

Onoma **55**
Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences

ISSN: 0078-463X; e-ISSN: 1783-1644
Journal homepage: https://onomajournal.org/

Trends in naming individuals of different origin in medieval Prussia

Darius Ivoška*

Institute of Lithuanian language, Vilnius, Lithuania

To cite this article: Ivoška, Darius. 2020. Trends in naming individuals of different origin in medieval Prussia. *Onoma* 55, 133–147. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.55/2020/8

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.55/2020/8

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Article history
Received on 12 February 2020.
Final form accepted on 28 June 2021.
Published online on 28 July 2021.

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Abstract: The paper aims to present and discuss the trends in naming individuals of Baltic origin in the multicultural area inhabited by the population of Polish, German and Baltic origin in medieval Prussia reconstructed from the historic documents of the German Order. The research focuses on the impact of naming traditions of German and Polish anthroponymy on those in Baltic anthroponymy. The purpose of the research is to identify trends in Baltic personal names. The human interaction in the discussed area has determined the identity of related nations in many ways. The language was affected not only in terms of lexis and/or grammar, but most importantly – in terms of proper names. The research has revealed: 1. The appearance of binominality in Baltic anthroponymy in the first part of the 14th century as the impact of German and Slavic naming trends; 2. The increasing trend of naming individuals in Lithuanian and Prussian families with names of both Christian and German origins, instead of Lithuanian and Prussian names.

Keywords: Anthroponymy, historical personal name, binary naming.

* Institute of Lithuanian language, P. Vileišio Str. 5, LT-10308 Vilnius, Lithuania, darius.ivoska@lki.lt

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Tendances de la dénomination des personnes d'origine différente dans la Prusse médiévale

Résumé : Le but de cet article est de présenter et de discuter des tendances de dénomination des individus dans le territoire de la Prusse médiévale habité par Slaves, Germaniques et Baltes sur la base de documents historiques de l'Ordre allemand. La recherche se concentre sur l'impact des traditions de dénomination de l'anthroponymie allemande et polonaise sur celles de l'anthroponymie balte. Le sujet de recherche est centré sur les noms de personnes baltes. La coexistence humaine dans la zone étudiée a déterminé son identité de nombreuses manières. La langue a été touchée, non seulement en termes de lexique et/ou de grammaire, mais surtout – en termes des noms propres. L'étude a révélé : 1. l'apparition de la binominalité dans l'anthroponymie balte dans la première partie du XIVe siècle, tout comme l'impact des tendances de dénomination allemande et slave ; 2. la tendance croissante à nommer des individus dans les familles prussiennes et lituaniennes avec des noms d'origine chrétienne et allemande, plutôt que lituaniens et prussiens.

Mots-clés : Anthroponyme, nom personnel historique, binominalité.

Benennungstendenzen von Personen unterschiedlicher Herkunft im mittelalterlichen Preußen

Zusammenfassung: Der vorliegende Beitrag verfolgt das Ziel, die Entwicklungslinien in der Benennung von Personen baltischer Herkunft in dem von Polen, Deutschen und Prußen bewohnten Areal des mittelalterlichen Ordenslandes nachzuzeichnen. Das empirische Material ist den historischen handschriftlichen Dokumenten des Deutschen Ordens entnommen. Die Untersuchung befasst sich mit der Erforschung des Einflusses der Benennungstrends unter Deutschen und Polen auf die Namengebung der mittelalterlichen Prußen und Litauer. Der Gegenstand der Untersuchung sind die baltischen Personennamen. Das Zusammenleben von Menschen unterschiedlicher Herkunft im untersuchten Areal hat deren Identität auf vielfältige Weise beeinflusst, so auch im Hinblick auf die Sprachen. Dabei handelt es sich nicht nur um die Beeinträchtigung der Lexik und/oder Grammatik, sondern auch um deren Eigennamen. Die Untersuchung zeigt (1), dass aufgrund der Auswirkung der deutschen und polnischen Tradition in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jhs. die Zweinamigkeit bei Prußen und Litauern ihren Anfang nimmt, und (2), dass bei der Benennung von Nachkommen in prußischen und litauischen Familien Personennamen christlicher oder deutscher Herkunft die eigensprachlichen preußischen bzw. litauischen verdrängen.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Anthroponymie, historischer Personenname, Zweinamigkeit.

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Onoma 55 (2020), 133–147. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.55/2020/8

Trends in naming individuals of different origin in medieval Prussia

DARIUS IVOŠKA

1. Research object and source of empirical material

The main source for the current study of historical Baltic personal names is the German Order Folio No. 105 (hereinafter, GOF 105)[1]. At the beginning of the 20th century, in his book *Die altpreußischen Personennamen*, Reihold Traumann (125: 3) recognized GOF 105 as one of the most important sources for onomastics research. For the sake of clarity and reasoning in choosing the source of the empirical material, GOF 105 needs a detailed presentation in terms of its structure and purpose.

GOF 105 comprises a collection of the German Order (hereinafter, GO) documents compiled under the rule of the first Duke of Prussia.[2] Up to date, there are no clear reasons for including some of the documents in the folio (Trautmann 1925: 3; Grieser 1930: 417, 419; Conrad 1963: 20; Armgart 1995: 34–35).

The first part of GOF 105 contains documents of the Diocese of Sambia (fol. 1–46) from the early 15th century. These are transcripts of the Königsberg, Tapiow, Gerdauen, Wohnsdorf, Nadrauen and Wehlau[3] Marshals' Chancellery documents (Conrad 1963: 19, 25). Klaus Conrad noted that the transcripts are not completely reliable: the wording of the transcripts of the documents differs from the originals, with a number of misspelled names and dates, and some of the Gerdauen County[4] privilege texts are severely shortened, with no dates at all. Conrad (1963: 19–20, 25) believed that GOF 105 is a copy of the non-existent set of documents prepared by the Marshal's Office for its own use and which had to be submitted to the Office of the Grand Master.

The first part of GOF 105, also called the *Marshall Chapter*

[1] GOF 105 is available in the Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz) in Berlin, Germany. This collection of documents is described in separate parts by Rudolf Grieser (1930: 417–456) and Klaus Conrad (1963: 19–26).

[2] The secular Duchy of Prussia was formed in 1525, when the Duke of Prussia, Albrecht (years of reign 1525–1568) separated from the German Order, entered into a peace treaty with Poland and proclaimed the Reformation as an official religion. The duchy existed until 1701 (Helbig 1964: 18).

[3] Counties in East Prussia.

[4] A county in East Prussia.

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(*Marschallabteilung*), is a set of privileges (Germ. *Handfeste*)[5] presented by region rather than chronologically. The set was compiled in approximately 1400.[6] It contains the privileges that were not granted to the owners of newly created individual land parcels or villages, but rather registration documents for extant property. At that time there was a government campaign (Germ. *Verwaltungsaktion*) held in the GO State to discover the number of privileges granted in the Königsberg area, to assist land surveying (Germ. *Landvermessung*)[7] and to create books of granted privileges. This campaign best explains the enormous amount of privileges granted during the reign of the GO Marshal Werner von Tettingen (1391–1401).[8] In some cases, it is not about granting new privileges, but merely approving or extending them. There are cases where the privileges indicate that the original document has been lost or has not been issued (Armgart 1995: 21–22; Neitmann 1990: 396).

The second part of GOF 105 consists of 33 manuscript parchment sheets, which record 305 land ownership documents issued during the years 1337–1358 under the rule of different Grand Masters. The parchment sheets were larger in size, but when bound in GOF 105 had apparently been cut off, some sheets lost their titles. The quality of the parchment sheets differs: some of them are smooth, the quality of others poorer with a number of holes in them (Grieser 1930: 418–419). All sheets, except 222 (entries 1–3) and 226 and 227, are for records of the grant

5 In the Middle Ages, the privilege conferred by the GO on certain property was treated as a declaration, presented in the form of a manuscript. Contrary to the nowadays documents that are affirmed with the first and second name and/or signature, the Middle Ages documents were stamped. In order to complete the legal process of privilege, a symbolic act was also required: it could have been a service, a transfer or simply a touch of a legal document, in this case privilege. Hence the Latin term *manu firmatum* (Germ. *Handfeste*). The transaction took effect by hand tapping the document and pressing the hands of the counterparties (Neitmann 1990: 391). Grieser (1930: 418) calls the privileges granted by the GO a land award document of the Supreme Master ("Landverleihungsurkunden von Hochmeistern"), Kurt Forstreuter (1956: 51) – land ownership document ("sogenannte Handfesten, Urkunden über Grundbesitz"), Martin Armgart (1995: 17) – the documented rights and obligations to land ownership. The 14th century privileges accounted for most of the documents issued by the GO. Upon the loss of the document by the property owner, the Supreme Magistrate issued a new one upon request (Armgart 1995: 18–24).

6 This is illustrated by another set of Marshal privileges from the same period known today as the GO folio No. 107 (GOF 107) (Conrad 1963: 20).

7 In the 13th century, measurements were made by the educated GO brothers and servants, while by the beginning of the 14th century the GO had land surveyors (Germ. *Landmesser*). With the decreasing quantity of the existing vacant land, the GO wanted to find out what it had to do to streamline its use and management. This process is best observed in Sambia, where in 1396 land ownership types were even changed. Privileges were granted to all owners who had previously owned a certain area of land but had no documentary evidence thereof (Wenskus 1970: 372).

8 From September 1396 to November of the same year, in Sambia, densely populated by Prussians, over 70 privileges were granted, 57 of which were granted in three separate days (Armgart 1995: 21–22).

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of land ownership. Privileges were issued in the period 1337–1358 under the rule of GO Grand Masters Dietrich von Altenburg (years of reign 1335–1341), Ludolf König (von Wattzau) (year of reign 1345), Heinrich Tusemer (years of reign 1345–1351) and Winrich von Kniprode (years of reign 1351–1382). Privileges in this set are also registered without special arrangement, which is based more on geographical and administrative criteria, rather than chronology. The set is divided into the following sections: "Privilegia in terra Culmen", "in Districtu Mewensi", "Sambia", "Nathangia", "Elbingen", "Districtus Osterrodensis", "Districtus Soldoviensis" (Grieser 1930: 419). It is important to note that Grieser, with the reference to the facts, believes that this set, namely GOF 105 fol. 222 to 254, is probably the oldest surviving GO Supreme Master's Register (Grieser 1930: 419–420, 428; Armgart 1995: 38).

The very nature of keeping a register testifies to the fact that it was not kept by one or several persons, who made entries immediately after granting the privilege, but by many clerks[9] who were making entries once in a while without following any precise procedure. It is highly possible that the record blanks were prepared in advance and then simply supplemented with information about the specific privilege. This is evidenced by the repetition of some of the privilege entries and the blank spaces left between the entries (Grieser 1930: 430–431).

There is no doubt that this collection of the GO historical documents offers a valuable source for the study of Baltic personal names. Most of the GOF 105 documents are privileges granted to the Prussians, along with a dozen or so issued to Lithuanians, i.e. the privileges contain a great number of both Prussian and Lithuanian personal names. An important fact is that privileges include the 14th and the beginning of 15th century Baltic personal names, which significantly add to our knowledge of historical Baltic names and peculiarities of personal naming. This is especially important for the research of the Lithuanian historical onomasticon, because studies of such early facts of the Lithuanian onomasticon scarcely appear in the literature.

2. Multicultural Prussia

The area, which is covered by the documents of the GOF 105 is complex in respect to many fields of study. Based on the long, historically-caused coexistence of the three different ethnical groups – the Balts, Germans and Slavs – multifaceted historically cultural and multilingual relations have developed among the inhabitants of the area. Marian Biskup described the ethnic belonging of the inhabitants of the Medieval Prussia in his paper "Das Problem der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit im mittelalterlichen Landesbau in Preussen" [The issue of ethnic belonging during the formation of the state of

[9] The full list of GOF 105 GO clerks is presented in Grieser's "Das älteste Register der Hochmeisterkanzlei des Deutschen Ordens" (1930: 447–456).

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medieval Prussia] (1991), analysing the situation in Culm, Pomerelia and in the territories of Eastern Prussia between the low Vistula and low Neman.

At the time of the formation of the German Order, about 1230, Culm, despite numerous Prussian attacks and attempts to conquer it, withstood the Polish military until the end of the 13th century. The entire area between the Osa and Vistula, as far as the eastern Prussia, was also abundantly inhabited by Poles, but was gradually settled by German knights and farmers. Between 1233 and 1309, the GO founded nine new cities, including Old Torun and Kulm, which were heavily populated by German settlers from Silesia and later from the Middle Elbe region. Around 1300, about 30,000 Poles and only 5,000 Germans lived in Culm's land. After the takeover of the region by the GO, the Poles mostly worked in artisanal crafts, agriculture and served the GO. A completely different situation could be observed after 1233 in eastern Prussia, i.e. in ten Prussian tribal regions, located in the areas between the lower Vistula and the lower reaches of the Neman. The area was predominantly inhabited by Prussians and was dominated by their culture and the Prussian language, which was characterized by three dialects. The Prussians were mainly engaged in agriculture and trade. At the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century, there were about 6000–7000 noble Prussians in the aforementioned area, the rest of the population was about 170,000 people. The GO conquered the historically Prussian lands, killing a large proportion (20–50%) of the population. These lands, especially in Pomesania and Pogesania, were later occupied by incoming German farmers. In 1237, two new towns were established: Marienwerder and Elbing and the dioceses of Pomesania and Warmia. The towns were inhabited by the lower Germans from Westphalia, who were mainly traders. Around 1300, over 90,000 Prussians and 10,000 Germans lived in eastern Prussia. Around 1309, Prussia was inhabited by approximately 90,000 Prussians, 30,000 Poles and 15,000 Germans. By the 1400s, the population of the GO had grown to nearly half a million, with the Prussians at 140,000 (30%), most of whom lived in Eastern Prussia, the Poles, with a third living in the Pomeranian (Germ. *Pomerellen*), the rest lived in almost equal parts in the Culm land and East Prussia. The number of German city-dwellers reached 200,000 people. It should be noted that by 1410 the number of Lithuanians, who were not very numerous in Prussia, especially in the territories between the Pregolya and Neman rivers, started to increase rapidly after 1410 (Biskup 1991: 6–16).

2.1. The linguistic context in the region and the impact of language contacts on the Baltic Onomasticon

After the conquest of Prussia by Germans, which began in the first half of the 13th century and ended at the end (Voigt 1828: 2) of the same century, the region underwent major changes not only in geopolitical, religious and social terms, but also had to come to terms with the arrival of new languages. The GO governmental apparatus used German (and its variants (dialects) spoken by German settlers and

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Order officials). As German knights from Upper and Middle Germany (Germ. *Ober- und Mitteldeutschland*) and inhabitants from Lower Germany (Germ. *Niederdeutschland*) came to Prussia, as opposed to the situation in Livonia, they spoke both Middle Low German and Middle High German (Germ. *Mittelniederdeutsch* und *Mittelhochdeutsch*), thus, the GO documents were written in the Middle High German language, which in the 14th century displaced the prevailing Latin language (Forstreuter 1963: 375) from the GO Chancellery. The indigenous people of the historic Prussian lands had to come into contact with the German language in their daily lives. The assimilationist policy pursued by the GO led to the extinction of the Prussian language from everyday use over the centuries.[10] From the 13th century, with the arrival of the GO, until the establishment of the Duchy of Prussia in the 16th century, diverse ethnic relations formed between Germans, Poles, Lithuanians and even Russians who lived and or settled in this region of Prussia. The early historical sources testify that both Prussians and Lithuanians learned languages spoken in their localities. This may have been the case even for people living in the periphery of the region. Petrus de Dusburg wrote in his chronicle that on May 12, 1290, when a commander of the Ragainė,[11] Ernko, escorted a ship to Colayna Castle,[12] a Lithuanian man, who had learned Polish[13] and dressed as a woman, called for help. As they approached the Neman, they were all arrested (SRP I 152). Later, in 1303, Petrus de Dusburg described the Lithuanian regiments that attacked Lubawa.[14] They allegedly sent a Polish-speaking Lithuanian.[15] As a result of this exacerbation of the situation in the area and the announcement of the possibility of an attack, Lubawa was devastated (SPR I 169). Among those mentioned in the chronicle are Prussian translators Tolken (Forstreuter 1963: 373), who were the main persons who helped GO clerical staff to communicate with Prussians when drafting property documents and settling down other formalities in German. One also should not forget the relatively early mention of educated Prussians, such as Prussian Saul, son of Milutin (Grieser 1930), who served as notary in 1341–1347 and who was responsible for keeping the famous GO Grand Master's Register.

The multifaceted ethno-cultural situation in the linguistic region determined the interplay between the dominant Prussian, Polish, German and,

[10] Forstreuter (1963: 375) believed that the Prussian language became extinct in the 17th century. Oskar Schlicht (1922: 90) and Grasilda Blažienė (2000: 8) believe that the Prussian language has ceased to exist since the 18th century.

[11] A town in East Prussia.

[12] Historians and archaeologists consider Jurbarkas hill to be Colaynen *Castle* referred to as *Bišpilis*, *Viešpilis*.

[13] "[…] tandem onium in hoc resedit consilium, et unus ex eis, qui linguam, sciret polonicam, indutus vestibus mulieribus, staret ad litus Memele, dum transirent et rogaret […]" (SRP I 152).

[14] A town in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship, Poland, former West Prussia.

[15] "Eodem anno quinquaginta viri de Lethowia latruneuli intraverunt terram Lubowie, qui premiserunt virum unum, scientem linguam Polonicam, ut statum terre diligecius exploraret […]" (SRP I 169).

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to a lesser extent, Lithuanian languages, whose implications for the Prussian onomasticon were discussed by German onomasticians of the 19th century. Georg Gerullis (1922: 1–6) and Reinhold Trautmann (1925: 122–130) not only provided registers of Old Prussian place and personal names, respectively, but also reviewed the features and problems of their inscription in GO documents. The most important of these is the adaptation of Prussian onyms written in foreign languages (Latin, Middle High German) to the phonetic and graphic systems of the GO Chancellery. Germanized forms of Prussian proper names date back to the first half of the 14th century (Trautmann 1925: 1–4). The influence of the German language on the Lithuanian onomasticon was discussed in detail by Walter Fenzlau in his work *Die deutschen Formen der litauischen Orts- und Personennamen des Memelgebietes* (1936).

The important fact in this case is not only that the different languages spoken in the area had a huge impact on each other, but also on the traditions of naming people. Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of the invasion of Christian and German names into the Baltic onomasticon, which later was adapted to the principles of Lithuanian and Prussian language usage.[16]

3. Prussian and Lithuanian naming patterns before the formation of surnames

Historical documents[17] and studies of Prussian and Lithuanian onomasticians[18] show that before Christianity,[19] and long after its introduction, Prussians and Lithuanians had one name. As far as Prussian personal names are concerned, this is reflected in all sets of Prussian personal names, mentioned in footnote 17. Trautmann (1925: 130–204) discusses the structure

[16] In colonized territories, not only the influence of the dominant language of the conquerors on the language of the conquered nation is observed. One may also notice inverse phenomena: the German language itself is one such example. Also see Friedhelm Debus (2012: 113).

[17] The main sources of Prussian personal names are the manuscripts of the German Order, most often property rights and other documents. Whereas, the earliest inscriptions of Lithuanian personal names can be found in various documents, inventory sets, manuscripts of manor houses, elderships, parishes, ecclesiastical records of baptism, etc.

[18] Among the most important researchers of Prussian personal names are Adalbert Bezzenberger (1873), William Pierson (1873), and Ernst Lewy (1904). The most comprehensive collection of Prussian personal names of this kind is Reinhold Trautmann's *Die altpreußischen Personennamen* (1925). The most important works of Lithuanian historical anthroponymy are considered Pranas Skardžius' *Die Bindevokale in den litauischen zweistämmigen Personennamen* (1956), Zigmas Zinkevičius' *Lietuvių antroponimika* [Lithunian anthroponymy] (1956), Kazimieras Būga's "Apie lietuvių asmens vardus [About Lithuanian personal names] (1958), Antanas Salys' *Apie mūsų vardus ir pavardes* [About our names and surnames] (1983), Vitalija Maciejauskienė's *Lietuvių pavardžių susidarymas* [Formation of Lithuanian surnames] (1991) etc.

[19] The end of Prussian baptism marks the conquest of the last Prussian historical lands at the end of the 13th century, namely 1277. Lithuanian baptism took place in two stages: Lithuania Proper in 1387 and Samogitia in 1413.

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of Prussian personal names, from which we see that the Prussians, like many Indo-Germanic nations, named individuals with single-stemmed and double-stemmed names. The same applies to Lithuanian personal names. Lithuanians of all social groups up to the 16th century, until single personal names can be found, were given either one (single or double-stemmed) national name or a Christian name. The tradition to one Christian name to Lithuanians dates back to only 15th century. Since the 16th century, Lithuanian anthroponymy has a binary naming pattern, i.e. the first name followed by the appellative, describing a person. Descriptive appellatives usually referred to the person's position (e.g., *Dawgert palatino Vilnensi*), place of origin (e.g. *Iwan von Golscha*) or father's name (e.g., *Waydutte, filius ducis Hinrici*). The designation of a person as an environmental descriptive word is most common in the designation of inferior persons and is found in manor inventory records. Cases of binary designation of this kind can be found in Lithuanian names as early as in the 17th century. Since the second half of the 16th century, such appellative descriptive words have been recorded as personal names: *Adoms Czabotoros*, *Czeputis Kalwis*, *Pietryk Podzius* (Maciejauskienė 1991: 20–39).

A similar gradual transition to binary personal names can be observed in Prussian onomasticon as descriptive appellatives started to be used as the second component of a name: *Claus dicto Cropeyns* (GOF 105 245^{v}), *Claus et Jacobus fratres dicti Szamen* (Trautamnn 1925: 86), *Gerkoni dictus groze* (GOF 105 245^{r}). In GOF 105, there are cases of Prussian binary designation in which the second component is descriptive and usually serves a reference to the place of origin. Only in a small number of naming pattern cases there is an appellative that has already become a personal name – 1367 *Ghirke Junge* (GOF 105 174^{r}), 1362 *Arnyke Koch* (GOF 105 174^{v}). The ways in which they are written vary and, as a result, the specific period from which the descriptive appellatives evolved into a personal name cannot be determined. In the 14th and early 15th centuries, most Prussian binary personal names already have a second component, a place name, as a byname: 1396 *Hannike von Detemuthen* (GOF 105 131^{r}), 1398 *Pawel Pippin* (GOF 105 80^{v}). The beginning of the 15th century, when the second components of the binary personal name became hereditary can be considered the origins of Lithuanian surnames. Prussian surnames were also formed in the 15th and 16th centuries.

It is an important fact that the binary naming tradition in the German speaking area started around 1000, but cases of naming persons with only one name are found in historical documents until 1150/70 has to be mentioned here (Kunze 2003: 58–62). In the late Middle Ages binominality was totally established in German onomasticon. The research of the GOF 105 documents has revealed though that Polish anthroponymy of late 14th early 15th century had better developed binary naming tradition than Prussian, but was still happening. Most of Polish binary naming cases were based on the combination of the first name and the place name, referring most probably to the place of origin: *Woycech*

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de Canyn, *Sulyzlaum de Pogersichowe*, *Bansimirum de Kozcelow* etc. (GOF 105 232[v]). There were still many cases of naming persons of Polish origin with a single name even at the beginning of the 15th century.

3.1. Prussian personal names in historical documents of the German Order

This section presents Prussian personal names and new data related to Prussian naming trends in the Middle Ages, collected from the GO manuscript documents in GOF 105. The most notable change in the Prussian onomasticon at the beginning of the 14th century was the emergence of binary names. As mentioned above, the Prussians used to be called by one name, in this case the first name, but in German the name and byname[20] (Germ. *Beiname*), this tradition also began to take root in Prussian:

> *Gerken Polken, Claus Audithin, Jacob Smalke, Pawel Pippin, Pauwel Kyrpeyn, Hanniken Brunsieyt, Heynrich Spirov and Petir Spyrav, Massinte Krek und Masune Krek, Mathis Seme, Heynrich Abstyk, Hensil Trawpin, Michil Awsepeden, Hannike von Detemuthen, Michil Stupynne, Michil Bawse, Jacop Goytit, Hanniko Nagenyn, Ghirke Junge, Clauko Waltirs, Arnyke Koch, Johannes Lyppyn, claus d[ic]to Cropeyns, Cristan Nassudin, Globunne Tynekynne.*

The following cases of binary naming in the Prussian onomasticon show that the naming principles varied:

1. The first name and the byname, or both, were of Prussian origin, or at least hypothetically Baltic: *Gerken Polken*, *Massinte Krek* and *Masune Krek*, *Globunne Tynekynne*;
2. The first name was the baptismal name (Germ. *Taufname*[21]), while the byname matched a place name. This is reflected in these Prussian names: *Claus dicto Cropeyns*[22] and *Hannike von Detemuthen*[23]. In other cases, there is no descriptive word between the first name and the byname: *Claus Audithin*, *Jacob Smalke*, *Pawel Pippin*, *Pauwel Kyrpeyn*, *Hanniken Brunsieyt*, *Heynrich Spirov* and *Petir Spyrav*, *Mathis Seme*, *Heynrich Abstyk*, *Hensil Trawpin*, *Michil Awsepeden*, *Michil Stupynne*, *Michil*

[20] First name and byname are considered equivalents of contemporary first name and family name traditions in the West. Of course, with regard to the Prussian personal names recorded in historical documents from 1338 to 1401, it is not yet possible to speak of family names, because at that time these were not inherited by the descendants. They only spurred the subsequent formation of family names (Kohlheim 2013: 59–63).

[21] The Christian names of the saints of Greek-Latin origin (Kohlheim 2013: 59–63) are to be considered as baptismal names and were adapted by Prussians under the German naming tradition, after the colonization of Prussia.

[22] A Prussian place name *Cropiens* (Blažienė 2000: 72).

[23] A Prussian place name *Dettmitten* (Blažienė 2005: 48).

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Bawse, *Jacop Goytit*, *Hanniko Nagenyn*, *Johannes Lyppyn*, *Cristan Nassudin*.

3. In three cases – *Ghirke Junge*, *Clauko Waltirs*, *Arnyke Koch* – we may observe a Prussian first name and a German byname.

A completely exceptional case is *Hannus Platelavke*, when the privileged German is given a Prussian noun byname. All of the remaining Prussian personal names found in GOF 105, that have not been analysed semantically or in terms of origin before, are suffix derivatives. Some of them may be considered nicknames:[24] *Hanniken Nagenyn*, *Meynke* etc.

It is also important to mention the Prussian personal names *Nadrawen Jomissche*, *Natangen von Skaldin* and *Posype Natango*, which embody ethnonyms. There is one Prussian – *Arnyke Koch* – whose byname is a case of German designation of profession.

The proliferation of personal names of Christian and German origin in Prussian families at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries is also very important to social history. The transition to the increasing use of names of non-Prussian origin was gradual but relatively rapid. In the early 14th century, some Prussian families had one or two children with non-Prussian names: 1339 *Item dedim*^{o} *tribus fratribus Tamprubud, Sodeko, Wisseged quatour vncos in campo Maudithen* […] (GOF 105 242^{r}), 1339 *Item dedim*^{o} *Gedilien, Mire, Henczeman et patruo eorum Naleyks quatour mansos in campo Prathewo* […] (GOF 105 242^{r}), 1354 *Item wir vorlien Nubraus Lyckin fratri suo Preystalks Glandyn fratri suo Styntil Mathe und Namir x huben vf dem veld Katelauks* […] (GOF 105 246^{v}). The situation changed dramatically by the end of the century, when in some families almost all or all children were already given Christian names: 1399 […] *vorlyen vnd geben vnsirn getruwen Nyclus, Michiln vnd Matt Gaudynne Kindern vunff hocken gelegen in dem velde Kukeyn*[25] […] (GOF 105 156^{v}).

These cases testify to the influence of Christianity in naming individuals in the conquered Prussia. The tradition of bestowing two names to individuals has been apparently encouraged also by other factors, which are observed in the history of Estonia and Latvia, such as the adaptation to the new regime or perhaps even prestige (Selart 2016: 179–182).

3.2. Lithuanian personal names in historical documents of the German Order

This section presents Lithuanian personal names and new data related to Lithuanian naming tendencies in the Middle Ages, collected from the GO

[24] These personal names are only considered nicknames with regards to the historical Prussian onomasticon. There is insufficient evidence to suggest that in the late 14th or early 15th century these names were intentionally used to mock any physical or mental attribute of the named person.

[25] *Kukehnen*, in the county of Heiligenbeil (Blažienė 2005: 97).

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manuscript collection GOF 105. It should be mentioned that the historical Lithuanian onomasticon has been studied to a great extent by analysing the historical documents of Lithuania Proper. The personal names of Lithuanians who lived in Prussia and Lithuania Minor in the Middle Ages are neither collected nor studied. The catalogue of Lithuanian historical personal names, kept at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language in Vilnius, presents historical Lithuanian personal names, the earliest of which date back to the 16th century and are essentially collected from the church books of Lithuania Proper. Thus, the data on Lithuanian historical personal names collected from the German Order's significantly earlier historical documents is very significant. Not only the personal names themselves, but their date, localization, naming principles, and other related data are important.

In any discussion of Lithuanian personal names in the historical GO documents, it is important to mention that there are not many of them, because the number of Lithuanians in the medieval Prussia was relatively small. They began to proliferate after the 1400s (see Section 2. "Multicultural Prussia" for more details), but from that period, as seen in GOF 105, there were only a few privileges granted to Lithuanians, so the number of Lithuanian personal names found was very small compared to Prussian names.

Another important fact to be paid attention to when investigating Lithuanian personal names is the problem of their identification in the GO historical documents. Since the Prussian and Lithuanian languages belong to the Baltic languages, both their appellative lexis and personal names have been very similar, specifically the exact origin of personal names is often difficult to distinguish. There were also common names of Prussians and Lithuanians, such as 1339 […] *domino Lithwinos nostro subiugabimus dominio, predicto Rusteyko* (GOF 105 238^{v}) and 1407 *Rusteyke* (Trautmann 1925: 84); 1340 […] *sex uncos in cameratu waldow in campo quem olym lithwinus noadab* [...] *possedit* […] (GOF 105 239^{v}) and *Nadab*, *Nodab* (Trautmann 1925: 63) etc. The research was based on both the explicit or implicit identification of Lithuanian nationality or, in unclear cases, the identification of the same person in other historical documents, in which their nationality is explicitly mentioned. Like Prussians, Lithuanians also had nicknames:[26] *Ructa* (Lith. *rùkti* 'to get wrinkled, to shrink'), *Kirkle* (Lith. *kirklỹs* 'a screamer, a screaming man'), *Swirplis* (Lith. *svirplỹs* 'an insect Lat. *Acheta domesticus*' or 'a poor singer or musician; a weak man'), *Werxna* (Lith. *verksnỹs* 'a whining man'), *Luxis* (Lith. *lùkšas*, *-à* 'a man with protruding ears'), *Triczczan* (Lith. *tričas* 'an impulsive man, a hot-blooded person'), *Util* (Lith. *utẽ* 'a louse' Lat. *Pediculus humanus capitis*; Lith. *utẽlius* 'a person with lice').[27]

[26] Regarding the definition of nickname see footnote 24.

[27] For more information on *Ructa*, *Kirkle*, *Swirplis*, *Werxna* and *Luxis* see *Lietuvių pavardžių duomenų bazė* [Data base of Lithuanian surnames]; for more information on *Triczczan* and *Util* see Fraenkel (1962–1965: 1121–1122, 1173).

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As already mentioned, the binary name of the person appeared in the Prussian and Lithuanian names at the same time. The following Lithuanian personal names with a first name and byname recorded in the GOF 105 from the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century were found: *Johans Swirplis*, *Hermann Karis*, *Dietrich Scomantyn*. The mentioned Lithuanian bynames most probably had been single names before baptism and became bynames when these persons were given Christian first names during baptism. Similarly to Prussian names, Lithuanians' bynames are by no means considered family names in this historical period. The first Lithuanian surnames were formed only in the 15th–16th centuries and can be found only in historical documents related to noble Lithuanians (Maciejauskienė 1991: 14–33, 53; Ragauskaitė 2005: 115).

4. Conclusions

The naming of Prussians and Lithuanians prior to the GO conquest of the Prussian historical lands was based on a one-member ethnic principle – individuals were given a single name of Baltic origin. It is probable that the situation began to change in the 14th century not only due to the new geopolitical system and the strengthening of Christianity in Prussia.

It is obvious that the advent of the GO and the introduction of Christianity are essential factors that have profoundly changed not only the political and social situation in the region, but also impacted the cultural habitus. These changes led to crucial cultural transformation that had a profound impact on the use, status, and ultimately survival of the Prussian language. Even more pronounced influence was expressed in the names of Prussians and Lithuanians of Baltic descent. The analysis of historical documents suggests that changes in the naming of the Baltic peoples may have been driven by three main factors i.e. political, cultural, religious and social elements that significantly affected Baltic personal names in the historical GO documents. The effects of those factors were complementary: on the one hand, the flow of GO authorities and colonizers brought with them their language, their writing, and the phenomena existing in their language, including the binary naming patterns of individuals; on the other hand, this change in the naming of Prussians and Lithuanians in the historical Prussian lands might also have been spurred by religion. Of course, the Prussians and Lithuanians were still given one name during their baptism, but these were names almost exclusively of Christian origin, not Baltic. In the case of the binary name pattern, which took effect in the 14th–15th centuries, one of the names has almost always been Christian. Also, one cannot dismiss the potentially significant growth of the Prussian population as one of the factors contributing to the emergence of binary naming. With the increase in the population in villages and towns and the registration of data about individuals, their property, rights and other social relations in the GO documents, one name was probably not enough to identify every single person.

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