The Muslim Colony of *Luceria Sarracenorum* (Lucera) – life and dispersion as outlined by onomastic evidence

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Abstract: *The life and dispersion of Lucerine Muslims in Apulia (c.1220–1300) are examined from the onomastic point of view. Many Muslim names are recorded in Latin-scripted official documents. These do not differ greatly from those reported by Salvatore Cusa and those found in the Maltese Militia List of 1419/20. Some Lucerine names present several variants which can be used as 'markers' to locate the presence of Muslims after their dispersion. The diffusion of modern surnames related to these markers confirms reports in Angevin documents, namely that the cities of Naples and Barletta were the main centres for the subsequent relocation of Muslims. However, large concentrations of these surnames are to be found also in the regions of Latium and the Marches.*

Keywords: *Muslims of Lucera, Celano exiles, Frederick II, Malta, Arab nomenclature, surnames.*

Formation and dismantling of the Muslim settlement of *Luceria Sarracenorum*
In the 1220's Frederick II, for the purpose of eradicating political and social upheaval in Sicily and of creating an economic and military station in Apulia, began to transfer part of the Muslim population of Sicily (*c.*15,000–20,000 people) to Lucera, a city located in the Capitanata, the northern corner of Apulia.[1]

According to Riccardo di S. Germano,[2] the places in Sicily drained by the transfer of Muslim deportees were later occupied by families from Celano, city of Abruzzo, whose population had revolted, bravely but unsuccessfully, against Frederick II.[3] Further Muslim populations came to Lucera from another area of the reign; in 1249,

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[1] Julie Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: the Colony at Lucera*, Lanham, USA, 2003, p. 37. Lucera is now a commune in the province of Foggia.
[2] Riccardo di San Germano, *Chronica*, Bologna, 1937, pp. 112–3.
[3] Celano is now a locality in the province of L'Aquila.

Emperor Frederick II

according to Ibn Khaldūn, the emperor decided to expel the Muslims of Malta, and some of them were also deported to Lucera. However, Muslim resistance in Sicily seems to have been obliterated altogether by 1246;[4] presumably, Ibn Khaldūn was actually giving a partially accurate description of the events of 1224, when Frederick II was effectively in Sicily and crushed the Sicilian Muslims.[5]

From the bureaucratic point of view Muslims were considered as *servi fisci* or *servi camerae*, depending directly on the Crown and therefore protected as subjects of the king[6]. Severe restrictions were not applied to Lucerines since they were allowed to travel and work outside the city, as verified in 1302 by the toponym Ulmen Zamarra, rather far away from Lucera, and as hinted by the practice of living in Foggia and nearby Stornara, as well as other villages around Lucera.[7]

The majority worked as farmers, cultivating wheat and barley, or as breeders of sheep, cows, goats, chickens, horses, and pigs, and, from 1239, of wild and exotic animals such as leopards and camels.[8] Others worked as artisans and craftsmen (smiths, carpenters, tentmakers, tailors, bowmakers, saddlemakers, etc.), merchants, moneychangers, and civil servants. The Muslim Lucerines were also obliged by the Crown to participate in the ongoing war effort, generally as cavalrymen and archers. They were employed both on the Italian mainland and abroad, for instance, in Romania and Albania.[9]

For running internal affairs and resolving conflicts among its members, the community chose its town judges or *qadis* (< *al-qādī*, translated in Latin or Italian as *Alchadius* or *Archadio*). Other leaders in the community were the *qā'id* or chieftain,

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[4] The final known deportation to Lucera was carried out in 1246 following a new Muslim uprising in Entella. Cf. Taylor, p. 12.

[5] Anthony T. Luttrell, (ed.), *Medieval Malta: Studies on Malta before the Knights*, The British School at Rome, London, 1975, pp. 37-8. Another source, still, seems to believe this event occurred as late as 1271, as at this date Muslims were allowed to hold land in exchange for the payment of an annual tribute. Cf. Taylor, p. 77.

[6] Taylor, pp. 51 and 67.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[8] Within this context, links with surnames Leopardi and Camilleri are indeed very alluring.

[9] For Romania cf. R. Filangieri (ed.), *Registri della Cancelleria Angioina*, Vol. 10, Reg. 48, No. 230, Naples, 1950, p. 62. For Albania cf. *ibid.*, No. 228, p. 61.

transformed in Italian as *Caito* and *Gaieto*; the *faqīh* or jurist, converted, according to Egidi, into *Fichino* or *Fachino*; and the *šayḫ* or elder, transformed, according to Pellegrini, into *Sceca*[10] and, within the Sicilian Jewish communities, according to Bresc, into *Sico*.[11]

The relative proximity to Rome instigated several missionary campaigns for Muslim conversions in 1236 and in the 1290's, carried out by mendicant preaching Orders. The Muslims, unwisely, chose to support Conradin during the Hohenstaufen struggle with the Angevins, precipitating a definite deterioration in their status after their rebellion in 1268 and their surrendering in 1269.

In order to discourage revolutionary activities, Lucera was watched over by a castle whose date of erection, however, is unknown. The present castle surely dates from the Angevin period and functioned as a prison as well as a depository for armour and weaponry.

The very cause of the annihilation of *Luceria Sarracenorum* is much debated. According to Taylor, Charles II's true motive was to make money by selling the inhabitants of the city into slavery, and hence finance the war in Sicily. He justified his decision in religious terms, arguing that the Muslims posed a threat to the spiritual well-being of Christians. Lucera was captured by Angevin troops on 15 August 1300, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.[12]

In spite of many setbacks and difficulties, the Muslims strove to preserve their own identity, language, culture, and religious practices. The desire to uphold Muslim traditions is evidenced in the retention of traditional Muslim names, despite indications that some Christian names gradually began to be taken on.

Collection of Muslim names from extant documents[13]

Muslim documents, namely those compiled in Arabic, if any, were not preserved; so, Islamic names are only found in Latin administrative records. The only document containing some Arabic words is an act found in the Archivio Cavense of S.S. Trinità, compiled for the repossession of the Church of S. Giacomo, located at Burganu, by the Abbey of Cava dei Tirreni in 1284. Among the signatures one finds those of Abū 'Abd Allāh ibn Sayyd, Solimā al-Bāris, and Al-Māsir ibn Ḥasan as witnesses, along with two lines written in Arabic, which constitute the only Arabic script reminiscent of Lucerine Muslims.[14]

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[10] Giovan Battista Pellegrini, *Arabismi nelle lingue neolatine*, Brescia, 1972, p. 387.

[11] Henri Bresc, *Arabi per lingua ebrei per religione*, Messina, 2001, p. 250.

[12] The city was hence renamed *Civitas Sanctae Mariae*, until the end of the reign of Joanna II (1414–1435). Cf. Taylor, p. 192.

[13] Most names derive from P. Egidi, *Codice diplomatico dei Saraceni di Lucera*, Naples, 1917. Other sources, including Taylor, are cited within the text.

[14] Egidi, p. xiv.

The most important Latin documents are those collected by Egidi.[15] These documents concern, however, the final years of the colony and the period immediately following its dissolution, including the selling of Muslim slaves and their movements through the kingdom. Further documents were recently catalogued and published by Petrucci in the 1990s; they concern records rather close to the Muslim age of Lucera.[16] Other researchers have reinterpreted the history of *Lucera Sarracenorum* (Julie Taylor, 2003) or some aspect of it (Abulafia, 1998).[17] Other fragments of information can be derived from old publications about Lucera such as that of Del Preite (1690).[18]

The following is a list of Saracenic names recorded at Lucera (arranged alphabetically according to their notarial attestations). The entries in bold type, when applicable, suggest the original Arabic names.

Abdale; Abdel; Abdella; Abdula: *'abd Allāh* **or** *'abd al-a'lā* **'servant of Allah'**. Cp. Maltese surname Abdilla.

Abdebius or Agegius: *ḥaǧǧāǧ* **'pilgrim', 'performer of the hadj (to Mecca)'** .

Abdelasis Benfitihen (*ibn Fityān*, recorded by Cusa); Adelagisius Argentarius; Adelasia; Adelasis Guinisi; Abdelagius Forruin (presumably *farrūǧ* 'fowl'); Adelagisius Testor; Adelasa *uxor* Salomonis; Adelasius Abdelagege (*ḥaǧǧāǧ* 'pilgrim'); Adelasius; Adelasisius Simisii (*sāmī* ? 'Syrian'); Adelasisius *cognatus* Maymuni (*Maymūn* 'fortunate'): *'abd al-'azīz* **'servant of the precious'**.

Abderamus Bisimy (*Abū šāma* ? 'birth mark', 'mole'); Aderraman Fortetti (*fartītū* 'butterfly'); Abderramen Symy (*sāmī* ? 'Syrian'): *'abd rāḥmān* **'servant of the most gracious'**.

Abraam; Abraha; Abraham; Abram; Abraòe; Braam Helcadi (*al-qāḍī* 'chief', 'judge'); Braha; Habraam; Habraha; Habron: *Abraham*, **modification of** *Ibrāhīm*.

Absalem Sata (*sa'āda* 'happiness'); Adasalem:*'abd salām* **'servant of peace'** .

Abū Qara (Taylor, p. 112): *Abū Qara* **(Syrian and Egyptian small towns)**.

Abū Sa'id (Taylor, p. 115): *Abū Sa 'īd* **'happy'**. Cp. Maltese surname Said.

Achamet de Agege (*ḥaǧǧāǧ* 'pilgrim'); Achemet; Amette Succari (*sukkār* 'maker or vendor of sugar'); Amida Tendarius; Amidius *filius* Iannini Bisciani (*Abū šāma* ? 'birth mark', 'mole'): *Aḥmad* **'the most praised'**.

Achsen: *Ḥasan* **'good', 'handsome'**.

Adamuel Sarragi (*sarrāǧ* 'saddler'): *'abd al-mawlā* **'lord', 'chieftain'**. Cp. Maltese surname Mula.

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[15] P. Egidi, 'La colonia saracena di Lucera e la sua distruzione', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, Vols. 36–9, Naples, 1912.

[16] Armando Petrucci, *I più antichi documenti originali del Comune di Lucera (1232–1496)*, Vol. 33, Castellana Grotte, 1994.

[17] David Abulafia, *La caduta di Luceria Sarracenorum*, Rome, 1998.

[18] Rocco Del Preite, 'Breve Descrittione della città di Lucera di S. Maria prima detta Luceria' (Lucera, 1690). The manuscript, housed at the Biblioteca Comunale di Lucera, was published in book form: *Rocco del Preite, Breve descrittione della città di Lucera di S. Maria prima detta Luceria*, Giuseppe Trincucci and Michele Conte (eds), Lucera, 2005.

Addet: *ḥaddād* 'smith'.

Adiequius; Agegius; Ageius; Ageta; Algesius; Sigius; Agegius *filius* Riccardi Maltesii; Aqueque; Hagege; Hasex Iuvii: *ḥaǧǧāǧ* 'pilgrim'.

Adragoman; Adrahmen; Adraguman Zerredi (Arabic root *z-r-d* ? 'glutton'): *al-turǧumān* 'translator'.

Agumectus *pater* Lye (*'Alī* pre-Islamic name): *Aḥmad* (with Latin desinence).

Alamanna *uxor* Maltesii: *al-amanah* 'loyalty' (or < Alamanno, 'German').

Albiasus or Abdrasus: probably *'abd* 'servant' + *ra's* 'head'.

Alchadedus: *ḥaddād* 'blacksmith'.

Alchaydus; Helcaydus; Archaydi: *al-qā'id* 'chieftain'.

Alfia *soror* Lye (*'Alī* pre-Islamic name): *alfyyah?* ' one thousand'.

Ali Babusi (*babuš* 'snail'); Ali Binicar (*ibn* + unknown name); Aly; Haly: *'Alī* (pre-Islamic name 'lofty', 'sublime').

Amir Sturnara (Stornara, a locality between Foggia and Cerignola): *'āmir* 'prosperous'.

Amorosius *filius* Samoroni Muracar; Amur: *'Umar,* a pre-Islamic name of uncertain origin, perhaps < *'āmir* 'prosperous', 'substantial' (The root word 'umr means 'life').

Andreas Corbit: Latin?

Angchi: unexplained.

Ansesenius: *ḥaǧǧāǧ* ? 'pilgrim' (with excrescent 'n').

Arrabitus: *'arabī* 'Arab' (with Latin suffix).

Atinus *filius* Yachie (*Yaḥyā,* 'John') Capabu: Latin?

Ayme Dalilee (*dalīl* ? 'guide'); Ayme de Sara: unexplained.

Aysuna *filia* Adraguman Zerredi (Arabic root *z-r-d* ? 'glutton'); Aysa *filia* Salomonis; Ausa: *'ayša* 'life'.

Augnita *filia* Septima: Latin?

Azalem *filius* Mulfictoy (*Umm al-futūḥ* 'victories'): *al-salām* 'peace'.

Babusus Taliaferrus: *babūš* 'snail'.

Baldassem *filius* Babusi (*babūš* 'snail'); Baltassen: *'abd al-Ḥasan* 'servant of the good', 'handsome'.

Balitus: *wālī* ? 'governor'.

Bartha or Barcha: *Abraham,* modification of *Ibrāhīm.*

Batherius or Buckerius or Bucherius; Bathemus: *Abu'l-ḫayr* 'goodness' or *Abū Bakr* 'young camel'.

Balcasam; Balagasse *filius* Alchadedi (*ḥaddād* 'blacksmith'); Baltassem *filius* Babusi (*babūš* 'snail'); Belcasem Cherem (*karīm* 'noble' or *karrām* 'vine-dresser'); Belcasem Cutya or Cuya; Bulcasem Gaytus (*qā'id* 'chief'); Bulchasem Dybane; Bulgassem: *Abū al-qāsim* 'divider'.

Belfettus *filius* Alchadedi (*al-haddād* 'smith'); Belfictone *filius* Alchadedi (*al-haddād* 'smith'): *abū'l-fatḥ* 'victory'.

Benacan: *ibn hakīm* or *ibn hākim* 'wise'or 'judge'.

Benaveth: *ibn 'Abbad* 'devoted servant'.

Benbuscheuky de Luceria: *ibn Abū sāwqi* ? nostalgia'.

Benculcuchius: *ibn* + unexplained name.

Boabdilla Indulti or Indulscie (*andalusī* 'Andalusian'): *Abū abd Allāh* 'servant of Allah'.

Bocquerie Ferquie (*faraḥ* 'joy'); Bucherius Tinctor: *Abū ḥayr* 'goodness'.

Bulfaracius Carricatus; Bulfaracius Sfringi: *Abū al-faraǧ* 'remedy', 'comfort'.

Bulfuctoy *filius* Maltesii: *Abū al-futūḥ* 'victories'.

Cadigia: *Ḥadīǧah* (Islamic name).

Cafaro Roberto [from Malta] (Taylor, p.101): *kāfir* 'infidel' or *ḥaffār* 'engraver', 'digger'.

Cammise Thamis Nebi (*nabī* 'prophet'); Camusa Babusi (*babuš* 'snail'); Chamis; Hamisi Schirifi (*šarīf* 'noble'): *kamūš* ? 'industrious'.

Caraba *uxor* Ulmen (*Uṭman* ? Islamic name) Zamarra: *qarāba* 'belly bottle'.

Caravan *socrus* Machamugi (*Maḥmmūd* 'Mohammed'): *Kayrawān* ? (city of Tunisia) or *kār (ū)wān* '*caravan*'. Cp. Maltese surname Caruana.

Casayra *uxor* Lye Armosi: *quṣayrah* ? < *qaṣr* 'castle'.

Case Sarau; Causa *filia* Babusi (*babuš* 'snail'): Latin?

Cayra: *ḥayrah* 'good'.

Cibele (Zibele) *filius* Agegi (*ḥaǧǧāǧ* 'pilgrim'): *ǧabal* ? 'mountain'.

Dallesius Maltesius: *dalīl* ? 'guide'.

Damulusus *filius* Babusi (*babūš* 'snail'): unexplained.

Damurrisium *filius* Samuruni (*samrah* 'brown', 'dark'): *dammūs ra'īs* 'vault'.

Damusius *filius* Maymuni (*maymūn* 'fortunate') Ammirat (*amīr* 'chief'): *dammūs* 'vault'.

Delosvi Maltese Garufe (*qarūf* 'rebel'): unexplained.

Donadeus (Taylor, p. 101): calque of *hibat Allāh*?

Dulaysa *uxor* Amidalille (*amīn dalīl* 'loyal' + 'guide'): Arabic root *d-l-s* ? 'little cheat'.

Ebutu Caffesu (*qafīz* 'a measure for grains'): *'Abbad* ? (Islamic name).

Elia *filius* Mactie; Elyas; Elias Augnoti; Haly; Helie; Aly; Elyas; Lya Annop (*an-nabī* ? 'prophet'); Lya *filius* Maltesii, Lya *nepos* Babusi (*babuš* 'snail'): *'Alī* ? 'lofty', 'sublime'.

Fatuma; Fatuma *mater* Salomonis; Fatuma *cognata* Salomonis; Fatuma *uxor* Adelasi (*'abd al-'azīz* 'servant of the beloved'): *Fāṭima* (pre-Islamic name).

Fertay, Muslim notary (Taylor, p. 85): *farṭas* ? 'bald'.

Fichterius: akin to Belfictone?

Floria: Latin.

Folimon (corruption of Solimon): *Sulaymān* 'Solomon'.

Fortunna: Latin.

Franzonus: **Latin**.

Gayeto Madio (*mahdī* ? 'well directed'); Gaytanus; Gayetanus: *al-qā'id* **'chieftain'**.

Garufa; Garuffa *filia* Dulayse; Garufa *uxor* Maymuni Ammirat (*amīr* 'leader'): *qarūf* **'rebel'**.

Grassa Sicula: **Latin (or Italian)**.

Gunia: **Arabic root** *ġ-n-n* **? 'rich person' or 'singer'**.

Guideus: **Latin**.

Hamar: *ḫammār* **'vine-seller' or** *'Umar* **'prosperous'**.

Itctar Array: **unexplained**.

Iacynfus *quondam* Ulmen (*'Umar* ? 'prosperous'): **Latin ? 'hyacinth' ?**

Ianninus Biscianus: **Latin**.

Iohannes *olim* Marzuccus (*marzūq* 'fortunate'); Iohannes Christianus *olim Sarracenus fisicus* (1308) *alias* Giovanni Moro: **Latin 'John'**.

Iosep; Iosep Spatarius; Ioseph; Iuffius; Iusuf Fare (or Furce *farğ* ? 'comfort'); Iussius; Iusufus; Iussufus; Iusufus *filius* Ulmen (*'Umar* ? 'prosperous') Zamarran (*zammara* ? 'fife', 'pipe'): *Yūsuf* **'Joseph'**.

Kayra *mulier:* *ḫayrah* **'good'**.

Lachassey; Lahassen; Lasehen; Lazey; Laxen; Elason: *al-ḥasan* **'handsome'**.

Lamuto: *al-Ḥâmmūd* **'much praising'**.

Liwan (Taylor, p. 146): *lawn* ? **'colour'**.

Macciocta *sarracenus*; Maccioctus *campsor*: **Latin ?**

Machadem Achadet (*ḥaddād* ? 'smith'): *muqaddim* **'administrator'**.

Machatus; Machetus; Machocus: **perhaps <** *mahdī* **'well-directed', otherwise unexplained**.

Macometus: *Muḥammad* **'Mohammed'**.

Madius Gaytus; Mahdi Mathia (Taylor, p. 86): *mahdī* **'well-directed'**.

Maffia de Luceria *olim* Zaraffa (*zarāfa* 'giraffe'): **Italian Mattia ?**

Maltesius Sellarius; Maltisius [of Capitanata] (Taylor p. 101): **Latin**.

Marcus *de magister* Madio (*mahdī* 'well directed'), notary: **Latin**.

Maria *olim* Ayia (*ḥayāh* 'life'); Maria *mulier sarracena*; Maria *sarracena*: **<** *Maryam* **or** *Māria*.

Marczuccus *filius* Mactiae; Marzuc Buntura; Marzuccus Modi (*mahdī* 'well-directed'); Marzucca *mater* Salamonis; Marzuccus Multucabes (*'Abbās* 'stern', 'austere') Marzucchus; Marzuccus *filius* Mulfictoy (*Umm al-futūh* 'victories'): *Marzūq* **'fortunate'**.

Maymonus Bahalat; Maymonus Ammirat (*amīr* 'leader'); Memuno Lemudi (*al-Ḥammūd* 'much praising'): *Maymūn* **'fortunate'**.

Maymurca: **deformation of Mulcayra ?**

Mulfoctoy: *Umm al-futūh* **'victories'**.

Mercat (Morcat) Zeleme (*salām* 'peace'): **marqad 'sheepfold'**.

Mulcayra *mater* Adelasis *argenteri*; Mulgayra *uxor* Salomonis Gazel (*ġazāl* 'gazelle'); Mulgayra *filia* Helie ('*Alī* ? 'lofty'): **Umm al-hayrah 'good'**.

Muracar: **deformation of Mulcayr(a)?**

Moyse *filius* Florie; Musa Accubati (*al-quba* 'dome'); Musa *magister tendarius*; Musa *miles saracenus*; Musa *filius* Samoroni (*samrah* 'brown', 'dark'): **Mūsā, 'Moses'**.

Mussuda *mater* Helie ('*Alī* ? 'lofty'): **mus'ūdah 'happy'**.

Musagutus (voiced form of *mas'ūd* with Latin desinence): **mas'ūd 'happy'**.

Muta: **mut'ah 'pleasure'**.

Nachassar; Nahasser; Nohasser: **Nāṣir 'supporter', 'helper'**.

Negius *magister tendarius*: **Naǧā 'salvation' or naǧǧār 'joiner'**.

Occhimen or Hosmen Notarius; Oseyne *filius* Elie ('*Alī* ?): **'Uṯmān or Husayn**.

Palemus de Sarracena; Paolino da Malta (Taylor, p. 102): **Latin and Italian**.

Petrus Abraam (*Ibrāhīm*): **Latin**.

Quosme Marzocchi (*Marzūq* 'fortunate'): **deformation of Cusman**.

Ricardus Maltensis; Riccardus Agegi (*ḥaǧǧāǧ* 'pilgrim'); Riccardus Budinus; Riccardus Gaytus (*al-qā'id* 'chieftain'); Riccardus *miles*; Riccardus *sarracinus*: **< Gmc Rikhard, < ric + hard**.

Sadona *filia* Maymuni; Sadone *uxor* Marzucchi; Saduna; Sadona; Sadora: **sa'āda (+ suffix -un or –on) 'happiness'**.

Saduccus: **ṣadūq 'sincere'**.

Sala *miles saracinus*: **Hebrew?**

Salam *filius* Ninabet (*ibn 'Abbad* ?); Salem de Gesi; Salem Fasect; Salem Garrusi ('*arūs* 'husband'); Salem; Salem Garruyno; Salem Intrabet; Salem Maculgen; Salem Torchi ('Turkish'?); Salem Leopardarius: **salām 'peace'**.

Sammatorus Brussah; Samura; Samurunus *murator*: **samrah 'brown', 'dark'**.

Sari or Siri Bucherius (*Abū ḫayr* 'good'): **sarrī ? 'secret'**. Cp. Maltese surname Scerri/Xerri.

Sarracenus: **šarqī 'oriental', 'easterner'**.

Saxda *mater* Mulfuctoy (*Umm al-futūh* 'victories'): **sa'ādah 'happiness'**.

Seccalbia *uxor* Mulfuctoy (*Umm al-futūh* ? 'victories'); Secceda; Seccelasus *mulier sarracena*; Seccelcolla *uxor* Adraguman (*al-turǧumān* 'translator'); Seccelmilca *filia* Adraguman Zerredi; Seccue *mater* Adraguman; Secculrafum: **šayḫ ? 'old man', or better sitt 'lady'**.

Secten *uxor* Bisciani; Septelgoy *uxor* Guidei; Septellumen; Septelmulta *uxor* Andree; Septuardi *filia* Mulfuctoy; Septima; Septuday *filia* Guidei; Septum; Serecul *mater* Marzuccu Multucabes; Socteca Salomon: **sitt 'lady'**.

Solimen Sursi; Solimen Ziet (*zayyāt* 'oil seller'); Solomon; Solomonus Gazel; Sulimen; Sulimen Mudia (*mahdī* ? 'well directed'); Sulmen; Sulimen *filius* Agegii (*ḥaǧǧāǧ* 'pilgrim'); Salimene Simfi; Sulmen; Salomon Garufe (*qarūf* 'rebel'); Sulayman; Salamonus: **Sulaymān 'Salomon'**.

Sicobutterius: *šayḫ* '**old man**'.

Sidona *cognatus* Mascalis: **Greek**.

Simon Balistarius: **Latin**.

Symegius: *Simaǧ* '**ugly**'.

Thebit Gave: *Ṯābit* '**resistent**'.

Tonino Saraceno (*šarqī* 'oriental'): **Italian**.

Ulmen Zamarre (*zammara* ? 'fife', 'pipe'): '*Uṯman* ? **(pre-Islamic name)**.

Utman *notarius*: '*Uṯman* **(pre-Islamic name)**.

Yachie *filius* Belfictoy (*Abū al-futūḥ* 'victories'); Yachie Capabu (*ḥabb* 'seed' or 'love'); Yaya; Yaye Ayme; Yaye Iannem; Yaye Cassisius (*ḥaǧǧāǧ* 'pilgrim'): **Yaḥya 'John'**.

Zainarda *uxor* Salamonis *Sulaymān* 'Salomon'): **unknown etymolgy**.

Zaraffa *soror* Maymuni (*Maymun* 'fortunate'): *zarāfa* '**giraffe**'. Cp. Maltese surname Zerafa.

Zarza *filia* Guidei: **Hebrew?**

Zaynin *uxor* Samuruni (*samrah* 'brown'): *zayn* '**beauty**'.

Zelem Beremerese or Bementesse: *salām* '**peace**'.

Zirde *filius* Phebit (*Ṯābit* 'resistent'): **modification of Zerredi?**

Zuffarus Umari ('*Umar* 'prosperous'?) or Zuffan Uman ('*Umar* 'prosperous'?): *Ǧafar* '**merciful**', '**forgiving**'.

Zuffi Benne (*bannah* 'mason'): *ṣūft* ? '**wool**' '**sufic**'.

Zurafa; Zurafa *filia* Aymet (*Aḥmad* ? 'the most praised'); Zuraffa *filia* Babusi (*babuš* 'snail') Zuraffa *filia* Dulayse (Arabic root *d-l-s* ? 'little cheat'): *zar⁻*afa '**giraffe**'.

Examination of documented names

The collected names, except for some clusters containing variants derived from the same Arabic name, are listed alphabetically in the table above. The reported names are seldom easily recognizable. As a rule, they have been so much altered as to render, in some cases, the identification of the original Arabic lexical element impossible. The variety of forms depends not only on the whims and idiosyncrasies of different scribes and notaries, but, presumably, on the different pronunciations within the Muslim community itself. The influence of external languages on the Arabic names increases progressively in time and examples of double-barrelled names containing a non-Arabic element becomes very frequent in later periods.

Muslim names are divided in almost equal numbers between single names and double names. The first element is usually an Arabic name, while the second element (in Arabic or some other language) suggests a patronymic, a trade, a rank within the community, or a provenance. Sometimes the name is downright impenetrable in both structure and meaning. The incidence of variants within the cluster of names

corresponding to an original Arabic name is rather frequent and sometimes exceeds ten units. The differences among the variants are sometimes minimal, presumably due to a misunderstanding on the part of the scribe; otherwise, it is evident that the scribe intentionally concocted a variation. All the names evidently belong to Muslims, as each name is followed and certified by the tag *Sarracenus* or *Sarracena*, appended by discerning notaries.

The numerous guttural sounds of Arabic are difficult to transliterate in Latin or Italian, so that names exhibiting such letters present numerous variants, for instance, *Aḥmad* and *ḥaǧǧāǧ*. A significant source of variants is the phonetic closeness or assonance of some personal names, both in Arabic and in Latin, easily explained by their common biblical origin. The first couple is Ibrāhīm and Abraham, which produced several variants. Another couple is Sulaymaān and Salomon, which is also quite copious. Further couples are Yaḥyā and Johannes ('John') and, to a lesser degree, Yūsuf and Joseph. A couple formed on the basis of assonance is 'Alī and Elias, which are by no means cognate forms.

The semantic scrutiny of these names (both the single names and the double names) should throw further light upon the Muslim society of Lucera. However, the names at our disposal cannot be considered representative of all the names of the colony. The notary names represent only those community members which had frequent intercourse with the Angevin authorities, and hence pertained to the higher echelons of society. Sidestepping this shortcoming, the examination of the meanings can be summarized as follows:

Several names evidence the social position of the person concerned; for instance, Braam Helcadi (*Ibrāhīm al-qāḍī*) signals a Muslim which held a top-ranking position within the community. Similar positions were held by the persons with the names containing the term *qā'id,* such as Bulcasem Gaytus, Madius Gaytus, Riccardus Gaytus, and Gaytanus; and those containing the term *amīr*, like Amir Sturnara. A vital role within the workings of communication was surely played by the interpreter, who is represented by the *turǧumān*; for instance, the Muslims Adragoman, Adraguman Zerredi, and Adrahmen. Surprisingly, among these names we do not find any reference to other authority figures typical of Muslim society, namely Sciorti or Sciortino (< *šurṭī* 'constable', 'sentinel'), *Wālī* ('governor'), Mulè (< *mawlā* 'lord'), Murabito (*murābiṭ* 'monk-warrior'), Ḥakim ('judge' or 'scholar'), etc.

Inklings of everyday activity are revealed by the second element of some double names; for instance, Adamuel Sarragi, who earned his living as a saddler; Machadem Achadet and Addet, who were evidently smiths; Negius *Magister Tendarius*, a joiner; and Zuffi Benne, a mason. Other activities are described in numerous second names expressed in Latin such as *Notarius*, *Tinctor*, *Taliaferrus*, *Argentarius*, *Tendarius*, and several *Miles* and *Balistarius* and even *Camillarius* and *Leopardarius*. Other names suggest signs of religious friction and perhaps hint at some degree of dissidence.

Such cues can be deduced from the names Nebi (< *nabī* 'prophet') and Madius (< *mahdī* 'well directed'), usually names with revolutionary resonances. The widespread names Garufa and Garufe (< *qarūf* 'rebel', according to Pellegrini) also reek of incitement.

There are two clusters of names, grouped according to mere assonance, which are rather difficult to explain. One is characterised by names apparently containing the first element *secca*, *secce*, or *seccu*, followed by a second element which is often obscure. The immediate interpretation of *secc* should be *šayh* ('old man'); however, such names are not frequent within Arabic nomenclature. The study of Jewish communities in Sicily reveals that there were *Prothus* (*Proto*) and *Sichus* (*Sico*), among their charges, the latter derived from the Arabic *šayh*.[19] If the terms are comparable, this occurrence could suggest the presence of Jews among the Muslim community.

The second cluster of names is bound by a vague recollection of the Latin word *septem* ('seven') by the elements *Sect* or *Sept*. Also in this case, the Arabic names do not supply any clear information, while the names of medieval Sicilian Jews might provide some sort of hypothesis. From Bresc one picks the name Sittillimen (< *sitt al-īmān* 'lady of prosperity') which can easily be compared with Septelumen, probably altered, through popular etymology, to *lumen* ('light'). Other names containing *sitt* ('lady') can be recovered from Simonsohn,[20] who assiduously assembled the Jewish names of Sicily. In the period 383–1300, one encounters the terms *sitt al-dār* ('lady of the house'), *sitt al-ḥusn* ('lady of beauty'), Sictibineti (< *sitt al-banāt* 'lady of the girls'), Sittāt ('ladies'?), Sittachu, Sictuta, Sytti (< *sitt*), and Syttinesi (< *sitt an-nisāh*? 'lady of the women'). All show some vague similarity with the Lucerine names of the cluster under examination. The word *sitt* ('lady') seems congruous as it agrees with the feminine gender of these names, specified by notaries, for instance, by the Latin words *uxor* ('wife'), *filia* ('daughter'), *mater* ('mother'), etc.

This inference could be applied to the previous cluster of names containing the terms *secca*, *secce*, or *seccu*, as most names prove to be feminine and, at least two of them, could be explained with the word *sitt* 'lady'. In particular, Seccelcolla could be derived from *sitt al-kull* ('the prettiest women in the world') and Seccelmilca (< *sitt al-milk* 'lady of means' or 'queen'?). Due to these suggestions, the term *šayh* can be only assigned with certainty to the name Sicobutterius.

The comparison between Muslim names present in Sicilian documents dating from the Norman period and those appearing under subsequent regimes, gathered by Cusa,[21] indicates that the most frequently used names in Lucera are basically the

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[19] Bresc, p. 250.
[20] Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Jews in Sicily: Vol. 1 383–1300*, Leiden, 1997, *passim*.
[21] Salvatore Cusa, *I diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, Palermo, 1868–82.

same as their Sicilian counterparts. However, the less frequently used names depict a Lucerine society tellingly different from that of Sicily. Significant discrepancies are notable not only due to the presence of the name Mahdi, but also due to the lack of the most common trade names such as *harīrī* ('silk weaver' or 'silk merchant'), *hayyāt* ('tailor'), and *tahhān* ('miller').

The occurrence of multilingual names in Lucera can be explained by the external influence and pacific interaction with other ethnic and religious denominations. However, such names can also be found in Cusa, which lists names containing *'Isa* 'Jesus', figureheads of the Christian Church like *qasīs, qīss* ('priest'), *šammās* ('deacon'), as well as names with biblical allusions, for instance Gethsemane.[22] The extraneous names commonly accepted in Lucera such as Riccardo, Roberto, and Andreas differ from those provided by Cusa, who, on his part, records William, Leo, and Martin. Most of these non-Arabic names were often borne by high-ranking people involved in political or economic activities.

Another divergence from the Cusa names is the relatively small quantity of provenance names, other than those emanating from Malta. Muslims of Maltese extraction are, in fact, regularly tagged by epithets such as *Maltensis, Maltesii, Maltese, Maltesius/Maltisius*, and *da Malta*, while their wives and children are specified by the terms *uxor Maltesii* and *filius Maltesii*. This singling out seems to suggest that the Maltese exiles in Lucera enjoyed, if not some privileged status, at least, a good reputation.

Some names could also be attributed to the Jewish community which was flourishing in Apulia in these years, for instance Sadducco from Trani. Noteworthy is the Latin name Donadeus which can be explained as a calque of the Arabic *hibat Allāh* ('gift of God'), a name used in the Middle Ages even among the Sicilian Jews and at present found in Sicily as Bittalà and Pittalà.[23]

Examination of names according to the classical Arabic nomenclature[24]
The *kunyah* is the first part of the Arabic denomination which corresponds to a name compound with the words *Abū* ('father') or *Umm* ('mother') with a secondary meaning of 'holder' or 'possessor'. Belonging to this denomination are the names Bulcassem, Bulgassem, Bucherius, Bocquerie, Boabdilla, Bulfaracius, etc.

The *ism alan* is the proper Arabic name corresponding to simple pre-Islamic names, Islamic names, and theophoric names. Lucerine names corresponding to these characteristics are Achemet, Amette, Achsan, Alì, Abdilla, Abdelasis, Abdelrachmen, Absalem, etc.

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[22] Cusa, p. 604.

[23] Simonsohn, p. 142.

[24] For a comprehensive overview of Arabic nomenclature cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1978, *sub* 'ism'.

The *nasab*, the patronymic (or matronymic) element of the Arabic denomination, incorporating the element *ibn* meaning 'son of', is little represented in Lucerine names other than Benaveth, Benbuascheuky, and, perhaps, Benacam.

The *nisba* is an adjective denoting a provenance, an occupation, or a personal characteristic. Lucerine names containing *nisbas* as the second element of double names include Sarragi, Helcadi, and Alchadedi. However, it is not always distinguishable; other *nisbas* are translated in Latin, for instance Tendarius, Taliaferrus, and Spatarius, etc.

This distribution does not correspond with the names recorded by Cusa which depict a Sicilian society, whose nomenclature reflects various provenances within the Arabic world (Maghrib, Malta, Gozo, Libya, the Tunisian islands, etc.) and an extensive series of occupations, from the *harīrī* to the 'muezzin'.

A comparison with actual Arabic names in South-Western Sicily

Although significant time has since elapsed and names have evolved and changed, one can attempt a comparison of Lucerine names with current Italian surnames of Arabic origin extant in the provinces of Agrigento and Trapani. The list of shared names is rather short and includes Alì, Buccheri, Caito, Garufi, Garufo, Gibella, Mossuto, Nasser, Rabita, Salam, Salemi, Vadalà, and Zirafa. From a morphological point of view, the Sicilian names occasionally exhibit major changes, e.g. Vadalà with respect to Abdella. Sometimes the Sicilian names are closer to the original Arabic names, perhaps due to changes employed by scribes and notaries: Caito *versus* Gayetus, Salam *versus* Salemme, and Musagutus *versus* Mossuto.

Comparison with the Arabic names in the Maltese Militia List of 1419/20

The Maltese Militia List of 1419/20 was compiled more than a century after the fall of Lucera. The names common to both places are the following: Brahimi, Cadide, Cagege, Caruana, Cussam (Ḥasan?), Garuf, Gazeli, Mahumudi, Samud, and Zurafe.[25] The Maltese list is important because the Arabic names intimate a society involved in agriculture and the breeding of animals, an activity similarly present in Lucerine society, but practically ignored in the names collected in official documents.

The presence of Maltese Muslim families in Lucera

According to Luttrell, beyond doubt, the Maltese Muslims were banished from the island in the first half of the 13th century, but the exact date is hard to pin down. Ibn

[25] Cf. Godfrey Wettinger, 'The Militia List of 1419–20', *Melita Historica*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Malta, 1969, pp. 80–106. The original document, 'Quaderni Diversi, No. 3', is housed at the Mdina Cathedral Museum (Malta).

Khaldūn places the event after 1249, although the king never went to Malta and died in 1250. It is generally thought that Ibn Khaldūn actually described the events of 1224 when Frederick was surely in Sicily.[26] Kantorowicz considers the expulsion of at least some Muslims from Malta and the compensatory installation of Christian families from Celano quite reasonable, as it is exactly analogous to what happened in Sicily.[27] Evidence of the Maltese exiles in Lucera is unfortunately scarce. It is simply known that a certain Riccardus Malthesii, one of the five *milites* of the Saracens of Lucera, accepted baptism there as late as the year 1300.[28]

From reading Egidi and Taylor, other names suggesting apparent Maltese provenance can be recovered. In particular, Maltesius Sellarius, Bulfuctoy *filius* Maltesii, Dallesius Maltesius, Delosvi Maltese *filius* Garufe, and perhaps Cafaro Roberto from Malta,[29] Donadeus,[30] Maltisius of Capitanata,[31] Paolino da Malta,[32] in addition to the aforementioned Riccardus Maltesius, a cavalryman from Lucera, renamed Philippo de Luceria after his conversion in 1300. From the scanty information at hand, Taylor suggests that the exotic animals present in Lucera, namely camels and leopards, were breeded by Maltese farmers; this specific activity could be supported by the high incidence of surname Camilleri, still present in Malta, where it now ranks as the second commonest family name. The surname Leopardi too could attest to this particular activity of medieval Malta, but the family name is no longer extant in Malta. Although enjoying important occurrences in northern Italy, this surname seems characteristic of Southern Italian regions, in particular those corresponding with the former Sicilian Kingdom, suggesting, therefore, an influence of the Lucera colony.

Even the Maltese name (and surname) Lija could be an indication of Maltese presence among the Lucera Muslims. This can be supported by textual evidence provided by Egidi in his *Codice diplomatico dei Saraceni di Lucera*; in fact, in

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[26] Luttrell, pp. 37–8.

[27] E. Kantorowitz, Kaiser *Friedrich der Zweite*, Berlin, 1931, p. 6. Luttrell, p. 36, states that the use, by Dante and other contemporary writers of the word 'Malta' in the sense of prison may have stemmed from the fact that Malta was then regularly used as a place of exile. For instance, Giovanni de Drago was exiled in Malta in 1240. So was Andrea, son of Marino, in 1252. Cf. A. Huillard-Breholles (ed.), *Historia Diplomatica Federici Secundi*, Vol. V, Paris (published in 6 volumes and 11 parts in 1852–61), pp. 931–2.

[28] Egidi, 'La colonia . . .', Vol. 36, pp. 674–5.

[29] Taylor, p. 101. In April 1273 the camerarius of Malta and Gozo, Roberto Cafaro, was instructed to have leopards captured in the 'customary places'. The beasts were to be transported to the Royal Court. Cf. *Registri della Cancelleria* . . . , Vol. 10, Reg. 48, No. 187, p. 53.

[30] Taylor, p. 101. In 1277 a Lucerine Muslim named Donadeus was sent apparently from Malta in the light of the order of the *camerarius* of that island to purchase four leopards from the part of 'Barbaria'. Cf. *Registri della Cancelleria* . . . , Vol. 11, Reg. 57, No. 358, pp. 163–4.

[31] Taylor, p. 101. A man named Maltisius, perhaps a native of Malta, appears to have worked as leopard keeper in other parts of Capitanata. He held a vineyard in Troia and other properties at Civitate.

[32] Taylor, p. 102. See also *Historia Diplomatica* . . . , Vol. V, pp. 524–5.

document no. 469 one encounters the family of Maltesius Sellarius, complemented by his wife Alamanna and two sons, Lya and Bulfuctoy. In the same document another Maltese family is cited, namely that of Dallesius Maltesius, son of Garufe, which seems a different entity from the family named in document no. 454, that reports the Muslim Delosvi Maltese, ten years old, son of Garufe. Unfortunately, document no. 469 does not divulge the age of Dallesius; so one cannot say whether Dallesius and Delosvi were the same person or not.[33] In any case these two families are recorded to have shared the same fate as that of their compatriots there by being sold off into private slave-ownership.[34]

The purge of 1224–25 only affected the Maltese islands to a certain extent. This is confirmed by the strong showing of Muslim families in the census conducted only sixteen to seventeen years later by Abbate Giliberto, Frederick II's agent in Malta.[35] Probably more drastic religious (rather than ethnic) cleansing was carried out later, probably in the late 1240s. As late as 1248 the Florentine Juneta sold Raimondo a Maltese slave girl named Maymūna (*que fuit de Malta*).[36]

The fate of the Celano exiles in Malta, on the other hand, is still a controversial issue. Some sources indicate that they were repatriated by 1227, in which case the absence of Celano surnames in present-day Malta would be immediately understood. On the other hand the substantial number of Christian families recorded in Giliberto's census of c.1241, could only be explained by the sudden influx of exiles from abroad. Further research is certainly necessary to clarify this anomaly.

The search for Celano families in Malta proved fruitless; there is no specific surname, either extant or extinct, that corresponds with the family names usually prevailing in Celano. Incidentally, Celano stands near a waterway, the river Vella, and Vella is today the third commonest surname in Malta; but the connection with the Maltese surname, again, cannot be ascertained.[37]

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[33] Egidi, *Codice Diplomatico* . . . , pp. 213 and 222.

[34] Godfrey Wettinger, 'The Arabs in Malta', *Malta: Studies of its Heritage and History*, Mid-Med Ltd., Malta, 1986, p.104.

[35] Anthony Luttrell, 'Giliberto Abate's Report on Malta: Circa 1241', *Proceedings of History Week 1993*, Malta, 1998, pp. 1–29. The original text is surely corrupt and presents a distorted picture of the situation. However, the figures as they stand may prove the survival of a large Muslim community even as late as 1240.

[36] *Archivio Storico di Malta*, Vol. VII, p. 391. See also Charles Dalli, *Iż-żmien Nofsani Malti*, Malta, 2002, p. 49.

[37] Giovanni Bonello, in a letter to the editor, *The Sunday Times [of Malta]*, 21/2/93. Otherwise, Vella is usually explained as a voiced form of Bella, either a nickname meaning 'beautiful', or else a place-name. Some Calabrian toponyms bearing the name Bella are actually an aphaeretic rendering of Gabella meaning 'hired land'.

Linguistic phenomena

The most known phenomenon in the evolution of Quranic Arabic phonetics is the *imāla*, namely the successive change of the sound /a/ (usually when stressed) into /e/ and later into /i/, a change that is quite common in many Mediterranean languages, including Maltese, which has its roots in dialectal Arabic. This change does not necessarily reach the final step /i/ as it can stop at the intermedial stage /e/. It is partially shown by the following names: Achamet, Absalem, Abdella, while it is fully demonstrated by the names Boabdilla, Amidalille, and Negius. The surname Abdilla (< Ar. given name 'Abdallāh), which reflects the final stage of *imāla* (i < e < a), is, incidentally, very much in evidence in Malta.

Another radical change concerning vowels is the reduction of the diphthong 'ay' into 'i', e.g. Sulaymān *versus* Sulimen. In order to facilitate the pronunciation of a cluster of consonants, a vowel is sometimes inserted, for instance, in the name Mus'ud, which is transformed into Musagutus.

As regards to consonants, the letter 'd' (especially as a final consonant) is sometimes changed into 't' on the basis of devoicing, for instance in Addet, Achamet, Gaytus, and Musagutus.

If the word *sitt* makes up some of the feminine names of Lucera, it presents the dissimilation of the double 'tt' into 'ct' or 'pt', and even the change of 'tt' into 'cc'.

The change of 'q' into 'g' is a general and widespread phenomenon from Spain to Libya and is evident in Gaytus and Bulgassem from *qā'id* and *Abūqāsim*, respectively. Another consonantal change concerns 'š' that changes into 's': Babusi, Cammise, Aisa, Aisuna, and Sico from *Babuš, Kammiš, 'Ayša, 'Ayšuna*, and *šayḫ*. The letter 'ǧ' can be transformed into 's', for instance, in Hasex, Cassisius and Sigius, from *ḥaǧǧāǧ*. The sporadic change of initial 'b' into 'm' can also be observed, but this phenomenon could be explained by a simple orthographic error on the part of a scribe or notary.

Some names are progressively simplified or truncated (because of their common use), for instance, Braam from Abraham and Sulmen from *Sulaymāan*.

In addition to the rather common reductive changes, the Lucerine names also exhibit forms of endearment both in Arabic and Italian. Some feminine names prevail in affectionate forms according to the Arabic morphological structure, for instance, Dulaysa and Casayra; while some Italian masculine names display endearment forms. Sometimes the Lucerine names share with the Jewish names of Sicily the suffix *-un* or *-on* (probably a diminutive marker): for instance, Aysuna *versus* Aysa, Samuruna and Samorona *versus* Samura.

In search of present locations of Lucerine Muslim families

The diplomatic documents of Lucera state that almost all Muslims were sold as slaves immediately after the fall of the colony and their Arabic names were meticulously

registered. Some Muslims, however, for unknown reasons, were spared from the ordeal and were authorised to live as *Saraceni liberi*, such as the 200 people accepted in the land of Civitate. However, according to Bevere, they were not permitted to construct mosques or issue the call to prayer.[38] Moreover, other Muslims managed to escape and were never recovered. However the main characteristic of the Lucera settlement is its long stint of a near peaceful relationship with the Christian community, to such an extent that, eventually, Arabic names became familiar enough to be accepted within Christian society itself.

By assuming that name clusters indicate the commonest names prevailing among Muslims, they could be used as 'markers' to allow us to identify sites inhabited by Lucerine Muslims after their dispersion. The distribution of the original name and of its variants in southern regions of Italy can supply interesting information and allow comparisons with historical data.[39]

The Abraham-Ibrāhīm cluster is quite unsuitable because of the widespread use of the name within the Jewish community, following a common biblical tradition. More fruitful is the cluster derived from Sulaymāan because of its numerous variants and the marked difference with Jewish denominations. The closest name to the original Arabic name is Sulema, which is present only in Sicily (Palermo), suggesting an origin preceding the Lucera settlement. Among the Italian variants recorded by scribes, Solimano occurs only in Apulia, Naples, and Basilicata; its corrupted version, Solimando, is especially present in Capitanata, Terra di Bari, Basilicata, and Naples. Solimene occurs in Apulia, particularly in Capitanata, and Basilicata. Another variant, Solimeno, shares the same diffusion pattern. Solimino prevails mainly in Central Apulia, while Solimine is present in the three cited regions, mostly in the towns and villages located near the respective borders. Surnames Solimini and Solimina do not share the diffusion of the previous ones, but are surely cognates of them.

Other names useful as markers are supplied by other clusters such as Iuso, from the clusters Yūsuf ('Joseph') and Iaia, a cognate form of Yaḥyā ('John'). The former occurs in Sicily as a place-name in Mezzoiuso (*manzil Yūsuf*, 'the village of Joseph'), near Palermo, and as a surname in Apulia, especially in Capitanata, and northern Calabria. The latter occurs in Apulia and Campania, apart from traces in Sicily; its variant, Iaione, is present in Campania and Molise. Another variant of Iaia is Jaja (with the same pronunciation) that exhibits an apparent anomalous diffusion in Lombardy, instead of Apulia. This can be ascribed to the internal movements of the Italian population from southern regions to the northern industrial regions during the

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[38] Riccardo Bevere, 'Ancora sulle cause della distruzione della colonia saracena di Lucera', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, No. 60, Naples, 1935, pp. 225–6. The king imposed on them restrictions similar to the *dhimmis* in Muslim lands.

[39] For this purpose the Internet website gens.labo.com proved valuable indeed.

decades following the Second World War.[40] Other surnames like Iachia, containing a guttural sound that characterized the Arabic original name, cannot be taken into consideration because of the contemporary large presence of derivatives from the Latin name Jacobus, i.e. James. The loss of the Arabic letter *ḥā'* is rather frequent in Italian derivatives from Arabic and it is shown by the feminine name of the converted Muslim Maria *olim* Ayia (< *ḥayāh* 'life').

Research on Italian surnames derived from Salām ('peace') has given the following results: Salemi shows the largest diffusion in Sicily; Salemme is, on the contrary, the surname characteristic of Campania, especially Naples, as well as other regions of the ancient Kingdom of Sicily, namely Apulia, Basilicata, and Calabria. The generic name used by Christians to indicate Arabs was Sar(r)aceno, which became Sar(r)acino in the southern regions of Italy: Sarracino is more widespread in Campania and Southern Latium while Saracino is mainly found in Apulia, Northern Basilicata, and Campania. The Italian term *saraceno* derives from Late Latin *saracenus*, and ultimately from Ar. *šarqī* meaning 'oriental, easterner', referring to all Muslim peoples in the Middle Ages. It is not, however, a very suitable marker in this context as its variants (such as Sarcino in Piedmont and Liguria, Seracino in Tuscany, Saraino and Saraceno in Sicily, etc.) render it too diffused to merit any plausible remarks. Both De Felice (1997) and Francipane (2005), in fact, define Saracino as a pan-Italian surname.[41]

The surname Gaito (< *qā'id*) is also focused in Campania, Apulia, and Basilicata, displaying a higher density than that in Sicily, although the latter was ruled by Muslims for a longer period. Finally the surname Lucera is recorded in Palermo and Agrigento.[42]

In search of present locations of Celano Christian families

An attempt to locate some specific surnames of the city of Celano in Sicily was successful for the following surnames: Mostacci, Taccone, and Torrelli. Other surnames, specific of Abruzzo, like Cornelio and D'Ovidio can be located in Sicily too. The distribution of these surnames shows that the actual sites are focused along the Sicilian coast and only a few families have preserved their presumed location in the province of Agrigento. Moreover, some families seem to have moved out of Sicily because some of them, like the Taccones and the Torrellis, also appear in Calabria. However, because of the general habit of referring to newly arrived people by names denoting their provenance, one could look up for the Celano migrants

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[40] The philosopher Jaja Donato was born in the first half of the 19th century near Bari, within the territory corresponding to the diaspora of Lucerine Muslims.

[41] To complicate matters, the term *Saraceno* could have been applied, occasionally at least, in a jocular way, to a dark or swarthy looking person, or perhaps to someone who had participated in a Crusade. In the Neapolitan dialect, *sarracino* also means 'ferocious', 'unruly'. Hence, sometimes, it was employed simply as a nickname, rather than as an ethnic or religious epithet.

[42] Girolamo Caracausi, *Dizionario Onomastico della Sicilia*, Vol. 1, Palermo, 1993, *sub* 'Lucera'.

under the surname Abruzzo/i, their ancestors' region of provenance.[43] Significant presences were recorded in the provinces of Agrigento, Trapani, Palermo, and Syracuse (almost exclusively along the coast). The enquiry yielded some settlements in Central Calabria, suggesting other movements of Celano families.

The use of the surname Celano itself, pointing to the native city, is even more significant since it confirms the previous data and uncovers other territories where the Celano people seem to have spread. The family name Celano is, in fact, found in Sicily (Palermo, Messina, Catania, and Syracuse), Apulia, Basilicata (formerly Lucania), Calabria (mainly Catanzaro), and Campania (mainly Naples).[44] This corroborates with Riccardo di San Germano's account: Frederick II ordered the population of the city to be dispersed 'in various parts of the kingdom'.[45] To confirm the specific importance of the toponym Celano, other surnames corresponding to cities near Celano, for instance Cocullo and Sulmona, were considered, but they were not found outside the region of Abruzzo.

Conclusion

More than 250 names of the last Muslim of Lucera were collected from various official documents in forms modified by notaries and scribes. They prevail as single names or double names, the first of which often occurs in Arabic while the second is very frequently in Latin, or so modified to the degree of incomprehensibility. From the particular patterns of Arabic nomenclature, it is possible to hint at the kind of Lucerine society which then prevailed, although the documents provide evidence of only the more important social strata. Comparisons with other name lists (Sicilian or Maltese) reveal several similarities, despite the incompleteness of the data and the lexical modifications induced by time.

The possible location of new Muslim settlements after the annihilation of Lucera was successfully put to the test by looking for the more frequent names of Lucerine society such as Sulaymāan, Yahyā, and Yūsuf. The original names and their variants, e.g. Solimano, Solimando, Solimene, Solimeno, Solimino, Solimini, Solimina, Solimine, Sarracino, Saracino, Iaia, Jaja, Iaione, now modern Italian surnames in their own right, proved to be very telling. These surnames are found more frequently in the three regions of Apulia, Campania, and Basilicata. The regions close to them,

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[43] Related forms Abbruzzo/i, Abruzzese/i, Abbruzzese/i, Apruzzese, Bruzzese/i should also be considered. All variants are mainly concentrated in Southern Italy.

[44] Caracausi, *sub* 'Celano'. Incidentally 'Celani' is the third commonest surname in Ascoli Piceno, in the Marches, but etymological connections with the Abruzzese toponym is debatable. In fact, it could be related to Celana, a locality in Bergamo, or else derives from Celi, itself an aphaeretic form of surname Miceli. Cf. Michele Francipane, *Dizionario ragionato dei cognomi italiani*, Milano, 2005, *sub* 'Micheli'.

[45] Riccardo di San Germano, pp. 112–3.

like Molise, Abruzzo, Southern Latium, and Calabria, also show a significant presence of these 'marker' names.

The role played by Maltese Muslims in Lucera was more important than that previously described. The few Maltese individuals known by their name, significantly, constitute the handful of inhabitants designated by their provenance.

The search for Celano families, who substituted the Muslims deported to Lucera from Sicily, also yielded fruitful results. By using the still extant surnames of Celano, or by the generic surnames Celano and Abruzzo, it is possible to locate the present sites of previous migrants in a southwards direction.

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