

A Name Policy and Its Outcome: Programmatic Names in the Nineteenth-Century Province of Posen

Justyna B. Walkowiak

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Abstract

The 19th century in the Province of Posen (today largely Wielkopolska, Poland) under the Prussian partition saw a sudden rise in the popularity of the names perceived (sometimes erroneously) as Polish or, more broadly, Slavic. According to Jan Stanisław Bystron (1892-1964), a prominent sociologist, ethnographer and author of a fundamental and influential 1938 work on given names in Poland, they had been in use since the 1830s as patriotic manifestos and a way of preventing their translation in birth registers into German. This practice was a *de facto* policy frequently used by Prussian officialdom. Its unexpected result was a sharp increase in the popularity of previously unpopular names, a tendency which continued even after Poland regained independence.

The present paper attempts to verify Bystron's claims and look closely at the given names actually registered, on the basis of about 40,000 names registered in the years 1830-1900 in three parishes of the province: one typically urban in Poznań, one on the outskirts of Poznań, and the third one in a village 80 km from Poznań. It is expected – and in fact confirmed – that manifesting identity by child naming will be more visible in a big city parish with a higher percentage of educated people than in a village, especially one with a large model farm owned by one of the founders of the nationalist German Eastern Marches Society.

Of Bystron's list, however, few names were actually attested in the records, and many of those he mentions were virtually non-existent. Other Slavic names, however, such as *Władysław(a)*, *Kazimierz(-ra)*, were frequent. Perhaps the reason was the increased visibility of unusual and hitherto unknown names, which might have led to Bystron's overestimation of their actual number.

Introduction: historical background

The name *Posen* is the German equivalent of the Polish *Poznań*, the name of a city on the Warta River, inhabited today by over half a million people. Sometimes considered one of the historic capitals of Poland, for centuries it has been the capital of the region known as Greater Poland (Wielkopolska). When in the second half of the 18th century the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was successively (1772, 1793, 1795) partitioned among its three neighbors – Russia, Prussia and Austria (the Habsburg Empire)¹ – Greater Poland became part of Prussia (1772 and 1793). Following the partitions, the region went by various names: it constituted part of South Prussia (1793-1807), then of the Duchy of Warsaw under Napoleon (1807-1815), while after the Congress of Vienna it became the Grand Duchy of Posen (1815-1848). Finally, from 1848 until the end of the First World War it was called the Province of Posen (*Provinz Posen* in German) – originally within Prussia, and following the unification of Germany (1871) within the unified German Empire. The population of the province was linguistically mixed, with Polish-speaking inhabitants a majority: in the year 1900, for instance, 61 % spoke Polish and 38 % German as their mother tongue (the latter group comprising both Germans and Jews), with under 1 % bilingual (Rademacher, 2006). Religious divisions corresponded largely to the language distribution, with the Polish-speaking population predominantly Catholic and the German-speaking population Protestant (Evangelical).

It should be said that originally the Polish-speaking population of the province enjoyed relative linguistic and cultural freedom, as reflected in the words of Karl Freiherr vom Stein zum Altenstein, Prussia's Minister for Religion, Education and Medicine. "To be good subjects," he maintained in 1832, "it is desirable for Poles to understand the language of

1. The Habsburg Empire did not partake in the second partition (1793).

government. However, it is not necessary for them to give up or postpone their mother tongue” (Broszat, 1972: 90). This was soon to change. While the first efforts at Germanization started as early as the 1830s under president of the province Eduard Heinrich von Flottwell, they were intensified after 1849, especially in the aftermath of the unification of Germany and as a consequence of the *Kulturkampf* policy of the Prussian Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck. They became especially strong after the founding of the Eastern Marches Society (*Deutscher Ostmarkenverein*) in 1894.

The policy of Germanization was manifested, among others, in the sphere of bestowing personal names. Memoirs of the time bear witness to this:

“One of the marginal forms [of *Kulturkampf* after 1878] consisted in making it difficult for Poles to bestow Polish given names on their children. In the case of my father [...] registering a child under the name Władysław met with a refusal on the grounds that on the German list there was no such name. Officials were quick to suggest a choice of Germanic names, such as Kurt, Helmut, Rudolf, Fietz, as well as Berta, Oda, Ute for girls. For Poles those names were alien, disliked and ridiculous.” (Stachowska-Dembecka, 2006: 23)

“[The war against Germanization] was also waged in registry offices, which demanded that the names of newborns be registered in German. Thus Polish boys by the name of Franek, Michał or Andrzej were officially entered in registers as Franz, Michael and Andreas. In order to avoid such practices, parents did their best to bestow on their children names which were either Slavic or Polish with no German equivalents, such as Grażyna,² Aldona, Zdzisław, Mściwoj; those in turn were subsequently challenged on the pretext that they do not figure in a Catholic calendar.” (Karpieński, 1971: 120)

The emergence or at least the rise in popularity of so-called ‘native’ given names as a side effect of the Germanizing name policy was confirmed by Jan Stanisław Bystroń (1892-1964), a renowned Polish sociologist and ethnographer. As he pointed out, they came into use around the 1830s. They were programmatic, and as native names they had easily accessible content (though not always correctly interpreted), so there was a time when they enjoyed popularity. “To this day,” Bystroń writes, “one can encounter them mostly in the region of Poznań, where they used to manifest Polishness, making it impossible for a German official to register the Polish Jan as *Johann* or the Polish Wojciech as *Adalbert*” (Bystroń, 1938: 23).

Quoting after the monthly “*Wisła*” of 1905, Bystroń goes on to list some programmatic names: Bogna, Bogdar, Bogowit, Bohdan, Bojomir, Bożena, Budziszaw, Chwalibóg, Dobromił, Halszka, Janusz, Jarosław, Lubomir, Miłosz, Radomir, Rościszaw, Ścibor, Sobieszaw, Szczęsny, Tworzimir, Wanda, Wisław, Witosław, Zbigniew, Ziemomysł. He also mentions lists of supposedly Slavic given names compiled by Tadeusz Wojewódzki in the years 1827 and 1829, which included such given names as Błażej, Wawrzyniec, Zuzanna, Kosma, Dymitr, Godyszaw, Włoscimiła, Miłoszaw, Światoszaw, Mścibój, Marzanna, Wszeszaw, Miłomir, Czciszawa, Domyszaw, Włodzimir, Dobrosław, Jarosław, Broniszaw. As Bystroń points out, although several names were indeed of Slavic origin, others were either erroneously perceived as Slavic or artificially created, or they constituted distorted versions of attested forms (cf. also Taszycki, 1927: 33-42).

The purpose, scope and object of the study

The present study aims to establish to what extent native (or sometimes mistakenly perceived as such) given names were actually bestowed on the children of the Province of Posen in the

2. The name *Grażyna* is in fact of Lithuanian origin, while *Aldona* comes from Old Prussian or perhaps Ruthenian.

19th century from the year 1830 onwards. Moreover, Bystron's claims as to which native names were bestowed on children to avoid registering their German version will be verified. To this end, the given names from 19th-century birth registers (*Libri baptisatorum*) of three Roman Catholic parishes of the Province of Posen were collected and the data thus obtained compared and analyzed. One of the analyzed parishes was a typically urban one (St Martin's parish in Poznań), another – rural but close to a town (St John's parish on the outskirts of Poznań), and the third one decidedly rural but located within the confines of Greater Poland, about 80 km to the south of Poznań (St Hedwig's parish in the village of Pępowo), relatively far from larger towns. The working hypothesis was that the phenomenon of name-bestowal as a patriotic manifesto would be more visible among the people who were better-educated, and as such more nationally-conscious and, being literate, perhaps more receptive to written pro-Polish propaganda. In other words, it was originally assumed that among town-dwellers or, to a lesser degree perhaps, among people living close to a town, the frequency of native given names would be higher than among peasants living in a typically rural area.

For comparison, aggregate data from Eastern Pomerania for the years 1830-1900 have been used to see whether programmatic names were more popular in Greater Poland than in other Prussian regions with Polish population.

Whereas Bystron mentions the 1830s as the starting point of the naming trend in question, he does not specify any upper time limit. In the present study, the years 1830-1900 have been mostly chosen for analysis, though in the case of two parishes the availability of the data precludes strict adherence to the limits and there were occasional gaps in the available archival material: for the parish of St John, the upper limit was 1874, and for Pępowo the time bracket was 1842-1865.

All the birth registers are available in the State Archive in Poznań. For the purpose of birth registration, until 1874 the Prussian authorities relied on the duplicates of church books. In that year, however, civil registration was introduced, with separate state registry offices localized according to the secular administrative divisions and registering births in the German language. The total number of births collected for the present study from the three above-mentioned parishes slightly exceeds 40,000. The Pomeranian data, on the other hand, come from the database of Pomorskie Towarzystwo Genealogiczne (Pomeranian Genealogical Society). This database is constantly expanding, comprising, as of September 3, 2011, almost a million births registered in the years 1830-1900. Unfortunately, no similar digital database for the Province of Posen is available yet.

Preliminary discussion: what counts as native?

It must be stressed that some of the 'native' names mentioned above are by no means Slavic. The male name *Janusz* originated as a diminutive of *Jan* (John). The female name *Wanda* is of uncertain origin, most probably invented by Wincenty Kadłubek (1161-1223), a Polish historian and chronicler. Although Kadłubek himself derives it from the Polish appellation *węda* 'fishing rod' as an allusion to the beauty of the princess attracting (as if fishing with bait) knights, the origin of the name could be Lithuanian or Germanic. *Halszka* is a diminutive of *Elżbieta* (Elisabeth), a female name of Hebrew origin. *Grażyna* was artificially created on the basis of the Lithuanian adjective *gražūs* 'beautiful' by a famous Polish Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855). *Aldona*, a name traditional in Lithuania, is Lithuanian or perhaps Old Prussian in origin. Of the given names included in Wojewódzki's calendar, *Błażej* comes from Latin, *Wawrzyniec* is the Polish version of the Latin *Laurentius*, *Zuzanna* is Hebrew-based, whereas *Kosma* and *Dymitr* come from Greek (for the etymology of all the above names see Bubak 1993, Grzenia 2006, Fros and Sowa 2002). Taszycki (1927: 33-42) points out other inaccuracies and mistakes in seemingly Slavic names in Wojewódzki's work.

Yet the above-mentioned given names, by virtue of being included in a calendar of Slavic names, must have been understood by 19th-century Poles as native – especially the names with superficial Slavic features, such as the suffixes *-slaw*, *-mir*, or *-mysl*. In a similar fashion, names of kings or legendary characters, evocative of the nation's glorious past and of national myths – a case in point being *Wanda* – must have been treated as native too.

All this poses quite a serious methodological problem: what exactly to look for in the analyzed material? A digression would be in order at this point. Vakhtin (1997) mentions two languages from Siberia (Chuvansky and Copper Aleut) that for many years have been described in scholarly literature as being on the verge of extinction. Yet, despite the fact that each of them underwent substantial changes and, linguistically speaking, practically disappeared, each respective community that today uses the transformed versions of the two languages in question seems unaware of the fact that the languages spoken 150 years ago are only remotely similar to their successors. Nevertheless, the transformed languages are perceived by their users today as the same as many years ago, they are their very own, and they serve similarly well the function of preserving group identity. It might be that, in a similar fashion, the names imagined as native also fulfilled the same function for the community that bestowed them on their offspring: providing support for group identity, regardless of their actual origin.

Since it soon became clear to the present author that the names listed by Bystroń are non-existent or extremely rare in the analyzed material, it has been deemed desirable to look out for *any* Slavic-looking name, regardless of its presence in Bystroń's book or Wojewódzki's calendar; regardless, moreover, of the fact whether a given name is attested, or, conversely, if it had apparently been artificially created. The above was also the reason why the given name *Witold*, although not on Bystroń's list, has been included. *Witold* is the Polish version of the Lithuanian *Vytautas*, the name of one of the greatest heroes in the history of Lithuania, Vytautas the Great. It was a name reminiscent of the glorious past of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth lost as a consequence of partitions. Despite its Lithuanian origin, the name must have been especially befitting for the times of Germanization, because Vytautas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, fought the Knights of the Teutonic Order, commonly perceived in the 19th century as synonymous with the oppressors that Prussians/Germans were for Poles. "As a baptismal name it appeared in Poland in the 19th century," Fros and Sowa (2002: 533) write, which seems to confirm the suspicion that *Witold* must have been treated as one of the programmatic names in the sense outlined above.

Two ever-popular (cf. Bubak, 1993: 10) and genuinely Polish names have been disregarded in the analysis: *Wojciech* and *Stanisław*. Both were names of much-revered Polish saints and as such they survived intact the gradual disappearance of Slavic-based given names in Poland, which was a direct consequence of the Catholic church policy of bestowing on children only the names of Christian saints (whom Poland in the Middle Ages could not boast in large numbers). Originally not so strict, this policy was followed more consistently after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). The name *Wojciech* had its Germanic equivalent – *Adalbert* – with which it was traditionally identified; it may have been the monastic name of the saint, or maybe the name that he assumed at confirmation (cf. Fros and Sowa, 2002: 536).

The other name, *Stanisław*, was the name of two Polish saints: *Stanisław Szczepanowski* in the 11th century and *Stanisław Kostka* in the 16th century. While the popularity of the former suffered some decrease in the 19th century as a result of scholarly criticism of the historical sources testifying to his virtues, the cult of the latter, strong already in earlier centuries, intensified in the second half of the 19th century (cf. Fros and Sowa, 2002: 486-487). Incidentally, the birth registers under analysis indicate that at least in some cases the bestowed name *Stanisław* was followed by the hagionymic *Kostka*, which was originally the family name of the saint and later came to be treated as his second Christian name.

In what follows, the name bestowals in the three parishes will be described in more detail.

The parish of St John of Jerusalem Outside the Walls

Situated on the outskirts of Poznań in the settlement called Komandoria, since the late 12th century the church had been associated with the Knights Hospitallers. They owned the church and the nearby hospice until 1832 when, after the Order was abolished by the Prussian government, the church became a parish church for Komandoria. Even though the church of St. John is very close to the historic centre of medieval Poznań, the area, including the church, formally became part of Poznań only in 1924.

The total number of baptized children in the analyzed period was 2,942. The results of the search for native names have been presented in the table below.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total number of names (in brackets – number of programmatic names)</i>	<i>Programmatic names</i>
1830	38 (0)	
1831	35 (0)	
1832-1833	no data available	
1834	40 (0)	
1835	51 (0)	
1836	49 (2)	Kazimierz, Mieczysław
1837	50 (1)	Władysław
1838	65 (0)	
1839	75 (0)	
1840-1844	no data available	
1845	95 (0)	
1846	77 (0)	
1847	69 (0)	
1848	57 (0)	
1849	79 (0)	
1850	93 (0)	
1851	80 (0)	
1852	73 (0)	
1853	64 (1)	Mieczysław
1854	68 (0)	
1855	75 (0)	
1856	51 (0)	
1857	82 (0)	
1858	76 (2)	Kazimierz, Władysław
1859	87 (1)	Wanda
1860	13 (1)	Bronisław
1861	75 (0)	
1862	92 (0)	
1863	81 (1)	Władysław
1864	95 (2)	Władysław, Waclaw
1865	98 (2)	Bronisława, Bolesław
1866	98 (2)	2x Bronisława
1867	81 (0)	
1868	106 (1)	Mieczysław
1869	81 (1)	Władysław
1870	127 (0)	
1871	93 (1)	Mieczysław
1872	145 (6)	4x Kazimierz, Mieczysław, Władysław
1873	132 (0)	
1874	96 (2)	2x Władysław
Total	2,942 (26) = ±0.8 %	

As is evident from the above table, despite urban proximity the percentage of native given names (or those assumed to be native, like *Wanda*) in the parish is very low – under 1 %. There are periods when not even one newborn child out of several dozen registered births received such a name.

The parish of St. Martin in Poznań

This church was the centre of a big urban parish – even as late as 1938 it still included over half of the population of Poznań (Kotowski, 1938: 25-26). Children usually received one or two given names, although a record-holder – a son of the landed gentry – boasted as many as seven: *Stanisław Koszka Maryan Adam Józef Antoni Cyryl*. There are no data available for the years 1838-1841, and the data for the year 1842 have been disregarded since there are only three entries in the baptismal records for this year. A total of 33,831 birth entries for the period 1830-1900 have been analyzed, of which 4,168 are cases of programmatic names, bestowed as first or further given names. Cases of bestowing two or more programmatic names were relatively rare; for instance, in the category “other” there were only five such cases (out of 154). In all the analyzed 33,831 entries, there were only 89 cases of bestowing more than one programmatic name on the same child. The average percentage of programmatic names in the population, arrived at by subtracting from the total 4,168 names the cases of multiple names (89) and dividing the result by the total number of entries, is 12.1 %.

The parish turned out to be the most abundant in programmatic names. In some cases they were bestowed as first names, in other cases as second or even further names. An interesting phenomenon highlighting the difference between native names (i.e. of Slavic origin) and those only understood as such is the existence of such pairs bestowed on a child as *Jan Kazimierz*, *Władysław Hermann*, *Maria Kazimiera*. *Jan*, *Hermann*, *Maria* are not Slavic names, but the pairs are names of Polish kings (ruling 1648-1672, 1079-1102) and a queen (1674-1716), and as such they were probably programmatic names, whose bestowal may have been patriotic manifestos. Numbers at the end of bars refer to bestowals (in absolute figures). The first bar for each name denotes its bestowal as the first name, whereas the second bar refers to the name given as a further (second, third, etc.) name.

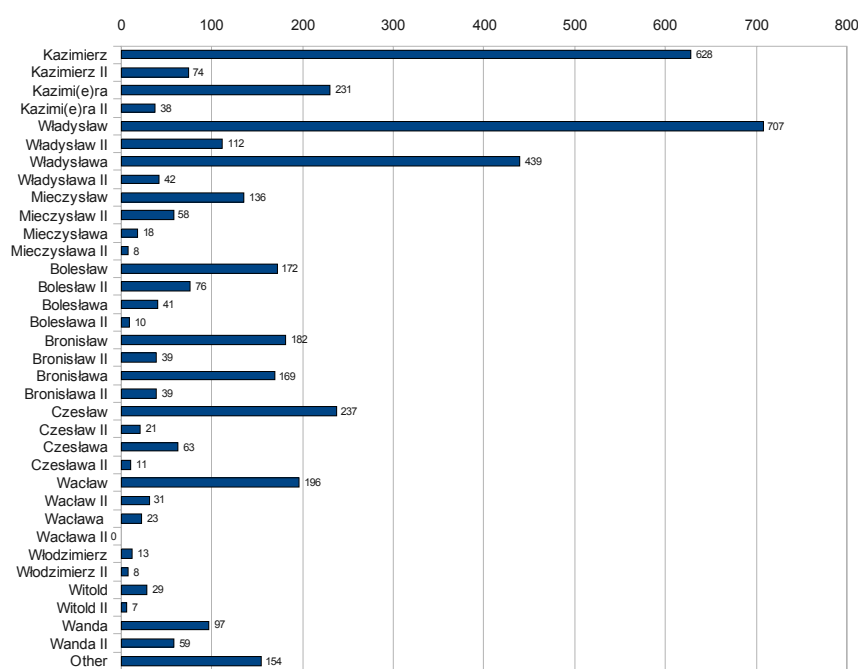


Figure 1. The most popular native names in St Martin's parish in Poznań, 1830-1900.

The category marked as “Other” includes all the less frequent given names (bestowed in the analyzed period typically under 25 times). They are listed alphabetically in the following table:

<i>Male names</i>	<i>Female names</i>
Bogdan	Bogumiła
Boguchwał	Bogusława
Bogumił	Božen(n)a
Bogusław	Bratumiła
Bogusz	Dobromiła
Bohdan	Jarosława
Bożesław	Litosława
Dobrogost	Ludmiła
Domysław (Domislaus)	Ludomiła
Dzierżymir	Ludomira
Janisław	Lutosława
Jarogniew	Ojcomiła
Jarosław	Przemysława
Lech	Szczęsna
Ludosław	Tomira
Mirosław	Wielosława
Mścisław	Wiesława
Przemysław	Witosława
Radomił	Włodzimi(e)ra
Rus Jarema	Zbigniewa
Wandalin	Zdzisława
Wiesław	
Witosław	
Witt	
Wrocisław [in the Latin original <i>Wratislaus</i>]	
Zbigniew	
Zdzisław	
Ziemowit	

Some of these names are of uncertain origin. This regards *Witt*, which used to be identified with *Światowid* and *Witosław* (cf. Fros and Sowa, 2002: 531 and 533), as well as *Tomira*, the feminine form of *Tomir*, which may have been derived from *Lutomir* or *Świętomir* (Grzenia, 2006: 310). *Rus Jarema* (a double name bestowed on a child) is a combination of an Eastern Slavic name *Jarema* with an ethnonym *Rus* ‘Ruthenian’. The name jointly clearly refers to the historical figure of Jeremi (Ukrainian *Ярема*, sometimes rendered in Polish as *Jarema*) Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1612 – 1651), a very powerful nobleman in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, voivode of Ruthenia and the father of the king Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. *Janisław* is a hybrid form created using the Hebrew-based stem *Jan* (John) with the addition of the Slavic suffix *-sław*. The male name *Wandalin* may have as its origin the Germanic *Wandelin*, but as Grzenia (2003) notes, it may easily have been perceived as a masculine counterpart of the female name *Wanda*. This name in turn, possibly invented (see above), has traditionally been associated with a legendary figure of a princess who would rather drown herself in the Vistula River than marry a German. Possibly because of these associations, to Poles under Prussian rule the name may have appeared particularly suitable. In fact, the number of its bearers in 19th-century Poznań is quite high.

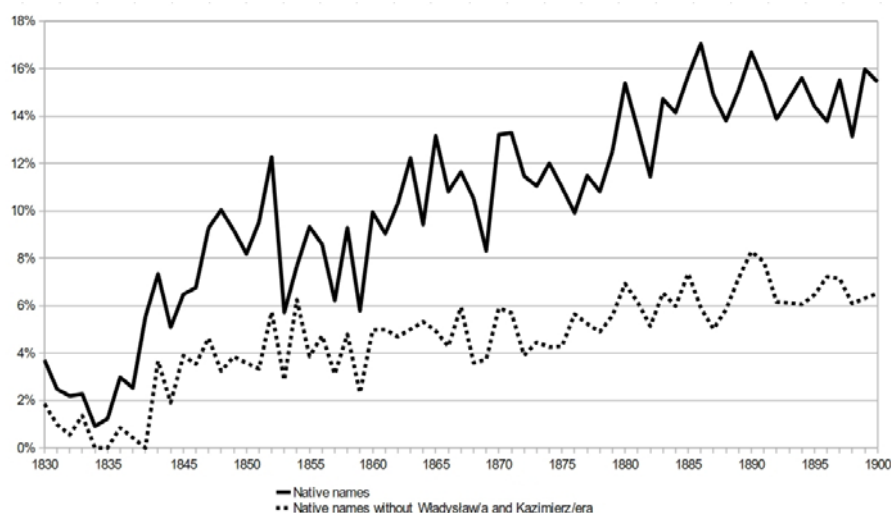


Figure 2. The popularity of native names in St Martin's parish, Poznań, 1830-1900.

Figure 2 shows the increase in popularity of programmatic names in St Martin's parish in the analyzed period. The upper, solid line marks the total of bestowals of what can be understood as programmatic names, while the lower, broken line shows the number of those names to the exclusion of the four most popular ones: Władysław, Kazimierz and their feminine counterparts Władysława and Kazimiera.

The parish of St Hedwig in Pępowo

Situated about 80 kilometers from Poznań, the parish was typically rural and relatively big, with almost twenty villages. A total of 3,555 baptismal entries have been analyzed. The findings are presented in the following table.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of births (in brackets the number of programmatic names)</i>	<i>Programmatic names</i>
1842	171 (4)	Kazimierz, Bronisław, 2x Czesław
1843	140 (4)	3x Kazimierz, Władysław
1844	178 (1)	Kazimierz
1845	179 (3)	3x Kazimierz
1846	156 (0)	
1847	111 (1)	Władysław
1848	138 (1)	Kazimierz
1849	172 (4)	3x Kazimierz, Władysław
1850	179 (1)	Kazimierz
1851	148 (3)	Kazimierz, 2x Władysław
1852	154 (0)	
1853	145 (0)	
1854	122 (3)	Bolesław, 2x Kazimierz
1855	96 (0)	
1856	89 (3)	Kazimiera, 2x Kazimierz
1857	157 (1)	Kazimierz
1858	146 (3)	2x Kazimierz, Władysław
1859	180 (4)	3x Kazimierz, Władysława
1860	138 (0)	
1861	126 (1)	Bronisława
1862	164 (4)	Kazimierz, 2x Władysław, Bronisław
1863	159 (2)	Bogusław, Kazimierz
1864	173 (0)	
1865	134 (4)	Kazimierz, Władysław, 2x Bolesław
Total	3,555 (47) = ±1.3 %	

It can be clearly seen that the number of programmatic names is not high. If they do appear, they are hardly unusual, the most popular of them being *Kazimierz*, topping the lists in St Martin's and in St John's. One of the reasons why they were not as popular as in Poznań may be the fact that landed gentry in Pępowo accounted for merely 1.7% of the population, as opposed to the average 3-4% in Greater Poland and 10-12% in all of the Polish lands at the time (cf. Górny, 1994: 17). Another reason may have been the fact that Pępowo since 1876 had been owned by Adolf von Hansemann and later taken over by his son Ferdinand, one of the founders of the Eastern Marches Society (an anti-Polish organization active in Germanization).

Eastern Pomerania

The data for this area come from the database of the Pomeranian Genealogical Society. The area covered by the volunteers working for the database, which could roughly be termed Eastern Pomerania, comprises what corresponds approximately to today's Pomeranian and some of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian voivodeships. The region is sometimes referred to as Pomerelia, enlarged by the territories to the east of it, between Elbląg and Toruń. The database keeps expanding.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Number of bestowals in Eastern Pomerania 1830-1900 (as of September 3, 2011)</i>
Władysław/Władysława	3,655
Bronisław/Bronisława	3,608
Bolesław/ Bolesława	2,120
Kazimierz/Kazimiera	1,817
Wanda	953
Wacław	245
Czesław	134
Mieczysław	70
Bogusław	41
Bogumił	24
Witold	9
Włodzimierz	4
Zdzisław	4
Other	6
Total number of programmatic names	12,690
Total number of births	999,254
Percentage of programmatic names	±1.3 %

Discussion: what counts as frequent?

In the light of Bystron's words, the above data raise an important question: what frequency must a name have to be considered popular? In all likelihood the answer depends on a particular community. In 14th-century England the six most popular male names were borne by 90 % of men (Scott, 1998: 67). As Górny (1994: 32) notes in reference to the parish in Pępowo, in the years 1751-1777 the most popular male name accounted for 7 % of bestowals (men only), while the most popular female name was borne by over 16 % of baby girls. According to the above-mentioned Pomeranian database, in Pomerania the most popular male name in the years 1830-1900 – *Jan* (German *Johann*) – was borne by over 8 % of the total population (both male and female), though this number refers to *Jan* given as both the first and the second name. In contemporary Poland the most popular male name is borne by about 3-4 % of men, and the same refers to women. Clearly the popularity of a name is a relative concept which must be discussed within a particular historical and cultural context.

Conclusions and comments

Several regularities are visible in the above data. First, there is a marked difference in the percentage of programmatic given names bestowed on children in the two rural parishes as opposed to the urban parish. While both rural parishes – as well as Eastern Pomerania treated as a whole – have the percentage of programmatic names around a mere 1 %, St Martin's average percentage for the years 1830-1900 is 12 %.

Second, comparing the parish of St John and that of St Hedwig one can see that proximity to a large city does not seem to have much influence; if anything, the rural parish far from bigger towns has a slightly higher percentage of those names (1.3 %) than the suburban one (0.8 %). However, given the low overall number of programmatic names in both parishes, and thus the degree to which just a few bestowals could have a considerable effect on the percentage, the differences in their percentages seem negligible.

Moreover, the two rural parishes do not appear to show any marked increase in the percentage of programmatic names over time. By contrast, at St Martin's there is a clear indication of a rising trend (cf. Fig. 2).

Finally, the bestowals in the rural parishes include only the most popular programmatic names: Kazimierz/era, Władysław/a, Mieczysław, Bronisław/a, Bogusław/a, Bolesław, Czesław, Wanda. Almost all of these were also the most popular ones among the programmatic names in Pomerania, where unusual native names were practically non-existent. City dwellers, on the contrary, seem to appreciate also the given names which were more unusual though not as popular, as for instance Kazimierz/era or Władysław/a. The frequencies for particular given names are presented in the table below.

Name	Percentage of a given name			
	St Martin's	Pomerania	Pępowo	St John's
Władysław / Władysława	3.84	0.37	0.28	0.27
Kazimierz / Kazimiera	2.87	0.18	0.79	0.20
Bronisław / Bronisława	1.27	0.36	0.08	0.14
Bolesław / Bolesława	0.88	0.21	0.08	0.03
Wanda	0.46	0.10	–	0.03
Wacław / Wacława	0.74	0.02	–	0.03
Czesław / Czesława	0.98	0.01	0.06	–
Mieczysław / Mieczysława	0.65	<0.01	–	0.17
Włodzimierz	0.06	<0.01	–	–
Witold	0.11	<0.01	–	–
Zdzisław	0.12	<0.01	–	–
Other	0.33	<0.01	0.03	–
Number of birth entries	33,831	999,254	3,555	2,942

The most promising category is decidedly “Other”. At St Martin's, where 28 male names and 21 female names have been used, it accounts for 154 cases (with 5 cases being multiple names bestowed on one child; this corresponds to 0.44 % of the total). This was markedly more than, by contrast, in the same category in Pomerania, where it comprised only 6 cases out of 999,254, i.e. a negligible under one thousandth of a per cent. Even so, it is still difficult not to wonder why of Bystron's list few given names actually appeared in St Martin's data: apart from the not-so-rare *Wanda*, only *Bohdan/Bogdan*, *Božen(n)a*, *Dobromiła*, *Jarosław*, *Ludomir(a)*, *Szczęсна*, *Witosława*, *Zbigniew* did make sporadic appearances. Besides, single bestowals of *Bogna* and *Janusz* have been noted in Pomerania.

The phenomenon known as *availability heuristic* and first described by Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahnemann (2011: 129ff) may have been at play here: where an example is easily

brought to mind, e.g. because of its unusual character or because it is closer to the observer, it tends to be mistakenly perceived as more frequent than it actually is. Given the circumstances, such an explanation appears plausible. First, unusual names – patriotic manifestos – must have enjoyed high visibility in the society of the time. Second, Bystroń was a man of letters and the people with whom he used to come into contact on a daily basis must have been mostly educated people too. In such a group the likelihood of patriotic names must have been markedly higher.

In fact, the hypothesis that the bearers of patriotic names were mostly the elites is somehow corroborated by a quick Internet search for the 19th-century-born bearers of some of the names listed by Bystroń. A search for the name *Ludomir*, to take an example, yields relatively many results of people born in 19th-century partitioned Poland:

- Ludomir Różycki (b. 1883, Warsaw) – composer
- Ludomir Sleńdziński (b. 1889, Vilnius) – painter
- Ludomir Benedyktowicz (b. 1844, Świniary near Siedlce) – painter
- Ludomir Sawicki (b. 1884, Vienna) – professor of geography, explorer
- Ludomir Łuczkowski (b. 1889, Częstochowa) – officer
- Ludomir Rogowski (b. 1881, Lublin) – composer, conductor
- Ludomir Stępowski-Junosza (b. abt. 1850) – officer in Russian army

With reference to the findings it must be remembered that the Greater Poland data are merely samples and they invite more research. For instance, a more comprehensive study of the data from other Poznań parishes might shed some more light on the issue in question. Also extending the time perspective over the years 1900-1914 might prove valuable. Finally, it may be fruitful in the future (perhaps taking advantage of the on-line databases to come) to compare the ratio of patriotic names in Greater Poland with that of the area under the Russian or the Austrian partition to see how name choices there differed from those under Prussia.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that regardless of which programmatic given names were actually bestowed on children, the trend so visible in the 19th century left a lasting mark on today's naming. To this day some of the given names which became popular at the time are borne by a large number of living Poles. Among the male names, apart from the obvious and ever-popular Stanisław and Wojciech this refers also to Kazimierz, Zbigniew, Jarosław, Zdzisław, Mirosław, Wiesław, Przemysław, Bolesław, Bronisław, Radosław, and Sławomir. Of the female names, the most popular ones include Stanisława, Kazimiera, Władysława and Czesława (Malec, 1996: 12-13).

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- Akta stanu cywilnego Parafii Rzymskokatolickiej św. Marcin Poznań, No. 53/3460/0
- Akta stanu cywilnego Parafii Rzymskokatolickiej św. Jana (Komandoria Joannitów) Poznań, No. 53/3458/0
- Akta stanu cywilnego Parafii Rzymskokatolickiej Pępowo (pow. gostyński), No.53/3446/0

Database of Pomorskie Towarzystwo Genealogiczne (Pomeranian Genealogical Society) – accessed 22.11.2011:

- information about the indexed parishes: <http://www.ptg.gda.pl/index.php/certificate/action/main/>
- baptismal record search: <http://www.ptg.gda.pl/index.php/certificate/action/searchB/>

Justyna B. Walkowiak
Adam Mickiewicz University
Poland
justwalk@amu.edu.pl