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The Baptism of the Bones of the Princes Oleg and Yaropolk: (on the Interpretation of the Chronicle Entry of 1044)

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

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The Russians and Scandinavians understood baptism as an event appealing not only to the future but partially to the past as well, to the pre-Christian history of their peoples. After the Conversion, the new-born continued to be given names that connected them with all the preceding history of the family. In some cases people tried to connect their relatives, who died as pagans, with the Christian tradition, making the new religion an age-old attribute of their own ancestors.

In 1044 Yaroslav the Wise exhumed the remains of two princes, Oleg (had died in 977) and Yaropolk (had died in 980). According to the chronicle, the remains were carried to the Desyatinnaya church and reburied there. By that time several members of the princely family who had died Christians had been buried in that church: the princess Olga (baptized as Elena), prince Vladimir (baptized as Vasilij), and his Greek wife Anna.

Yaropolk and Oleg were Yaroslav’s uncles. Thus, Yaroslav reburied the remains of his close relatives in the male line who had died before the official conversion of Rus'. After exhumation, as we know from the chronicle, the bones of the princes “were baptized”. Although, the verb “baptize” is not quite trans-

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1 Выгребоша 2 князя, Ярополка и Ольга, сына Святославля, и крестилия кости ею, и положиша я въ церкви святая Богородица. [Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles] Полное собрание русских летописей. СПб./Лп./Л.; М., 1841—2004. Т. 1—43. Sankt Petersburg—Moscow—Leningrad. Т. 1, р. 155; Т. 2, р. 143; Т. 3, р. 16. (further cit. CCRC).
parent in this context, we can assume that Oleg and Yaropolk died unchristened and were buried according to the pagan rite.\(^2\)

One of the difficulties in the analysis of the chronicle data is the absence of some evident pattern that Yaroslav could have followed when he reburied and christened the remains. The isolation of Yaroslav’s action in the context of the epoch is generally explained by the fact that church canons prohibited administering baptism to the dead. One such canon, the twenty-sixth of the Synod of Carthage, was well known in the Slavic world, and in any case it is generally accepted that such ritual practice completely disappeared long before the Baptism of Rus': no cases are on record from either Eastern or Western Christianity since the beginning of the VI century.

The clearly non-canonical character of Yaroslav’s action of baptizing bones raises a number of questions that have yet to be addressed by scholars.\(^5\) It seems necessary to me to determine the limits of the rite itself. What exactly did Yaroslav do with the remains of his relatives? Baptism, generally speaking, would imply on the Russian ground giving Christian, baptismal names to the princely remains. However, first of all, it is necessary to elucidate what was the reason for Yaroslav’s non-canonical actions and what could serve as the direct precedent for them. Below I will draw some parallels that will allow us to consider Yaroslav’s actions in a new context that has not until now been discussed.

Yaroslav’s action undoubtedly shows the family character of the princely power in Rus’. Indeed, the baptism of the remains of Yaropolk and Oleg and their burial in the Desyatinnaya church are directly connected with the cult of the family, i.e., of the clan. This cult was extremely important for the princely families of the studied period (cf. the reburial of the princess Olga by the prince


\(^4\) See: J.N. Shchapov: О составе..., pp. 208—212; Idem: Устав князя..., p. 73.

Vladimir in the same Desyatinnaya church). The baptism of the bones strengthened Yaroslav's authority since as a result he had not only Christian parents and a Christian great-grandmother but also two "Christian" members of the princely family.

The theme of family or clan prestige is key to another event, one which presents the closest parallel for Yaroslav's actions. About 80 years before Yaroslav, a similar procedure was performed by Harald the Bluetooth (died around 985—987) "that Harald who ruled all Denmark and Norway and made the Danes Christians" as was said of him in the famous runic inscription. Soon after his conversion (about 960) the king Harald built a church in Jellinge, the place where his father, founder of the dynasty Gorm the Old, had been buried with his wife. Harald's parents, apparently, died pagan, or at least they were buried according to the pagan rite: to the North of the church there is a burial mound where originally the king Gorm lay.

Having erected the church, Harald the Bluetooth, judging from the results of archeological excavations, carried the remains of his parents to bury them under the floor of the church in a specially made chamber. It is significant that Harald,
like Yaroslav, reburied the last members of his dynasty who had died pagan not long before the introduction of Christianity in the country. As the possibility of the deliberate burial of a pagan inside the church is excluded, it is natural to assume that Harald administered some ritual procedure with the remains of his parents, corresponding to the function that Yaroslav administered with the bones of his uncles.

What exactly was the procedure of the reburial — we do not know. However, the hypothesis of its existence during the first decades after the conversion would allow us to explain the cases of the pagan burials within churches in the Middle Ages. For example, a church in Herning (Northern Jutland) was built in the place of the burial mound made in the tenth century, only two or three generations earlier. During the building of the church the burial mound was razed to the ground but the burial chamber was left untouched. Thus, the originally heathen grave of a noble woman ended up under the floor of the church itself.

Churches in Scandinavia were not infrequently built near or above heathen burial places. The bones of an inveterate pagan could, therefore, be found in sanctified ground, a situation which, strictly speaking, contradicted canonical prohibitions. These prohibitions were widely known, and this situation with the pagan graves could be regarded as unseemly. This incongruity is reflected in a saga recorded in the thirteenth century, which tells about the bones of a pagan witch that were found under the floor of one of the first churches in Iceland. The witch comes in the dream to the hostess of the church and demands that she be allowed to rebury the remains: being under the church and having to hear the prayers is considered evil by the pagan character. It is significant that the author of the saga is not indifferent to the problem of the burial of a pagan under a church. Also compare the cases of transference of the remembrance runic stones to the churchyard and their use as building material for a church. One should, however, bear in mind, that a runic stone did not serve as a gravestone and was not connected with the burial place of the person it was dedicated to.

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9 Nevertheless, in the memory of the following generations Harald, not Gorm, appeared to be “the first Danish king buried in the sanctified ground” (Sögur Danakonunga. Sögubrot af fornikningum. Knýtingasaga. Udg. C. Petersen, E. Olsen. København 1919—1925, p. 32). Moreover, in the relatively late Danish chronicles it was mentioned that during Gorm’s reign Christians were persecuted, see: Gammeldanske Kronikere..., pp. 39, 158; Middelalderlig historisk litteratur paa modernmalet: indlending og supplement til M. Lorenzens Gammeldanske Kronikere. Udg. E. Jørgensen. København 1930, p. 36.


Thus, the wish to accustom the pagan ancestors to Christianity was rather strong in Scandinavia; however, to do it in practice, some additional reasons, apparently, were required besides the wish of thegrandsons.

Also of interest are those pagan interments, which, on the contrary, have distinct marks of destruction. Among them, in addition to the burial mound of Gorm the Old in Jellinge, there is a burial ship in Ladby. From this rich interment no jewelry but only remains were found. From this circumstance scholars have advanced a hypothesis about the destruction of the grave by the relatives of the deceased, for the purpose of the second burial of the remains near the church, in accord with the Christian rite.

The Scandinavian archeological data testifying to the practice of reburial of relatives who had died as pagans are confirmed, to some extent, by written sources. For example, there is a story about the reburial of the remains of Snorri Goði, a powerful and noble Icelander, a personage of many family sagas. Snorri died Christian in 1031 and was buried in the yard of the church that had been built according to his own arrangements. In the late twelfth—beginning of the thirteenth century, his bones were exhumed with witnesses present and brought to the church, where they were, apparently, placed under the church floor. Together with the remains of Snorri, the bones of his close relatives, who had died as pagans, Þórdís, Snorri's mother, and Fat Börk, his uncle, were dug out and reburied in the same church.

Generally speaking, such actions break at least two canons: the prohibitions against burying laymen inside the church or burying pagans in sanctified ground. The latter could be avoided only by breaking a third by baptizing the remains of the dead. The canon against interring a pagan within a church was undoubtedly well known in Scandinavia, for it is found in the Icelandic code of law Grágás and in Norwegian regional laws.

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17 The prohibition to bury in the church is one of the regularly broken and regularly discussed prohibitions. For the history of the question in detail, see: B. Köting: Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude. Köln 1965, pp. 7—41.
18 A kind of "twin plot" for the story of the witch under the church may be the story of the king Hakon (died at about 960), the first Norwegian Christian king, who was buried in the burial mound, according to the pagan rite (S. Sturluson: Heimskringla, c. 32, Vol 1. Udg. F. Jónsson. København 1893, pp. 218—219). It is interesting that according to one of the saga versions, the king's friends before his death suggested taking his dead body to England and burying it at the church, but the Christian king refused point-blank, explaining his unwillingness by the fact that he had lived as a pagan and wanted to be buried as a pagan (Fagrskinna. Udg. F. Jónsson. København 1902—1903, p. 47). In the literary tradition of the thirteenth through fourteenth centuries, there are a number of stories about the first Christians who died...
In the Eiriks saga Raúða a mass epidemic in Greenland is described. One of the personages, coming after his death to his wife, complained of the fact that people who died in the epidemic were buried in unsanctified ground, and asked that he be brought to the church. Having noted that the deceased after those complaints to his wife “died for the second time” the author of the saga introduces the following comment to this episode: “In Greenland, since Christianity had been brought there, a custom existed of burying people in unsanctified ground in the estate where they died. A pole was driven in the ground above the breast of the deceased, and later, when the priest arrived, the pole was taken out, holy water was poured into the hole remaining from the pole, and a funeral was conducted, though it happened much later.”19 Such practice, apparently, was applied in Norway and Iceland as well; at least, in Norwegian legislation we find rules that allow, in the case of the absence of the priest, burial of the deceased by this very procedure20.

before the conversion of their motherland. In their wills they expressed a desire to be buried apart from the pagans, in order to lie in sanctified ground, when Christianity reigned in the country. A Christian Örvar-Oddr, in the saga of the same name, stipulated that he be buried in a special sarcophagus, apart from pagans (Örvar-Odds saga. Hrsg. R.C. Boer. Leiden 1888, p. 197). In Landnámabók one can read about an Icelandic settler Asólfr, who being Christian, lived and died in the tenth century among the pagans. After the conversion of Iceland, Asólfr appeared to Halldór Illugason in his dream, showed the place of his own interment, and demanded that he rebury him and erect a church above his remains. His demand was fulfilled and his remains were placed above the altar (Landnámabók. Ed. J. Benediktsson. Íslenskr fornrit 1. Reykjavik 1968, p. 65, cf. also p. 63). In the same book there is a story about a Christian woman Auð who asked that she be buried on the seashore, in the sand, in the place covered by ocean tidal waters, as she didn’t want to lie in the unsanctified ground together with the pagans (Landnámabók..., pp. 146—147). It should be noted that in the places where water covers the sand or the ground, according to sagas and the laws, berserks, criminals, and, later, unchristened children, were buried (Ó. Lárusson: Ping Pórólfs Mostrarskeggs. Skirmir 1935, pp. 192—194; P.E. Wallén: Die Klage gegen den Toten im nordgermanischen Recht. Lund 1958, pp. 261—263). It is also interesting, that according to another source, this woman, on the contrary, was buried in the burial mound, by the pagan rite (in a ship with a lot of property) (Laxdæla saga..., c. 7, p. 15). For details of Auð’s interment, see: S. Karlsson: Greftrun Auðar Dýjúðogu. In: Menning og Meinsemdir: Ritgerðasafni um mótnarsögu íslenskra þjóðar og baráttu hennar við hungur og söttir. Reykjavik 1975, p. 153. Apparently, all these stories show later reflection concerning the prohibition to bury pagans together with Christians, to bury non-christened people in sanctified ground. It cannot, however, be excluded that here the practice of reburying the remains is interpreted which existed at the early stage of Christianity in Scandinavia.


Doesn't this mean that some ceremony was performed with the bones, which allowed considering them the remains of a Christian? Judging by the data of the written sources, the first half of the eleventh century in Scandinavia is a time of confusion of Christian and pagan principles in the funeral rite. In the absence of an established ceremony much was determined by the individual choice. For example, the prohibition of putting the property of the deceased into the grave was known but at the beginning was not completely obeyed. The first Christian king of Norway, Hakon the Good was buried in the burial mound, fully armed and in his best clothes but, according to Snorri, with no other property of his. In the saga tradition, burying in the burial mound was always associated with paganism. We read in the works of Snorri Sturluson about “the age of burning” and “the age of burial mounds” preceding the epoch of Christianity. One of the sons of Ketill Flatnose, a famous first-settler in Iceland, is said that he (Björn Ketillsson) was buried according to the ancient rite in the burial mound, as he was the only of Ketill’s sons who had refused to be baptized (var óskirðr). In the Norwegian legislation it is noted that if a man buries a dead body in the burial mound or under a pile of stones, he must dig it out, pay a fine to the bishop, take the body to the church, and bury it in sanctified ground.

Apparently, similar confusion of pagan and Christian elements in the funeral rite could be observed in Rus’ as well. In this respect, rather significant is the description of the funeral of prince Vladimir the Saint in the chronicle under 1015: «Оумре же на Берестовемь-и поташиа и-бе бо Святополкъ Киеве ночью же межо [двема] клетми промнавше помость обертевше в коверъ и оужи съвесиша на землю возвложше и на сани везъше поставиша вь святей Богородициюже бе създать самь» A similar custom existed or, at least, was remembered in princely families in the twelfth century. We may recollect as an example the dream of the prince Svyatoslaw in Слово о полку Игореве (The Song of Igor’s Campaign) where he saw his castle without finials on the roof and understood it as the omen of approaching his death hour.

The carrying out of the deceased through a breach in the wall is a measure taken in part so that he would not return to the world of the alive. The necessity of these measures is universal in various pre-Christian cultures. A remnant of them remains in the funeral ceremony after conversion. It is, however, significant that in Rus’ in the eleventh through twelfth centuries the custom of carrying out the deceased through a break in the wall or the roof was used for the members of the ruling prince family. Later, it does not seem possible to be done

22 See: Heimskringla..., e. 5, Vol. 1.
25 See: CCRC, T. 1, p. 130; T. 2, p. 115; T. 3, p. 169.

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in the case of some noble Christians. Judging by the data we have, only magi-
cians and other “evil ones” could be buried in this way.

It cannot be excluded that the custom of carrying the deceased through the
wall in Rus’ was borrowed from the Scandinavians and its common occurrence
among the Rurikids is explained by their Varangian origin. It should be noted
that in Scandinavia, as well as in Rus’, in the time of Christianity only evil ones
or dubious people were buried this way. In particular, according to the Eyrbfygg-
gja saga an Icelander Þórólfr the Crooked Leg was buried this way, and he
appeared to people in different aspects many times after his death26. A similar
funeral of Skalla-Grimð, father of the skald Egill is described below.

It is most likely that in the pre-Christian epoch this rite was applied to all the
dead. In any case, the later revision of the once generally accepted pagan
rites, as the rites used by magicians or against magicians, is rather a universal
phenomenon27. It is significant that in the twelfth century in Rus’, the funeral
rite for a pagan was distinctly opposed to that for a Christian. And the choice of
the place of interment for a pagan completely corresponds to the known practice
of burying28.

A personage of an Icelandic family saga, Bui, was buried under the church
wall and nothing except the arms was put in his grave, because “a christened
man he had been and never had made a sacrifice”29. The remains of the Christian
Grettir Ásmundarson, who died an outlaw, were buried by parts: his head in one
church and his body in another one30. During the transfer of the latter church to
another place, his bones were dug out and exposed for identification, and rebu-
ried. It should be noted, that the pagan king Hálfdan the Black had been buried

26 See: Eyrbvggja saga... c. 33, pp. 123—124.
28 Cf.: «наоутря же нaleza Тугоркана мертва. И взя и Стополкъ аки стя [тестя] своего и врага и привезше Кииеву и погребоша і на Берестовомъ на могыле межи пу-
темъ грядущимъ на Берестовое а другыми идущими в монастырь» (CCRC, Т. 2, п. 222
sub anno 1096). It is peculiar that in the cited text from the chronicle the funeral of the pagan
Polovtsian is described not at all as abuse to the deceased but as paying the last honours to
a non-blood relative.

29 See: Kjalne singa saga, с. 18. Íslensk fornrit 14. Reykjavik 1959, p. 43. In the epoch of
saga writing not only the arms but also a rich garment (not to mention things of everyday life,
treasures, armour, and domestic animals) buried with the deceased were definitely associated
with the pagan burial tradition (for detail, see: Kr. Kálund: Familielivet på Island i den
forste sagaperiode (indtil 1030). Aarboger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie 1870, p. 369; O. Almgren: Vikingatidens grafskick i verkligheten och i den fornordiska litteraturen. In:
Nordiska studier tillegnade Adolf Noreen. Uppsala 1904, p. 342; M. Þórðarson: Um dauða...,
p. 103—111).
30 See: Gretis saga, с. 84. Hrsg. R. Boer. Allnordische Saga-Bibliothek 8. Halle 1900,
pp. 292—293.
in a similar way: his head was put into the burial mound in Hringariki and his body was divided into four parts and buried in different parts of Norway\textsuperscript{31}. However, his remains, naturally, had never been transferred to the church.

Some cases of the reburial of bones are mentioned as well in several written sources\textsuperscript{32}. Of these cases, the description of the burial of Egill Skalla-Grimsson seems particularly important. It is said in an Icelandic family saga that a famous skald Egill, who had died in about 990, was buried in the burial mound with his arms and garment. When in 1000 Christianity came to Iceland, Egill’s niece Þórsdis took his body to a new church where it was reburied under the altar\textsuperscript{33}.

Egill died before the conversion of Iceland and was not baptized. Nevertheless, for the greater part of his life he was not, strictly speaking, a pagan: in his youth being at court of the Anglo-Saxon king Æhelstan (895—933) Egill and his brother Þórólfr got \textit{prima signatio}, i.e., became catechumen\textsuperscript{34}. The procedure involved making the sign of the cross over an un-baptized person and reading prayers driving away the devil.

Perhaps this fact was taken into account in Egill’s reburial according to the Christian rite. It is also possible that other cases of reburial of ancestors who had died heathen in Scandinavia were connected with the \textit{prima signatio} procedure those ancestors underwent.

The details of the procedure varied from time to time and place to place, but it was consistently done outside of a church building\textsuperscript{35}. In some variants, sanctified salt was given to the catechumen, or he could pronounce the Symbol of Faith and renounce the devil. What exactly was done with the first Scandinavians who wished to get \textit{prima signatio} — we do not know. Perhaps, this depen-

\textsuperscript{31} See: \textit{Heimskringla...}, c. 9, Vol. 1, p. 97.

ded on where the procedure was performed. The Latin term *prima signatio* "the first sign of the cross" literally meant the initial part of this rite, when a catechumen was blessed by cross that corresponded to the first stage of the more complex order of *prima signatio* in the Eastern Church. Before the general conversion of the Peninsula, the Scandinavians sometimes underwent this procedure abroad, in England, for example (like Egill and his brother Þórólf), in Germany (like Gestr Þóðarson) and in Byzantium (like Óláf Tryggvason, and possibly, Haraldr the Hard ruler). An adult person could become Christian only by being baptized, after which they could stay in the church during the whole service and take part in the Eucharist.

The catechization or *prima signatio* gave a special status to a person: it gave the opportunity without being baptized to attend the service in church and enter into full association with Christians. Apparently, in the period of Christianization and at the time preceding it, three statuses of a man concerning baptism could be clearly distinguished. A person could be non-christened (compare, in this connection, the nickname *Ókrístni* 'non-christened', 'not Christian')\(^{37}\); a catechumen (got *prima signatio*); or christened. Those in the latter status had passed the whole ceremony of baptism with immersion (cf. in this connection, the nickname *Kristni* 'christened, Christian' held by the people who lived in the tenth—early eleventh centuries)\(^{38}\).

There is no doubt that the newly converted themselves strictly distinguished the two last statuses. For example, a character of *Óláfs saga helga*, Toki Tokason in response to a question of king Óláf Haraldsson (Óláf the Saint) as to whether he is christened, answers — "I got *prima signatio* but was not christened"\(^{39}\). The same answer, testifying to the substantial differentiation between the status of catechumen and that of baptized, is given by Gestr Þóðarson to the king Óláf Tryggvason in the *Norna-Gests þátir*\(^{40}\).

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\(^{38}\) Cf.: ibidem, p. 220.

\(^{39}\) "Ek er primsigmidr en æigi skirdr" (Flateyjarbók..., B. 2, p. 137).

\(^{40}\) See: *Flateyjarbók..., B. 1*, p. 357. It is stated in the saga that "in the evening Gestr crossed himself as other people did (at court of Óláf Tryggvason) but in fact he was pagan". "Gestr signnde sig um kueldit sem adrir menn en ur þo reyndar hæidinn" (Flateyjarbók..., B. 1, p. 346).
In the epoch when sagas were being written and legislation created, when the history of Christianity already numbered about two hundred years on the Scandinavian Peninsula, a catechumen was by an order higher than a pagan, but, undoubtedly, a step lower than a Christian. As for the transition period from paganism to Christianity, the intermediate status of the catechumen gave to its owner practical and political profit. The catechumen enjoyed many advantages of a member of the Christian community, yet without having broken off from the pagan world. Various contacts between pagans and Christians became more and more frequent, and some pagans were at the border of the two worlds and more or less freely entered both. Apparently, the opportunity of not fully abandoning the religion of the ancestors was most urgent for a ruler, a chief, a prince with his armed force. It is significant that the refusal of the prince Svyatoslaw, son of Igor', to be baptized is explained in the chronicle by his being reluctant to separate from his armed force (дружина). In Scandinavia the necessity for the king to follow the family tradition gave rise to the story of the ruler who was christened before the conversion of the country but after a short time returned to paganism.

It cannot be excluded that the status prima signatio allowed avoiding the difficulties that arose for the ruler-military leader with his accepting a new faith. The case of Egill Skalla-Grimsson shows that in the transition epoch a person was not always baptized soon after taking prima signatio. In the Vita sancti Anskarici, where the missionary activities of this saint among the Danes and other Scandinavians in the eleventh century were described, it was said that many Danes had been already baptized by that time, but many pagans preferred to get prima signatio in order to have the opportunity to go to the church and be present at administration of holy sacraments. Those who were catechumens took their time before being baptized, planning to be baptized on the deathbed and, cleansed from sins, get to Heaven without stain.

Almost the best-known example of this double status of the ruler in the early Christian epoch is the case with Constantine the Great. He was known to patronize the Christians, to take a very active part in the actions of the Church, to found the Church Universal Assembly, remaining only catechumen but not christened. Constantine the Great was baptized only at the end of his life.

«[...] како азъ хочю инъ законъ прияти единъ а дружина [моа] сему смеятися нач-нутъ». CCRC, T. 1, p. 63.

Thus, a catechumen like Egill could live most of his life in that status. He could die unchristened, without breaking off from paganism. Moreover, *prima signatio*, did not necessarily imply the intention on the part of the individual undergoing the ritual to be baptized in the future; sometimes this act was conditioned by non-confessional, worldly reasons. Compare the description of similar practice in the *Egils saga*: “England was a Christian country (*var kristit*) when these events were taking place. King Athelstan was a staunch Christian, and people called him Athelstan the Pious (*Aðalsteinn enn trúfasti*). He asked Þóroðfr and his brother (Egill) to accept preliminary baptism (*látu primsiganast*) as was the custom in those days both for merchants and mercenaries serving Christian rulers (*krístnum mónnum*), since people who had been given this form of baptism (*þeir menn, er prímsigníðr váru*) could mix equally with Christian and heathen and were free to hold any belief that suited them. So Þóroðfr and Egill did what the King wanted and received preliminary baptism (*létu prímsignásk báðór*). They had three hundred and sixty men under them, all on the King’s payroll”

In this context, the catechumen living in a pagan country, apparently, could behave in various ways and have various intentions concerning his future. He did not unambiguously intend to be christened and did not always follow all the directions of the Christian Church.

When *prima signatio* was taken for practical advantages or under the pressure of circumstances, the catechumen did not necessarily make any fundamental change in his attitude to paganism. This was, apparently, the case with Egill. As we know from the saga, Egill could carve magical runes, was not a stranger to witchcraft, took part in pagan rites, and strictly followed them in the burials of his close relatives — his father, his brother, and his son. Egill seemed to be never baptized.

It should be stressed that Egill buried his brother Þóroðfr who, like himself, had got *prima signatio*, by the pagan rite. It is significant, as well, that Egill buried Þóroðfr in England, i.e. in a completely Christian country. According to the saga, for Þóroðfr a grave was dug out, and he was placed there. Then, Egill

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44 See: *Egils saga Skallagrimssonar...,* e. 50, p. 145.
45 However, one of the manuscripts of *Egils saga* (cod. Argam. 453, 4 (K)) known by the copy performed in the 17th century contains details very interesting for us. After the description of Egill’s burial in the burial mound, that coincides with other versions, it was said there, that Egill as a man who had got *prima signatio*, had never made a sacrifice (*Egill var primisignádr mæð; en blótadó aldrei. Egíls saga Skallagrímssonar. Udg. F. Íonsson. København 1886—1888, p. 320*). In other manuscripts of the saga this phrase does not occur. According to the opinion of the publisher of the saga, Finnur Íonsson, “die Abschrift des Kettill Jörundarson stellt unbedingt die jüngste redaktion der saga dar. In der textbehandlung nimmt sie eine mittelstellung zwischen M und W ein und bestätigt vielfach das von uns charakterisierte Verhältnis der beiden Membranen. K ist die am wenigsten ‘klassische’ Recension: sie vertauscht häufig ältere redensarten mit moderneren und ist auch durch einige interpolierte Geschmacklosigkeiten entstellt” (*Egís saga Skallagrímssonar...,* p. XXXVI).
put a gold bracelet on each of his arms. After that, stones were put on the grave and it was covered with earth\textsuperscript{46}. The funeral of Egill’s father, Skalla-Grimr, is described in the saga as follows: “Egill went up to the bench, took hold of Skalla-Grimr’s shoulder and pulled him backwards, forcing him down onto the bench. Then he gave him the last rites. Next he asked for digging tools and broke a hole through the south wall. When that was done, he got hold of Skalla-Grimr’s head, while others took his feet, and in this way they carried him from one side of the house to the other and through the hole that had been made in the wall. Without delay they next carried the body down to Naustaness, and pitched a tent over it for the night. The following morning, at high tide, Skalla-Grimr was put into a boat and taken out to Digraness. Egill had a burial mound raised there on the tip of the headland, and inside it Skalla-Grimr was laid with his horse, weapons and blacksmith’s tools. There’s no mention of any money being placed in the mound with him\textsuperscript{47}. Egill’s son, Böövarr, who drowned in the river, was buried by Egill in the same burial mound as Skalla-Grimr\textsuperscript{48}.

Sometimes, a catechumen, in accord with his intermediate status, rejected a part of the pagan customs. For example, it was said of the famous Icelander Gisli the son of Súr that having returned from Denmark he rejected some customs accepted in pre-Christian Iceland. “At that time it was a custom among many people to celebrate the beginning of the winter with feasts and sacrifices. Gisli did not make sacrifices since he had been in Vébjörg, however, he was giving parties, as before and with all splendor”\textsuperscript{49}. Flósi a character of the Njáls saga, taking \textit{prima signatio}, at the \textit{ping} promised to give his support to the Christians\textsuperscript{50}.

If a catechumen decided to change his status — to be baptized and thus become Christian forever — this decision was often taken gradually, not without

\textsuperscript{46} See: \textit{Egils saga Skallagrimssonar}, c. 55, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{47} See: \textit{Egils saga Skallagrimssonar}, c. 58, pp. 190—192. For detail of Skalla-Grimr’s funeral see: M. Þórdarson: \textit{Um dauða Skalla-Gríms}, \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{48} See: \textit{Egils saga Skallagrimssonar}, c. 78, p. 251.
\textsuperscript{49} See: \textit{Gísla saga Súrssonar}, c. 10. Hrsg. F. Jónsson. Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 10. Halle 1903, pp. 23—24. In this wording of the saga, it is not said directly that Gisli in Denmark got \textit{prima signatio} — an indication of this in the diffuse wording (S) made by the publisher, Finnur Jónsson considers the later interpolation (see: \textit{Gisla saga Súrssonar}, c. 10, p. 23), cf.: W. Lange: \textit{Studien}, pp. 44, 180; E. Molland: \textit{Primsigning}, p. 442. In the diffuse wording it was said that Gisli with his friends got \textit{prima signatio} in Denmark, “as it was generally accepted among those who made trade journeys” for contacts with the Christians “í þennu tíma var kristni kominn í Danmörk, ok léut þeir Gisli félagar primsignaz; þvi at þat var í þenn tíma mikill sidvani þeirra manna, er í kaupferðum voro, ok voro þeir þá í öllu samneyti með kristnum mönnunum” (\textit{Tver sögur af Gisla Súrssyni}. Udg. K. Gislaason. Kjobenhavn 1849, p. 96).
some hesitation. For example, the mentioned Toki Tokason having lived for a long time in the status of catechumen, only after long conversations with the king came to him to be baptized. Another Scandinavian, Ormr Stórólfsson is said, according to stories of other people, to take \textit{prima signatio} while in Denmark, and to be baptized only when he was in Iceland\textsuperscript{51}. The Icelander Gestr Bárðarson decided to get \textit{prima signatio} in Norway with the only purpose being to stay at court of Óláfr Tryggvason\textsuperscript{52}. But even \enquote{fighting with the alive deadman} in the barrow, under the threat of death he makes a vow to be baptized if he gets out of the barrow alive. Some time later, Óláfr Tryggvason proposes to Gestr that he accept baptism, and he, remembering his vow gets baptized\textsuperscript{53}.

During the conversion of Scandinavia and in the immediately following period, the difference between the christened and the catechumen was remembered and effective\textsuperscript{54}. However, baptism at that time directly and regularly enough

\textsuperscript{51} \enquote{pat segia menn at Ormr væri primsignandr j Danmorku en hafui kristnnatzst a Islante} (Flateyjarbók..., B. 1, p. 529).


\textsuperscript{53} See: Barðar saga Snaefellsass..., c. 21, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{54} Describing the conversion of Iceland the author of the saga wrote that, although many Icelanders were baptized by the bishop Fríórek and Þorvaldr Kodransson, two aristocrats — Eyófr Valgerðarson and Þorkell Þórgrimsson got only \textit{prima signatio} (Biskupa sögur. B. 1. Kaupmannahöfn 1858, pp. 5, 6; Kristni saga. Hrsg. B. Kahle. Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 11. Halle 1905, pp. 6, 8). Only \enquote{the sign of the cross} received another famous Icelander, Gestr the Wise from the priest Þangbrandin. As it was noted in the saga, he got \textit{prima signatio} together with several friends (Kristni saga..., p. 29). However, sometimes the author of Kristni saga, describing the Christianization of Iceland, considers \textit{prima signatio} a part of the baptismal rite and does not give the corresponding more precise definitions. For example, one of the initiators of the conversion of Iceland, Hjalti Skeggjason, succeeds, people are baptized at the \textit{ping}, and among those who are to be baptized is Hjalti’s enemy, godi Runólfr Úlfsson from Dalr. According to the saga, at Runólfr’s baptism Hjalti uttered a mocking phrase: \enquote{They have taught the old godi to munch salt (with his lips) Hjalti mcelti, er Runólfr vor skirdr: ‘Gömlum kennu vér nú goðanum at geifla á saltinu’} (Kristni saga..., c. 12, p. 42). This phrase, alliterating in the original, does not allow the understanding of what was the ceremony they performed with Runólfr. It was noted in the saga, that Runólfr was baptized (skirðr), but salt was usually given during the procedure \textit{prima signatio}, and later at baptism (see: K. Maurer: \textit{Die Bekehrung des norwegischen Stammes zum Christentum in ihrem geschichtlichen Verlaufe quellenmässig geschildert}. B. 1. München 1855, p. 435; cf.: L. Köpp: \textit{Salz}. In: \textit{Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche}. B. 9. Freiburg 1964, pp. 284—285; D. Daschner: \textit{Salz}. In: \textit{Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche}. B. 8. Rom—Wien—Freiburg 1999, pp. 1501—1502). Indeed, in another saga we find indication of the fact that godi Runólfr, a zealous pagan, after it had been decided at the \textit{ping} to introduce Christianity in the country, got only \textit{prima signatio} (\textit{en er hann var primsigndr}; Þá meliti Hjalti: gömlum kennum vér nú goðanum at geifla á saltinu. Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta, c. 229. B. 2. Udg. Ó. Halldórsson. København 1958, p. 198; Formmanna sögur. B. 2. Kaupmannahöfn 1827, p. 243). More than that, according to this saga, after the \textit{ping} all Icelanders got \textit{prima signatio} and a lot of people were baptized (\textit{Voro þa allir menn primsignadr}; þeir er þar voro aa þinginu ok margir skirðir; þeir er aðr voro heittinir. Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta..., c. 229, B. 2, p. 198; Formmanna sögur..., B. 2. p. 243). It
followed catechization. The pagan medium that was previously closely connected with the catechumen gradually disappears. Baptism after being proclaimed catechumen becomes more and more a question not of choice but of time. Thus, the sons and grandsons of a catechumen could think that their ancestors in some sense just “did not manage” to be baptized.

Later, when the process of Christianization completed, and baptism was no more the matter of personal choice, catechization was regarded from another viewpoint. The understanding of a clear distinction between being christened and being a catechumen became rare, as in that epoch *prima signatio* and baptism were separated by minimal time intervals; in practice one immediately should be noted, that in the *Kristni saga* this episode is quite different — it was said that after the *ping* all present at the *ping* were baptized (*skirðr*). The fates of some of those Icelanders are known from other sources. For example, we can read about Borkell Þorgrimsson in one of the wordings of *Landnámabók* and a family saga (besides, the fact that Borkell at first got only *prima signatio* are confirmed in the *Gretis saga* (*Gretis saga*..., c. 13, p. 37)). According to the family saga, Borkell refused to receive *prima signatio* from the Bishop Friðrekr and got baptized (*var skirðr*) only when Christianity was adopted at the *ping* in Iceland, i.e., in 999 or 1000 (*Vatnsdeila saga*, c. 46. Hrsg. W.H. Voigt. Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 16. Halle 1921, p. 127; cf. p. XXX, paragraph 16). Nothing is said there of his taking *prima signatio*. Contrastingly, in one of the wordings of *Landnámabók*, Borkell was baptized (*tök skirði*) by the Bishop Friðrekr, built a church and chose beforehand the burial places at the church for his converted countrymen (see: *Landnámabók Islands*. København 1925, p. 101). Of Eyófr Valgerðarson it was known that he drowned, and as a person who had got *prima signatio*, he was buried in the ground in the yard of his own farmstead (*Litlu síðar drillkanad Efjófr í Gnupfellandi; hann járdarð á Möðruvöllum í tunvellinum heima ok var prim-signýr ádr. Valla-Ljóts saga*, c. 2. Udg. J. Kristjánsson. Íslenzk fornrit 9. Reykjavik 1956, p. 237).

35 Cf. the description of baptism in the sagas and Old Norse sources of the bookish tradition. In *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* the conversion of a pagan Nachor was described. Nachor found some anchorite who was a priest, fell down on his knees and asked him “at hann skyldi geva honum hælga skirði. En sa hinn hælgi maðr er fullr vor guðs miskunnar, þa fann þegar at þetta var guðs gío. oc primsignaðe hann first. oc síðan nokkra daga eptir synndi hann honom hælga tru. skirði hann síðan eptir síðuoniv” (*Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, c. 149. Udg. R. Keyser, C.R. Únger. Christiania 1851, p. 147). In *Lärentiuss saga erkiðjáknis*, the saint, to convert a blind pagan Lucillum, crosses him with the first sign of a cross, sanctifies the water and baptizes Lucillum (“þa primsignði Laurencius Lucillum ok vigði vatn ok skirði hann síðan”) (*Heilagra manna sögur*). B. I. Udg. C.R. Únger. Kristiania 1877, p. 425). In *Tveggja postola saga Petrs ok Pals* Titus and Lucas give *prima signatio* to three pagans: Longine, Megyst, and Akest, then tell them to fast all the day till the evening and only in the evening baptize them (*Tveggja postola saga Petrs ok Pals*. In: *Postula sögur*. Udg. C.R. Únger. Kristiania 1874, p. 318). Although, in *Marteins saga biskups* it was told that the saint took *prima signatio* (*tok primsingh*) at ten years of age and was baptized (*hann var skirði*) at eighteen (*Heilagra manna sögur*..., B. 1, pp. 554, 575, 608). As a rule, in the Church practice, a system for the time intervals between *prima signatio* and the baptism was developed. These time intervals were different for a child, for a native and for a foreigner, but with time baptism more and more frequently followed catechization, and often, as it has been already said, catechization was followed immediately by baptism.
followed the other, and the rite of *prima signatio* itself more and more became a part of the baptismal rite. Nevertheless, this distinction did not completely fade. At least one group of people remained that could die while still in the status of catechumen — the newly born. For them, a strict differentiation between being christened and being a catechumen remains important, and it was specially described in the codes of law what to do with the remains of those who died in the latter status. For example, by the Icelandic laws, an infant who had died without baptism but had got *prima signatio* was to be buried at the edge of the churchyard “where the sanctified ground comes close to the unsanctified ground.” An infant born with a significant physical abnormality, according to the Norwegian laws, could not be christened but was to get *prima signatio* and be left at the church doorstep until it was dead. After that one should bury it in the churchyard and pray with diligence for its soul.

Having reburied bones of Egill who had only taken *prima signatio*, his niece, bórdís somehow corrected “the annoying incident” and continued the Christian history of her family. Here, she was breaking the canonical codes, in her fervor making the man equal to the Christians. It is interesting that later, when a new church was built and no living relatives of Egill remained, his bones were reburied again. A priest aware of the story of Egill’s life subjected his bones to identification. Then the bones were buried at the edge of a graveyard, as was appropriate for the remains of a catechumen, not with those of the baptized. The reason for such actions, apparently, was the *prima signatio* received by Egill in his youth.

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56 For example, catechization (*prima signatio*) and baptism (*skiri*) appear as the procedures connected with each other in some Old-Icelandic compositions of the thirteenth—fourteenth centuries (cf.: *Leifar forrnra kristinna friða islenskra*: Codex Arna-Magnaeanus 677 to auk annara enna elztu brota af íslenskum gudfræðisritum. Udg. P. Bjarnason. Kaupmannahöfn 1878, p. 24) and it was the duty of a godfather at that time: 1) to hold the godchild during *prima signatio* (at balde banie under primsignan); 2) to take the child out of the font; 3) to be the child’s godfather during confirmation, etc. (*Norges gamle love indtil 1387...*, B. 1, 16, pp. 150, 350; *Grágás. Islendernes Lovbog i Fristaten Tid*. B. 1—2. Udg. V. Finsen. København 1852—1879, pp. 47, 62, and p. 31). Cf.: B. Kahle: *Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums*. “Acta Germanica” 1890, Vol. 1, pp. 364—365; H. Lie: *Skaldestil Studier*. Maal og Minne 1952, pp. 66—67; H. Föhn: *Dap...*, pp. 416—418; E. Molland: *Primsigning...*, pp. 440, 443.


58 See: *Grágás..., B. 1*, p. 7.


Thus, the unusual actions of Yaroslav the Wise, though contradicting the practice accepted in the whole Christian world, in our opinion, agreed with the Scandinavian burial tradition created after conversion. The episode with the remains of Egill Skalla-Grimsson allows a hypothesis that Yaropolk and Oleg also could have taken *prima signatio* during their lives. By the version of M. Arranz, Saint Vladimir, the brother of Yaropolk and Oleg, at first received *prima signatio* in Kiev and later took holy baptism in Chersonesus⁶¹. In the chronicle, the *prima signatio* taken by Vladimir was never mentioned as an independent procedure, although the author was aware of the discrepancy in the opinions of the place and time of his conversion⁶². It cannot be excluded that in such a way the memory of this two-stage event was interpreted. As we remember, conversion of Óláfr Tryggvason begins with getting *prima signatio* in Byzantium, and later he was baptized near the coast of Ireland⁶³.

cf. also: J. Byöök: *Skull and bones in Egil’s saga. “Viator”* 1993, Vol. 24, pp. 25—33. It should be noted, that in the above mentioned wording of *Egils saga* (K) one could read that Egill’s bones dug out of the ground under the altar, differed in size and appearance from the bones of other Christians (*Egils saga Skallagrimssonar*..., p. 320).


⁶² See: CCRC, T. I, p. 111.

⁶³ This is the version of events presented in some Scandinavian sources (besides the above-mentioned sources, see: *Monumenta Historica Norvegiae. Latinske kildeskrifter til Noregs historie i middelalderen, c. 7. Udg. G. Storm.* Kristiania 1880, pp. 13—14, 113—114). It is supplemented by data of an Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which tells that Olav was confirmed in England and the English king Æthelred was the godfather. The confirmation was conducted by the Bishop Ælfheah who was much respected by the Anglo-Saxon Church (see: *Monumenta Historica Britannica. From the earliest period to the end of reign of king Henry VII.* Eds. H. Petrie, J. Sharpe. London 1848, p. 401, sub anno 994; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* Ed. D. Whitelock. London 1961, pp. 82—83, sub anno 991). The event described in the chronicle (indirectly showing that Óláfr came to England after his baptism at the coast of Ireland) was mentioned by other Anglo-Saxon authors of the twelfth century: Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, William of Malmsbury, and Simeon of Durham. Of all those chroniclers only William of Malmsbury wrote that Óláfr had been baptized but not confirmed in England (*Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi. De gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque I—2.* Ed. W. Stubbs. London 1887—1889, I, book II, c. 165, p. 188, sub anno 994); while all other chronicles underlined that the king was confirmed (see: *Florentii Wigorniensis monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis.* Vol. I. Ed. B. Thorpe. Londini 1848, p. 152; *Henrici archidiaconi Huntendunensis historia Anglorum.* Book V. Ed. T. Arnold. London 1879, pp. 169—170; *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia.* Vol. 2. Ed. T. Arnold. London 1882, p. 135; cf.: K. Maurer: *Die Bekehrung des norwegischen Stammes zum Christentum in ihrem geschichtlichen Verlaufe quellemässig geschildert.* B. 1. München 1855, pp. 276—277; P.A. Munch: *Det Norske Folks Historie.* B. 1.2. Christiania 1852, p. 242). A.D. Jørgensen believed that the event in question is most adequately described by William of Malmsbury, as in his opinion, with the adults, the procedures of baptism and confirmation were most often carried out simultaneously: “[...] hos den voxne foretages dåb og konfirmation næsten samtidig, og såle-
There is no need to underline the Scandinavian roots of the Russian princely family and the closeness of Rus’ and Scandinavia in tenth and the first half of eleventh centuries. I will only mention that Óláfr Tryggvason lived for a long time at the court of the prince Vladimir, and by the version of some Old-Icelandic sources he participated in the conversion of prince Vladimir, Óláfr being catechumen at that time.

No doubt, if a person was baptized, his taking \textit{prima signatio} lost its importance: the fact that the person was close to conversion could not attract attention of his offspring. Contrastingly, if a person for some reason was not baptized during his life, then, the fact of his taking \textit{prima signatio}, apparently, could be regarded as an important event by the nearest of kin.

In the light of this interpretation Yaroslav’s actions seem quite understandable and show the subtle differentiations in the statuses of ancestors, and the possibilities for them to be introduced into the Christian paradigm. Apparently, during Yaroslav’s reign the all-Russian reverence of his father prince Vladimir of the Rus’ appeared\textsuperscript{64}. Still in Vladimir’s reign, glorification of princess Olga began, who, as we know, was baptized some decades before the conversion of Rus’. A revision of some kind of the latest history of the princely family was observed; in accord with it the cult of the baptized relatives was developed; and in particular, during Vladimir’s reign the imperishable relics of the princess Olga were transferred to the Desyatinnaya church. The fact of her being baptized was broadly known, though she lived and died in pagan social surroundings. As the chronicler writes, Olga decreed that there be no funeral feast after her death, and she was buried according the Christian rite by the priest who stayed at her

des er kroniken også bleven forstået af de gamle forfattere, idet William af Malmsbury udtrykkelig siger, at han <Óláfr> blev dobt, medens Florens af Worcester vel bruger ordet ‘confirmari ab episcopo fecit, sibi in filium adoptavit’, men ikke anderledes end at du Cange ansør det for et frit udtryk for ‘baptismari’ (s.v. confirmatio: quod igitur baptismum confirmatio statim subseueretur, pro ipso baptismo interdum usurpatui)” (A.D. Jørgensen: \textit{Den nordiske Kirkes Grundlæggelse og første Udvikling}. København 1874—1878, pp. 310, 321, 330; cf.: A. Taranger: \textit{Den angelsaksiske kirkes indflydelse paa den norske}. Kristiania 1890, pp. 124—125). About the difference between baptism and confirmation in the works of Anglo-Saxon authors, see: \textit{Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia...}, Vol. 2, pp. 125—126, sub anno 943 (about the baptism of another Óláfr and the confirmation of Reginald, the leader of the Normans): “Eodem anno idem rex Anlafum regem, cujus supra meminimus, de lavacro sanctæ regenerationis suscipit, regioque munere donavit; et parvo post tempore Reingoldum Nor- thanhythrorum regem dum ab episcopo confirmaretur tenuit, sibi que in filium adoptavit”. A hypothesis was advanced that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle described the confirmation of Óláfr Skötkonung, the king of Sweden, but not Norwegian king Olaf Tryggvason (see: E. Gamby: \textit{Olof Skötkonung, Sven Tveskägg och Ethelred den Rådville}. “Scandia” 1990, T. 56, pp. 19—29). However, this viewpoint, based mainly on the data of numismatics, was not accepted by specialists (for details, see: B. Malmer: \textit{Numismatiken, Olof Skötkonung och slaget vid Svolder}. “Scandia” 1993, T. 59, pp. 5—14).

\textsuperscript{64} See: F. Uspenskij: \textit{Борис и Глеб...}, pp. 44—46, 84—87.
The Baptism of the Bones of the Princes Oleg and Yaropolk...

It may be supposed that if Yaropolk or Oleg were baptized during their lives, that this fact could hardly be unknown to Yaroslav, their nephew. However, nothing is known of any attempts to venerate Yaropolk and Oleg in Yaroslav’s reign or later. In chronicles, Yaropolk is not anywhere described as a Christian. On the contrary, we have direct evidence from the chronicle that

65 See: CCRC, T. 1, p. 67—68, sub anno 969; T. 2, pp. 55—56.

66 The supposition advanced by A.V. Nazarenko, that Yaropolk was baptized by the Roman rite which implied subsequent confirmation (A.W. Nazarenko: Древняя Русь на международных путях: Междисциплинарные очерки культурных, торговых и политических связей IX—XII веков. Москва 2001, рр. 379—380), in my opinion cannot explain the chronicle entry in question and, first of all, cannot explain the amazing fact of baptism of remains. Having baptized an already christened man, Yaroslav would have broken even greater number of Church prohibitions than merely baptizing a dead man, and there could be no motive for breaking such severe prohibitions. If he had known that Yaropolk had been baptized during his life, it would be natural to accentuate this fact and inform everybody of it, as the reburial of the remains in the Desyatinnaya church was undoubtedly a public event. Besides, it remains unknown why the same procedure was carried out both with the remains of the christened Yaropolk and unchristened Oleg. If we assume that the baptism of Yaropolk was so secret that his own nephew was unaware of it, then this fact is very interesting from the viewpoint of Russian-German relations — it hardly fits in the cultural space of the XI century. In any case, it by no means explains the peculiarity of the chronicle entry of 1044.

It is also impossible to discuss the fact that Yaropolk, christened by the Roman rite, in due time did not undergo confirmation, which was the reason for a kind of “additional” christening of his remains. In the Eastern ritual tradition originating from Constantinople, to which Yaroslav himself and his social surroundings belonged, the rite of confirmation did not exist. That is why the absence of the second anointing of Yaropolk could not be significant for Yaroslav and could not induce him to do anything. Moreover, in the Western Church, baptism represented a separate rite, an individual sacrament as compared to the Bishop’s anointing. When in the twelfth century in the Catholic Church the list of the seven sacraments is ultimately established, baptism figures there as the first sacrament and confirmation as the second one. In any case, a person who had passed the sacrament of baptism in the Western tradition, too, was considered a full value Christian who should not (and need not!) be christened for the second time.

The combination of the procedures prima signatio, baptism, and confirmation (anointing) both in the Eastern and the Western traditions in the eleventh century underwent a number of complex changes. From the one hand, “the first cross” in the Christian countries could be recognized as an element of the original part of the baptismal procedure, although, in case of emergency, at the meeting of the pagan world, apparently, they recollected the more ancient, independent meaning of this act (the act of catechization). On the other hand, the question of how, immediately after baptism or some time later, and who, the priest or the Bishop, must anoint the forehead (confirmation) was one of the important issues that differed between Eastern Christianity and Western. However, no doubt a person who was baptized was regarded as a Christian, and, a special, intermediary status applied to those who took only prima signatio. In other words, a baptized Christian was the person who passed the procedure of baptism, all other were considered non-christened.

67 In the Иоакимовская летопись reconstructed by the retelling of V.N. Tatischev it was said that the inhabitants of Kiev disliked Yaropolk: «бе муж кроткий и милостивый ко всем,
Yaroslav baptized their bones. Apparently, he was aware of the special situation of his uncles concerning the Christian faith. Taking into consideration all the above said, it is most likely that he knew that Yaropolk and Oleg had received (or, at least, could have received) *prima signatio*. Therefore, Yaroslav decided to baptize and rebury the remains of these very relatives of his.

By baptizing their bones and putting them in the Desyatinnaya church, he made them stand out amongst both his pagan relatives and his Christian ones. As for Yaropolk, the supposition of *prima signatio* is confirmed by the data of his West-European contacts that could be rather close. He seems to have been the war ally of the emperor Otton II, under whose aegis very active missionary activities were realized. Sources refer to a marriage between a relative (niece?) of Otton II with some king of Rus', and some scholars believe this to be Yaropolk. If that marriage was really planned, it cannot be excluded that *prima signatio* of Yaropolk had been conditioned by his intention to marry a Christian...

68 In this connection it should be noted, that the Desyatinnaya church (built in 996), judging by archeological data, was erected on some burial place. It was supposed to be a pagan interment; however, there is an opinion that this had been the graveyard of the Christians who had died before the conversion of Rus' (for details, see: М.Ф. Мура нов: О Десятинной церкви князя Владимира. Ин: Восточная Европа в древности и Средневековье. Москва 1978, pp. 171—175). We would also point to the fact that in the *Повесть временных лет* some Olma (= Hólmr, Hólmi?) was written to erect a church of the St. Nicolas above Askold's grave: «И оубиша Асколда и Дира [и] несоша на гору, и погребша на горе, еже ся ныне зоветь Оугорьское, кде ныне Ольмий дворъ на той могиле поставили церковь святаго Николу а Дирова могила за святою Ориною» (CCRC, Т. 1, р. 23). This evidence, in particular, allowed some researchers to think that Askold had been Christian (see for example: Мака рий: История Русской церкви..., p. 204; В.А. Пархоменко: Начало христианства на Руси. Очерки из истории Руси IX—X вв. Поглавя 1913, p. 72; О.М. Рапо в: Русская церковь в IX — первой трети XII в. Принятие христианства. Москва 1988, p. 119; otherwise: Е.Е. Голубинский: История русской церкви. Период первый, киевский или домонгольский. Т. 1-1. Москва 1901, p. 38).

69 Cf., for example, the evidence from the *Никоновская летопись* of the ambassadors of the Pope of Rome to Yaropolk in 979 (CCRC, Т. 9, p. 39), although the authenticity of this communication is doubted by some scholars.

70 It is peculiar, that by some versions it was Otton II who baptized Harald the Bluetooth (the latter reburied his father Gorm). In honor of Otton the son of Harald the Bluetooth, Swein-Otto Haraldsson Forkbeard got his Christian name (died in 1014). See: F. Uспенский: *Name und Macht. Die Wahl des Namens als dynastisches Kampfinstrument im mittelalterlichen Skandinavien*. Frankfurt am Main 2004, pp. 72, 105.
woman. We must, however, note, that *prima signatio* was not sufficient in itself for a marriage with such a noble person, although we have no definite evidence that the marriage took place.

As for Oleg, the only reason to suppose that he also received *prima signatio* is Yaroslav's action making him equal to Yaropolk. It should be born in mind that both brothers had lived together with a Christian grandmother. There is a version that due to the princess Olga they became Christian in childhood. If this supposition is right, then, in my opinion, they, under the influence of their grandmother, got only *prima signatio*. On the one hand, in Byzantine practice it was generally accepted and even recommended to baptize little children not immediately after catechization but after some rather long period of time. On the other hand, *prima signatio* (not baptism) seems to be the only thing that the princess Olga could do for the brothers who at the same time had a heathen father, and from this father they had to inherit the power of the still not converted country.

So, we have no direct evidence of *prima signatio* of Yaropolk and Oleg; however, the hypothesis of their receiving it explains all of the above-listed facts. With this hypothesis we find the explanation of the chronicle entry in question concerning the baptism of the bones and their reburial in the church which breaks the Church canons: the Christian prince Yaroslav the Wise baptized the bones of his uncles, thereby completing the move they had already undertaken to join the Christian Church, and by this he extended the Christian history of his family. His deeds have direct correlation with the practice of reburial of remains accepted among the Scandinavians during the first decades after conversion of their countries.

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71 See: Makarij: *История Русской церкви...*, p. 223.
Fjodor Uspenskij

Die Taufe der sterblichen Überreste von den Prinzen Oleg und Jaropełk
(Zur Auslegung der ab 1044 geschriebenen Chroniken)

Zusammenfassung

Der vorliegende Artikel handelt über die Verlegung der sterblichen Überreste von zwei Prinzen der Rurikowitsch Dynastie, Oleg (gest. 977) und Jaropełk (gest. 980), die im Jahre 1044 vom Kiewer Prinzen, Jaroslaw dem Klugen durchgeführt wurde. Aus den Chroniken kann man erfahren, dass die Knochen der beiden Herrscher auch „getauft“ wurden, was davon zeugt, dass die Prinzen als Heiden gestorben und nach dem heidnischen Ritual begraben worden sind. Da es in Ruthenenland ein ungewöhnliches Geschehnis war, muss man nach dem Ziel der „Taufe“ und deren Verlauf fragen. Viel deutet darauf hin, dass Jaroslaw das Prestige