

The Medieval Evolution of By-naming: Notions from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

Iris Shagrir

The study of the personal names of the Frankish settlers in Outremer has shown the Franks' double allegiance to the cultures of both their European homeland and their new one in the Levant; this is the picture that also seems to emerge from recent studies on varied cultural dimensions of the Latin states in the East. In this paper, I wish to begin an examination of the evolution of by-names and explore their distribution and special characteristics in the Latin kingdom. Following an overview of the general evolution of by-names, I will attempt to identify the types of preferred by-names and the types abandoned, and to look at the special role of toponymic by-names and their possible link to migration and mobility. These observations may also contribute to the understanding of the processes in Western Europe, as the current state of the research is such that different and sometimes contradictory findings exist. The use of by-names in the kingdom of Jerusalem increased steadily over the period of the Kingdom's existence. The prevalence of by-names rose from 40 per cent in 1100, to just over 60 per cent by the end of the thirteenth century. This trend is in accordance with corresponding developments in western Europe, where a gradual increase of by-name usage is documented during the middle of the eleventh century and thereafter the increase is more widespread and steady.

The by-name is the ancestor of the surname, or the family name. It is distinguished from a surname by being a non-hereditary descriptor, which changes with every generation and is not necessarily applied to other family members. By-names are usually categorized into four main types: a) toponymic (or locative), alluding a place-name, or to a non-particular topographic element (Balduinus de Lisabona, Petrus de Vallis); b) a personal name or a form of a personal name (Petrus Amalricus, Rogerius Constantini); c) an occupational descriptor (Guido Aurifaber, Lambertus Sutor) and names relating to office or social status (Guillelmus Ligius, Bonofilius Contadini); d) a nickname or sobriquet, denoting a personal or a physical quality (Gerardus Amorosus, Hugo Blancus). To these may be added by-names relating ethnicity (Herveus Brito).

Clearly, changes in naming practices, in this case the growing frequency in the use of by-names, accompanied wider social and cultural processes. Several possible incentives contributed to the addition of by-names in the Middle Ages, none of which need be seen as exclusive. Among these factors are demographic increase and growing sophistication and standardization of bureaucratic and taxation procedures, which required officials to practice greater accuracy. An added by-name may have also been an indication of the individual's growing public activity, social affiliation, public consciousness, and also reflect a perception of the name as

a social marker implying, for example, assets, or a privileged office or position.¹ By-names could therefore be attached spontaneously by officials concerned with avoiding confusion in their documents, or might be self-generated by individuals or families. In the higher social strata, the inherent motivation to distinguish lineages from one another may have played a special role; this distinction could be achieved by the double means of re-using personal names and by adopting by-names. By-names in this case often tend to be toponymic, thus identifying families or family members with properties (Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Boulogne). Evolving dynastic consciousness may have also used the means of naming, to establish or enhance family memory.

An intriguing issue is the question of the correlation between homonymity and the increased use of by-names, which is often underscored in the literature on the evolution of naming systems. By-names, according to this view, were added in order to promote clarity and avoid the confusion created by the growing proportion of homonyms.² The explanation has reasonable merit. Yet, the statistical findings on the correlation between homonymity and by-naming in different regions in western Europe have been complex and inconclusive. Studies conducted in France indicate that in some regions the appearance of the second element (by-name) preceded the condensation of the name stock, and suggest that the disappearance of single names became more pronounced only when the stock of names shrank by about 50 per cent. On the other hand, findings from the south-west of France, for example, where the contraction of the name stock occurred earlier than in other parts, show that the addition of a surname also occurred earlier. Studies emphasize that all over France the process was very slow.³ C. Clark, in her study of the English naming patterns links homonymy in medieval England with an over-reliance on a few preferred personal names, but maintains that the exact cause of the evolution will probably remain unknown.⁴

The picture is clearer in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Here, a strong correlation is found between contraction of the stock of first names and the preponderance of

¹ These possible factors are discussed by Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille, "En forme de conclusion générale: bilans et projets," *Genèse Médiévale de L'anthroponymie Moderne, II-2: Persistances du Nom Unique*, eds. Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille (Tours, 1992) pp. 301–321. On surnames, especially toponymic, see also discussion by Katharine S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People. A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066–1166* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 34–38, Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Toponymic surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views," *Viator* 4 (1973) pp. 123–29; and David Postles, "Notions of the Family, Lordship and the Evolution of Naming Processes in Medieval English Rural Society: A Regional Example," *Continuity and Change* 10 (1995) p. 170.

² Marie-Thérèse Morlet, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de familles* (Paris, 1997), p. 8.

³ Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets," p. 306; Monique Bourin, "France du Midi et France du Nord: deux systèmes anthroponymiques," *L'Anthroponymie: Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux. Actes du colloque international. Collection de l'École Française de Rome*, 226 (Rome, 1996), pp. 179–202, at pp. 190–192.

⁴ Cecily Clark, "Anthroponymy," *Cambridge History of the English Language II*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 551–587, at p. 567.

by-names. This correlation, which may indeed suggest causality but by no means stipulates it, is at present a finding unique to the Frankish kingdom in this period.⁵ Indeed, as the correlation between the condensation of the stock of personal names and the expansion of by-naming seems to be complex, it is possible to conceptualize an inverted causal relationship between the two, namely that the condensation of the stock of personal names was a product of the growing use of by-names, itself a result of causes from outside the anthroponymic system, like a desire to create and preserve family identity and memory of origins.⁶

The growing preference of saints' names is a linked phenomenon. The popularity of saints' names operated as an agent in the spread of homonymity. Saints' names comprise a relatively fixed pool of deliberately limited choices, more so given the rising popularity of central saints (like the apostles). This process is well documented in medieval western Europe. A singular attempt to ascertain the relationship between the use of saints' names and the use of by-names was performed with the data of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem. An analysis of the rapidity of these two phenomena found that the increase in use of saints' names occurred faster than the increase in use of by-names. This suggests that the restriction of name choices may have induced the addition of by-names.⁷ Apparently, holding a by-name facilitated choosing a popular first name, or, conversely, naming after a highly popular namesake may call for applying a by-name. Consider for instance the name John, a preferred name in the Ibelin family (along with Balian). Around the middle of the thirteenth century, there were five active and prominent Johns of Ibelin, who were unavoidably designated also by lordship, title or some other by-name, such as "junior."⁸

The particular type of toponymic, especially locative, by-names warrants special attention as it brings up another factor which could have played a role in promoting the use of by-names: migration and social mobility.

Studies of by-names in England reveal the specific link between toponymic by-names and migration into towns: about half of the documented individuals with by-names carry a toponymic by-name. Consequently, many studies focus on aspects of migration revealed through toponymic surnames. These studies trace

⁵ In the Latin kingdom the groups of holders and non-holders of by-names are of similar size. Yet non-holders of by-names carry a greater variety of personal names. This may imply that those with by-names, having another element of identification, use popular personal names more often than people without by-names. For more details, see Iris Shagrir, *Naming Patterns in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 40–42.

⁶ On family memory, see Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 73–80. On the links between naming and kinship structures, see Monique Bourin, "How changes in Naming reflect the Evolution of Familial Structures in Southern Europe (950–1250)," in *Personal Name Studies of Medieval Europe. Social Identity and Familial Structures*, eds. G.T. Beech, M. Bourin and P. Chareille (Kalamazoo, 2002), pp. 3–13.

⁷ Shagrir, *Naming Patterns*, pp. 52–54

⁸ John of Beirut ('Old Lord'), 1205–1236; John I of Arsur, 1241–58; John II of Beirut, 1247–64; John of Jaffa (jurist), 1247–66; John II of Arsur, 1277–1309. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277*, pp. 316–317; *RRH*, index, under "Ibelin."

patterns of migration, migration distances, social mobility and economic processes. The relationship among these factors has been explored by several scholars. Eilert Ekwall used toponymic by-names to calculate the extent and range of migration among Londoners of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries; the strengths of his method and the criticism it met were indicated by Peter McClure who also analyzed the evidence retrieved from by-naming patterns of changing rural-to-urban migration patterns, as well as of demographic and economic changes.⁹ Benjamin Kedar noted a distinct relationship between toponymic by-names and the trading profession, suggesting that a specific locative may have been adopted for marketing purposes. The example Kedar provides demonstrates this: a spice merchant may call himself “de Tripoli” to enhance his reputation, by associating himself with a major market in the Levant.¹⁰ This last example brings up self-motivation as yet another possible cause for adding a by-name; while it is often assumed that individuals had to be labelled by others for purposes of identification and convenience, we should not exclude the possibility that certain individuals wanted to adopt a distinguishing descriptor for themselves. Moreover, it is conceivable that a self-adopted by-name is more likely to be a distinct locative rather than a general toponym.

From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, evidence exists for the persistence of the single name, the increasing use of by-names, and the sporadic use of hereditary surnames. In thirteenth-century Europe by-names had already become widespread, but the naming system was still to be in flux for about two hundred years. These processes were slow and variable by region, gender and social status.¹¹

The process in the Latin kingdom appears to correspond to the process in Western Europe. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the system was still inconsistent, by-naming was increasing but not universal. Consequently, a person could be ascribed different by-names, as in the case of, as prominent a figure like Baldwin of Ibelin (d. c.1188), who appears as son of Barisanus of Ramla in 1148, as Balduinus de Mirabello in 1162, as Balduinus de Mirabella filius Barisani in 1165, as Balduinus de Ibelin dominus Mirabelli in 1166, simply as brother of Hugo and Barisan of Ibelin in 1168, as Balduinus Ramatensis and Ramarum in 1171 and 1174, and finally as Baldoinus d’Ybelin.¹² The inconsistency is not the unique characteristic

⁹ Peter McClure, “Patterns of migration in the late middle ages: the evidence of English place-name surnames,” *Economic History Review* 2nd ser., 32 (1979), pp. 167–82, at p. 167; Eilert Ekwall, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (Lund, 1951), pp. 49–71; Percy H. Reaney, *The Origin of English Surnames* (London, 1967), pp. 36–57.

¹⁰ Kedar, “Toponymic Surnames,” p.123. See also Robert S. Lopez, “Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* 8 (1954), pp. 6–16.

¹¹ Bourin and Chareille, “Bilans et projets,” pp. 301–21. Research on the evolution of the surname, and the process by which the individual surname has turned into a family name, is currently conducted under the auspices of the CNRS and the Laboratoire de Médiévistique Occidentale de Paris (LAMOP), directed by Patrice Beck, Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille.

¹² *RRH* 252, 370b, 419, 423, 449, 492, 518, 649. While it is true that the changing by-name reflects changes in seigniorial position, note for example the inconsistent use of “Ibelin”, or the omission of any by-name in 1168, when Baldwin was already Lord of Mirabel. Another, probably different, Balduinus

of any specific social group,¹³ though usually members of the nobility are better identified than others.¹⁴ Hereditary surnames, too, did not form a significant portion of the by-named population in the Latin kingdom, although infrequent instances may suggest their existence, as in the case of Adam Costa *juvenis* and Adam Costa *senex*, who both witnessed an act of Frederick II in Acre in 1229.¹⁵

The spread of by-names has often been described as having occurred initially among the higher social classes. This description assumes that the higher classes needed to be better identified because of their land holdings and the services they owed. Also, for the nobility, by-names relating to estates were markers of status and a sign of dignity, and therefore spread among them earlier and faster. Thus, it was the high nobility who created a fashion which lower nobility imitated, and subsequently other social classes. However, an imitation mechanism cannot be simply assumed,¹⁶ and it is not universally ascertainable in medieval studies. Some studies found that from the end of the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth, the use of by-names was remarkable among the nobility, but not unique to it.¹⁷ Monique Bourin suggested an alternative interpretation of the process, proposing that it was not only the nobles, but also the burgesses, who headed the transformation of the anthroponymic system through the addition of by-names. An apparently related hypothesis was proposed by Jean-Louis Biget, assuming a link between social mobility and the growing use of saints' names. According to Biget's interpretation, individuals who had ventured out of the safe nest of home, family, village or parish and moved into towns, bestowed the symbolic and ubiquitous protection of a saint upon their children, and consequently, the tendency to use a restricted repertory of saints' names necessitated attaching a descriptor (mostly occupational or locative) to the personal names of new urban residents.¹⁸ Studies

de Rama appears in 1153 (*RRH* 283, cf. Joseph Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 1 (Paris 1894), p. 168–69, no. 219.

¹³ “Notaries sometimes showed little consideration for the desiderata of future historians” remarks Robert S. Lopez in “Concerning Surnames,” p.14.

¹⁴ Heinrich Rüthing, “Der Wechsel von Personennamen in einer spätmittelalterlichen Stadt. Zum Problem der Identifizierung von Personen und zum sozialen Status von Stadtbewohnern mit wechselnden oder unvollständigen Namen,” in *Medieval Lives and the Historian. Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, eds. Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo, 1982), pp. 215–26; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 32; Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, pp. 296–97.

¹⁵ *RRH* 1003. These two are specifically mentioned here because their first name and the by-name are identical. Other individuals in the Latin Kingdom carry this by-name or surname: Arnold Costa (*RRH* 243), and Peter Costa (*RRH* 618), who appears with John Costa in *RRH* 619. The obvious other example of the Ibelin family should also be mentioned.

¹⁶ Stanley Lieberman, *A Matter of Taste* (Yale, 2000), p. 169.

¹⁷ See Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “Le nom refait,” *L'Homme* 20 (1980), p.78; Anne Lefèvre-Teillard, *Le nom, droit et histoire* (Paris, 1990), p. 27; Monique Bourin, “Tels Père, Tels Fils? L'héritage du nom dans la noblesse languedocienne (XIe–XIIIe siècles),” *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern III*, pp. 191–209; Postles, “Notions of Family,” pp.169–98.

¹⁸ Bourin, “France du Midi et France du nord,” p.192; Jean-Louis Biget, “L'évolution des noms de baptême en Languedoc au moyen âge,” *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 17 (1982), pp. 297–341, at p. 334.

from England indicate too a greater necessity to ascribe descriptors to immigrants from rural areas into towns.¹⁹

Again, the findings from the Latin kingdom provide a clear insight. Amongst the different Frankish social groups, it was the burgess class who headed the trend of adding a by-name in the twelfth century. The nobility did not lead the process, as in various regions of Catholic Europe.²⁰ Rather, the Frankish nobility seems to have caught up with the trend, and in the thirteenth century the nobles and non-nobles shared the trend to an equal extent. In the Frankish kingdom, as in Catholic Europe, the slowest social group to adopt by-names was the clergy.²¹

The two interpretations, one perceiving the process as originating in the nobility and the other as originating in the urban populace, need not be thought of as incompatible. Members of both groups had to be identified clearly. Among nobles, significant contributing factors were the concentration on a limited dynastic stock of first names and the decreasing frequency of many Germanic names, along with an attempt to create a dynastic-onomastic identity using both first names and by-names, including an emphasis upon land possessions as toponymic descriptors. On the other hand, among the urban populace, partly due to the changing preferences in personal names – primarily a preference for saints' names – partly due to the fact that the citizens were tax-paying individuals by definition, by-names were a growing necessity. The nature of the urban population, including immigrants, merchants, professional craftsmen, members of guilds and other urban organizations, contributed to the expansion of not just imposed by-names, but of self-styled ones as well. The same dynamic that operated in the spread of certain types of first names in towns could have operated in spreading the practice of using a by-name. In addition, the two groups partly overlapped as members of the urban elites in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were occasionally landowners of noble descent.²²

The study of by-names in the Frankish society, like the study of names in medieval and post-medieval Europe in general, presents methodological obstacles. Much caution is required in interpreting by-names correctly. The by-names in an immigrating society such as the Frankish in the Latin East originated from various medieval languages and may appear in vernacular, Latin or Latinized forms. The linguistic complexity requires consulting many different dictionaries, which may

¹⁹ Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, pp. 296–98. This tendency is also revealed in the use of composite by-names among town dwellers, which is, however, rare in the Latin kingdom. An example is Paulus Philippus Lebel, *RRH* 1037.

²⁰ See Bourin, "Bilan de l'équète," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern* I, pp. 238–43; Bourin and Chareille, "Bilans et projets," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern* II–2, pp. 311–18; Postles, "Notions of Family," *Continuity and Change*, 10 (1995), pp. 169–70.

²¹ For studies on the expansion of surnames, see *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne: Persistances du nom unique*, II–1, II–2. For clergy, "L'anthroponymie des clercs," *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie modern* II–1. A preliminary attempt to differentiate between types of by-names used by different social groups is presented in Cecily Clark, "Socio-economic status and individual identity," in *Words, Names and History*, ed. Peter Jackson (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 100–13.

²² David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City* (London, 1997) p. 116.

themselves be imperfect or inadequate.²³ Moreover, toponymic by-names, which comprise a good part of the by-name repertory here as elsewhere, are usually easy to notice, but not as easy to interpret. Many toponymic by-names may provide limited and sometimes ambiguous information, due to variations and changes in spelling, scribal corruption of foreign place-names, identical place names that may have existed and still do in different regions, and names that refer to places which have by now vanished from the map. Also to be noted is that standardized methodological tools for the study of surnames are still being developed, attempting to address both the great variety of forms of documentation and the large scale of quantified data from different periods and areas.

For this survey, I employ the database constructed for the study of the naming patterns in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem,²⁴ which also contains by-names.

The by-named population of the Latin kingdom, meaning the individuals who have a second element of naming, consists of 3,287 individuals out of 6,170 individuals recorded for the study. For the purpose of analysis, the individuals were divided into six nearly equal and roughly generational periods, as follows: 1100–1129; 1130–1159; 1160–1189; 1190–1219; 1220–1249; 1250–1291. The data refer only to male adults who appear in legal and commercial documents in the Frankish East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of the total by-named population, I was unable to identify with certainty 25 per cent of the by-names (815 out of 3287).

As indicated in the beginning of this paper, the primary phenomenon to note concerning by-names in the Frankish kingdom is their growing prevalence over the period 1100–1291. It is the same evolution that occurs in Western Europe at the time. The by-names that carry out this evolution are interpreted and categorized according to four types. These types are indicated here, with examples and specific reference to the characteristics of the by-names found in the Frankish kingdom.

- 1 Toponymic or locative by-names. These by-names may refer to either specific place-names like a village, town, region or country, or to indefinite locations. This category is subdivided into three sub-groups: European toponyms; “local” toponyms, referring to the lands dominated by the Franks in the in Syria and Palestine; and a third sub-group of indefinite locations which indicate topographic elements, landscape, or types of domicile, such as “de Montibus,” “de Ponte,” “de Castello,” “de Valle,” “de Porta,” “de Vinea,” etc.

A particularly problematic type is the ethnonym, such as Langlois, l’Aleman Picard, Normannus and Britto. These by-names may be classified as sobriquets,

²³ For reference and identification, several dictionaries and books were used, including Theodor Graesse, *Orbis Latinus. Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, (Braunschweig, 1972); Morlet, *Dictionnaire des noms de famille*; Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire des nom de famille et des prénoms de France*; Emidio de Felice, *Dizionario dei nomi italiani*; Basil Cottle, *The Penguin Dictionary of Surnames*; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, Alan V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History* (Oxford, 2000). For a discussion of dictionaries, see David Hey, “Recent Advances in the Study of Surnames,” *The Historian*, 80 (2003), pp. 13–17.

²⁴ Shagrir, *Naming Patterns*, pp. 15–22.

but may also be considered toponymic by-names. The use of large geographical units as by-names, as opposed to names of small towns and villages, may be a unique characteristic of long-distance migration, given that the immigration to *Outremer* is the first large-scale and long-distance European immigration.

- 2 A personal name (anthroponym) or a form of a personal name. These may indicate relationship to either parent, as with Raimundus Constantini or Raimundus Ermengaudi, and thus may appear in the genitive case, or simply as an additional personal name, like Raimundus Constantinus. The last example demonstrates yet again the inconsistency in the practice of by-naming, as Raimundus Constantini and Raimundus Constantinus, who appear in 1177 and 1184 witnessing charters of Raymond of Tripoli, are probably the same person. Thus, if the additional first name is not in genitive case, the interpretation may be ambiguous. It is unclear whether these by-names reflect a short-hand for a fuller indication of affiliation (as in *x filius y*) or not, because various forms exist, such as Bartholomeus filius Georgii and Rainaldus Masueri filius Rainaldi Masueri.
- 3 Occupational by-names. These may appear in Latin or in different forms of vernacular, as with *faber*, *faure*, *lefevre*. Whether these occupational by-names should be interpreted literally is a question with no precise answer, though in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, compared to later periods, literal interpretation is probably more often valid. A few rare by-names denoting office and status are also included in this category. Designation of status or office only rarely appears in the documents as a part of the name, such as Robertus comes, Guillelmus ligius, Petrus burgensis, as opposed to the more common construction, as in Milo de Planci, *senescalus regius*.
- 4 A nickname (sobriquet) in this study is usually a descriptive by-name given in addition to (not instead of) a first name. It refers to a mental or a physical quality, as in Paganus cum testa, Hugo bona mente, Johannes Paillart. Nicknames are indeed a flexible category. Apart from the fact that the meaning of a nickname may often be ambiguous – Terricus de Inferno, Guido de Finemundo, and Guibertus Piscis (where Piscis may refer to an occupation or a personal trait) – undeniably the options and variations are infinite, and thus liable to many orthographic inconsistencies.

The most common of these four types of by-names in the Latin kingdom is the toponymic by-name. The distribution of the 2,475 identified by-names is as follows:

Toponymic and ethnonymic by-names	1680	68%
Nicknames	335	13%
Anthroponymic/ patronymic by-names	282	11%
Occupational and status by-names	209	8%

This distribution does not include the 815 not identified by-names (25 per cent of all individuals with by-names).²⁵

The toponymic by-names comprise the majority of the by-names in use over the whole period of study. Their frequency seems to have remained roughly even from 1100 to 1291.²⁶ This is a high proportion, which may be characteristic of communities composed mostly of immigrants. It seems to present a higher proportion than in western Europe, although in Europe, as well, toponymic by-names are the majority. European findings presently reflect isolated locations, and more quantified data from western Europe will provide a better understanding. Indications from extant studies conducted with respect to southern France in the thirteenth century show slightly lower rates among the nobility and lower ones among peasants. In England, a study by Percy Reaney found that among London immigrants in the early thirteenth century toponymic surnames gradually became more numerous, and by the end of the century were common and still increasing.²⁷

The majority of these toponymic by-names denote European places of origin ('de Carcasona', 'Andegavensis'). The European toponyms are 62 per cent of all toponymic by-names of the Latins in the East. Their frequency remained relatively stable over the period.

On the other hand, local toponyms – by-names reflecting places in Syria and Palestine such as "de Ioppe," "de Accon" – amount to 28 per cent of all toponymic by-names in the studied period. Their frequency is relatively static throughout the period. General toponymic by-names ("de Montibus," "de Foresta") are about 10 per cent of toponymic by-names.

The second most common type of by-name is the nickname (Magnus, Homodei) at 13 per cent. The frequency of the nickname type rose slightly from 9 per cent to 13 per cent. The anthroponymic by-name, or patronymic, such as Hugonis, Hugo, Godefridus, Egidius, and Umberti, is 11 per cent, and its proportion remained even throughout the period. The less common type of by-name was the occupational by-name, such as Archerius and Faber (8 per cent); this type also remained even throughout the period of study.

The increasing use of hereditary surnames was concurrent in Western Europe with the proliferation of by-names. Both processes were slow, and characterized by a great regional and social variation. There is evidence of hereditary transmission of surnames in most regions of France during the course of the twelfth century, but the

²⁵ If one includes the unidentified group, the distribution of all 3,287 individuals with by-names is: toponymic and ethnonymic: 51 per cent; nicknames: 10 per cent; anthroponymic: 8 per cent; occupational and status: 6 per cent. I have excluded the unidentified by-names in order to achieve a more accurate picture, because the unidentified by-names consist of a quarter of all by-names and their proportion over time is unstable: they begin as 16 per cent in the twelfth century and reach their peak of 29 per cent in the middle of the thirteenth century. However, in both ways of calculation (including and excluding the unidentified group), the ranking of the four types remains the same.

²⁶ Ranging between 72 per cent and 68 per cent, with a peak of 74 per cent in 1190–1219.

²⁷ Monque Bourin, "Tels Père, Tels Fils?", p. 203; Reaney, *Origin of English Surnames*, pp. 22 (table), 45.

system stabilized in a general fashion only around the end of the fifteenth century. Legislation mandating the use of surnames (family names) in most cases did not precede practice but followed it.²⁸ Indeed, some surnames became hereditary already in the eleventh century, well before by-names themselves became a common phenomenon.²⁹

Though the data from the Latin kingdom are not of a genealogical nature, evidence of hereditary surnames exists. Well known are the upper-class families of *Outremer*, first and foremost the Ibelin family, but also Embriaci, Falconberg, Parented,³⁰ Gernier,³¹ Porcellet, Barlais, Morosini and others, of which several members carry the same surname.³² As one might expect, nobles and landholders seem to be prominent among holders of a shared family surname, as in the cases of William of La Mandalée (Amigdala) and his son James of La Mandalée, of the thirteenth-century Frankish nobility,³³ Hue de Viliers son of Jofrei de Villers,³⁴ the brothers Hugo and Odo de Calmunt, Fulk and Adam Niger, Hugo and Philip de Logis, and Amalric and Baldwin de Bethsan. Several instances of shared surname by two or more family members may indicate that it was not restricted to the landholding nobility, as in the cases of Adam Costa *juvenis* and Adam Costa *senex*, mentioned above, the brothers John and Simon de Treucis, and William and Roland de Balma, appearing as brothers in 1197, who may be related to Peter Raymond de Balma, who appears in 1139, and to Bertrand de Balma who appears in 1232.³⁵

Conclusion

The Franks of the East used by-names at an ever increasing rate over the kingdom's existence. Within these by-names, the dominant type was the toponymic by-name,

²⁸ On the process in the Middle Ages and later legislation concerning surnames, see Lefèvre-Teillard, *Le nom*, pp. 25–48.

²⁹ For a by-name to be considered a hereditary surname, it has to be applied to all descendants, not only to the son inheriting the estate, as was frequently the case. The surname is definitely considered a surname when it is transferred also to wives and daughters-in-law. Such a pattern is documented in the Nice area in the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth century: André Compan, *Étude d'anthroponymie provençale. Les noms de personne dans le comté de Nice au 13e–15e siècles* (Paris, 1975). On the application, still unstable at the end of the thirteenth and in the early fourteenth century, in Paris, see Karl Michaëlsson, *Études sur les noms de personne français* (Uppsala, 1927), pp. 142–43.

³⁰ See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 181.

³¹ See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 193.

³² Regarding the prevalence of hereditary surnames among the upper classes of large Italian cities, already in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see observations (but not data) in Lopez, "Concerning Surnames," pp. 7–10.

³³ *RRH*, nos. 978 and 1002.

³⁴ *RRH*, no. 1252 (year 1256).

³⁵ Their name probably refers to Baume in southern France. Peter Raymond de Balma's name may itself indicate a southern French origin, and his appearance in a charter of Raymond II of Tripoli supports that. The brothers William and Rolland appear in Cyprus around 1200 (*RRH* 737, of the year 1197, and *RRH* 780, of 1201), and so does Bertrand, in 1232.

namely by-names referring to either a specific place (a locative) or to an unspecified geographical element. The two phenomena are common to both European society of the time and to the Latins in the East, and this reinforces the phenomenon observed in the study of first names: the strong nexus between the Europeans of the West and the settlers in the East. At the current state of research, a detailed comparison with the European patterns still awaits more quantified data from other regions. It seems, however, that the rate (68 per cent) of toponymic by-names in the Holy Land is relatively high and may be a particular attribute of communities composed mostly of immigrants.

Within this large group of toponymic by-names, clearly the most frequent ones were those referring to European place names (62 per cent), and their frequency is relatively stable throughout the kingdom's existence. A few possible explanations may be offered for their dominance. A strong linkage to Europe may have fostered adherence to a by-name reminiscent of the distant place of origin, a home left behind. Or it may be interpreted as a sign of constant immigration and infusion of new names, evincing the attractiveness of the Holy Land, but also the unstable nature of the immigrating community. As indicated above, the use of places of origin as by-names was typical to immigrant communities, mainly in the larger cities of Europe. It is not surprising to observe a similar phenomenon in the Holy Land, a prominent destination of long-distance immigration in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On the other hand, local toponyms served to form 28 per cent of all toponymic by-names. Their proportion rose between 1160 and 1220, and then returned to their initial level.

Considering the other types of by-names, it appears that nicknames rose slightly, patronymic or anthroponymic by-names remained even over time, and the occupational by-names remained relatively static as well. In fact, no dramatic changes can be discerned in the internal distribution of by-names and the patterns seem quite stable, except for the growing use of by-names in general. In other words, the groups analyzed seem to keep their relative proportions over the period of study. This finding differs from the main finding concerning personal names. In personal-naming patterns, significant evolutions occurred throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In by-names, on the other hand, the volume increased but the patterns were stable.

