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**Interaction of Germanic Personal Names with Latin
Onomastics in the Late-Roman West. The Different Cases
of Gothic, Vandalic and Lombard Names.**

Nicoletta Francovich Onesti

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Abstract:

The evolution of Late-Latin personal names in Italy and North Africa in the age of migrations. The gradual interaction with Gothic, Vandalic and Lombard names and subsequent modifications of Roman names in the early Middle Ages is discussed in detail. The different levels of change in Vandal Africa, where the input of Germanic names was scarce, and in Ostrogothic Italy. During the long-lasting Lombard kingdom of Italy (568-774) the influence of Germanic personal names grew stronger, and the exchange between Latin and Lombard traditions intensified in the second half of the eighth century. The study of personal names may reveal the new linguistic Romance trends that would not otherwise show in the Latin texts of the time. The African heritage was effaced by the Arab conquest; in Italy the ancient Gothic and Lombard personal names did not survive as such, but were sometimes preserved as family names.

Interaction of Germanic Personal Names with Latin Onomastics in the Late-Roman West. The different Cases of Gothic, Vandalic and Lombard Names.

Nicoletta Francovich Onesti (Siena)

1. The classical Latin:	<i>praenomen</i>	<i>gentilicium</i>	<i>cognomen</i>	<i>agnomen</i>
three-name system:	Gaius	Valerius	Catullus	
	Quintus	Fabius	Maximus	Cunctator

Women : only the *gentilicium*

Tullia

Cornelia

Claudia

suffix *-ius, -ia* (Iulius, Iulia)

The *gentilicium* was the dignifying name, indicating the status of Roman citizen; from AD 212 it was no longer a symbol of Roman citizenship, since the *Constitutio Antoniniana* extended citizenship to the whole empire (Kajanto 1977).

1.1. The Late-Latin name system at the times of the

Vandal Kingdom of North Africa: 429-534 AD.

Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy: (488-) 493-553.

Lombard Kingdom in Italy: 568-774.

1.2. Social prestige: *Fl. Eutharicus Cillica, Flavius Stilico; Flavius Valila; Flavius Fravitta.*Supernomina /nicknames are added: *Euthymius qui et Lupus, Eusebius, Eusebia, Aeliadora Adeodata.*

Latin names added to barbarian names: e.g. *Ademunt qui et Andreas, Ereleuva Eusebia, Igila Danihel, Riccitanc Eusebius* (religious reasons), *Fl. Vitalis Vitarit* (Africa). Simple nicknames: e.g. *Badvila / Totila.*

1.3. Late-Roman names. Examples of Biblical and religious names, saints' names (from Jarnut's *Prosopography* 1972 and from Africa):

Adeodatus, Andreas, Agnellus, Beatus, Benedictus, Christina, Iohannes, Iosephus, Mattheulus, Natale, Natalia, Nazario, Pasquale, Pascasio, Paulus, Petrus, Petrulus, Petrucia, Reparatus, Reparata, Sabatinus, Sanctolus, Silvester, Samuhel, Danihel, David, Dominica, Lucifer, Thomas.

Names from adjectives:

Audaces, Aureus, Benignus, Bonus, Bona; Candidus, Candida, Clarus, Dulciarius, Felix, Fidelis, Germanus, Grato, Grada, Magnus, Maximus, Mellitus, Optimus, Pacificus, Serenus, Serena, Tertius, Venerandolus, Vergondus, Vitalis; Clarissimus, Verissimus.

Greek names:

Anastasius, Bellerifonsu, Calistus, Chrysanthus, Eleutherius, Epifanio, Gelasius, Gervasio, Gregorius, Leontaces, Pantaleon, Pascasius, Pelagius, Pellagia, Prasinasci, Protasio, Sisinnius, Stephanus, Stephania, Istefanacis, Theoderaci, Theodora, Theodosius, Theodote, Theophilus, Teufanius, Hieronimus; especially in Southern Italy: Eufimie, Eusebia, Georgius, Precopi.

Sardinia: *Hospiton* (end of 6th cent., leader of the *babaricini* tribes of the interior). The island was not reached by the Langobards, so its history in 599 began to diverge from the rest of Italy and entered the long Byzantine phase. After the Arab conquest of Sicily (827), Sardinia's contacts with Constantinople became less frequent. In the following centuries, Late-Roman names like *Mariano* continued in use, but other, very unusual names appeared in the island, like *Barisone, Gonnario, Orzocco, Torchitorio*, that indicate its isolation and independence both from Byzantine and from Italian culture.

Suffixes. Rise in frequency of the suffixed forms, so names could undergo considerable alterations. Suffixes were used to obtain new varieties of old *cognomina*, e.g. *Antuninulo, Rusticus -Rusticius -Rusticiana, Constantius -Constantinus -Constantianus, Florus -Florinus -Florentius -Florentianus, Licinius -Licinianus, Valens -Valentius -Valentinus -Valentinianus, Clemens -Claementinus, Iustus -Iustinus -Iustinianus, Barbatus -Barbulus -Barbatianus -Barbullanus*, etc.

Examples of suffixed Late-Roman names (A standing for Africa):

Honorius, Honoria, Placidia, Asterius, Arcadius, Dracontius (A), Hilarius, Leontius (from a Greek stem), *Luponius, Luxorius (A), Rusticius, Sallusticius (A), Simplicio, Valerius, Venerius, Vigilius, Vindemius;*

Constantius /Gustantius; Barbentius, Crescentius, Decentius, Fidentius, Florentio, Fulgentius (A), Gaudentius, Laurentio, Maurentius, Maxentius, Pascentius (A), Valentio, Vincentius,

Genesius;

Dulciarius, Ianuarius, Luciarius, Armentarius;

Albinus, Antonina, Augustinus, Justinus, Maximinus, -ina, Caelerinus, Crispinus, Faustinus, Firminus, Florinus, Fortinus, Helina, Marinus, Marcellino, Martinus, Maurinus, Maximinus, Paulinus, Probinus, Rufinus, Sabatinus, Sorina, Victorinus (A), Lupo, Lupulus, Lupicinus, Ursicinus, Claementinus, Constantino, Laurentinus, Valentinus;

Marianus, Barbulus/Barbullanus (same person), *Claudianus, Damianus, Datianus, Emilianus, Fabianus (A), Flavianus, Gratianus, Iobianus, Iulianus, Leonianus,*

Lucianus, Maorianus, Mocianus (A), Priscianus (A), Rusticianus, Rusticana; Salvianus, Simplicianus, Ticianus, Valerianus, Victorianus, Vitalianus, Marciano, Marciانو; Marinianus, Martinianus, Iustinianus, Sabinianus, Geminianus, Valentinianus; Constantianus, Florentianus, Gaudentianus, Firmicianus;

Lucieri, Lucerio, Luceria; Liceria, Glycerius.

Amandolus, Albulus, Albinolus, Antuninulo, Augustulus, Calendinulus, Calvulus, Corvulus, Decciolus, Dulciolus, Gemmulus, Georgiulus, Gradulus, Indula, Laetula, Longulus, Lucanolus, Lucciolus, Marciolus, Mattheulus, Homulo, Probulus, Pupulus, Serbulus, Tinctulo, Valeriolus, Venerandolus, Vitulus;

Barbatus, Barbulus, Barbatianus, Barbulanus.

From past participles: *Fortonato, Fortunatulus, Honorata, Reparata, Reparatus, Revocatus (A), Optatus, Probatus, Donatianus.*

–osus was at first popular in Africa, e.g. *Fastidiosus, Gaugiosulus, Gloriosus, Venerioso* (Kajanto 1963). Later it became very frequent in Italy too: e.g. *Barosus, Barosulus; Bonosus, Bonosa, Bonosula, Gaudiosus, Formosula, Fructuosus, Gratosus, Luminosus, Lemosulus.*

2. Names from the Vandal Kingdom of North Africa.

Christian religious names: *Johannes, Paschasius, Anastasius, Anastasia, Bonifatius, Epiphanius, Innocentius, Laurentius, Natalicus, Paulus, Perpetua, Petrus, Redemptus, Renatus, Renovatus, Reparatus, Reparata, Simplicius, Stephanus, Thecla.*¹ Some of these were older names, that had acquired a religious meaning as saints' names, like *Thecla, Stephanus* and *Laurentius*. Names derived from dates and Christian holidays: *Januarius, Natalicus, Natalia, Paschasius*. Compounded forms: *Adeodatus, Deusdedit, Deogratias, Quodvultdeus*; Kajanto 1963 (p. 102-103) thinks these were local African creations, as they probably were a kind of translation either from certain types of Punic names, or from Greek forms like *Theó-dōros, Theo-dótē*.

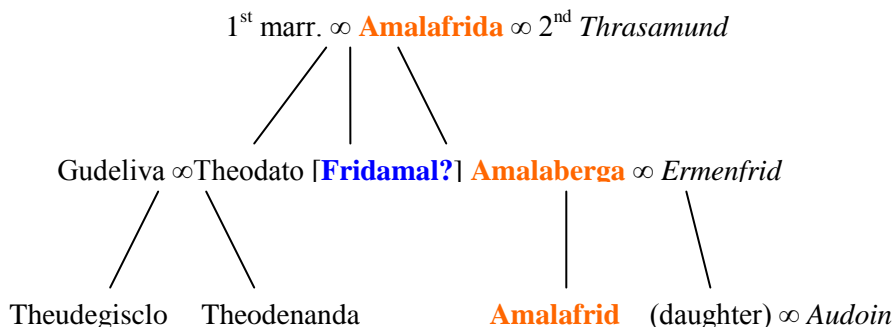
2.1. In the African provinces the transition toward the single name system was rather quick. Only in the farthest west, at Altava and Pomarium, was a persistent use of the three classical Roman names recorded down to the 5th and 6th centuries (Solin 2002). This could be explained as a late persistence of old-fashioned usages in such a marginal area. In any case some isolated instances of *tria nomina* are found here and there in the Vandal kingdom, e.g. *Julius Messius Quintianus* (on the Tablettes Albertini, year 493, Numidia). But the formula is not really classical, because an ancient *gentilicium* like *Julius* was here used as first name; or was it by now only an ornamental title like *Flavius*?

By adding a foreign name of barbarian origin, the Late-antique name system could temporarily go back to the *duo nomina* type, sometimes even to the *tria nomina*. Examples

¹ Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies...* 1963, p. 56-59, and p. 79, 111.

from North Africa are: *Ponponi Feva*, *Valeria Mannica*, *Sallusticius Manno*, *Iul. Tzaiza*, *Fl. Vitalis Vitarit* (with alliteration).

2.2. In Africa new mixed forms were created earlier than in Ostrogothic Italy, and in a larger proportion. Some of the mixed names from Africa may be formed with a Vandal suffix applied to a Latin stem, or the other way around, or with non-Latin stems (probably Alan, Berber): *Vasila*, *Muritta*, *Siddina*, *Svartifan*. Who was Fridamal?² Prof. Castritius suggested that he belonged to the royal family, being probably a relative of Thrasamund's Queen Amalafrida: was he her son from her first marriage? He thinks it is possible to attribute persons to the Vandal *stirps regia* although it is not really said in the sources. The queen's grandson *Amala-frid*; he thinks that the elements of both names were exchanged: Frid-amal / Amala-frid.



Barbarian names were usually adapted to Latin, like femin. *Abiarica*, *Beremuda*, *Damira*, *Supserika*. Alan personal names were recorded during the Vandal kingdom (e.g. *Safrac*, *Tzazon*, *Baza*, *Sersao*). A few Suebian names occurred as well, showing their characteristic West Germanic features (e.g. Sueb. *Ermengon suaba*, *Ingomaris*, *Hildiger*, *Svabila*). Sometimes a Latin suffix was applied to a Vandalic name: *Brandini*, *Siddina*, *Dagili[a]*; *Gudulo*, *Gudulus*, *Usclu* (< *wunsk-ulu).³

The reverse (Germanic suffix with a Roman or Greek name) is less frequent: e.g. *Cyryla*, *Fuskia*, *Muritta*, *Vasila*. The latter shows an Alan stem mixed with a Vandal suffix.

3. Ostrogothic Italy.

In Late-antique Italy the aristocracy could pile up many names one after the other, for men inherited both paternal and maternal *cognomina* (see the case of *Anicius Manlius*

² Luxorius in *Anthologia Latina* I, 304: "De turre in viridiario posita, ubi se Fridamal aprum pinxit occidere. Admiranda tuae tamen est virtutis imago | Fridamal, et stratae gloria magna ferae". Frank Clover thinks he was a Goth (Clover, *The Late-Roman West...* 1993, VI, p. 14).

³ *Gudulus*, with the genitive *Guduli*, occur in Tabl. Albertini, late 5th century; cp. Goth. *Godila* (< *gōða- 'good'). *Gudulo* is recorded on a 578 inscription, where he is mentioned together with *Guntari* among the builders of a *castrum* in Numidia (Courtois, nr. 168, p. 387). *Usclu* is mentioned on a mosaic inscription of Hippo Regius.

Torquatus Severinus Boethius, where *Anicia* was his mother's *gentilicium*). In this period interesting enlarged name-forms began to come into fashion, having a suffix added to an extended stem like *Lup-on-ius*, *Sallust-ic-ius*, *Urs-ic-inus* (compare for example Italian *libro*, *libr-icc-ino*; *monte*, *mont-ic-ello*).

3.1. We can postulate the existence of mixed marriages: *Hildevara* and *Johannes* (Classe 523), *Sifilo-Bilesarius* (Ravenna 555), *Valatru-Stefani* (gold ring from Desana), *Petronia-Pitone* (Ravenna, papyrus Marini 124, Frösén l. 1, 11), *Regina-Patzenis* (Cassiodorus *Variae* V, 32, 33), *Procula-Brandila* (ibidem, year 523-26).

Roman names among the Ostrogoths: *Agate* daughter of *comes* Gattila (Milan, AD 512, *CIL* V, 6176), *Tulgilo* and *Parianis* parents of *Domnica* and *Deutherius* (Tjäder P30, year 539), *Montanus* had been a notary of King Witigis until 540⁴. *Cristodorus*, an Arian priest who was father of *Willienant* (who in turn belonged to the Arian clergy of Ravenna together with *Danihel*, *Petrus* and *Paulus*⁵), and uncle of *Anastasia* (ibidem).

Mixed Latin-and-Gothic forms: *Bonila* (P4-5, Ravenna 552) from the Latin stem *Bonus* plus a Gothic suffix on the model of Goth. *Gudila* (< *gōds* 'good'). Real hybrid names are not known; we only have the adaptation of Lat. *maurus* with the Gothic ending *-a* in the personal name *Mora*, similar to the Vandal name *Muritta*. But there were people with double names, e.g. *Ademunt-Andreas* (P13, a. 553), *Igila-Danihel* (P34, a. 551), *Riccitanc-Eusebius* (P6, a. 575), *Ereleuva-Eusebia* (Anonymus Vales. 14). For social motifs of prestige: *Flavius Eutharicus Cillica*, *Ostrogotho Ariagne* (*Getica* 58), *Fl. Amala Amalafrida Theodenanda clarissima femina* (inscription of Palestrina, *ILCV* 40).

Sometimes nicknames were added to Gothic personal names: *Willienant Minnulus* (P34, a. 551), *Wisandos Vandalarios* (a. 537, *Goth. War* I, 18; II, 11), *Badvila Totila*, *Rosemud qui Faffo connominatur* (P7 a. 557), *Gundeberga qui et Nonnica* (*spectabilis femina*, inscription from Modena a. 570). Such surnames as *Totila* for King *Badvila* had a similar function to the Latin *cognomina*.

3.2. Very few personal names were formed with a Latin suffix. The case of *Costula* (Cassiodorus *Variae* V 30) is uncertain, its suffix alternating with the Gothic *Costila*, *Costilanis* (P34); then *Gattulo* (GregMagnus *Epist.*) corresponding to the entirely Gothic name *Gattilanis*; nickname *Minnulus* with an ambivalent stem (from the root of Goth. *minniza* 'minor' but echoing the Lat. *minor*).

Question: why in the Greek rendering of Ostrogothic names, were the weak stems never inflected as Greek nasal stems according to the expected third Greek declension? On the other hand the Vandal name *Tzazon* (King Gelimer's brother) was inflected as a Greek *-n* stem in the 3rd declension: nom. Τζάζων, gen. -ωνος, dat. -ωνι, acc. -ωνα (Procopius). Plenty of Latin examples like *Tancane*, *Triwane*, *Annanis*, *Mannane*, *Butilani*, *Anilani* etc., but never Greek *-n* inflections (in Greek letters we have: *Ouraias*, *-a*; *Ousdrilas*, *-a*, *-an*;

⁴ Tjäder P6, year 575; *PLRE* 3, 895.

⁵ Tjäder P33, year 541; P34, year 551.

Oulian acc.; Thraustilas, -an; Pissan; Optilas, -an (Lat. *Optilam* /*Accilane*); Moras, -a dat.; Gripas, -an, -a dat. (Lat. *Gripō*, -*onis*).

The problem of *Starcedio*, dative of **Starcedius* (Cassiodorus *Variae* V 36): it could be a compound with second element **þewa-z*. But generally such forms appear as *-theus* in Ostrogothic personal names (*Alatheus*, *Amalatheus*, *Odotheus*, *Ulitheos*, *Dagistheo*). If it was a one-stem name, we could think of the rare suffix *-iða* with the root **starka-* ‘strong’ (cp. Old Norse *Starkaðr*); the same suffix occurs in the Gothic names *Ovida*, *Uldida*, Gepid *Fastida*, *Albida*, Old Saxon *Uffed*.⁶ In this case we have to postulate the further addition of the Latin suffix *-ius* to form *Starc-ed-io*. It could also be the Latin suffix *-idius* (see *Helpidius*, *Aspidio*) that in Visigothic Spain was also applied to Gothic roots producing forms like *Trastidia*, *Nantidia* (Piel /Kremer p. 341-342).

3.3. The thread of Gothic names in Italy did not vanish immediately after the Byzantine conquest of 553. They steadily decreased, going gradually out of use, except for few forms that were still alive in the 7th and 8th centuries in certain areas. Among men’s names the type *Teodoricus*, *Theodericus* was recorded in this period at Rieti and in Umbria. Another name still surviving after the end of the kingdom was *Aligernus* (inscription of Gargano)⁷ clearly belonging to the Ostrogothic tradition.

Among women’s names the Gothic form *Wilileva* was still present at Ravenna in 613; later a woman with the unmistakably Gothic name of *Hosdeleua* was recorded in 735 at Parma; both forms show the same second element **leuþō* ‘dear’.⁸

Italian place-names of Gothic origin: *Andalo*, *Asolo*, *Rovigo*, *Godo*, *Godi*, *Godego*, *Goito* and others (mostly found in Veneto and Romagna).

4. Lombard Italy.

A few Lombard historical figures had assumed Latin names: e.g. **Lupus** duke of Friuli 662-663 (*HL* V 17-22; Jarnut *St. dei Lgb.* p. 59); **Lupus** duke of Spoleto 745-752 (Jarnut, *Prosop.* p. 396-97; Jarnut *St. dei Lgb.* p. 109, 113); **Corvolus** duke of Friuli in 706 (*HL* VI 25; Jarnut, *Prosop.* p. 348; Jarnut *St. dei Lgb.* p. 63); **Desiderius** from Brescia, duke of Tuscia, then king 756-774 (Jarnut, *Prosop.* p. 348-49); **Gregorius** was King Liutprand’s nephew, duke of Chiusi (729, local inscription) and then of Benevento 732-738 (*HL* VI, 55-56; Jarnut, *Prosop.* p. 357-59; Jarnut *St. dei Lgb.* p. 90, 92); **Petrus** duke of Friuli 751-756, son of *Munichis* and brother of *Ursus* (*HL* VI 24: *Munichis pater Petri foroiuliani et Ursi cenetensis ducum*); **Ursus** duke of Ceneda, son of *Munichis* (*HL* VI 24); **Paulus** Diaconus, from Friuli, son of *Warnefrit* and *Theudelinda*, brother of *Arichis* (*HL* IV, 37).

⁶ Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*... 1911, p. 86; Wagner, *Ostgermanisch-alanisch-hunnische Beziehungen*... 1979, p. 11-13; Wagner, *Sisebutus*... 1992, p. 281.

⁷ Arcamone, *Antroponimia*... 1980, p. 279, 296.

⁸ *Hosdeleua* is made up of either Goth. *huzd* ‘treasure, hoard’, or Germc. **uzda-* ‘point’, cp. Old High Germ. *ort* ‘point, tip’; in both cases the Gothic form obviously preserves the original sibilant <s>.

Some of these names had a corresponding Lombard root: wulf- ‘*lupus*, wolf’, hrabn- ‘*corvus*, raven’, ber- ‘*ursus*, bear’.

Lombard personal names began to spread through all social classes, and could be found in the same families alongside with Latin names: e.g. *Fortes* son of *Adoald*, *Garipald* son of *Marinianus*, the brothers *Aiolfo* and *Fabrulo*, *Deusdona* and *Filipert*, *Gumfrid* and *Baruncio*, *Audepert* and *Baroncellus*, the sisters *Soruncia* and *Aliperga*, etc. (CDL; see Jarnut 1972).

A sample study on Tuscany has shown that names of Lombard origin definitely prevailed among the ruling class (87% of dukes, *gastaldi* and *gasindi*); in the 8th century Lombard names also extended to the bishops (like *Peredeo*). Among the lowest classes (*aldii* and serfs) there were names of Lombard origin and hybrid formations in about one-third of cases (for example freedmen: *Alo filio Radaldelli* Lucca 761; *Aurulu russu nepote Uuidaldi de Quosa* Lucca 761; *Boniperga qui Teudirada ancilla*, Chiusi 763), while pure Latin names amounted to about the same percentage.⁹

4.1. New Romance name-formations: *Barbucola*, *Baroncio*, *Baroncello*, *Borunciolus*, *Soruncia*, *Sorina*, *Sorola*, *Barunulus*, *Barutta*, *Baruttolus*, *Barulia*, *Baronacculus*, *Baronta*, *Domnulinus*, *Domnolina Mauronto*, *Maurulus* (from Jarnut 1972).

Ciullo, *Carellus*, *Corvellus*, *Fratellus*, *Ursellus*, *Maurellus*, *Taurillus* ;

Baruccio, *Barucciolus*, *Ferruccio*, *Leuccio*, *Petrucia*, *Homicio*, *Mastaloni*;

Miccio, *Micciolo*, *Miccinellus*, *Paulicio*, *Mucciolus*.

Some were derived from Greek, common in Southern Italy, but could be found in the Lombard kingdom too: *Iohannacis*, *Petronaci*, *Theoderaci*.

New names, formed with common core vocabulary words and newly compounded forms: *Rosa*, *Benenatus*, *Bonushomo*, *Bonismuli*, *Verbono*, *Diebonu*, *Magnoaster*, *Magnoviro*, *Talesperianus*. Such significant names recorded in the late Lombard period were the starting point of the future bloom of the meaningful forms typical of the high Middle Ages, like the good wish names (from the 12th cent.): *Benvenutus* ‘welcome’, *Dietiguardi* ‘God protect you’, *Confortus* ‘solace, comfort’, *Dietifece* ‘God made you’, *Diotallevi* ‘may God bring you up’, *Diotaiuti* ‘God help you’, *Bonturo* and *Bonaventura* ‘good luck’, *Bencivenni* ‘well arrived’, *Benivieni* ‘well you come’, *Bonagiunta* ‘good addition’, *Bonaccorso* ‘well occurred’, *Bonanno*¹⁰ ‘good year’, *Diotisalvi*¹¹ ‘God save you!’.

⁹ Francovich Onesti, *The Lombard Names...* 2002.

¹⁰ *Bonanno pisano* was the artist that made the beautiful Romanesque bronze doors of the Duomo in Pisa in the 12th century.

¹¹ This was the name of the architect of the lower Romanesque part of the baptistery in Pisa, as the 1153 inscription says: *MCLIII MENSE AUGUSTI FUNDATA FUIT HAEC ECCLESIA. DEUSTESALVET MAGISTER HUIUS OPERIS.*

4.2. The transformation and partial replacement of the Latin-Romance nomenclature with the Lombard nomenclature began in the 7th century, with a steady increase of Lombard names in the following century. Their proportion changed, till a very high percentage of Germanic names was reached in the mid-8th century. At San Vincenzo al Volturno for example the names of Lombard origin that were recorded in the Abbey amount to almost 65% of the total and consequently those of Latin, Greek or Biblical origin only amount to about one third. Among the graffiti of Monte Sant'Angelo (Gargano, Southern Italy)¹² the proportion is as follows: 42 Latin names (= less than 1/3) against 93 names of Germanic origin. In the documents of *Regesto di Farfa* (central Italy; data taken from Jarnut 1972) up to 774 we find the same situation as in San Vincenzo: 140 Latin names out of 411 (that is slightly more than 1/3). In Lombard Tuscany and in the North the total amount of Latin names recorded does not reach 33%, which is about the same proportion we find among the Gargano graffiti. The names of Germanic origin were by now the most common in Lombard Italy, actually the majority. The most relevant discontinuity in the development of the Italian name system took place during the Lombard kingdom.

Men's names were more readily replaced by Germanic forms. For example a certain *Guerolfo*, *gastaldus* in Sabina in 747, had a wife *Bona* and a daughter *Patricia*, but two sons with the Lombard names of *Octeramus* and *Fulcoaldus*. A similar hint was found in earlier times, when in 579 the lector of the church of Grado *Amara* (a Gothic name) had a wife *Antonina* and the two daughters *Helia* and *Mellita*. Generally speaking this trend is still present today.

There is a difference from the Early medieval nomenclature of Spain, where Late-Roman names continued more steadily until medieval and modern times (e.g. Span. *Leoncio*, *Cesaria*). This is true even for the Spanish names of Visigothic origin; e.g. Span. *Elvira*, *Ataulfo*, *Attilano*, which are still in use. On the contrary Ostrogothic names have totally disappeared from Italian modern onomastics, and even the Lombard names have gone out of use, superseded by the Frankish vogue since Carolingian times.

In the Byzantine areas and especially in Southern Italy, Latin names were better preserved, together with many Greek names (like *Theoderaci*, *Iohannacis*, *Petronaci*, and *Leontaces*, *Pantaleon*, *Calistus*, *Anastasius*, etc.)¹³. Even today, Greek names like *Filumena*, *Calogero*, are still typical of Southern Italy. Sardinia continues to show its peculiar autonomous personal names of Late-Roman and Byzantine tradition (today for example *Bachisio*, *Efisio*, *Gavino* are typical of Sardinia).

4.3. New hybrid names appeared, made up of a first Latin element and a Germanic stem, like *Clari-sinda*, *Boni-perga*, *Boni-perto* *Bone-risi*, *Davi-prand*, *Domni-chis* *Dulci-pert*, *Flori-pert*, *Luci-frido*, *Luci-perga*, *Lupi-chis*, *Magn-olfi*, *Nazir-imda* (daughter of *Nazarius*, CDL 83, Verona 745), *Ursi-perto*, and many others. Usually the Lombard elements occurred in the second position: *Lup-uald*, *Magne-rada*, etc. A special hybrid form was the

¹² Carletti, *Iscrizioni murali...* 1980, Arcamone, *Antroponimia...* 1980.

¹³ In the Italian areas not reached by Lombard rule, modern family surnames can still be found to this day that are directly derived from Late-Roman personal names: e.g. *Marcello*, *Giustinian* surviving in Venice.

name of the *ancilla Dei Abenetrada* (Jarnut 1972, p. 278, Pavia 762) where the Latin-Romance words *a(d) bene (tracta)* were apparently mixed with the typical Lombard second element *-rada*, originally meaning ‘counsellor’ (< Germc. *rēðō), so that the whole compound could possibly mean ‘advisor for the good’. Some of the hybrid forms seem typical of a given area, for example *Bonichis*, *Floripert* are recorded only in Tuscany, while *Calbe-risi*, *Bone-cunda*, *Lup-ari*, *Iust-olfo* appear only in the South.

At the same time there were newly developed derivatives that seem to be Latin creations, which adapted Lombard names with Latin suffixes. This seems to be the last step in the process of mutual interference and partial substitution between Roman and Lombard onomastic traditions. Mixed names formed with a Latin suffix applied to a Germanic stem were very frequent in the last decades of the 8th century. Examples: *Aldula*, *Aunifridulo*, *Causeradula*, *Cospulo*, *Cospula*, *Gumpulus*, *Gunderadula*, *Lanpulus*, *Radulum*, *Teudipergula*, *Teutpertulo*, *Willulus*, with the Latin diminutive suffix *-ulus*, *-ula*.

In the following instances the suffix *-ulus*, *-ula* was also applied to hybrid forms: *Bonald-ulo*, *Perse-rad-ulo*, *Mauri-pert-ulo* and *Luci-trud-ula* (brother and sister). One of the first Latin suffixes to be applied to Germc. stems was *-ius*, *-ia*: examples are *Francio*, *Fusio*, *Auria* f.

It must be further noticed that some of the forms with the *-ulus* suffix are inflected as nasal stems, like *Fridulo* (nominative, ablative), *Fridulonis* (genitive, CDL 160, Lucca 762), *Pertulo*, *Pertulone* (CDL 295, Pisa 768), *Ermuli*, *Ermuluni* (CDL 49, Pisa 730); *Dondulo*, *Dondoloni* (CDL 45, 171, Pisa 730, 763), *Guntulo*, gen. *Gundulo*, *Gunduli*, *Guntuloni* (CDL 207, 211, 214, Lucca 767, 768), *Gumfuloni* (gen., CDL 38, Pistoia 726).¹⁴ Another formation occurring in Italian 8th-century documents is the name-type with the Lat. suffix *-ius* applied to an enlarged weak stem, like *Dond-on-io* and the entirely Latin *Lup-on-ius*.¹⁵

The prevailing Germanic tradition attracted the new name-giving habits. Its model set the style and practice of alliteration within families, even among Latin names and name-elements: e.g. *Ursus* and *Ursa* (CDL 30, Lucca 722), *Bonuald* and *Bonipert* (CDL 253, Chiusi 771), *Bonipertulu* and *Bonisomuli* (CDL 154, Lucca 761), *Davit* and *Daviprand* (CDL 287, Lucca 773), *Nazarius* and *Nazirimda* (CDL 83, Verona 745), *Regnolfus* and *Regnipincta* (CDL 194, Lucca 765), *Petronaci filio Baronaci* (same rhyming suffix, CDL 160, Lucca 762).

5. New suffixes.

New Romance forms were emerging in the Lombard period. It is precisely in the personal names of this period that we find many new Italian suffixes, e.g. *Gayruzo* (774 Benevento),

¹⁴ Also Latin names could follow the same inflection, for example both *Cichi* and *Ciccuni* occur for the genitive, *Ciccune* for the ablative, who was *Fridulo*’s father (CDL 210, 767 Lucca).

¹⁵ Actually it is *Luponius* to follow the pattern of *Dondonio* (a. 761, CDL 155), as the latter shows a weak Germanic stem (*dunda-n-, Förstemann 402); although *Luponius* was recorded earlier. In the name *Bar-un-ulus* (CDL 235, Populonia 769) the suffix was probably applied to the oblique case of Lat. *Baro, *Baronis*.

Arnucciolu, Ducciulu; Baodolinus, Bobuleno, Emulinus, Gudolini, Nandulini, Rocculenus,¹⁶ *Catocciulo, Altegiano* (CDL 52, Vianino 735, with the Italian suffix *-igiano* from Lat. *-esianu* < *-e(n)sianus*¹⁷), *Radaldello, Warnelli*. This marks a great difference from Ostrogothic times, that were too ancient for the new Romance suffixes to appear, even in personal names. Italian suffixes emerged in written texts no earlier than the 7th century,

The inverse process (Latin names with a Germanic suffix) was less frequent. The Germc. *-ing* suffix was sometimes employed; it was a loanword in the Italian language and was productive until the 12th century. Examples of names from the 8th century are: *Meruingo, Filinghi, Bruningus*. The name *Bar-inch-uli* (Lucca 720) shows a double suffix (*-ing-* + *-ulus*) attached to a Latin stem.

After an initial phase of disruption and disintegration of the late-Roman name system, the impact of the Lombard personal names in Italy gradually produced a new synthesis. The two onomastic traditions had reached a sort of fusion before the Carolingian conquest of 774, in more than one way. First, the indifferent use of both types of names among the same social classes and the same families. Second, the widespread emergence of mixed name-forms, of hybrids (like *Ursiperto*) as well as mixed derivatives (like *Radaldello, Barinchuli*). It should be stressed that it is precisely in personal names that the new Romance /Italian linguistic trends and developments appeared for the first time in the history of the Italian language, ahead of time, being especially evident in the use of new suffixes (like *Baruncellus, Barunta, Baruccio, Arnucciolu, Nandulini*, etc.). Moreover, such interesting formations can reveal early evidence of local dialectal trends, in that they may show specific characteristics that will be typical of the future Italian dialects; a phonetic distinction between the name *Ermerissi* in the South and *Ermerisci* in Tuscany, the *-ulus* suffix prevails in Tuscany (*Bonulus, Tassulo*) others elsewhere (*Tasilo* in Pavia, *Rotharini, Teudicini* at Farfa). Already in Lombard times, names and name-suffixes witnessed the incipient differences among the three main Italian dialect areas: northern, Tuscan and central-southern.

A mixture of Latin and Lombard forms was also achieved in terms of morphology: in the 8th century we find Latin names that could be inflected on the model of Germanic weak stems, like *Fortene, Ursoni* (< Lat. *Fortis, Ursus*), even in presence of suffixes, like *Guntuloni, Fridulo, Fridulonis* (the expected forms were supposed to be **Fridulus*, gen. **Friduli*).

6. Latin-Germanic parallels.

Some of the hybrid names seem to be translations, as in the case of *Boni-pert* and *Godi-pert*, *Boni-chis* /*Gode-gis*, *Luci-perga* /*Taci-perga*, *Luci-pert* /*Taghi-pert*, *Magni-frid* /*Erme-frid*, *Magni-pert* /*Ermi-pert*, *Rigni-pert* /*Richi-pert*. There had always been a few

¹⁶ Francovich Onesti, *Indizi...* 2010, p. 79.

¹⁷ Rohlfs, *Grammatica...* III § 1071, and I § 289. The resulting voiced consonant is found in It. *marchigiano, artigiano, parmigiano*, etc.; cp. It. *Ambrogio* < Lat. *Ambrosius*.

correspondences between Latin and Germanic names already in the Ostrogothic period,¹⁸ and certain Latin names had been strengthened by the corresponding Germanic forms, as was the case with *Ursus* and *Lupus* (respectively *Ber-* and *Wulf-*). Now in the 8th century we find a substitution of the first element with the corresponding Latin form (e.g. *Ursi-perto*).

The reverse case: the Lombard epithet *ideborit* ('re-born', on the inscription of King Ratchis's altar with the spelling <hidebohohrit> [Cividale del Friuli, 749 ca.]) was fashioned on the model of Christian Latin personal names like *Renovatus*, *Renatus* ('redeemed, renewed, re-born' through baptism). In the same way the Lombard name *Rixsolfus* was clearly modelled on his father's name *Regn-olfus*.¹⁹ From such cases one may infer that name formation was still understood in the 8th century, and the language of the Lombards was possibly still alive.²⁰ Could it be possible after two centuries and more or less eight or nine generations since their arrival in 568?

Sometimes semantic parallels seem just a chance coincidence; this is true of augural names like *Felix*, *Audaces*, *Clarus*, etc. (Gmc. *blip-, *nanþ-, *hrōþ-). We propose here a list of possible translations and correspondences:

Audaces ²¹	Lmb. <i>Nando</i> , Goth. <i>Nandum</i> , <i>Gudi-nando</i> ; Lmb. <i>Pald-oin</i> .
Bonus, Bona	Lmb. <i>Godo</i> , <i>Gode-gis</i> 'good offspring' ²² , Goth. <i>Guda</i> , <i>Gudila</i> , <i>Gud-uin</i> , Vand. <i>Goda-gis</i>
Boni-pert (hybrid)	Lmb. <i>Godi-pert</i>
Boni-frid (hybrid)	Lmb. <i>Gode-frit</i>
Candidus, Candida	Lmb. <i>Blanco</i> , <i>Blancani</i> , Goth. <i>Blanca</i> (always one-element)
Carus	Lmb. <i>Leup-chis</i> 'dear offspring', Goth. <i>Liuvi-rit</i> , <i>Gude-livus</i>
Clarus, Clarissimus	Lmb. <i>Mari-chis</i> , <i>Rodo</i> , Goth. <i>Merila</i> , <i>Rude-ric</i> , Vand. <i>Mero-baudes</i> .
Confortus	Goth. <i>Thraustila</i>
Corbulus	Lmb. <i>Ramningo</i> , Goth. <i>Vala-ravans</i>
Dilectus	Lmb. <i>Gualist-olo</i> , Burgundian <i>Waleste</i> , Vand. <i>Valilu</i> , Visig. <i>Valia</i> ; Goth. <i>Costila</i>
Dominator/	Lmb. <i>Waldoni</i> , Goth. <i>Walda-ric</i> ; Lmb. <i>Bautonis</i> , Goth. <i>Meri-baudo</i> ;
Domnolus	Vand. <i>Baudus</i> , <i>Mero-baudes</i> .
Felix	Lmb. <i>Plitt-elmi</i> , Goth. <i>Bledam</i>
Fidelis	Goth. <i>Triggva</i> , Vand. <i>Trioua</i>
Firmus	Goth. <i>Tulgilo</i> , Vand. <i>Fastilanem</i>

¹⁸ For example Lat. *Candidus* - Goth. *Blanca*, *Bonus* - *Guda*, *Audax* - *Nandus*, *Fidelis* - *Triggva*, *Viator* - *Sindila*, *Verus* - *Verani*; cfr. Francovich Onesti, *I nomi...* 2007, pp. 128-136.

¹⁹ CDL 194, Lucca 765; in the same document we also read that Rixsolfus had a sister *Regni-pincta*, whose name alliterated with her father's *Regn-olfus*; see § 4.3.

²⁰ See Haubrichs, *Langobardic...* 2009.

²¹ This is a Romance form already, re-Latinized by the final -s, instead of the correct Latin nominative *Audax*.

²² Another hybrid name, with the same meaning, was *Boni-chis* (CDL, Lucca 742), from which the present Italian surnames *Bonichi*, *Bonechi* derive.

Fortis	Lmb. <i>Sundo</i> , <i>Suintr-uald</i> , Goth. <i>Starcedio</i>
Fulgentius/	Lmb. <i>Berto</i> , <i>Pertoli</i> , <i>As-pert</i>
Luminosus	
Gloriosus	Goth. <i>Wult-uulf</i> , <i>Sigi-vuldo</i>
Grato, Grada	Goth. <i>Tancane</i> , Vand. <i>Tanca</i>
Homulo	Lmb. Vand. <i>Manno</i> , Goth. <i>Mannane</i>
Lucio, Luciula	Lmb. <i>Taco</i> , <i>Dag-ari</i> , Goth. <i>Daila</i> , Vand. <i>Dagila</i>
Luci-perga (hybrid)	Lmb. <i>Tachi-perga</i>
Luci-pert (hybrid)	Lmb. <i>Taghi-pert</i>
Lupus	Lmb. <i>Gulfe-ramu</i> , Goth. <i>Wad-uulfo</i> ²³
Magnus, Maximus	Lmb. <i>Ermen-frit</i> , Goth. <i>Ermen-richi</i>
Magni-pert (hybrid)	Lmb. <i>Ermi-pert</i>
Oportunus /Gratus	Lmb. <i>Tancol</i> , Goth. <i>Be-tanco</i> , <i>Tancane</i>
Inoportunus	Vand. <i>Un-tancus</i>
Pacificus	Goth. <i>Sibia</i> , <i>Sive-gera</i> , Vand. <i>Sifila</i>
Remedius	Lmb. <i>Ghilduli</i> , Goth. <i>Gildila</i> , <i>Butilani</i>
Renatus, Renovatus	Lmb. epithet <i>ideborit</i> 're-born' (<hidebohohrit> Cividale del Friuli, 749 ca.).
Rigni-pert (hybrid)	Lmb. <i>Richi-pert</i>
Ursus	Lmb. <i>Perulo</i> , <i>Peri-sindi</i> , <i>Pere-deo</i> , Vand. <i>Bere-mut</i> , Goth. <i>Bere-vulfus</i> .
Verissimus	Lmb. <i>Suni-perti</i> , Goth. <i>Sunie-fridus</i> ; <i>Verani</i>
Viator	Lmb. <i>Sindo</i> , <i>Sind-olfus</i> , Goth. <i>Sindila</i> , <i>Wad-uulfo</i> , Vand. <i>Sind-uit</i> , <i>Obadus</i> .
Victor	Lmb. <i>Sico</i> , <i>Sigi-</i> , Goth. <i>Sigis-merem</i>
Vigilius/ Vitalis	Lmb. <i>Wacho</i> , Goth. <i>Wakis</i>

7. Modern Italian family names.

Like the Gothic ones, Lombard personal names are no longer in use today as Christian names,²⁴ superseded by Carolingian nomenclature and new medieval Italian names. Not even the Late-Roman names are used any more in modern Italy (with the possible exception of Sardinia). The forgotten corpus of Early medieval personal names, if obsolete as first names, do often survive today as family names. For example the following modern Italian surnames directly descend from Lombard personal names: *Abardo*, *Adimari*, *Adinolfi*, *Airoidi*, *Alajmo*, *Alari*, *Albizzi*, *Alducci*, *Aliprandi*, *Alparone*, *Alterisio*, *Altimari*, *Ampolo*, *Ansaldo/Anzaldi*, *Ansuini/Anzuini*, *Arachi* (< Lmb. *Arechis*), *Arnone*, *Azzi*, *Berteramo*, *Billone*, *Bonichi*, *Boniperti*, *Braida*, *Castaldi*, *Castaldini*, *Dondi*, *Facchi*,

²³ The Germc. stem *wulf- only occurs as a second element in Gothic and Vandalic names; but in Lombard nomenclature as a first element too.

²⁴ There are a few exceptions, like the modern Italian first name *Aldo* (from Lmb. *Aldo*) and the rare *Aimone* (< Lmb. *Aimo*); the latter is almost exclusive of very high aristocratic families where archaic names are intentionally sought-after.

Farolfi, Garibaldi, Godoli, Garisindi, Ghisolfi, Grimaldi, Landolfi, Liprandi, Longobardi, Magnolfi, Mannoni, Munari, Pandi, Panti, Pantoni, Pandolfi, Pertini, Prandi, Radaelli, Rodo, Santarlaschi, Scattoni, Siconolfi (at Benevento), Sighinolfi (in Tuscany), Siccardi, Stolfi (< Astolfo), Tani, Tasso, Tatti, Tedici (< Lmb. Theodi-chis), Totti, Trotti, Zangheri, Zilli, Zoff /Zuffa, Zotti/ del Zotto, and others.

Some of the modern family names derive from Late-Roman Christian names, that are no longer used as first names. For example It. *Agnelli, Barbolano, Baroncelli, Baroncini, Baronti, Barontini, Benigni, Bonturi, Di Simplicio, Dominici, Fabiani, Graziosi, Muccioli, Pacifici, Palladio, Santoli, Valenti*. In Italy family names descending from Gothic personal names are rather infrequent, but we can mention e.g. *Talarico* (< Goth. *Athalaricus*), *Tattilo* (< *Tatto, *Tattila), *Zalla* (< Goth. *Zalla /Tralla*, in the areas of Treviso and Pordenone).

In the long run, some of the transformations in the name system, that had taken place in the historical period of migrations and of Romano-barbarian kingdoms, had far reaching effects that in part can still be felt in today's Italian onomastics. The ancient Late-Roman personal names are now mainly lost; together with the early Germanic names (Ostrogothic and Lombard) they usually survive only as family names. But the modern situation in some ways can still reflect the medieval name traditions.

The main differences between Vandalic Africa and early medieval Italy lie in the fact that in Africa there was early adaptation of Vandalic names to local traditions with the emergence of mixed and hybrid forms earlier than elsewhere in the Roman world. Africa is still historically a separate case because onomastic traditions and the Latin language itself were completely interrupted by the Arab conquests. It is thus not comparable to the evolutionary trends in Italy. In Ostrogothic Italy, on the other hand, one can observe a continuity of ancient names which conserve their prestige so much so that sometimes the Goths themselves could on occasion draw on the Latin onomastic heritage (and not vice versa). Hybrid Latin-Gothic names were not formed and mixed formations were very few. This changes radically in Lombard Italy where the first real discontinuities were created in the onomastic system, in that Lombard names spread throughout the whole society and many hybrids and mixed forms were created, and above all, in the late era some neo-Latin forms began to appear with suffixes which we could already call Italian, even though the first texts written intentionally in Italian are much later (not before 960). So, from names we find an interesting foretaste of the linguistic evolution which was to bring about Italian [the new Italian vernacular].

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