what could not have been any earlier than 998, that Olaf was sent back to Sweden with his mother acting as regent, meaning that Olaf would have probably still been considered too young to rule alone [1, p. 68]. For this reason, in 998, it was unlikely that he could have been more than 13. As such, 985 represents the earliest likely possible year of birth and 994 represents the latest, meaning that a birth year of 990 plus or minus four years represents a best estimate. Though he could have been married for reasons of state before 1000, there is no documentary evidence specifying a date. All that we have to help us are onomastics, human biology, and medieval canon law.

One certain date is that Olaf of Sweden married off his illegitimate daughter, also named Astrid (baptismal name unknown, but with the same birth name as that of her aunt Astrid of Denmark, her father's half-sister), to the king of Norway in 1019 [26, p. 108]. As king Olaf was a Christian and, under canon law, marriage could only be consummated for a female from the age of 12 [8, p. 27], we can assume that this daughter, Astrid, who was the child of a mistress [26, p. 114], was born no later than 1007 and could have been sired no later than sometime in 1006. If Olaf were born in 989, he could have been 17 in 1006 and, if born in 985, he would have been 21. For this period of European history, parenthood for a man of prominence of these years would have been seen as normal. However, for someone forced to survive politically, even a birth year as late as 991 remains within the realm of possibility.

As there is evidence that Yaroslav's wife Ingegerd of Sweden is older than Olaf's daughter Astrid [18, p. 25] and was already married to Yaroslav by 1018 at the latest [18, p. 25], [26, p. 97], we can assume her latest likely birth year as being no later than 1006, though 1005 would be rather more likely. Thus, if Olaf

were her father, he probably sired her no later than 1005, which is within the realm of possibility, whether he was born in 985 or in 988 or even 991. He is unlikely, however, to have sired her before 1000 or for her to have been born before 1001, even if he were born in 985. In any case, if she had been promised to the king of Norway at one time or another, which she is said to have been, she would have most likely been the same age or younger and he is estimated to have been born in 995 [18, p. 25], [26, p. 108].

Thus, taking both the pre-World War II and the 2009 skeletal analysis of the woman assumed to have been Ingegerd of Sweden into consideration we are left with two probable birth year ranges being 994–995 and 1004 plus or minus three years. So, taking into account the conflicting nature of the evidence available from medieval manuscripts and as there are many instances of medieval women in good physical condition giving birth to children well into their 40s (with Dobroniega Maria and Eleanor of Aquitaine being good examples), it would seem prudent to give preference to manuscript evidence that names Ingegerd as Olaf's sister, whether Margaret was her baptismal name or not. In such a case, a birth year of around 994–995 would still have made her younger than Yaroslav by about seven years and would mean that she would have been around 42 in 1036, the year she is recorded as having given birth to the youngest of her many known children [4, p. 136], an age which somehow seems more normal than an age range of 32, plus or minus three years, which she would otherwise have had to have been.

13. Genealogical connections of the Rurikids: Agatha and the British Isles

In illustrating a possible connection between the British Isles and Old Rus, by pointing out a way in which Yaroslav the Wise may have been a descendant of King Alfred the Great (see table 2 of the appendix), we have come one step closer to the goal of this paper. Though the above reconstruction of events is based on a certain number of now ultimately unprovable assumptions, it does provide a structure which researchers, in certain cases, might be able to find useful in future forensic DNA research aimed at answering more than has been possible in the past.

This article will now argue that there was very likely a far stronger connection in the opposite direction, from Old Rus to England, in which Scandinavia plays a central role and which is well worth exploring. It is represented by Agatha (see table 1 of the appendix), the mother of Saint Margaret of Scotland and, through Saint Margaret, the ancestress of practically everyone of importance in European and American history, and literally millions of other individuals, including the author of this paper, of no particular importance at all.

From the beginning of the 12th century, Agatha's origins have been much discussed. Around 1100, an English annalist wrote an entry for the year 1057 in a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle produced in northern England that described events that involved Agatha in that year. It also mentioned that Agatha shared a family relationship that probably involved a common ancestry with the Holy Roman Emperor [24, p. 188], something which would have referred to one or both of the 11th century German kings Henry III and Henry IV [9, p. 4]. Keeping in mind that no medieval scribe from whom written texts survive was in a position to access official records documenting Agatha's origins, medieval writers embellished this tradition by providing often contradictory detail which we can call the "gained in translation" phenomenon.

Ultimately, all that was available was oral transmission from the frequently faulty memories of people sometimes opportunistically processing genealogical information in terms of the spoken language of wherever they might have been raised. This was then processed into medieval Latin for purposes of historical transmission and, very often, the Latin terminology denoting family relationships did not exactly match in scope that used in oral transmission. The result was that the genealogical history that survives concerning Agatha in medieval, scribally transmitted, texts is impossible to interpret coherently, if every detail is given equal weight and if treated as being equally valid.

In Agatha's case, however, we have two additional, non-imperial, attributions of ancestry that are worthy of consideration. One which must be considered seriously is the account found in the early 12th century work of William of Malmesbury, who was connected with Agatha's grandchild, David of Scotland, and her great grandchild, the Empress Matilda, when he writes that Agatha was a sister of the queen of Hungary [12, p. 93].

Yet one more tradition that must be given due attention is that Agatha had a Russian origin. This is due to the fact that the only reference to Agatha's immediate family that was actually written when Agatha could have still been living is that of Adam of Bremen writing in around 1070, who states that Agatha's husband found refuge in Russia when he was exiled from England as a child [1, p. 76]. This strongly reinforces a passage concerning the Russian origins of Agatha that is to be found in the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, which are said to have been completed in the 1130s toward the end of the reign of King Henry I of England (the husband of a granddaughter of Agatha) where it is written that Agatha's father found refuge as an exile in the land of the Russians where its king, Malesclodus (possibly a corrupted form of Mstislav (c. 988 – c. 1035), the ruler of Chernigov and of Tmutorokan, and brother of Yaroslav the Wise), treated him with honor and that it was from Russia that he was able to get a wife of honorable ancestry [34, p. 518]. An interpellation found in a very early 13th century copy of this text further specifies that Agatha was from the family and blood of the Russian kings [ibid.].

We should, therefore, look for an 11th century queen of Hungary who is of Russian origin, and the only one to be found in that century is Anastasia, the wife of King Andrew of Hungary [26, p. 153, 154]. If we go one step further and assume that Agatha is her sister, then we are led to the conclusion that Yaroslav the Wise and Ingegerd of Sweden are Agatha's parents. What remains is to show a familial relationship with Henry III and Henry IV, who ruled as German kings and as Holy Roman Emperors from 1039 to 1105 [9, p. 4].

14. The importance of familial relationships as established by marriage

One way in which canon law affected all of Christian Europe deeply in the 10th and 11th centuries was through its control over the institution of matrimony, whereby a church-sanctioned marriage automatically established familial relationships. Thus, considering that the following example automatically involves Yaroslav and Ingegerd (see table 2 of the appendix), it seems advisable to start with a set of family relationships established by the marriage of the Holy Roman Emperor, the German king Henry III, to Gunhild of Denmark and England [9, p. 4]. What immediately stands out regarding the canon law relationships that the Emperor Henry III established by this marriage is that, in the eyes of the medieval Roman Catholic Church, he forever became the brother of the future English king, Edward the Confessor, as Edward and the emperor's young wife were half-siblings [26, p. 78].

But, just as striking is the relationship this marriage established with Gunhild's parents and with her parents' siblings. As Ingegerd of Sweden, for reasons already explained in connection with Olaf of Sweden, is presumed to be the half-sister of Gunhild's father, Ingegerd and Yaroslav, thereby, became the uncle and aunt, by way of marriage of the emperor (see the appendix, table 1). Likewise, their children, by way of marriage, became the emperor's first cousins.

Let us now also consider canon law relationships in terms of Agatha. As a daughter of Yaroslav and Ingegerd and, over the course of years, as a result of her marriage to Edward the Exile, she acquired a massive number of relationships expressed in familial terms. She was, from the viewpoint of the church, the mother of the king and queen of Scotland, the sister of the kings and queens of Hungary, France and Norway, the aunt of a future king of Bohemia, the niece of a king of England, as well as the first cousin of both a Holy Roman Emperor and the kings of Poland, Sweden, and Denmark (see the appendix, table 1).

15. Agatha's kinship by blood with the Holy Roman emperors of her time

We have already shown elsewhere how Yaroslav the Wise could have descended from Richlint, a daughter of the Emperor Otto I. Assuming the proposed descent of Yaroslav the Wise to be plausible in its basic outline, we shall now show how Henry III and Henry IV might, thereby, be related by blood to Agatha. Richlint, the daughter of the Emperor Otto I and wife of Cono/Conrad, the Count of Öhningen and, later, Duke of Swabia, had a son Herman and a daughter whose name remains unknown but who, for reasons already given, is presumed to have been the wife of Rogvolod of Polotsk. Herman had a daughter

Gisela who would have been a first cousin of Rogvolod's daughter Rogneda. Gisela's son was German king as Henry III and Emperor as Henry II. Rogneda's son was Yaroslav the Wise. Henry III's son was Henry IV and Yaroslav's daughter Agatha.

Moreover, Agatha was related even more closely by marriage to both emperors. Due to the marriage of Gunhild of England and Denmark with Henry III, she would have been considered in the eyes of the church as his first cousin (see the appendix, table 1). On the other hand, whether she was still alive or not at the time, Henry IV became her nephew by marriage when he took Eupraxia, the daughter of Agatha's brother, Vsevolod, as his wife (see the appendix, table 4).

16. Onomastics with regard to Agatha

But, onomastics also can play a role in confirming Agatha's relationship with Yaroslav and his family. If we remember that, until 1022, Anna Porphyrogenita would have been the senior female in the extended Rurikid princely family, and, if we consider her special status as being considered the equivalent of an empress, we might expect Anna to have played a role in naming Agatha, if she were born before Anna's death.

As it was, the name Agatha could conceivably have been given in honor of one or more individuals, including a possibly recently departed wife of that name of the then dead Tsar Samuel of Bulgaria [26, p. 168]. It may have also been in honor of the sister of Anna Porphyrogenita's father [27, p. 308], who very well could have played a role in raising Anna. Additionally, the name also belonged to that of her father's mother's sister [ibid.].

But, there are also other factors to consider. According to the analysis of available data which was presented earlier in this paper, Yaroslav would have been hardly more than one year old, if that, when his father married Anna. And, he would have been only 12 years old in 1000, the year of his mother's death [4, p. 124]. As a result, considering the onomastics of Yaroslav's daughter's names, it would not be surprising if, more than Rogned, it was Anna who was the more formative influence on his life.

Though any year between 1019 and 1030 would work as a birth year for Agatha, Anna's returning together with Ingegerd from Poland in 1018 or 1019 [30, p. 264–265] would have been when Anna's influence over her stepson and his wife would have been at its peak, so this year might seem slightly more likely as a birth year than other possibilities, though 1025 plus or minus five years might be a better way of expressing things.

17. Onomastics with regard to the naming of Margaret and her children

Concerning the name Agatha chose for her daughter, Margaret was a name that can be found used in the christening of Scandinavian royal infants, but which had never been used by the ruling families of Wessex, Scotland, or Normandy [26, p. 77–79, 81, 88–89]. In the case of Saint Margaret, we know for sure that Estrid of Denmark, the half-sister of Agatha's presumed mother, Ingegerd of Sweden, was baptised as Margaret and was widely known by that name [1, p. 77]. Moreover, Ingegerd's sister Estrid (christened Margaret) was a woman whose son became king of Denmark in 1047 [26, p. 97], meaning that the political and onomastic evidence points to 1048 as being Saint Margaret's presumed year of birth. The name Margaret, thus, might have been a politically motivated choice meant to signal a desire for peace with the Danish royal family which had also provided England with kings until 1042 [ibid.]. Alternatively, it might also indicate that the older Margaret was still alive and agreed to act as a godmother for the younger one.

But, onomastics can be put to use in other ways as well. It can further confirm the connection of Agatha with the Rurikids by providing a plausible explanation of the names that Saint Margaret gave her two youngest children, Mary and David, names which had not been used previously in a royal context, whether it be in Scotland, the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of England, the kingdom of Denmark, or the duchy of Normandy [26, p. 77–79, 81, 88, 89]. Mary (Marie or Maria, as she would have been known in the 11th century) can thus be seen as an Anglicized form of Marie of Norway, a first cousin of Margaret and

granddaughter of Yaroslav, who died in 1066 and who, in turn, would probably have been named after Yaroslav's sister, Dobroniega Maria, the probably youngest daughter of Vladimir and Anna. David, on the other hand, was the baptismal name of Saint Gleb, quite possibly another of this couple's children. Additionally, by the time of David of Scotland's birth in circa 1080 [ibid., p. 89], Gleb was already considered a saint by the Russian Orthodox Church [4, p. 154–155]. Furthermore, the name David was a somewhat common name among Yaroslav and Ingegerd's grandsons, who would have been, thus, Saint Margaret's first cousins, with three instances of grandsons being given the name David and one instance of a grandson being named Gleb (see table 4 of the appendix). Additionally, one of these grandsons of Yaroslav was a child of Margaret's aunt, the queen of Hungary, a man Margaret would have known as a small child in Hungary and who was still alive at the time of the future King David I of Scotland's birth [26, p. 154].

18. Positioning Agatha within the web of 11th century European elites

If our somewhat limited discussion above of Agatha's position in the web of 11th century royalty is correct, then we can also find a clue as to why her children were able to live the lives they did in spite of their being dispossessed of their rightful inheritance. As it was, Agatha's half-Russian son was simply too well-connected to be ruthlessly disposed of, and, in the case of Agatha's daughter, Saint Margaret, even without land or power or money, she gave direct European-wide connectedness in a way hardly any other woman of her time was capable of doing.

19. Conclusion

The points advocated by this paper are 1) that Anna Porphyrogenita outlived her husband Vladimir the Great by seven years; 2) that Rogneda seems likely to have had both imperial German ancestry as well as a descent from Alfred the Great of Wessex; 3) that Dobroniega Maria was the daughter of Anna Porphyrogenita; 4) that Boris and Gleb might, for onomastic reasons, be Vladimir's children by Anna; 5) that Ingegerd of Sweden was more likely a sister of king Olaf of Sweden than his daughter; and 6) that Saint Margaret of Scotland's mother Agatha was a daughter of Yaroslav the Wise and Ingegerd of Sweden. In addition, onomastic considerations would suggest a birth year for Agatha of around 1019, rather than later around 1025 or 1030, even though this would be possible in terms of what can be documented about her life. Moreover, taken as a whole, it would seem that the burden of proof is not on proving that Yaroslav and Ingegerd are Agatha's parents, but in proving that they are not, which does not seem to be a likely possibility.

It also bears repeating that this topic concerning the connection between early medieval Russian and British history was not an intentional matter. It developed organically out of a belief that neither Agatha, nor anyone else covered by this paper should remain simply the continued object of historical research flawed by either political bias on the one hand or profound historical neglect on the other. Nor should they be the subject of mythology. The history of each of them should be each individual's own history. It should not be something invented, nor something stolen from someone else. It should be something verifiable and unbiased by the political leanings of the researcher.

So, with this, a final thought: a new history of Russia that is available in English and other Western European languages is needed that is not based on political bias. If it ever comes into existence, it will be a first time in the 1,200 or so years of Russian history that speakers of Western European languages will have something of this nature available. As such, it would not be expected to change European and American perceptions of Russia, but it would be a first step. And, it is the first step that is always the most difficult.

Appendix

In the following genealogical tables, because much information had to be packed in a small space, certain hopefully self-evident abbreviations appear. Particularly frequent is *c.*, which is the standard abbreviation for *circa*, a Latin word meaning *about*. It should be noted with regard to this abbreviation that where a likely date range could be calculated, a mid-point was used and that in such cases true dates, if they could be known, might be expected to sometimes vary five years or more in either direction. The abbreviation *m.* means *married*. A *k.* means *king*. Where a year could only be given for a year of birth or death, *b.* was the abbreviation used for *birth* and *d.* that used for *death*. (1) appearing before or after an = sign signifies that a spouse on that side of the = sign is a first spouse of the other. Likewise, a (2) refers to a second spouse. When year ranges appear, they always refer to birth to death year ranges only. Generally speaking, regnal years are not given, though in those few cases where they appear, they are clearly designated as such.

Though every effort was taken to ensure accuracy, these tables should not be used as a substitute for further historical research. Almost every individual appearing in these tables represents his or her own set of historical problems, meaning that further research could, at any time, uncover new evidence that could cause a rearrangement in the relationships that the tables present. In particular, dates must be taken as suggestive rather than as absolutely true. But, without approximate dating based on best guesses of what could be implied by available data, the tables would be incapable of even presenting the reader with reasonable possibilities of how events might possibly have happened. So, due to the fact that properly annotating all the individuals appearing would have resulted in writing a multi-volume book series, taking perhaps a lifetime to finish, it was decided to leave the tables unreferenced and without citations. Used carefully when dealing with individuals discussed in this text, they will be found to have their uses, particularly as a means of keeping possible relationships in mind and as indications as to what direction further research could be profitably taken.

Table 1. The family connections of Agatha's mother Ingegerd of Sweden

Table 2. Dynastic connections of Yaroslav the Wise plus a possible line of descent from Alfred the Great

Table 3. Dynastic connections of Anna Porphyrogenita

Table 4. The immediate descendants of Yaroslav the Wise and Ingegerd of Sweden

Dynastic connections of Yaroslav the Wise plus a possible line of descent from Alfred the Great

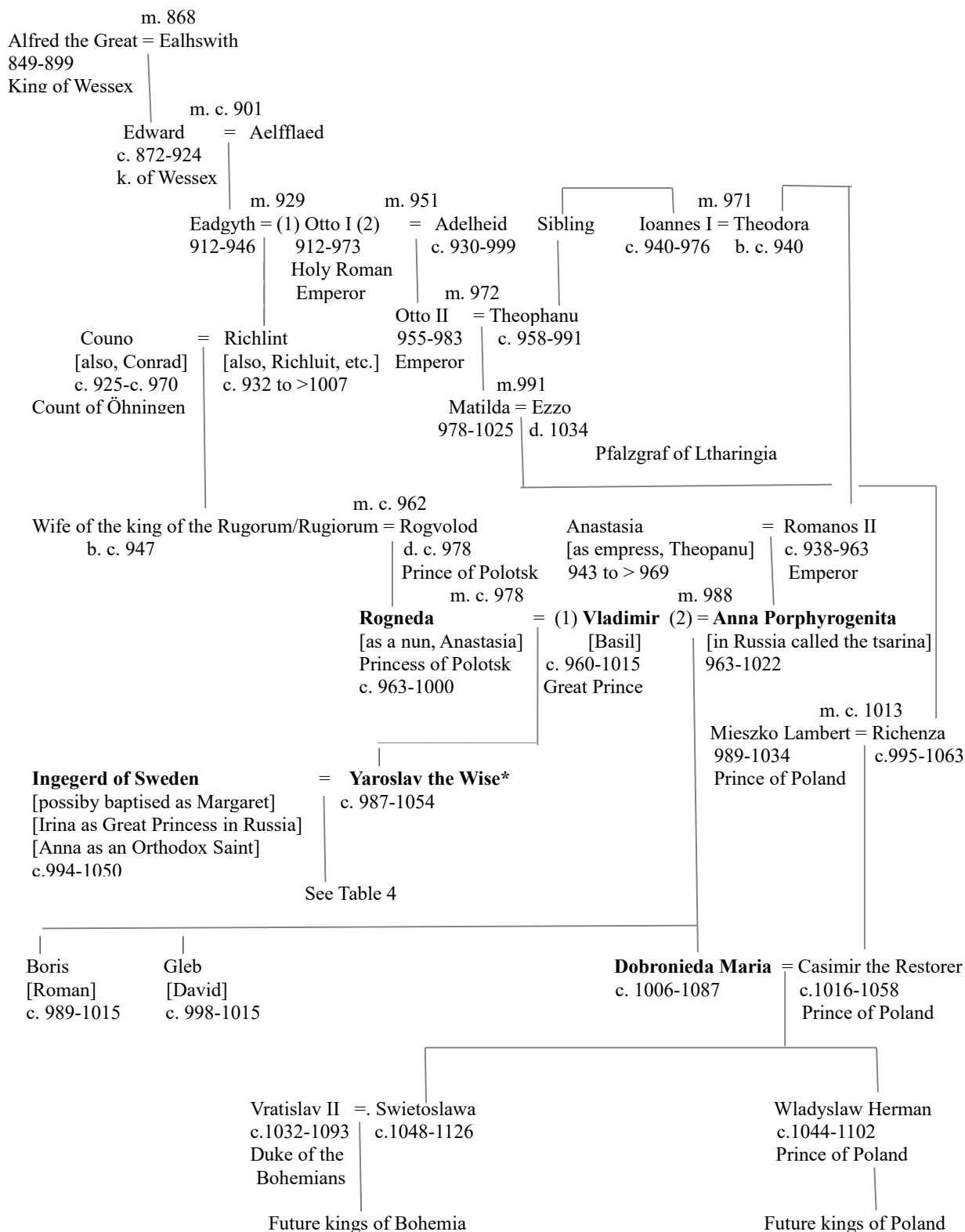


Table 3

Dynastic connections of Anna Porphyrogenita

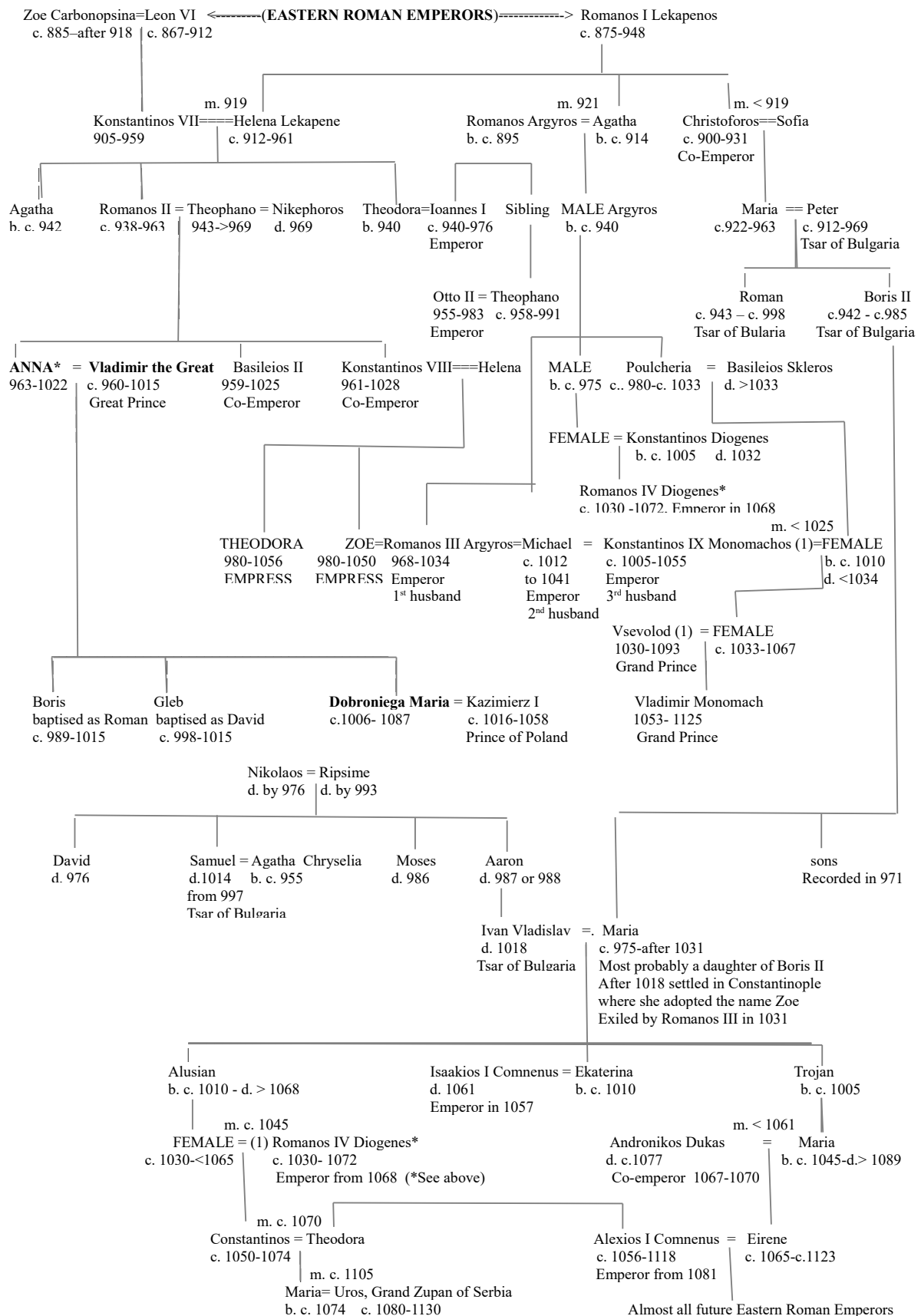


Table 4

The immediate descendants of Yaroslav the Wise and Ingegerd of Sweden

IAROSLAV Vladimirovich, married to INGEGERD of Sweden in 1018 or before, had 10 children.

1. Agatha, born circa 1019, died after 1070. Married to Edward the Exile (circa 1016-1057).

A. Margaret, born circa 1048. Married Malcolm III in 1070 as his second wife, King of Scotland from 1058 (born 1031-killed in battle in 1093). She was canonised in 1250.

a.. EDWARD (d. in 1093).

b. EDMUND (d. after 1097). Deposed in 1097 by his brother Edgar, and became a monk.

c. EDGAR (c.1074-1107).

d. ALEXANDER (c. 1077/78-1124).

e. ETHELRED (d. before 1107).

f. EADGYTH (1079-1 May 1118). On marriage to Henry I (1068-1135) of England, she adopted the name MATILDA.

g. DAVID (c. 1080-1153). He became king of Scotland in 1024 and is the ancestor of all future Scottish kings.

h. MARY (c. 1082-31 May 1116 or 18 Apr 1118, bur Bermondsey Priory). Henry I King of England arranged her marriage in 1102 to EUSTACHE III Comte de Boulogne.

B. Cristina, born c. 1050

C. Edgar, born c. 1053

2. VLADIMIR (1020-1052).

a) ROSTISLAV (c.1045-1067).

3. ANASTASIA (c.1023-c.1074/1096). Married (c. 1039) ANDREW, the king of Hungary from 1046.

A) ADELHEID (c. 1040-1062). Married in 1057 VRATISLAV of Bohemia, who became King of Bohemia in 1085 or 1086.

B) SALAMON (1053-1087. King of Hungary.

C) DÁVID (d. after 1094 in Hungary).

4. IZIASLAV (1024-1078). Married (c. 1043) GERTRUDA of Poland.

A. MSTISLAV (d.1069).

B. IAROPOLK PIOTR (d. 1086).

C. SVIATOPOLK MIKHAIL (1050-1113).

D. EUDOXIA (d. 1089). Married (1088) MIESZKO Prince of Poland.

5. ELIZABETA (d. after 25 Sep 1066). Married (1044) HARALD who became king of Norway in 1047.

A. INGEGÄRD. Married firstly (c. 1070)] OLUF I "Hunger" King of Denmark. She married secondly PHILIP, King of Sweden.

B. MARIA (d. 1066).

6. SVIATOSLAV (b. 1027).

- A. VIZESLAVA. Married before 1069 BOLESŁAW II of Poland.
- B. GLEB (d. 1078).
- C. ROMAN (d. 1079).
- D. DAVID (d. 1123).
- E. OLEG MIKHAIL (c. 1058-1115).
- F. IAROSLAV (-1130).

7. VSEVOLOD (1030-1093). He married firstly (1046) the daughter of the Eastern Roman Emperor, Constantine Monomachus. He married secondly a Kuman princess, who adopted the name ANNA after her marriage.

Grand Prince Vsevolod I & his first wife had one child:

- A. VLADIMIR (1053-1125), known as Vladimir “Monomach”.

Grand Prince Vsevolod I & his second wife had five children:

- B. ROSTISLAV (1070-1093).
- C. IEVPRAXIA (c.1071-1109). Known as ADELHEID in Germany. Her second husband was the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV (1050-1109).
- D. IEKATERINA (d. 1108).
- E. A daughter who died in 1089, name unknown.
- F. IANKA [Anna] (-3 Nov 1112). The Abbess of Janczyn in Kiev.

8 VIACHESLAV (c. 1033/36-c. 1055/57).

- A) BORIS Viacheslavich ([1056]-killed in battle Niezhatnaia Niva 3 Oct 1078).

9. ANNA (1036-1075/78). Married firstly HENRI I King of France. Married secondly RAOUL Comte de Valois.

- A. PHILIP (1052-1108). He became king of France in 1060.
- B. EMMA (b. 1054).
- C. ROBERT (before Jun 1054-c. 1063).
- D. HUGH (1057-1102). Comte of Vermandois in right of his wife.

10. IGOR (1036-1060).

- A) DAVID (c.1055-1113).
- B) VSEVOLOD.

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