

GERMANIC PERSONAL NAMES IN THE *CONDITIONES SACRAMENTORUM* OF THE VISIGOTHIC SLATE TABLET NO. 39, DIEGO ÁLVARO (ÁVILA). ANALYSIS WITHIN AN EAST GERMANIC CONTEXT

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Abstract: This paper examines the personal names of Visigothic origin found on the slate tablet no. 39 from Diego Álvaro, Ávila. The Visigothic slates are unique documents from the 6th and 7th centuries in Visigothic Hispania, as they contain highly valuable information about that historical period. These inscriptions contribute to the study of the social and economic reality of the time, as well as the evolution of the Latin language during that period. However, despite containing numerous names of Visigothic origin, there are few onomastic studies of them. The aim of this article is the study of the etymological, phonological and morphological analysis of these names - *Eunandi*, *Argeredi*, *Ra[...]**ri*, *Vvidericus*, *Argiuindi*, *Gundaci* and *Lolus* - and their contextualisation within the framework of the other Eastern Germanic varieties of those centuries.

Key words: Visigothic slate; Visigothic Hispania; Latin language; Visigothic origin; etymological analysis.

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1. The Visigothic slates

Visigothic slates and their discovery from the 20th century onwards have provided a major impetus to the field of Visigothic studies from various

academic perspectives. Firstly, the material medium of the slate on which they are found is of great interest, as it is a rather unique case; furthermore, as Gómez Moreno (1954: 25) and Velázquez Soriano (1989: 19) also point out, this is a type of documentation that was scarce during the period of Visigothic rule on the Iberian Peninsula. For this reason, these slates offer an interesting opportunity to approach and study the period from diverse theoretical frameworks.

Visigothic slate tablets constitute a corpus of inscriptions carved into slate between the 6th and 7th centuries in the central region of the Iberian Peninsula, primarily in the provinces of Salamanca and Ávila, as well as in the north of the province of Extremadura, with finds in other regions being more sporadic (see Gómez Moreno 1954: 25; Díaz y Díaz 1986: 13–14; Velázquez Soriano 1989: 40, 2004: 19; Martín Viso 2015: 286).¹ These locations are linked to the availability of slate rock in these regions and the adjective ‘Visigothic’ derives from the fact that these inscriptions were carved during the period corresponding to the Visigothic rule of the Iberian Peninsula.

Visigothic slates are traditionally classified into three subgroups.² The first group consists of slates bearing textual inscriptions. They are also known as ‘Diego Álvaro’ slates in reference to the locality where a large number of them have been found (Velázquez Soriano 1989: 29). As Martín Viso (2015: 286) points out, based on Velázquez Soriano’s 2004 study,³ as of 2015, 163 of these slates were known to exist.

The second group are the so-called numerical slates, also known as ‘Lerilla’ slates due to their abundance in that location. These are the most common and contain a series of figures in the Roman numeral system (Gómez Moreno 1954: 26; Martín Viso 2015: 286), which are difficult to interpret (Velázquez Soriano 1989: 28), although they appear to reflect some kind of accounting system.

¹ Velázquez Soriano provides a detailed description of the distribution of the finds (1989: 40–64, 2004: 23–44). These descriptions are accompanied by tables, maps and an extensive bibliography.

² Manuel Gómez Moreno essentially distinguished between two groups: textual sequences and those containing “[...] sequences of signs [...]” (1954: 26), referring primarily to numerical sequences.

³ Isabel Velázquez Soriano has produced various editions of the Visigothic tablets in 1989, 2000 and 2004. The first two contain a more detailed description and analysis of the archaeological and palaeographic context, whilst the latest focuses on a more detailed study of the tablets’ documentary and linguistic content.

The third group includes drawing slates, which also vary greatly in appearance and are heterogeneous (Velázquez Soriano 1989: 28–29). There is also evidence of some slates that combine different types, for example, text with numbers or numbers with drawings.

As can be seen, Visigothic slates are highly varied in nature; their common feature is essentially the material substrate on which the inscriptions were made, as well as their geographical location and the period in which they were produced. However, these are highly heterogeneous inscriptions that may have served a wide variety of purposes.

1.1 *The Visigothic textual slate tablets*

The textual inscriptions, or ‘Diego Álvaro’, constitute an important source of information from the period. Written in the Latin of the 6th and 7th centuries, they provide, from a cultural and historical perspective, references and evidence regarding the social and cultural reality, as they reveal indications of the extent of literacy in those areas, as well as economic, commercial and, in particular, legal information concerning the application of the law, especially in the rural areas of Visigothic Hispania (Velázquez Soriano 2004: 18, 49–50).

From the perspective of palaeography, they provide essential data for understanding the history of writing on the Iberian Peninsula, as they cover a period (6th and 7th centuries) for which there was very little evidence. The texts are generally written in Latin cursive, as Martín Viso notes (2015: 286) and represent the evolution of the new common Roman cursive of the Iberian Peninsula towards the Visigothic minuscule of later periods, as indicated by Velázquez Soriano (1989: 68, 103 and 2004: 18), thus constituting the period of origin and formation of this so-called Visigothic script. Palaeographic studies of Visigothic tablets enable comparisons to be drawn between their various forms, as well as with contemporary documents from other parts of the Mediterranean world, e.g. comparisons with the Ravenna papyri from Ostrogothic Italy.⁴

⁴ See the edition by Tjader, J.-O. 1955. *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700, I, Papyri 1–28*. Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.

There are also studies that seek to address questions regarding the Visigothic impact through, amongst other things, an onomastic analysis of a group of slate tablets in the Ávila region.⁵

Another key aspect to be examined in the textual slate tablets is the different functions they fulfil as written documents. In the case of some of the tablets, including tablet no. 39, these are legal documents, according to the typology distinguished by Canellas (1979: 45) and subsequently adopted by Velázquez Soriano (2004: 46). These inscriptions were closely linked to the rural environment in which they originated and contained testimonies and statements relating to commercial transactions.⁶

Given that these slate tablets include, amongst others, legal documents, they contain a multitude of personal names belonging to different cultural and linguistic traditions. Thus, for example, a large number of names can be found, some Hispano-Roman and others Germanic, although in many cases it is not possible to determine with any precision their functions or status within the social structure of the place and time (Díaz and Díaz 1986: 16). There are also some of Greek and Hebrew origin (Velázquez Soriano 1989: 465). Specifically, the number of names of Germanic origin is notably high, as concluded by Díaz (1986: 16–17) and Velázquez Soriano (1989), though the exact number of personal names of Germanic origin may vary depending on the author.⁷

The analysis of these slate tablets from a documentary perspective may, in some cases - such as no. 39 -, help us make more specific statements about the people mentioned, as well as the time at which they were written.

2. The Visigothic slate tablet no. 39, Diego Álvaro (Ávila)

This slate tablet was discovered in the Dehesa del Castillo in Diego Álvaro, in the province of Ávila, in December 1956 and January 1957, and

⁵ See Alonso Ávila, A. 1986. El impacto visigodo en la actual provincia de Ávila. *Los visigodos. Historia y civilización. Antigüedad y cristianismo* 3. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia. 197–207. This article briefly examines the personal names found, amongst others, on Diego Álvaro's slate tablet no. 39.

⁶ For research into Visigothic legal texts see also Alvarado Planas, J. 1997. *El problema del germanismo en el derecho español. Siglos V-IX*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, Ediciones Jurídicas y Sociales.

⁷ See Díaz and Díaz (1986: 16) and Velázquez Soriano (1989: 469–486) in the section on Germanic onomastics.

There are various editions of the text, which differ only slightly from one another. Here, the focus will be on the edition published by Velázquez Soriano (2004), comparing it in particular with the editions by Canellas (1979) and Gil (1991). The 2004 edition focuses on the transliteration and interpretation of the text, whilst also incorporating previous editions.⁹

Condicionis sacramentorum ad qua[s debea]d iurare Lolus
ess urdinatione Eunandi, Argeredi, uicariis, Ra[...]ri, Vviderici,
Argiuindi, Gundaci
iudicib(us)
ad petitione Basili iurare debead Lol(us) propt[er] caballos quos
mutauerunt: Iuro p(er)
Deum
Patrem homnipotenten et Hio Xptum fium ei[us] p(er) ec per
quatuor euangel[ia super]–
positis ante is condicionib(us) in sacrosancto altario sancte S[...]

[ira Dei Pa]ltris ad infra dicende[t ut uidentes omnes]

⁹ In addition, there are other works that contain partial reflections on some of the features of the inscription. See Díaz and Díaz (1989: 17); Alonso Ávila (1989: 201, 203).

pertimescan essenplo. Factas cond[iciones ...]
 anno feliciter tertio regni glo(riosissimi) d(omi)ni nos[tri Reccaredi
 regis ?]
 Eunandus as condiciones a nouis ordinatas s(ub)s(cripsi). (signum)
 Ra[...rus]
 10 Argeredus as condicionib(us) s(ub)s(cripsi). (signum) sign[um]
 Vvidericus in as condicionis s(ub)s(cripsi). A[rgiuindus]
 (Slate tablet no. 39. Diego Álvaro. Ed. Velázquez Soriano 2004: 210–
 212)¹⁰

As can be seen, the text contains eight personal names, some of which have been preserved partially. Of these, six are clearly of Germanic origin or contain some Germanic elements: *Eunandi*, *Argeredi*, *Ra[...]ri* (*Ranimiri?*), *Vviderici*, *Argiuindi* and *Gundaci* (line 2). And then they appear again, *Eunandus* (line 9), *Ra[...rus]*? (line 9), *Argeredus* (line 10), *Vvidericus* (line 11), *A[rgiuindus]*? (line 11), [*Guntacius*]?. The name *Basili* (line 3) is of Greek origin, and the personal name *Lolus* (line 1), *Lol* (line 3) is highly uncertain, having been subject to various interpretations.

¹⁰ This work also includes a Spanish translation.

This English translation is my own and is not intended to be a literal rendering of the text; its purpose is to convey the content and retains the personal names exactly as they appear in the Latin edition by Velázquez Soriano (2004: 210–2012).

“Conditionis sacramentorum which Lolus must swear to, by order of Eunandi, Argeredi, vicars, Ra[...]ri, Vviderici, Argiuindi, Gundaci, judges; at Basili request, he must swear concerning some horses that have been exchanged. ‘I swear by Almighty God the Father, by Jesus Christ His Son, by these four Gospels, with the declarations placed before them on the sacred altar of Saint S[...]. By the wrath of God he shall descend into hell, [so that when all see him] they may be terrified by the example’. These conditions were fulfilled in the third year of the happy reign of our most glorious lord [King Reccaredi?]. Eunandus subscribed to these conditions (sign of the signature). Argeredus subscribed to these conditions (signature). Signature [of ...], <Ra[mirus subscribed to these conditions (signature)] >. Vvidericus subscribed to these conditions. A[rgiuindus subscribed to these conditions (signature). Gundacius subscribed to these conditions (signature)?].”

3. Anthroponyms of Germanic origin in the Visigothic slate tablet no. 39. Diego Álvaro (Ávila)

Most of the Visigothic personal names that have come down to us have done so via Latin sources; as a result, they have undergone processes of graphemic and phonemic Latinisation, and even processes of word formation involving a mixture of Gothic and Latin elements. These processes can be observed in the personal names presented here.

3.1 *Eunandi* / *Eunandus*¹¹

Dithematic male name *Eunandi* gen. (line 2) and *Eunandus* nom. (line 9). Together with *Argeredus*, he is a *vicarius*, in this context a local administrative official acting on behalf of a higher authority. This name appears clearly and fully on the document that is being analysed.¹²

The first constituent of the compound *eu-*, *eve-* is not very common in Hispano-Visigothic onomastics and probably derives from Goth. **aihva-* masc. 'horse' (Haubrichs 2014: 18 no. 68; Piel & Kremer 1976: 124 # 81); this is the most likely origin, and it occurs only as the first element of personal names. It is attested as part of a Goth. compound *aihvātundi* fem. 'bramble, prickly bush', see Run. *ehwe*, *ehu* 'horse'; OIcel. *jór* masc.; OHG *eha-*; OS *ehu-* in place names; OE *eoh* masc. 'horse' (Feist 1888: 3–4 no. 13; Holthausen 1934: 3; Kroonen 2013: 115–116; Lehmann 1986: 15 A-67).

Alonso Ávila (1986: 203) interprets the Goth. **aihva-* in the name *Eunandus* explaining that, in this way, the compound would have a first element denoting an animal and a second one expressing a moral characteristic.¹³ Thus **aihva-*, found in various anthroponyms, underwent loss of the *h* sound in Late Gothic during the process of Latinisation and exhibits the vocalisation of the nexus [ew] > [eu] characteristic of the East Germanic branch (Braune & Heidemanns 2004: 55–57 § 42; Haubrichs 2014: 17–18), resulting in the *eu-* of the first element of the compound.

Furthermore, another possibility has been suggested regarding the origin of the element *eu-* > Goth. *aiws* masc. 'time, eternity', see Piel & Kremer (1976: 124 # 81)¹⁴ < PGmc. **aiwaz* ~ **aiwiz* (Orel 2003: 10), OIcel. *ævi* fem. 'life, age'; OHG *ēwīn* fem. 'eternity', *ēwa* fem. 'eternity, law'; OE *ǣ(w)* fem. 'law,

¹¹ Name listed in Reichert 1987-90: I 261.

¹² *Eunandi* gen. / *Eunandus* nom. does not vary across the different editions of the text.

¹³ The first element appears as *AlhS*.

¹⁴ They consider the previous interpretation to be more likely, namely Goth. **aihva-*.

marriage'; OFris. *ē* 'law'; OS *ēo*, *ēu* masc. 'law' (Feist 1888: 5–6 no. 24; Holthausen 1934: 4; Kroonen 2013: 16; Lehmann 1986: 22 A-99). Velázquez Soriano (1989: 474, 2004: 215) considers both possibilities. Yet, in her 1989 study she seemed to favour the interpretation derived from Goth. *aiws* 'time, eternity'.

The second constituent of the compound *-nand-* is a common element in the composition of Visigothic personal names. Piel & Kremer (1976) lists it both as a possible first element *Erststamm* (207–208) and as a second element *Zweitstamm* (314) in compounds. **-nanþ-* 'brave, courageous' < Goth. **anananþjan* w.v. < PGmc. **nanþjanan* w.v. 'to take courage' and **gananþan* w.v., cp. Olcel. *nenna* w.v. 'to strive, to have a heart for', OHG *nendan* w.v. 'to dare, to strive', OE *nēþan* w.v., OS *nāthian* w.v., OFris. *nētha* w.v. 'to dare, to strive'. (Holthausen 1934: 75, Kroonen 2013: 383; Lehmann 1986: 31 A-149).

There are other possible forms of this personal name in the Hispano-Gothic tradition, e.g. *Euenando*, *Evenando*, *Euen<e>ndo*, *Euenanto*, *Emuenandus* (*Envenando*), *Invenandus* or *Eunandus* -i, the latter being the attestation recorded on the slate tablet no. 39, Diego Álvaro (Piel & Kremer 1976: 124 # 81). According to Díaz y Díaz (1986: 17), this is a second form of *Euennandus*, well attested in later periods.

This anthroponym is found in exactly the same form among Burgundian personal names as well, namely *Eunandus* masc., in an inscription on a gravestone, possibly from the 6th century (Haubrichs 2014: 18 no. 69).

The first element of the personal name is possibly found in the Ostrogothic *Ev-ile* masc. gen., a *clarissimus comes* of Ravenna in the 5th–6th centuries; in this case, it is a monothematic hypocoristic name based on the *nomen* **ehwa-* < Goth. **aihva-* 'horse' or *aiws* 'eternal law' and the diminutive suffix *-ila* (Francovich Onesti 2007: 46 no. 95), thus suggesting both interpretations. For the Vandalic language, **Eua-geis* has been reconstructed for the nom., attested only in the Greek acc. from *Eua-gin*, *Eua-* < PGmc. **ehwa-* 'horse' (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 186).

The element *-nand-* is cited by Francovich Onesti (2007) in the Ostrogothic onomastics as both a first and a second element, e.g. *Nande-rit* masc. gen., undeclined, in 575 (70 no. 199), *Gudi-nando* masc., *saio* in Ravenna, in 523–526 (55 no. 135), *Theode-nanda* fem. inscription on a gravestone, in 566 (94 no. 289), *Willie-nant* masc., *clericus* in 551 (112 no. 373). This element is also found in the Burgundian tradition in the name *Ananthailda* < **A(na)nantha-*

hilda, a variation of **Nantha-hilda*, buried in Vienne, in 508–509 (Haubrichs 2025: 21).

3.2 *Argeredi*, *Argeredus*¹⁵

Hispano-Goth. male anthroponym with a two-part structure: *Argeredi* gen. (line 2) and *Argeredus* nom. (line 10). Together with *Eunandus*, he is the other *vicarius* mentioned in the inscription. The anthroponym appears completely preserved in both instances in the original on this slate tablet.¹⁶

The interpretation of the compound *Arge-redus* is clear, as both elements are very common in Germanic anthroponymy. There are numerous examples of the constituent *Arge-*, *Argi-* as first element in the Visigothic name system, including e.g. *Arge-bad*, *Argi-bado*, *Arge-bert*, *Arge-mir*, *Argi-mir*, *Arge-mund*, *Argi-mund* and *Arge-sind*, amongst others (see Reichert 1987-90: I 62–63).

Arge-, *Argi-* < Goth. *harjis* masc. ‘army’ < PGmc. **χariz* ~ **χarjaz* (Orel 2003: 163), see Lat.-Vand. *Aria-*, Run. *-harjaz* masc., Pre-OHG *hari-* masc., OHG *heri* neut./masc., Pre-OS *hari*, OS *heri* fem./masc., OIcel. *herr*, OE *here*, OFris. *here* masc. ‘army, host’ (Feist 1888: 50 no. 251; Holthausen 1934: 43, Kroonen 2013: 211–212; Lehmann 1986: 177–178 H-44).

The element *-redus* ‘advice, counsel’ occurs frequently as both a first and a second constituent (Piel & Kremer 1976: 227 # 221, 315 # 352), even though there are far more examples of it as a second element.¹⁷ *-redus* < Goth. **garedan* st.v. ‘to intend, to have a plan for, to provide for, to grant’, cp. OIcel. *ráða* st.v., OE *rædan* st.v., OFris. *rēda*, *rētha*, *redia*, *radia* st.v., OHG *rātan* ‘to advise’ (Feist 1888: 91 no. 449; Holthausen 1934: 81; Kroonen 2013: 408; Lehmann 1986: 148 G-57) < PGmc. **rēdan* ~ **rēdaz* neut./masc. ‘advice’ derived from **rēðanan* st.v. ‘to advise’ (Orel 2003: 303–304).

The same combination of elements is attested in the language of the Vandals, e.g. the Latin-Vandalic personal name *Ariarith* (*Ariarit*, *Ariarth*), masc., is attested for a 6th-century Vandal soldier (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 186; Schönfeld 1911: 25–26; Wrede 1886: 89).¹⁸

¹⁵ Name listed in Reichert 1987-90: I 63.

¹⁶ No differences in transliteration are observed across the various editions.

¹⁷ As the first entry, it lists only two names: *Rete-freda* fem. and *Rete-ricus* masc. (227 # 221).

¹⁸ Schönfeld (1911) reconstructs Goth. **Arjareps* which underwent loss of initial [h] in romanian milieu. Wrede (1886) reconstructs the same personal name as **Harjarith*.

The same cannot be said for the Ostrogothic Italy, where there is no evidence of this personal name, despite the fact that compounds containing one of the two elements are frequently found. Thus, with Goth. *harjis*, e.g. *Ar-gaithum* masc. commander 3rd c., *Ari-germus* masc. 6th c. and *Ari-ver* masc. 6th c. (Francovich Onesti 2007: 37 no. 50, no. 51, no. 52). Goth. *reps* appears only as a second component and is very abundant, e.g. *Ade-rit* masc. Ravenna, 6th c. *Athana-ridum* masc., *Gothorum philosophus* at the court of Theodoric in Ravenna, *Dume-rit* masc., *saio* in 527, *Fruma-rith* masc., *saio* in Ravenna, in 507–511, amongst others (Francovich Onesti 2007: 29 no. 5, 38 no. 56, 43–44 no. 85, 48 no. 102).

In the Burgundian tradition, the name *Balda-ridus* masc. is attested for the second element in a gravestone inscription dating from 488 in Briord (Haubrichs 2014: 19, no. 72).

The Hispano-Gothic personal name *Argeredus* nom., *Argeredi* gen. exhibits, in its first element *Arge-*, *Argi-* the lack of vowel mutation *Umlaut*, which is characteristic for the East Germanic branch and is observed in the attested forms of the other languages of the group. It also underwent the initial *h* loss < Goth. *harjis*, also present in Ostrogothic and Vandalic examples. However, the inserted <g> is not found in the other attested forms. And whilst the Ostrogothic names constituents *-rit*, *-ridum*, *-rith* and the Burgundian example *-ridus* present the typical Late East Germanic raising of [æ] > [ī], this is not the case in the name on the slate, nor in numerous other examples from the Hispano-Gothic tradition; see *Balda-redus* masc., Visigoth. Abbot of St. Leocadia in 681, or *Balde-redus* masc., Visigoth. Bishop of Zaragoza in 683–693 (Haubrichs 2014: 19 no. 72), a situation that recurs when the vowel follows an <r>, e.g. *Luna-redus* (Velázquez Soriano 1989: 467, 480, 2004: 267). These cases, thus, reflect an earlier sound stage through the spelling <e>.

The Ostrogothic examples largely appear indeclined and feature at the end of the word PGmc. *ð as <th> in the older names or <t> in the more Romanised variant (Francovich Onesti 2007: 150). In the case of the Hispano-Goth. names, there is a voiced intervocalic <d> and the name is fully Romanised in the second declension of Latin.¹⁹

¹⁹ Note that in the examples where it appeared as the first element, it is spelled with a <t>, *Rete-freda* fem. and *Rete-ricus* masc.

3.3 *Ra[...]ri, Ra[...]rus]*

This name, *Ra[...]ri* gen. (line 2), *Ra[...]rus]* nom. (line 9),²⁰ is not preserved in its entirety and appears to be a two-part personal name. As the document states, he is, together with *Vviderecus*, *Argiuindus* and *[Gundacius]*, one of the four *iudices* responsible for resolving disputes between parties, as well as fiscal, administrative and even military matters.

Given the poor state of preservation, it is difficult to determine the components of the name. As Velázquez Soriano also notes (1989: 481–482, 2004: 216), it could be the Hispano-Goth. names *Ranimirus*, *Ranemirus*, later *Ramirus*, or one of their variants, although *Ragimirus* could also be a possibility.

Thus, the first element of the compound is likely to be *Ran-* as it is particularly common in Visigothic personal names (Förstemann 1900: 1 1244–1245) < Goth. **rana* ‘boar’s snout, fig. wedge-shaped slaughter arrangement’, *rani* OIcel. (Piel & Kremer 1976: 219 # 216) > PGmc. **ran* ‘wedge, cuneus’ (Haubrichs 2014: 14 no. 44), cp. **Rajna* personal name, on the Dahmsdorf Spearhead, East Germanic (Lehmann 1986: 281 R-7).

It could also be interpreted as *Rag-* from Gothic **ragin* neut., ‘advice, decision’. Compounds containing this element are very common throughout Germanic personal names, e.g. Goth. *Rag-naris*, *Ragna-hilda*, OE *Regi-nald*, OHG *Regin-hart*, Latin-Vandalic *Ragin-ari* (Feist 1888: 89–90 no. 442; Holtmann 1934: 79; Kroonen 2013: 401; Lehmann 1986: 280 R-2) < PGmc. **ra3inan* neut. (Orel 2003: 294).

The probable second element of the compound *-mirus* < Goth. **-mēreis* adj. ‘known, famous, great’ *wailamēreins* fem. ‘gospel’, cp. OHG *māri* adj., OS *māri* adj., OE *mære* adj., OFris. *mēre* adj., OIcel. *mærr* adj. ‘known, famous, great’. related to Goth. *mērjan* w.v. ‘to proclaim’, OHG *māren* WV., OS *mārian* w.v., OE *mæran* w.v., OFris. *mēra* w.v., OIcel. *méra* w.v. PGmc. **mēra-* > often in personal names (Feist 1888: 77–78 no. 392; Holtmann 1934: 70; Kroonen 2013: 366; Lehmann 1986: 251 M-51, 252 M-53).

It was a very common name in the Asturian, Leonese and Aragonese dynasties. If *Ranimirus*, it appears that the earliest forms contained the syllable <ni->, <ne>, e.g. *Ranimirus rex* in Oviedo in 850, *Ranimirus comes* in 922 or

²⁰ All editions transliterate the name beginning with *Ra-* except for Gil’s 1991 edition: 106, which renders it as *[...] uicaris ra [...]*ri.

Ranimirus rex in 922; and as can be seen, these records date from after the 8th century. There are also forms that omit the syllable, resulting in *Ranmirus* in 965, *Rammirus* in 1092, and *Rammirus/Ramiro* in 1093 (Piel & Kremer 1976: 219–220 # 216). This personal name has given rise to a widely used patronymic surname in the Hispano-Portuguese tradition, *Ramiro*, *Ramírez*, or *Ramires*, amongst other forms.

This personal name does not appear in the Ostrogothic name system, although its possible components do appear in other combinations. There are many examples for the first element, *Ran-* or perhaps *Rag-*, e.g. *Rani-hildae* fem. in Ravenna in 564, *Rani-ildae* fem. in 535, *Ran-ilone* fem. in 553 or and *Ragn-aris* masc., a Gothic commander from the 6th century. (Francovich Onesti 2007: 79 no. 234, 235, 236, 233). The second element *-mer*, *-mir*, *-mirus*, is also very common, e.g. *Givi-mera* masc., Ostrogothic commander in 538 (Francovich Onesti 2007: 51, no. 116), *Gurdi-meri* masc., comes in Rome in 559 (58 no. 151), *Marco-mirus* masc., *Gothorum phylosophus* at Theodoric's court (66–67 no. 187) or *Theudi-mer* (*Thiudi-mer*, *Thiudi-mer(is)*, *Thiudi-mir*, *Thiude-mer*, *Thiodi-mer*, *Theode-mir*)²¹ masc., father of Theodoric in 413–471 (96 no. 297). It also appears as the first element in *Meri-baudo* in 511, but it could be of Frankish origin (68 no. 191), and in the hypocoristic male form *Mer-ila bokareis*, a scribe in 551, and in its Latinised form *Mir-ica* (68 nos. 192, 194).²²

Nor is there any evidence of this personal name in the Vandal language, although, once again, its constituent parts do appear. The following names, which include some of these elements, have been recorded, e.g. *Ragin-ari* (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 187), *Geila-mir/Geli-mer*, last king of the Vandals, 6th c. (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 186–187; Wrede 1886: 81–82), *Gunthi-mer* masc., King Gelimer's brother (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 187; Wrede 1886: 84–85).

In the Burgundian case, the second element is particularly common, e.g. *Ueli-mer-*, *Uuilie-mer-*, *Uuide-mer-*, *Uuada-mir-*, names taken from the list of *comites* in the *Lex Burgundiorum* of 517 (Haubrichs 2025: 9, 16).

Ra[...]us, i.e. *Ranimirus* and its variants, or *Raginmirus*, exhibits characteristics typical of the East Germanic languages. The vowel of the second element *-mir-*, derived from PGmc. [æ] was initially rendered as <e>,

²¹ For the diphthong /iu/, /eu/ cp. Braune & Heidermanns (2004: 38 § 18).

²² Both names appear in the Naples document dated 551 (Tjäder 1955: P34, r.126 in Gothic, r.84 in Latin; Francovich Onesti 2013a: 11).

see Vandalic names such as *Geli-mer* and *Mero-baudes*, but subsequently the vowel was raised > [ī], specifically in unstressed conditions. This contrasts with the development in North- and West Germanic, where it evolved to [ā], see Suevic *Ingo-maris* (Braune & Heidermanns 2004: 30–31 § 6a–7 Francovich Onesti 2007: 144–145, 2013b 188–189; Haubrichs 2014: 18–19).

In Vandalic, there are frequent examples in which the letter <e> is preserved—that is, the earlier phonetic stage—and this is also the case in Ostrogothic, with some instances in Burgundian; however, in the case of Hispano-Gothic, practically all examples show the evolution to <i>, although it should be noted that many of these date from after the 8th century.

The personal name can be considered specific to Hispano-Gothic, as this combination of elements has not been attested in the personal names of the other languages. In the process of Latinisation, it is morphologically placed in the second Latin declension.

3.4 *Vviderici* / *Vvidericus*²³

Vvideric- masc. is one of the judges named in the inscription. The name is fully legible on the tablet: gen. (line 2) *Vviderici*, nom. (line 11) *Vvidericus*. The name is usually recorded with the same spelling in the different editions.

The first element of the dithematic personal name *Vvide-ric-* is complex and highly debated. *Vvide-* could derive from **wīt(i)-* < Goth. *fraweetan* ‘obtain justice for someone, avenge’ (Piel & Kremer 1976: 293–294 # 315), with a certain variation in the spelling of the attestations in the Hispano-Gothic case between <t> and <d> and between <i> and <e>, e.g. *Vitericus*, Visigothic king in 603–610 = *VVittiricus rex* on a coin, *Ubitiricus episcopus* in 646, *Ubidericus* = *Ubitiricus* in 653 = *Widericus* (*Guidericus*) in 655. Haubrichs proposes the etymology < PGmc. **wīta* < Goth. *fraweetan* in the interpretation of the personal name *VVita*, a Merovingian mintmaster of the 6th–7th centuries (2014: 11 no. 29).

Another possible origin of the element is < East Germanic **wita* ‘knowing person, wise man’ (Haubrichs 2014: 11 no. 29), OIcel. *vita* pret.-pres., OE *witan* pret.-pres., OFris. *wita* pret.-pres., OS *witan* pret.-pres., OHG *wizzan* pret.-pres. (Feist 1888: 135–136 no. 677; Holthausen 1934: 127; Kroonen 2013: 589; Lehmann 1986: 406–407 W-78).

²³ Name listed in Reichert 1987–90: I 775.

The second part of the compound *-ricus* is a very common element in Germanic onomastics that leaves no room for doubt <Goth. *reiks* masc., *-reikeis* ‘ruler’ < PGmc. **rika-* ‘mighty, powerful, ruler’, cp. Old Icelandic *ríkr* ‘mighty, powerful’ adj., *ja*-extension as in Goth. **reikeis*, OE *rīce*, OFris. *rīke*, OS *rīki*, OHG *rīh(h)i*, adj. ‘powerful’ (Feist 1888: 91–92 no. 450, Holtmann 1934: 81; Kroonen 2013: 589; Lehmann 1986: 283 R-18, Orel 2003: 305).

A similar name is attested in the Ostrogothic name tradition, *Vidirichus* (*Uithricus*, *Viderichi*), an Ostrogothic king of the 4th century; however, in this case, a different etymological origin may be attributed to the first element < PGerm. **wiðu-* ‘forest’, given the consistent presence of the spelling <d> and <th>, also found in other personal names such as *Vidi-mer* (*Vide-mir*, *Vidi-mir*), brother of Theudimer and uncle of Theodoric in the 5th century, *Vidi-mer*, son of Vidimer and cousin of Theodoric in the 5th century, *Withi-miris* (4th century), a Greutung, son of Ermanaric and father of the aforementioned *Viderichus* (Francovich Onesti 2007: 109 no. 356, 357, 110 no. 359, 114). These personal names, always written <d> and <th>, could be contrasted with the Ostrogothic *Vetericus* in 439, the latter always spelled with <t> (Francovich Onesti 2007: 109 no. 355).

The Hispano-Gothic case is complex in this regard, as alternation is observed between the spellings <d> and <t>, as in the case mentioned above: *Ubidericus* = *Ubitiricus* = *Widericus* (*Guidericus*) in 655, referring to the same person. However, the possibility of hybridisation and confusion between different elements cannot be ruled out.

The initial Gothic element **wīt(i)-* is found in other Ostrogothic personal names, e.g. *Witi-gis* (*Viti-ges*) masc., Ostrogothic king in 536–540 (Francovich Onesti 2007: 114 no. 379), *Witi-gisclo* (114–115 no. 380) or *Witterit* (115 no. 381) masc.

The second element *-ricus* is also frequently found in Ostrogothic onomastics, e.g. *Amala-ricus* masc., 502–531, son of the Ostrogoth Thiudigotho and the Visigoth Alaric II; *Theode-ricus*, king of the Ostrogoths 474–526; *Ustar-ric* masc., 6th c. (Francovich Onesti 2007: 33 no. 29, 94 no. 290, 105 no. 336).

In Vandalic, the personal name itself has not been documented, although its constituents have been found in other combinations. For example, for the first element **And-uit* masc., a 5th-century Arian priest (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 186; Wrede 1886: 62–63), *Vita-rit* masc., a royal *notarius* in Carthage (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 188; Wrede 1886: 68–69).

For the second element *-ricus*, e.g. *Theode-ricus*, King Geiseric's son (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 187), *Hildi-rix*, king in 523–530 (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 187; Wrede 1886: 78–79), *Huni-rix*, king in 477–484 (187; 63–64). In the Burgundian case, the second element is also found in *Hilpe-ricus* (*Chilpe-ricus*) masc., Burgundian king in 476–77; *Conia-ricus*, masc., *comes* in 517; *Vilia-ric* 5th–6th century, inscription on a gravestone. (Haubrichs 2014: 15 no. 55, 23 no. 99, 23 no. 102).

The anthroponym *Vvidericus* appears on Diego Álvaro's slate tablet no. 39 spelled with an <e>, the *nomen* alternates with other forms written with <i>; this is linked to the <i> <e> variation characteristic of Late Latin orthography.

An oscillation between <t> and <d> could also be possible. In this instance, it is written with <d>, reflecting the voicing of intervocalic voiceless plosives. In Wulfila's Gothic, the initial semi vocalic sound was represented by <w>, which was very common at the beginning of words, as in the case of *Vvidericus*, albeit from a later period. By the time of Wulfila's Gothic, the possibility that the sound had a spirant pronunciation was already being proposed. However, there are indications pointing to the contrary (Braune & Heidemanns 2004: 55 § 40–41). A similar situation applies to this personal name, as the evidence shows frequent spelling with <w>, <vv>, <uu> or even <gu> (e.g. *Guiderico*) to represent the semi vocalic sound. However, there are also names with the spelling <v>, e.g. *Viterico*, Visigothic king 603–610, which could be evidence of that Romanised and consonantised pronunciation [v] (Francovich Onesti 2007: 151–152).

Morphologically, the Hispano-Gothic name follows the patterns of the second Latin declension. In the case of the Ostrogoths and Burgundians, there are examples of the name appearing in an indeclinable form, whilst in the case of the Vandals, the ending of the masc. sg. nom., in Proto-Gothic *-z, is preserved in some instances, particularly on coins, through the spellings <x> or <s> (see Francovich Onesti 2013b: 189; Hartmann 2020: 88–89).

3.5 *Argiuindi* / *A[rgiuindus]*²⁴

Argiuindi gen. appears in full (line 2), and only the initial *A[...]* nom. (line 11), due to a crack on the slate tablet. From this initial letter, following the order of the names, it is possible to deduce *Argiuindus* nom. *Argi-uind-* is again

²⁴ Name listed in Reichert (1987-90: I 64).

a dithematic personal name whose first element, *argi-*, coincides with that of the name *Arge-redus*.²⁵

The etymology of the second element *-uindus* is disputed; it may be derived from < **winþ* < *PGmc. **wenīpi* 'ethnic name of the Vendi' (Piel & Kremer 1976: 288 # 307). However, the evidence provided for the Hispano-Gothic area is unclear, scarce and dates mostly from the 9th century or later, e.g. *Vint-ila* masc. 9th c. in Orense, **Vint-ilo* fem. 10th c. (288 # 307). Francovich Onesti (2007: 113 no. 375) proposes the same interpretation and reports a masculine *Winta-rit* in 603 in the Ostrogothic area, whose first element she relates to that of *Winit-arius* (*Venetharius*), an Ostrogothic king of the 6th century (Schönfeld 1911: 260–261). Förstemann (1900: 1 1617) considers that it could be a hybridisation of different forms, the previously postulated **wenīpi*, but also the possibility of the insertion of a dental consonant into the Gothic element **wins* 'friend'.

Morphologically, the gen. *Argiundi* showcases its placement in the second declension of Latin.

3.6 The cases of *Gundaci* and *Lolus*

As has been noted in the case of the personal names analysed above, all of them are fully integrated into the Latin inflectional system, thus demonstrating their integration into the peninsular onomastic system of the time. There are two other names on this slate that may provide very clear evidence of this process.

Gundaci gen. on line 2, is another of the *iudices* mentioned in the document. It appears to be a hybrid Germanic-Romance personal name. Such names thus reflect the close and intensive contact between the two naming systems and provide clear evidence of the process of acculturation (Haubrichs 2004: 181). It is formed from a Germanic element *Gund-* and a Latin suffix *-aci* with the gen. ending. *Gund-* < Goth. **gunþi-* < PGmc. **gunþjō* fem. 'fight', see OIcel. *gunnr*, *guðr* 'war, battle', OE *gūð*, OS *gūthea* or OHG *gund-* in personal names (Holthausen 1934: 40; Orel 2003: 146). This element is very common in Germanic onomastics (see Förstemann 1900: 1 693–713; Reichert 1987–90: I 394–415; Schönfeld 1911: 116–120) and occurs both as the first element and as the second element of compounds. In the case of Hispano-Gothic, it is

²⁵ See 3.2 *Argeredi*, *Argeredus*.

particularly common as the first element in its various forms *Gund-/Gunt-*, *Gond-/Gont-*, as demonstrated by the numerous attested examples (see Piel & Kremer 1976: 163–172 # 145). It is less common as the second part of the compound in *-gunti* fem., *-gundia* fem., *-gundus* masc. and their alternative forms (see Piel & Kremer 1976: 305–306, no. 334a, 334b, 335). A similar situation occurs in Ostrogothic Italy, as demonstrated by Francovich Onesti (2007), who presents various examples for the first element but only one for the theme as the second element: *Theoda-gundae* fem. dat. 507–511, a woman possibly belonging to the Amali dynasty (93 no. 286). For the Vandalic language, e.g. *Gunda* and *Guntha* as masc. hypocoristics or *Gunt-ari* masc. (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 185) and King Geilimer's brother *Gunthi-mer* (Francovich Onesti 2013b: 187; Schönfeld 1911: 119).

The second element *-aci* gen., may derive from the nominative suffix *-acius*, which, together with other suffixes, formed ethnic names and personal names in Latin (Velázquez Soriano 1989: 216). Despite being a highly productive suffix in Latin, it appears only very rarely in association with Germanic names, Haubrichs cites *Deod-aci* and *Istefan-acis* for the territory of the Lombards, Or. Luni in 736 (2004: 183). The name *Gund-aci* is a new example of the combination with this suffix, to be added to the two mentioned above, but for the Iberian Peninsula in the 6th century, confirming the advanced process of Visigothic acculturation in Hispania.

The case of the personal name *Lolus* nom. (line 1) and nom. *Lol(us)* (line 3), is highly debatable and difficult to determine. The identification of the Latin-derived diminutive

-olus seems clear. As Velázquez Soriano notes (1989: 480, 2004: 214–215), this could be associated with a Germanic root element **leud-* < Goth. **liudan* st.v. 'grow', also Burg. **leuds* 'man', OIcel. *ljóðr*, *lyðr* masc., OE *lēod* fem., OFris. *liod*, OS *liud* masc., OHG *liut* masc./fem./neut. 'people, folk, pl. human beings' < PGmc. **leudiz* masc. 'man' (Feist 1888: 71 no. 360; Holthausen 1934: 64; Lehmann 1986: 234 L-48; Orel 2003: 242) which would have undergone monophthongisation > [o] and loss of intervocalic [d]. Similar cases are observed in other Hispano-Gothic personal names such as *Leode-fredus*, which may appear as *Lo-fredus* (see Piel & Kremer 1976: 191 # 166; Velázquez Soriano 1989: 480, 2004: 214–215). Other authors do not comment on the possible origin of the personal name (Díaz and Díaz 1986: 17) or attribute it a wholly Latin origin (Alonso Ávila 1986: 203).

4. Conclusion

This study analyses the personal names of possible Visigothic origin that appear on Diego Álvaro's slate tablet no. 39 from an etymological, morphological and phonological perspective, and places them within the onomastic tradition of other East Germanic languages, namely those of Ostrogothic Italy, the Vandal kingdom and Burgundian personal names for a similar historical period, the 5th–8th centuries.

This is a small sample of personal names of Germanic origin, or at least containing elements of Germanic origin, taken from a single slate tablet which, according to the most recent studies, dates from the late 6th century, specifically around 589. As this is a small corpus, the results obtained cannot yet be fully extrapolated to the entirety of Hispano-Gothic onomastics of the period. However, the findings provide a body of evidence from which a number of conclusions can be drawn regarding Eastern Germanic linguistic traditions in name systems. On the one hand, as might be expected, there are striking similarities with these other languages, particularly within the Ostrogothic area, especially regarding the elements constituting names. It should be noted, however, that some combinations of elements, e.g. the quite probable *Ra[...rus]* (*Ranimirus?*) nom., *Ra[...ri]* gen., which is, moreover, very widespread in Iberian Visigothic personal names, would have no equivalent in the other linguistic traditions compared here. The same would apply to the case of *Argiuindus* nom., *Argiuindi* gen., whose elements occur in the other personal naming systems, but not in this combination. These examples present cases that would thus be unique to the Hispano-Gothic tradition.

At the phonological level, the results are very similar, exhibiting characteristics typical of East Germanic. There is a lack of *Umlaut* in the vowels *a*, *o*, *u* before *i* and *ī* in the following syllable, this *Umlaut* is in turn typical of North and West Germanic, e.g. *Argi-* or *Arge-* < Goth. *harjis* in *Argiuindus* or *Argeredus*. Likewise, in these same examples, the loss of *h* at the beginning of the word is evident. Furthermore, there are typical changes of East Germanic, such as the vocalisation of the [ew] > [eu] nexus in *Eunandus* and the Late East Germanic raising of [æ] > [ī], e.g. *-mer* > *-mir*, which one would expect in the hypothetical case of *Ra[nimirus]*.

From a morphological perspective, it is worth noting that the personal names analysed are fully integrated into the Latin inflectional system, as they belong to the second declension. *Argeredus*, in its final element *-redus*, differs

from Ostrogothic examples containing that same element without declension, e.g. *Aderit*, or the Vandalic form for exactly the same personal name, *Ariarith* (*Ariarit*), which is also not declined. It is striking that the Hispano-Gothic form regularly and consistently features the vowel <e> in *-redus*, constituting, contrary to what one might expect given the degree of Romanisation, an apparently more conservative variant than the Ostrogothic or Vandalic <i>.

This same inscription contains evidence of the Germanic-Romance hybrid name *Guntaci*, which demonstrates a high degree of adaptation to the Romance environment and reflects the advanced stage of the acculturation process.

The personal names analysed here thus display a series of characteristics that place them within the framework of the East Germanic varieties, whilst also revealing elements that are specific to the Hispano-Gothic tradition.

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