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Personal names and saints' cults in Venice, the Adriatic and the entroterra in the ninth and tenth centuries

Land ownership and exchanges, business interests, legal and administrative customs and institutions, all indicate that the duchy of Venice in the 9th and 10th centuries was closely intertwined with northern and central Italy, and especially with its Adriatic background. This paper examines one specific example of the association of Venice with the Adriatic and northern Italy, through anthroponymy and saints' cults.

The first, dominant connection, is that is with Ravenna and the old Exarchate. The second is with the Adriatic coast North of Venice, from Aquileia and Grado along the coast to Istria. The third, though less prominent, is with the Veneto, the Po valley and up to Friuli. I will take them in turn.

The exarchal connection with regard to the cults of the saints is two-fold. Its first strand is the cult of Ravenna saints, of whom the most visible in Venice at this date are those of Severus, Pantaleon and Fosca. One can see this through the choice of dedications of Venetian churches founded or allegedly founded in the 9th and 10th centuries¹. The church of S. Severo, already in existence by the 850s, was given to the monastic foundation of S. Lorenzo². The original island monastery of S. Servolo was given a new dedication when it moved to the ter-

¹ U. Franzoi, D. Di Stefano, *Le chiese di Venezia*, Venice, 1976. The main sources for the history of Venice are now edited online in *Documenti veneziani* by A. Pazienza, on the website <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani/> (2015), replacing the older edition R. Cessi (ed.), *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, 2 vols, Padua, 1942, anastatic repr. C. Polizzi, 1991, I: *Secoli V-IX*, II: *Secoli IX-X*.

² In the will of Bishop Orso of Olivolo of 853, in *Documenti veneziani* no. 2 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-5/> (Cessi I. 60). C., Candiani, «Antichi titoli delle chiese», in S. Tramontin, A. Niero, G. Musolino, C. Candiani, (eds.), *Culto dei santi a Venezia*, Studium Cattolico Veneziano, Venice, 1985, pp. 99-153, at p. 122; F. Gaeta (ed.), *S. Lorenzo, Fonti per la Storia di Venezia Sez. II: Archivi Ecclesiastici*, Diocesi Castellana, Venice, 1959, pp. XIII-XV.

raferma³. This dedication to Sant' Ilario has been hotly debated, with regard to the Hilary involved being the bishop of Poitiers, the saint of Padua or, as seems most likely, Ilario/Ellero, the ravennate who was the dedicatee of the great monastery of Sant'Ellero in Galeata⁴. The church of S. Pantalon was already in place by 1007, when it was first rebuilt⁵. A man called Pantaleon is documented in 880 and another is a signatory of Doge Peter IV's letter forbidding the slave trade in 971⁶. St Fosca's church in Torcello was built there before the translation of the saint's relics from Africa in the 10th century, and the church of Sta Fosca in Canareggio is a 10th-century foundation⁷. In parallel, the name of Fuscho/Foscho, Fuscheli, Fuschari as a first name, as in Fuscari Nimicani in 978, starts appearing in the 10th century, then becoming the Foscari/ni family⁸. Another saint whose connection may be with Ravenna, given the early presence of the name in the Particiaco family for example, was Ursus/Orso, who has been sometimes associated with the patron saint of Aosta – a connection far from impossible for Venice but somewhat less likely than that of the bishop of Raven-

³ *Documenti veneziani* no. 2 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-2/> (Cessi I.44); N.E. Vanzan Marchini, *S. Servolo e Venezia: Un'isola e la sua storia*, Verona, 2004, pp. 23-4. On the dedication, see A. Niero, «Noticina sul titolo 'San Servolo'», *Centro di Studi Storici Mestre*, 7-8, 1965-6.

⁴ A. Niero, «Sull'intitolazione 'monasterium beati Yllarii et Benedicti'», *Centro di Studi Storici Mestre*, 7-8, 1965-6, and also L. Lanfranchi, B. Strina, SS. *Ilario e Benedetto e S. Gregorio*, *Fonti per la Storia di Venezia Sez. II: Archivi Ecclesiastici*, Diocesi Castellana, Venice, 1965. For Sant'Ellero, see B. Girotti, «Vita monastica in Emiglia Romagna: il caso di Sant'Ellero», in C. Corti, D. Neri, P. Pancaldi (eds.), *Pagani e Cristiani: forme ed attestazioni di religiosità del mondo antico in Emilia*, Bologna, 2001, pp. 243-50, and on the great importance of the monastery especially for Ravenna see A. Torre, «Gli Archivescovi di Ravenna e il monastero di S. Ellero in Galeata», *Studi Romagnoli* 10, 1959, pp. 97-106.

⁵ Candiani «Antichi titoli», p. 113; see F. Corner's *Ecclesiae Venetae of 1749*, as *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia e di Torcello*, anastatic repr., Bologna, 1990.

⁶ *Pactum* of 880 between Walbertus Patriarch of Aquileia and Doge Ursus I Particiaco, *Documenti veneziani* no 6 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-6/> (Cessi II.25) and in the letter of Peter IV Candiano, *Documenti veneziani* no 19 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-19/>.

⁷ Franzoi, *Le chiese*; Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 124.

⁸ Tithes of Peter I Orseolo of 978, *Documenti veneziani* no 22 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-22/> (Cessi II. 57).

na⁹. The connection with Ravenna was clearly not broken after the 10th century since for example Sant'Aponal (Sant'Apollinare) in San Polo was founded in 1034, and possibly later on that century S. Vidal, also referred to S. Vitale¹⁰. Other saints were not actually Ravenna ones, but were associated with it in some way, through specific devotions there, or specific associations which we find again in Venice but not elsewhere. Most evident are the pairing of SS Philip and James with Proclus, found in Ravenna and Venice alone, in the church of S. Provolò, dedicated to the three¹¹. The most famous association is that of St Zacharias, to whom there was a chapel dedicated near the imperial and exarchal palace in Ravenna, as there was a chapel in the imperial palace in Constantinople from the 5th century¹². This may have been partly at the root of the placing of the monastery of S. Zaccaria itself near the Ducal Palace, or rather of the choice of that dedicatee for the ducal foundation near the palace¹³. The Ravenna cult was still going strong in the 10th century when two churches of that name are still mentioned in Ravenna in 959 and 964¹⁴. It is not clear whether the Zacharias in question was originally the prophet, but it seems almost certain that by the time of his establishment in Venice, he was understood to be John the Baptist's father, witness the founding in the vicinity of the church of San Giovanni in Bragora – the setting up of churches of members of the same family among saints close to each other being a well-known phenomenon of medieval sacred urban topography¹⁵.

Several major military saints in the Byzantine tradition, such as George, Theodore and Demetrius, had probably been associated with

⁹ A. Niero, «I santi nell'onomastica», in S. Tramontin, A. Niero, G. Musolino, *Santità a Venezia*, Venice, 1972, pp. 105-65 at p. 115.

¹⁰ Franzoi, *Le chiese*, and Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 109.

¹¹ Franzoi, *Le chiese*, and Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 101.

¹² A. Niero, «Culto dei santi dell'antico testamento», in Tramontin, *Culto dei santi*, pp. 155-80 at p. 171-2.

¹³ On the monastery and church of S. Zaccaria, see now several papers in the new volume B. Aikema, M. Mancin, P. Modesti (eds.), «*In centro et oculis urbis nostrae*»: la chiesa e il monastero di San Zaccaria, Venice, 2016, as well as the older S. Tramontin, *San Zaccaria*, Venezia Sacra 13, Venice, 1979 and Franzoi, *Le chiese*, pp. 390-404.

¹⁴ Niero, «Culto», p. 172.

¹⁵ Niero, «Culto», pp. 175-6.

Ravenna in the first instance, and in Venice their cult was clearly within those same parameters, as we know for example from the original dedication of S. Bartolomeo to St Demetrius, and the associated story of the legendary foundation by Narses himself during his retirement in Venice of the church of S. Teodoro¹⁶. Two other major cults might not seem to be obvious candidates for a Ravenna association: Martin and Laurence. Both had a cult in Ravenna, shown early on through their pre-eminence in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo¹⁷. Martin was the original dedicatee of Sant'Apollinare, and the monastery of S. Martino was a major nunnery still in the 10th century, before being absorbed into S. Andrea Maggiore¹⁸, while the name Martin was used by the foremost family of the Duchi in the 9th century¹⁹. Lorenzo, of course, was the dedicatee of one of the main Ravennate monasteries, with imperial associations, S. Lorenzo in Cesarea. Martin as patron of the poor, and Laurence, it is claimed, saw their cult established in Venice not directly from Francia or Rome, but via Ravenna²⁰. It is possible that other cults may have been associated by the first Venetians with Ravenna rather than with the original cult location. St. Justina of Padua, St Geminianus of Modena, associated with S. Severus, and St. Agatha, whose basilica in Ravenna was a major one still in the 10th century, all had churches in

¹⁶ R. Cessi (ed.), *Origo civitatum Italiae seu venetiarum (Chronicon Altinate et Chronicon Gradense)*, FSI 73, Rome, 1933, p. 143 and 64-6; Franzoi, *Le chiese* and Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 125.

¹⁷ Most recently for example see E.P. Iacco, *La Basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna attraverso i secoli*, Bologna, 2004.

¹⁸ On the dedications of churches and monasteries in Ravenna, see E. Cirelli, *Ravenna: archeologia di una città*, Florence, 2008 and P. Novara, "Ad Religionis Claustrum Construendum": *Monasteri nel medioevoravennate, storia e archeologia*, Ravenna, 2003; *Eadem*, «Per una ricostruzione del paesaggio urbano di Ravenna medievale: appunti sull'edilizia di culto dei secoli 7-11», in *Colligite Fragmenta*, Bologna, 2007, pp. 133-81; *Eadem*, *Edilizia abitativa nel medioevo ravennate: un'indagine attraverso le fonti scritte e il riscontro del dato archeologico*, Ravenna, 2008; C. Baldini, *Antichi chiostri ravennati. Cronologia dei monasteri benedettini femminili*, Ravenna, 2003.

¹⁹ For example in R. Benericetti (ed.), *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, Faenza, 2006, no 47, of 893, the first of several referring to Countess Ingelrada and her husband Duke Martin.

²⁰ A. Niero, «I santi patroni», in Tramontin, *Culto dei santi*, pp. 75-98 at pp. 91-95; Candiani, «Antichi titoli», pp. 101-3.

pre-10th century Ravenna²¹, and are found in three early foundations in Venice: Sta Giustina in Castello, S. Geminianus, now destroyed, legendarily founded in the 6th century, a major church opposite St Mark's still in the 10th, and Sant'Agata, which was the original 10th-century dedication of S. Boldo in San Polo²².

Last but not least, other saints from the Exarchate outside Ravenna also had cults in Venice, notably S. Paternianus of Fano, whose first church was burned down in the 976 fire, and rebuilt after 999; S. Cassianus of Imola, with a 9th century church in Sta Croce; and S. Sofia of Fermo near Ancona, to whom it is believed that the Venetian church was originally dedicated, rather than, as is often reckoned, as an imitation of the Haghia Sophia²³.

A much commented issue has been the cult of Old Testament saints in Venice, traditionally thought to be associated with the Byzantine tradition maintained in Ravenna²⁴. I have already mentioned St. Zacharias. The church dedicated to the Archangel Raphael, with had a characteristic cylindrical campanile of the 10th -century ravennate style, is one of the earliest whose existence in the city we can definitely document as early as 899²⁵. There was a church and monastery of S. Daniele, allegedly founded by the Bragadin family in the 9th century, while San Stae (Eustachio) was allegedly first dedicated to Sant'Isaia, and S. Samuele goes back to the end of the 10th century²⁶. An interesting case is that of Simeon, with two churches dedicated to saints of that name, one to St Simeon the Prophet (S. Simeone Grande) founded in 967, while the other, S. Simeone Piccolo, was in fact dedicated to SS Simeon and Jude, also in the 10th century²⁷. Some of the Old Testament figures had their own office in the 11th-century Venetian liturgy, notably Daniel, Jeremiah, Job, Lazarus, Moses, Samuel and Simeon, but whether the

²¹ *Idem*, pp. 101-2, 124, 118.

²² Franzoi, *Le chiese* and A. Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa*, Milan, 1984, p. 215.

²³ Candiani, «Antichi titoli», pp. 102-3, 120-1, 110, 125; although Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa*, pp. 355-6 believes that Sta Sofia's dedication was based on the Haghia Sophia.

²⁴ The main paper on the subject remains Niero, «Culto dei santi».

²⁵ Niero, «Culto dei santi», p. 162 and Franzoi, *Le chiese*.

²⁶ *Idem* and Niero, «Culto dei santi», pp. 163, 169-70; Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa*, pp. 219-20; E. Concina, *Venezia: Le chiese e le arti*, 2 vols, Udine, 1995, II. 370.

²⁷ Franzoi, *Le chiese*.

office or the church came first is not certain²⁸. All were certainly already present in the martyrology of Usuard, at the same date as Venice²⁹. On the other hand, some of them also had cults elsewhere in the terraferma, for example Jeremiah in Padua, Job in Friuli as S. Giopo, Daniel also in Friuli with a church in 921, and one in Vicenza before 1000³⁰.

The only totally unusual dedication, as we know, is that of to S. Moisè, a unique example in Venice. The story has it that the church was originally dedicated to S. Victor when built in 796, and was later rebuilt and rededicated by Mosè Venier³¹ – whether this was so or not, there is certainly early evidence of the use of the name of the church before the beginning of the 11th century, when John the Deacon uses it for Christopher, the future bishop of Olivolo, plebanus of S. Moisè in 807, as well as being mentioned in the Particiaci grant to Sant'Ilario in 819³². It has been suggested by Niero that a political choice may have been involved in the changes sometimes occurring in relation to Old Testament saints, whose cult was popular in Malamocco, and that the preference for dedications such as those to St Peter and St Laurence by the Particiaci may have signaled an attempt to focus on the new Venetian identity associated with St Mark, in opposition to the religious traditions of Malamocco³³. The duchy's second connection was that with the Adriatic but to its North. In that area, of course, the first and foremost of these links was with the saints of Aquileia, of whom some had relocated to Grado, or those from Grado itself. The most important was theoretically St Mark, though after the Venetian translation, the Venetians took good care to press the association with Venice directly, and to obscure the existence of the Grado connection,

²⁸ Niero, «Culto dei santi», p. 158; S. Tramontin, «Influsso orientale nel culto dei santi a Venezia fino al secolo XV», in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, Florence, 1973, pp. 801-20 at pp. 814-15.

²⁹ J. Dubois (ed.), *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard*, Bruxelles, 1965.

³⁰ D. Olivieri, *I cognomi della Venezia euganea*, Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, ser 2., vol. 6, Genève, 1923, pp. 138-9.

³¹ Niero, «Culto dei santi», p. 168.

³² The edition used here is that by L.A. Berto, *Giovanni Diacono, Istoria Veneticorum*, Bologna, 1999, (henceforth JnD), II, 26; Foundation grant of Sant'Ilario in 819, *Documenti veneziani* no 2, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-2/> (also in Lanfranchi-Strina, *SS. Ilario e Benedetto*, no. 1).

³³ Niero, «Culto dei santi», p. 169.

where there was a church dedicated to St Mark, mentioned among those embellished by Patriarch Fortunatus³⁴. The two patron saints of Grado, Hermacoras and Fortunatus, were associated with the church of S. Marcuola since the 10th century, though their cult mostly took off in the 11th century, when their relics were translated there³⁵. Fortunatus with Felix, the two martyrs of Aquileia, were part of the dedication of the monastery founded at Ammiana from S. Stefano of Altino, and a Felix also had a church in Canareggio, though this may have been from the start associated with the saint of Nola, as it clearly was in 1007³⁶. Another saint of Grado with dedications in Venice was St Eufemia. In addition to her church at Mazzorbo, another church was dedicated to her on the Giudecca³⁷. S. Canciano, another Grado saint, had a church in Castello, and S. Giuliano or Zulian, martyr of Isola d'Istria with a cult in Trieste, one not far from S. Marco from the 9th century onwards, where the patriarch of Grado had his first palace and took refuge for a whole year during his conflict with Doge Ursus I³⁸. St Servilius or Servolo, 3rd-century martyr of Trieste, had been the dedicatee of the original Venetian Benedictine monastery, before it moved to the mainland and became Sant'Ilario³⁹. A saint whose association is not clear, though one may expect him to have been St Benedict's disciple, was St Maurus. There was also a bishop of Ravenna Maurus, and the cult seems to have been active in Istria, and especially in Trieste⁴⁰. But there was also of course one of the duchy's first and most revered bishops, the legendary St Maurus (legendary first bishop of Torcello), alleged founder of numerous churches based on revelations made to him in

³⁴ See reference in 825 in Patriarch Fortunatus' list of gifts to the churches of Grado, *Documenti veneziani* no. 3, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-3/> (Cessi, I. 45); JnD, II. 28.

³⁵ Niero, «Santi patroni», pp. 82-4; Franzoi, *Le chiese*.

³⁶ Niero, «Santi nell'onomastica», p. 118.

³⁷ Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 123; Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa*, p. 285; Franzoi, *Le chiese*, makes the point from the Origo that the church on the Giudecca was dedicated to a whole group of Grado saints, Dorothea, Tecla and Erasma, as well as Eufemia, making the Grado connection even more obvious.

³⁸ Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 109 and 112; JnD, III. 13.

³⁹ JnD, II. 36; Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 121; see above n. 32.

⁴⁰ Candiani, «Antichi titoli», p. 103.

a dream, was also a saint from the Adriatic mainland⁴¹. The church of Sant'Angelo's original dedication in 920 was to S. Mauro, and we know that there was also a Burano church whose priest became the bishop of Olivolo in the 10th century⁴². The Mauroceni family, whose name has been related to that saint and who came to prominence in the 10th century, were associated with Murano, and we also find them as very present partakers of the trade agreements with Istria⁴³.

The point of examining the cults of saints in this instance is not to look at them in their own right but in relation to their popularity as exemplified in the naming of individuals. A well-known feature of the early Venetian tradition, which has been studied at length, is the early use of the double name, a Christian name plus a cognomen, which we see here as a fairly standard practice well before the rest of Italy and the West⁴⁴. Venetian Christian names are those common throughout Italy, especially ex-Byzantine Italy, where they were a continuation of Late Antique tradition: *Johannis* and its various forms (*Johannes*, *Johannicus*), *Domenicus*, *Petrus*, *Vitalis*, *Leo*, *Constantine*⁴⁵. It is therefore especially interesting to see if and when we find other unusually popular names, indicating either links with other areas, or more specific devotional trends in the duchy. Here too the primary connection is with the exarchal tradition, with the exceptional frequency of the names *Vitalis*, *Ursus*, *Leo*, *Sergius*, even *Agnellus* and *Honestus*, with their Ravennate connotations⁴⁶. The other less obvious connection claimed

⁴¹ *Origo*, pp. 32-7 and 57-67.

⁴² Franzoi, *Le chiese*; Zorzi, *Venezia Scomparsa*, p. 206-8 and 287; *Documenti veneziani* no 34, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-34/> (Cessi, II, 87) for the 999 oath.

⁴³ The 977 treaty is edited in *Documenti veneziani* no 21, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-21/> (Cessi II, 56).

⁴⁴ First to suggest this was L.A. Muratori, *Antiquitates italicæ mediæ ævi*, vol. 3, Milan, 1740, col. 722; more recently, with extensive bibliography at p. 455 n. 20, see G. Folena, «Gli antichi nomi di persona e la storia civile di Venezia», *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 119, 1971, pp. 445-84.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*; Niero, «Santi nell'onomastica», pp. 113-14 and 117.

⁴⁶ Candiani, «Antichi titoli», pp. 101-2; and the list of bishops in *Agnellus of Ravenna*, *Liber pontificalis Ravennatis ecclesiae*, ed. by O. Holder Egger, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, Hannover, 1878, pp. 265-391, Engl. tr. by D. Maukopf Deliyannis, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna. Agnellus of Ravenna*, Washington, 2004.

for Ravenna was Martin. The unusual frequency of the name of Martin in Venice has been ascribed variously to the general western veneration for the saint based on Sulpicius Severus' Vita, and even to the alleged pro-Carolingian political links of the duchy in the early 9th century – a fact not justified by the chronology of the name, which is most frequent in the 10th century. It describes 3 people in the 932 treaty with the Istrian cities, and appears among the signatories of Peter IV Candiano's letters forbidding the slave trade and the sale of arms to the Saracens, and in Peter I Orseolo's and Tribunus Memmo's tithes agreements for example⁴⁷. A Ravenna cult might not necessarily explain the frequency of the name at the later 10th century date but one might also recall the cult around the church of S. Martino in Castello, whose foundation goes back to the 10th century⁴⁸. It may be of some significance, though, that this is one of the few churches which has had very little by way of rebuild done to it in subsequent centuries – a sign perhaps of its symbolic significance?

The interesting point is the extent of the frequency of names with such an exarchal origin across the Adriatic, since Leo, Sergius, Vitalis, Ursus are equally found among the Istrian signatories of the treaties of 932 and 977, in some cases signing for the Istrian side, for example, George de Armentressa from Isola d'Istria⁴⁹. Based on the signatures as participants or witnesses, one cannot always tell whether these were inhabitants of cities in Istria or Venetians. For example, we know that there were Andreadi in Trieste as well as in Venice, and Mauroceni in

⁴⁷ For the 932 treaty, see *Documenti veneziani* no. 10, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-10/> (Cessi II. 35) and for the 977 treaty, see *Documenti veneziani* no 21, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-21/> (Cessi II. 56). Peter IV Candiano's 2 letters of 960 and 971, see *Documenti veneziani* no 18 and no 19 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-18/> and <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-19/> (Cessi, II, 41 and 69). For the tithes of 978, 958-9, 979-91 see *Documenti veneziani* nos 22, 23, 24 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-22/>, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-23/>, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-24/> (Cessi, II. 57, 58, 59).

⁴⁸ *Origo*, p. 142, Franzoi, *Le chiese*.

⁴⁹ *Documenti veneziani* no. 10, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-10/> (Cessi II. 35) and *Documenti veneziani* no 21, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-21/> (Cessi II. 56).

Istria⁵⁰, but we don't know whether the signatories with these names in these two treaties were from the Venetian side, or from Istria. They may have been merchants who had family members established in the main trading cities of Istria, or merchants from Istrian families made good who were migrating towards the bright lights of Venice. What really matters is the constant flow and interaction between Venetians and their Adriatic background.

The tradition of exarchal names is also visible, like with the saints, in the Old Testament names, with Raphael, priest and notary in 900, Daniel priest and chancellor, the Heliadi family perhaps associated with the name Elias, and several Jeremiah, one a freedman of the doge Peter Orseolo in 979 – Jeremiah had specific association with Altino, where relics were supposed to have been kept and taken away when the original exodus of the people of the city occurred⁵¹. Most striking remains the use of Moise, 3 times in documents of 977, 979 and 994, as the cognomen of Domenicus⁵². Others names were more traditional ones, like Maurice, Agnellus and his son Justinian, Anastasius, Senator, Bonus, Marinus, Pantaleon, and Hilary, as in the probable name of one Etilarius.

There are fewer names from the northern Adriatic. Felix appears a few times, Fortunatus and Julianus only once each. One rare and interesting case, especially so because it involves an actual fisherman – not an aristocrat – is a transaction between the doge and one Martin, son of Dominicus Canciano or Canziano⁵³, the only time the Grado saint's name is found other than in the dedication of the church. Even rarer are the names of saints from Terraferma cities, except for Albi-

⁵⁰ *Idem*. The main studies used for this discussion are those by D. Olivieri, *Cognomi della Venezia euganea* and *Idem*, *Toponomastica Veneta*, Venice, 1961, as well as Folena, «Gli antichi nomi di persona», esp. his Appendix pp. 464-73.

⁵¹ For the placitum of 900 concerning S. Stefano di Altino (Raphael) see *Documenti veneziani* no. 7, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-7/> (Cessi, II. 25); Niero, «Santi nell'onomastica», pp. 122 (Elias) & 120 (Jeremiah), see also *Documenti veneziani* no 24 for the 979 tithe, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-24/> (Cessi, II. 59).

⁵² *Documenti veneziani* nos 21, 24, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-21/>, tithe <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-24/> (Cessi II. 56, 59); Cessi II. 70.

⁵³ For the contract of 958 see *Documenti veneziani* no 17, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-17/> (Cessi, II. 40).

nus (Vercelli), Vigilius (either Trento or Brescia) – each mentioned four times⁵⁴. Others are Antoninus (Piacenza or Treviso), Barnabas (probably Milan), and at the end of the 10th century Zeno of Verona, found on six occasions. The main *terraferma* name though, and a most frequent one, is that of Stephanus, which I cannot relate to anything other than the monastery of S. Stefano of Altino. Stephanus is one of the most common Christian name among the aristocratic family of the Coloprini, but also used by the Candiani, Mauroceni, Bonaldi and others. Not all *terraferma* monasteries were equally successful at spreading the cult of their patron: there are few Benedicts, as well as the one Hilarius we saw before, but only three examples of Michael, and those late, as in the father of the future *plebanus* of Sta Maria of Murano Michael Monetario in 999⁵⁵. This relative scarcity of *terraferma* names is especially significant because, when studying the geographical location of the main Venetian families as put forward by the two catalogues of the Origo, one incorporating what may have been an original 9th century text, one can see that, in their foundation myths, most great Venetian families *thought*, or claimed, that they came from places like Mantua (Mauroceni), Cremona (Coloprini), Pavia (Particiaci/Badovarii), Rimini (Candiani), Treviso (Stornato), Cesena (Centranico), Ferrara (Flabiani), Fano (Faletri), Parma (Barbolani) or Vercelli (Mastalici)⁵⁶.

The welcome given to the cult of the saints from Ravenna and the Romagna, the northern and eastern Adriatic and some Veneto and sub-alpine ones, clearly did not translate into any attempt to change the traditional pattern of Christian names, whose stock remained very limited and very close to the those of the old Exarchate, the Romagna, and the more conventional Late Antique ones. An approximate estimate of names from our existing sources would give something like 147 Johns, 132 Dominics, 77 Peters, 33 Laurences, 27 Vitalians, 24 Ursus, 22 Stephens, 11 Maurus, 9 Martins, and the rest

⁵⁴ Niero, «Santi nell'onomastica», p. 117 (Albinus), p. 118 (Vigilius).

⁵⁵ *Documenti veneziani* no 34, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-34/> (Cessi II. 87)

⁵⁶ Origo, pp. 146-53. See also V. West-Harling, «'Venecie due sunt': Venice and its grounding in the Adriatic and North Italian background», in M. Valenti and C. Wickham (eds.), *Italia, 888-962: una svolta*, SAAME IV, Turnhout, 2013, pp. 237-64, at p. 245.

in descending order of about 5 each of Tribunus, Bonus, Badovarius, Andrew, Leo, Maurice, and Paul, followed by 3-4 Felix, Vigilus, Vitalis, and Magnus, and by 1 or 2 of Agnellus, Demetrius and Vitus. These constituted pretty much the whole of the patrimony of names used in the city. This applied to Rialto but also to the other islands, Malamocco, Torcello or Murano. People from Malamocco were also called Dominic, John, Martin, Vitalis, Leo, Victor, George, Marinus, Peter, those from Torcello John, Leo and Michael, some from Murano are Martin, Dominic, Andrew, from Constanziaco Dominic and Menio, from Ammiana, Peter.

Names of a more 'germanic' tradition, as we find, for example, in Istria or among the witnesses of documents from the Veneto, such as Audebertus, Amelricus and Theoderic, are pretty much absent from Venice itself, with the few exceptions of Grauso, Trasmundo and Faraldus in 829 in the 9th century⁵⁷, or Restaldo (979), Bonprando, Vilelmus and Watizo(994) in the 10ths⁸, and maybe something like Guntherius at the root of the family name Contarenì⁵⁹. Moreover, most names were used as either first or second ones, and some are as common, if not more so, in the cognomen. I have already mentioned the Mauroceni, with their association to Maurus, though the Morosini have also been linked to that name; similar ones are, for example, the Flabianici and Flavianus, the Andreadi and Andrew, the Zorzi and George or the Falier and Valerius.

Perhaps the most spectacularly unusual absence, for a very long time, is that of the name of Mark. The first time we see it is 971, when one Marcus Raganarius signs the document of Pietro IV against the slave trade⁶⁰. We don't encounter it again until three of the signatories of the tithes of Pietro II, one in 978-9, 3 in 979-91 and one in 991-1008, though we have an unusual person called Marconus, father of two tribunes John and Laurence, in 829⁶¹. If this is the same name as

⁵⁷ Will of Justinian Particiaco, see *Documenti veneziani* no 4, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-4/> (Cessi, I. 53).

⁵⁸ *Documenti veneziani* no 24, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-24/> (Cessi, II. 59); Cessi II, 70.

⁵⁹ Niero, «Santi nell'onomastica», p. 121.

⁶⁰ *Documenti veneziani* no 19 <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-venezia-19/>.

⁶¹ For the tithes of 978-9, 979-91, and 991-1008 see *Documenti veneziani* nos 23,

Mark, then we find it again in 996, in a transaction between Abbess Petronia of San Zaccaria and 3 brothers with the traditional names of Ursus, John and Martin, fishermen, sons of a Marconus Barbalongus of Poveglia⁶². One may well puzzle over the fact that the patron saint of whom so much is made in the city is not used to name children until so late, especially since the cult was already so well attested throughout Italy that Otto III could make it his excuse for a secret visit to Venice⁶³. Clearly, though, in a popular context, such as that of Marconus Barbalongus, or the late-10th century Marks from the tithes, all of whom, having adult sons by then, must therefore have been themselves baptized at the latest in the mid-10th century, do we find this rare use of the evangelist's name. Why? Is this an indication that the cult was not perceived as a truly popular one at first, perhaps because of its political associations with the doges, and did not take off for that reason – which would shed an interesting light on the self-consciousness of the Venetians in their identification with the doge and St Mark from 829 onwards.

What, if anything, can one deduce from this rapid examination of the popularity of particular saints in the duchy of Venice, both in terms of their cults and of their influence on anthroponymy? It seems to me that the impact is in fact very different in terms of results. When it came to welcoming saints, to dedicating churches to them or to venerating their relics, Venetian culture was far-reaching, especially towards the saints of the old Exarchate and Romagna, as well as the whole Adriatic background from Grado and Altino to Treviso and Capodistria. On the other hand, when it came to using their names for their children, Venetians seemed to be extraordinarily conservative and reluctant to move away from a very small patrimony of names endlessly repeated, preserving a strong tradition of what had been originally Byzantine but had become standard Italian names in Ravenna, Rome and increasingly in the Italian *Regnum*, but with very little innovation, or addition of any Frankish names of the kind currently found in, for example,

24, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-23/>, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-24/> (Cessi, II. 58, 59); Cessi II, 70; *Documenti veneziani* no 4, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-4/> (Cessi, I. 53).

⁶² *Documenti veneziani* no 30, <http://saame.it/fonte/documenti-veneziani-veneziana-30/> (Cessi, II. 79)

⁶³ JnD, IV. 58-60.

Veneto, Friuli, Istria and even in Romagna itself, where there was a rise from 2% to 50% in the use of Frankish/Carolingian names in the late 9th and 10th centuries⁶⁴. This may have been due to the perception that there was less need for such differentiation as long as there was a clear distinction which could be made through the *cognomen*. Possibly there may also have been such a strong family conscience with specific names closely linked to specific families, a well-known medieval phenomenon, but one which, combined with the common use of a family name, preserved this anthroponymical isolation longer than elsewhere in the duchy of Venice.

⁶⁴ S. Cosentino, «Antroponimia, politica e società nell'esarcato in età bizantina e post-bizantina», in J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent (eds.), *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e-XII^e siècle) II. Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 461, Rome, 2012, pp. 173-85.