

# Maltese Habitational Surnames: The Mediterranean Context

**Mario Cassar**

mario.cassar@um.edu.mt

**Riassunto:** I cognomi derivati da toponimi sono particolarmente diffusi nella folta schiera dei cognomi esistenti a Malta. Questi sono a loro volta derivati da una toponomastica eterogenea di nomi già preesistenti: fattorie, villaggi, borghi, città, e anche altre denominazioni abitate come distretti, province, regioni e addirittura paesi. Questo saggio prende in analisi una selezione di cognomi maltesi di origine italiana che sono derivati dalle seguenti fonti diverse: toponimi siciliani (p.es. Messina, Delicata); toponimi di regioni e di province italiane (Genovese, Salerno); toponimi di regioni e di città straniere (Navarro, Desira); comunità etniche diverse (Albanese, Spagnol). Questo studio mette a fuoco alcuni cognomi, i quali a prescindere dalla loro localizzazione precisa, sono soggetti a interpretazioni ambivalenti.

**Parole chiave:** family names, toponymic surnames, provenance names, polenym, ethnonyms.

Surnames derived from place names, often known as toponymic or locational surnames, may be divided into two broad categories: topographic names and habitational names.<sup>1</sup> Topographic names are derived from general descriptive references to someone who lived near a physical feature such as an oak tree, a hill, a stream, a marsh, a

1 The number of habitational surnames in the Maltese cognominal pool is quite profuse and the set discussed in the present work is surely not exhaustive. For the purpose of this paper, family names which refer to places lying outside the Mediterranean context have been excluded. These include **Tedesco**, **Pollacco**, **Portughes(e)**, **Ungaro**, **Armeni**, and **Persiano**. However, some surnames such as **Lombardo**, **Trevisan**, **Galizia**, and **Navarro**, though strictly speaking falling outside the established parameters, have been roped in as they pertain to countries which are essentially Mediterranean. All extinct surnames have been deliberately discarded.

forest (e.g. **Stagno, Bosco, Monti**); as well as near a man-made structure such as a fort, a mansion, a church, or some conspicuous edifice (e.g. **Casa, Castillo, Chiesa**).<sup>2</sup> These names are obviously of a regional sort as they would be useful only to the indigenous population dwelling in the immediate neighbourhood.

Habitational names (or polenymy), on the other hand, are derived from pre-existing names denoting farmsteads, hamlets, villages, towns, cities, or other populated localities such as districts, provinces, regions, and even countries (**Toledo, Salerno, Albanese**, etc.). Surnames attached to a particular territory, such as a feudal estate or an agricultural benefice, would obviously tend to become hereditary, especially if the family remained in possession of the land in question; and names of this kind were probably the first hereditary surnames.

As a rule, the further someone had travelled from his place of origin, the broader the designation. Some who stayed at home might be known by the name of his farm or locality in the parish; someone who moved to another town might be known by the name of his hamlet; while someone who moved to another country could acquire the name of the country or region from which he originated. A person could also obtain a surname derived from a place name if he were given property there by royal concession or for fighting in wars.

Provenance surnames tended to be acquired when someone migrated a considerable distance from his original home, since a specific topographic name might have been meaningless to his new neighbours.<sup>3</sup> Many of these names have the form of adjectives or the form of nouns denoting a person (e.g. **Veneziani, Pisani, Toscano**). Therefore a name like **Genovese** would simply mean ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Genoa’. Many Italian names based on places usually have prepositions to begin with (*De, Da, D’*, or archaic *Di*), such as *De Bari, Da Nola, D’Ancona*, and *Di Capua*. In time, though, the principle of least or minimum effort has often brought about the omission of these seemingly unnecessary elements so that *Giovanni Di Napoli* became just *Giovanni Napoli*. This process should easily explain surnames such as *Calabria, Francia, Malta, Brescia*, and **Messina**.

2 Surnames extant in Malta are given in bold type (e.g. **Pisani**); surnames appearing in italics (e.g. *Algerino*) occur only elsewhere.

3 Patrick Hanks & Flavia Hodges (eds.), *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford & New York, 1988), xxi.

## Habitational names: foreign countries

A foreigner of any nation can simply be tagged a *Forestiero* or a *Straniero*. More specific are the nation-names with their corresponding adjectives of nationality such as **Albanese**, **Cipriott**, and **Spagnol**. These latter names are called ethnonyms as they indicate the ethnic origin of their bearers. **Albanese** [6]<sup>4</sup> continues Italian *Albanese* ‘Albanian’, referring particularly to the exiled Albanians (called *Arbëresh*) who, fleeing the invading Ottoman Turks, settled in Italy during the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup> **Albanese** is mainly a southern Italian surname, concentrated in Abruzzo, Apulia, Campania, Calabria, and Sicily.<sup>6</sup> This makes complete sense as Albania is close to Italy’s Adriatic coast. **Albanese** might, after all, refer to someone who hailed from the Albanian settlements in these places, particularly *Piana degli Albanesi*, a commune in Palermo province.

**Grech** [7,958] is the apocopated form of the surname *Grechi*, itself the plural form of Italian *greco* < Latin *Græcus*, Greek *Graikós* ‘Greek’.<sup>7</sup> In the Middle Ages, the ethnonym was also used to designate members of the Greek Orthodox Church, if not practically anyone hailing from beyond the Adriatic, including the Balkans and Asia Minor. Alternatively, the term designated someone who still spoke some Neo-Greek dialect in southern Italy. In ancient times, Magna Græcia incorporated Sicily and parts of the Italian *Mezzogiorno*; the term might hence refer to a Salentine or Bovese Greek. Local records, dating back to the Hospitaller period, confirm the existence of surnames like *De Milo*, *De Candia*, *De Cefalonia*, *Di Paros*, *de Thebe*, *de Patmos*, *de Corfû*, *de Rodi*, *di Santorini*, *del Zante*, etc. None have survived; in all

- 4 Numbers in square brackets indicate the frequency of the respective surname as enumerated in the Malta National Census of 2005.
- 5 Girolamo Caracausi, *Dizionario onomastico della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1993), 28; Emidio De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi italiani* (Milan, 1978), 48; Michele Francipane, *Dizionario dei cognomi italiani* (Milan, 2006), 28. Masseria Albanese is the name of a locality in the province of Bari; however, the toponym derives from the ethnonym.
- 6 De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 48. In some sporadic cases, the term may reflect an inhabitant of Albano di Lucania (Potenza) or some other place with the element Albano. Cf. Italian surname **Albani** [26].
- 7 Caracausi, 756, *sub* ‘Grecch’ and 757, *sub* ‘Grechi’; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 141–2, *sub* ‘Greco’; Francipane, 119–20, *sub* ‘Greco’. Cp. French *Grec(h)*, which prevails mainly in the Alpes-Maritimes. Caracausi, 756, records **Grech** (as it stands) and *Grecch* in Isola delle Femmine (Palermo), Porto Empedocle (Messina), Pachino (Syracuse), Vittoria (Ragusa), and Catania. Incidentally, *grech* is the Piedmontese form of standard Italian *greco*.

probability, the term *Greco* was in due course employed as a hypernym, covering all these provenance appellations.

**Cipriott** [23] is the apocopated form of the Italian provenance surname *Cipriotto* < *cipriotto* ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Cyprus’ < Neo-Greek *Kypriótis* < Old Greek *Kypriós* ‘Cypriot’.<sup>8</sup>

**Spagnol** [329] is the apocopated form of the Italian provenance surname *Spagnolo* < *spagnolo* < Latin *Hispaniolus* ‘Spanish’, ‘Spaniard’.<sup>9</sup> In certain cases, the term might have originated as a byname for someone who had trading connections with Spain, or who had been there on a pilgrimage, especially to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>10</sup> The surname **Spagnol(o)** was probably adopted by some Iberian (Sephardic) Jews who settled in Italy (or France) in the Middle Ages.

**Taliana** [239] is the feminine form of the surname *Taliano*, itself an aphaeretic form of the surname *Italiano* < *italiano* < Latin *Italus* ‘Italian’. The term *italiano* was a thirteenth-century coinage which shortly began to replace Medieval Latin *Italus* and *Italicus*.<sup>11</sup> The frequency of *Italiano* and its cognate forms is somewhat surprising; it can only be accounted for on the supposition that they were given to some Italians while resident abroad. Alternatively the term might have been used in the Late Middle Ages as a distinguishing epithet for an Italian in areas where the local culture was not primarily Latin – for example, within predominantly Albanese, Greek, or Slavonic communities.

## Habitational names: Sicilian polenymy

Of the nine Sicilian provinces, five are represented locally in the guise of a surname. **Catania** [791] is a city and province of western Sicily;

8 Caracausi, 404, *sub* ‘Cipriotti’, ‘Cipro’.

9 *Ibid.*, 1555; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 239, *sub* ‘Spagna’; Francipane, 674, *sub* ‘Spagna’.

10 Patrick Hanks (ed.), *Dictionary of American Family Names* (New York, 2003), III, 382, *sub* ‘Spagna’, ‘Spagnolo’. In some cases the surname may be an apocopated form of the surname *Spagnola* from the name of a place in Marsala, Sicily. The family name **Spagnol** is chiefly Piedmontese (e.g. Casara della Delizia, Sacile), but occurs in fewer numbers in Venice, Milan, Latina, and Treviso province. *Spagnolo*, on the other hand, is overwhelmingly southern. Cf. Enzo Caffarelli & Carla Marcato, *I cognomi in Italia. Dizionario storico ed etimologico* (2 volumes) (Turin, 2008), 1595.

11 Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 11<sup>th</sup> edition, (Milan, 2004), 115.

its name derives from Old Greek *Katáne* (pronounced *Catàni*) < Latin *Catina*. **Siracusa** (English Syracuse) [12] is another city and province in western Sicily; the name derives from Latin *Syracusæ* < Old Greek *Syrákousai*.<sup>12</sup> **Messina** [21] is a town and port in west-eastern Sicily, opposite Reggio Calabria; its name derives from Old Greek *Messíni*, perhaps meaning ‘middle territory’.<sup>13</sup>

**Trapani** [57] is a town near Palermo in western Sicily; the polenym derives from Latin *Drepanum*, *-i* < Greek *Drépana* < *drépanon* ‘scythe’, ‘crescent’, referring to the sickle-like form of its coast.<sup>14</sup> **Ragusa** [10] is the name of another Sicilian province; the toponym derives from Siculo-Greek *rogós* (Latin *rogus*) ‘granary’. However, it cannot be excluded that the surname may refer to the ancient city of Dubrovnik on the Dalmatian coast of Croatia, named Ragusa by the Italians.<sup>15</sup> **Rausi** [23] is the plural form of the surname *Rausa*, itself a dialectal form of the toponym Ragusa. Alternatively, it may be a syncopated form of the surname *Ragusi*, itself a plural form of *Raguso* ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Ragusa’.<sup>16</sup> The surname is still conspicuous in this province. In the maritime republics of Venice and Genoa, the ethnic appellation also signified ‘mean’, ‘usurer’, ‘unscrupulous’.<sup>17</sup>

All these place-names – **Catania**, **Siracusa**, **Messina**, **Trapani**, and **Ragusa** – were often adopted as surnames by Jews dwelling in the respective cities during the Middle Ages. Strangely enough, *Siciliano* does not figure among local provenance surnames; neither does the surname *Sardo*, denoting a Sardinian.

- 12 Caracausi, 1540; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 236, 666. Locally the present form does not appear before the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. at Senglea in 1641).
- 13 Caracausi, 1013; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 168–69; Francipane, 155–6. Cf. also Nicola Zingarelli, *Lo Zingarelli: Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Bologna, 2006), 2104. **Messina** is mainly concentrated in southern Italy, where 60% of its bearers hail from Campania.
- 14 Caracausi, 1642; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 251; Francipane, 700. Cf. also Zingarelli, 2105.
- 15 Caracausi, 1319; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 205; Francipane, 610. Locally, the *Ragusia* family held the fief of Gomerino in 1318. Cf. J. Montalto, *The Nobles of Malta* (Malta, 1980), 13. However, present-day bearers of this surname must be recent additions.
- 16 Caracausi, 1336, 1319, *sub* ‘Ragusa’, ‘Ragusi’, ‘Raguso’; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 205, *sub* ‘Ragusa’; Francipane, 610, *sub* ‘Ragusa’.
- 17 Pantaleo Minervini, *Dizionario dei cognomi pugliesi* (Fasano, 2005), 409. *Rauseo* in the Apulian dialect also means ‘rough’, ‘coarse’ Cf. Enzo Caffarelli, ‘L’antroponimia italiana come archivio linguistico. L’esempio dei cognomi da toponimi ed etnici dialettali o scomparsi’, *RION*, VII, 2 (2001), 484.

The surname **Cilia** [239], though, deserves some attention. It is probably a polygenetic surname as several plausible interpretations have been suggested, but one possible derivation has been totally overlooked. In the thirteenth century, Tuscans used the terms *Cicilia* and *Ciciliano* for *Sicilia* and *Siciliano*.<sup>18</sup> **Cilia** could have thus easily stemmed from an aphaeretic form of *Cicilia*, as much as it could have represented a truncated form of the female personal name *Cecilia*.

Agrigento, Enna, Caltanissetta, and Palermo are not embodied as family names in Malta. The latter is though partially epitomized by the surname **Monreal** [73], which, in all probability, denotes the small hill town and commune of Monreale, south-west of Palermo.<sup>19</sup> It derives its name from Latin *mons regalis* ‘royal mountain’. Otherwise, other surnames again reflect the afore-mentioned provinces. **Lentini** [31] is a commune in the province of Syracuse; the toponym derives from Greek *Leontios* < *leon*, *leontus* ‘lion’.<sup>20</sup> Lentini is also the name of a minor locality in Trapani, whereas Lago di Lentini is the largest lake in Sicily. **Cutajar** [3,590] is a habitational name from (Baglio) Cuttaia, a hamlet near Salemi, Trapani province; the toponym derives from Arabic *quttayah*, a diminutive form of *qatat*, *qitāt* ‘hill top’, ‘crest’. Arabic *rahl quttayah* means ‘village on a hilltop’. The term *cutiem* is first recorded as a topographic element in Palermo in the twelfth century.<sup>21</sup> The final *-r* in the present-day form of the surname is an epithesis that does not antedate the seventeenth century and begins to appear only in documents from Valletta and the Three Cities.<sup>22</sup>

Three surnames bearing the preposition *De-* are **Delicata** [133], **Denaro** [5], and **De Noto**; in the first two instances, the preposition is agglutinated to the place name. **Delicata** suggests the toponym Licata, a commune in the province of Agrigento,<sup>23</sup> whereas **Denaro** indicates the toponym Naro, another commune in the same province. Both surnames,

18 For the attestation of these terms, cf. Migliorini, 218.

19 Caracausi, 1057–8. Otherwise, **Monreal** may be Spanish or French. Monreal is also the name of localities in Navarra and Tarragona provinces, Spain. Cf. Hanks & Hodges, 372.

20 Caracausi, 850; Francipane, 503.

21 Caracausi, 491, *sub* ‘Cutaia’.

22 Stanley Fiorini, ‘Sicilian Connexions of Some Medieval Maltese Surnames’, *Journal of Maltese Studies*, 17 & 18 (Malta, 1987–88), 112.

23 The Maltese surname **Delicata** probably has little to do with subtle daintiness but simply stands for ‘from Licata’. However, both **Licata** and *Delicato* prevail in Italy; hence, the ambivalence endures.

consequently, refer to a native of or an immigrant originating from these localities.<sup>24</sup> The place names were possibly also adopted as a surname by the Jews of Licata and Naro in the Middle Ages. **De Noto** is a provenance appellation referring to a native of or an immigrant originating from Noto, a communal centre in the province of Syracuse. In ancient times, it was known as *Neto* (< Latin *Netum*).<sup>25</sup> Locally, at present, it only occurs in the double surname **Testaferrata de Noto** [26].

**Delicata** deserves further investigation. Malta always had special links with Licata which, for centuries, seems to have been the principal victualling port for these islands. Malta regularly purchased corn from this Sicilian commune. A colony of Maltese settlers had obviously been flourishing in the area since medieval times. The number of ‘Maltese’ family names in Licata and its surroundings is quite staggering. One of the more common surnames there is actually *Maltese*. It is hence plausible to assume that some of the local **Delicata** could have been returned Maltese migrants.<sup>26</sup> As for the polenym itself, its etymology remains obscure, perhaps related to Greek *leukas*, *leukodos* ‘bitterness’, ‘pain’, or Ligurian *\*leuco* (unexplained). However, since the Greeks called the city *Alykàte* (built by the river Salso), the etymon may be Greek *alykatos* ‘salty’.<sup>27</sup>

**Pantalleresco** [77] seems to be a local formation as it is not found anywhere in Italy; in all probability, it is an Italianized form of pseudo-French *\*Pantalleresque*. The Italian provenance appellation is in fact *pantesco*, ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Pantalleria’, the Mediterranean island between Sicily and Tunisia, now a commune within the province of Trapani. The surname *Pantelleria* is also found in Italy, but not in Malta.<sup>28</sup>

**Corso** (if from Italian *corso* < Latin *Corsus*) [31] is a provenance appellation meaning ‘Corsican’. Capo Corso is actually the name of

24 Gaetano Trovato, *Documenti arabo-siculi del periodo normanno* (Monreale, 1949), 132, derives the toponym Naro from Arabic *nahr* ‘river’ (which actually washes the town). As for Licata (known as Leocata in Byzantine times), the toponym is of uncertain origin; Trovato, 131, wavers between a Greek and an Arabic derivation.

25 *De Neto* is still extant in Italy.

26 G. Bonello, ‘The Last Will of Antonio Coniglio *alias* Fenech’, *Histories of Malta (Volume Two): Figments and Fragments* (Malta, 2001), 35–6.

27 Minervini, 272; Bent Parodi, *Cognomi siciliani* (Messina, 2006), 175.

28 Pantelleria is a Byzantine name derived from Arabic *Bant al-aryāh* (corresponding to Maltese *Bint l-Irjjeħ*) meaning literally ‘Daughter of the Winds’.

a peninsula in Corsica (French *Corse*). Otherwise the family name represents a truncated and hypocoristic (pet) form of the auspicious given names (and surnames) *Accorso* and *B(u)onaccorso*.<sup>29</sup>

**Pirotta** [259] has been plausibly interpreted as a patronym (either from *Piero* or *Pirro*), but documentary evidence shows that, after all, it may represent an aphaeretic and feminine form of the old surname *Liparotto*, ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from the Lipari Islands’ (Modern Italian *liparoto* or *liparese*). This derivation is supported by the reference of 1627 to *Giuglio Pirutta o Liparotto di Casal Nasciaro*.<sup>30</sup> The Lipari Islands (aka the Eolie or Aeolian Islands) are a volcanic group in the Tyrrhenian Sea off the north coast of Sicily and belong to the province of Messina.

### Habitational names: Italian regions and provinces

Geographical names show to what extent internal emigration has taken place. In the onomasticon, the Italian provinces are represented by *Piemontese*, *Marchegiani*, *Abruzzese*, *Pugliese*, *Calabrese*, *Siciliano*, *Sardo*, **Toscano**, and the like. The city states feature in the cognomina **Veneziani**, **Genovese**, **Romano**, and *Napolitano* (cf. **Napoli**). Mainland Italy embraces 18 regions and 90 provinces. Each *provincia* contains many *comuni* (communes), one of which serves as the *capo luogo* (provincial capital). The name of the province and the name of its *capo luogo* are always the same; hence the *capo luogo* of the province of Pavia is the city of Pavia. This can thereby prove misleading: a **Genovese** can indeed hail from Genoa, but he can also be a native of any town or village within that province.

Significantly, only the names of Tuscany, Lombardy, and Apulia are onomastically represented in Malta, but then there is a whole set of other family names reflecting the names of various provinces. **Toscano** [8] ‘Tuscan’ refers to an inhabitant of or an immigrant originating from Tuscany. The provenance term is also a given name, derived from Latin *Tuscānus* < *Tuscus* ‘from Etruria’ or ‘from Tuscia’ or simply ‘Etruscan’.<sup>31</sup>

29 Caracausi, 448–9.

30 S. Fiorini, ‘*Status Animarum* II: A Census of 1687’, *Proceedings of History Week 1984* (Malta, 1986), 72.

31 Caracausi, 1638.



Tuscany is also represented by the surnames **Fiorentino**, **Pisani**, **Lucchese**, and **De Lucca**. **Fiorentino** [51] carries on Italian *fiorentino* ‘Florentine’. The name of the city of Florence (Firenze) is an old form of the font name *Fiorenza*, itself from Latin *Florentia* < *florens* ‘flowering’, ‘blooming’, ‘prosperous’,<sup>32</sup> akin to the Byzantine names *Florentinus* and *Florentius*.<sup>33</sup> **Pisani** [1,373] is the plural form of the provenance surname *Pisano* < Italian *pisano* ‘Pisan’.<sup>34</sup> Pisa, the Tuscan city by the Arno, derives its name from Latin *Pisæ*, *-arum*, probably related to Greek *pisos* ‘irrigated land’.<sup>35</sup> **Lucchese** [17], continuing Italian *lucchese*, is another provenance appellation denoting ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Lucca’. The name stems from Latin *Luca(m)*, an old toponym of obscure etymology, sometimes linked with the Celtic-Ligurian root *luk-* ‘marshland’.<sup>36</sup> **De Lucca** [6], replete with the provenance preposition *De*, may infer the said Tuscan fortified town but, admittedly, the place name might alternatively be Lucca Sicula, a locality in the province of Agrigento, founded in 1620 by Francesco Lucchese.<sup>37</sup>

**Lombardo** [27] and **Lombardi** [31] are provenance appellations derived from Italian *lombardo* ‘Lombard’. However, in the Middle Ages, the term often described northern Italians in general.<sup>38</sup> Lombardy,

32 Zingarelli, 2103.

33 *Florentino* is also an Italian and Spanish given name, whereas *Florentin* is a French surname (also borne by Sephardic Jews). Cf. Hanks & Hodges, 187.

34 *Pisano* is the name of localities in Novara province and Acireale (Catania province).

35 Cf. Caracausi, 1242; Zingarelli, 2104.

36 Zingarelli, 2104. Sometimes *Lucchese* was also employed as a given name, particularly related to the cult of the Blessed Lucchesio da Poggibonsi who lived in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. The family name **Lucchese** is overwhelmingly Sicilian; it stands out in Palermo, Alcamo (Trapani), and Messina. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1005.

37 Caracausi, 885, *sub* ‘Lucca’ and ‘Lucchese’; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 154, *sub* ‘Lucca’. The surname **De Lucca** transpires in Bologna, Treviso province, the Veneto, and other northern Italian areas. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 623.

38 Caracausi, 877; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 153; Francipane, 133–4. **Lombardi** is a pan-Italian surname (quite common in Latium and Molise), but **Lombardo** prevails mainly in Calabria, Naples, and Sicily, where it is, in fact, the third commonest family name, and ranks top of the list at Alcamo, province of Trapani. Cf. Enzo Caffarelli, *Cognomi italiani: I più diffusi e caratteristici in oltre 400 comuni* (Turin, 2001), 6; www.cognomiitaliani.org. This explains why the term was generally applied to all northern Italian immigrants in the Mezzogiorno. **Lombardo** also prevails in Spain and Portugal. **Lombardo** and **Lombardi** are the commonest Italian family names in *-ardo/-ardi*. Cf. Enzo Caffarelli, *Cognomi italiani: I più diffusi a livello nazionale* (Turin, 1999), 9. Alzano Lombardo is a locality in the province of Bergamo; Martirano Lombardo is a locality in the province of Catanzaro, whereas San Vito dei Lombardi is a locality in the province of Avellino.

the northern Italian region, was originally known as Longobardia meaning ‘the land of the Longobards’, the Germanic people who settled in Italy in the seventh century AD, nominating Pavia as the capital of their kingdom.<sup>39</sup> Reputedly, they acquired their name from their characteristic long beards. During Norman rule in Italy, a clear distinction was made between *Lombardi* (Lombards, immigrants in Sicily from north-western Italy) and *Longobardi* (Longobardians, who came from the southern parts of the peninsula).<sup>40</sup>

Lombardy is again represented by the surnames **Milanes**, **Cremona**, and **Pavia**. **Milanes** is surely an apocoped form of the provenance surname *Milanese* < Italian *milanese* ‘Milanese’, ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Milan (Milano)’. The polenym derives from Latin *Mediolanum* ‘in the middle of the (Lombard) plain’.<sup>41</sup> In present-day Malta **Milanes** only occurs in the double-barrelled surname **Mallia Milanes** [20]. **Cremona** (< Latin *Cremōna*) [687] is a city in the middle of the Po plain; the etymology of its name is doubtful but it is possibly related to the pre-Latin element *\*carra* (with metathesis) ‘rock’.<sup>42</sup> Cremona was the first city founded by the Romans beyond the Po in Cisalpine Italy (218 BC).<sup>43</sup> **Pavia** [213] is a medieval commune, now a province in its own right, south of Milan; its name stems from either Medieval Greek *Papias* ‘palace guardian’ or else from the Roman *gens* (clan name) *Papilius*, *\*Papilia*.<sup>44</sup> It was founded by the Gauls who called it *Ticinum*; the Longobards renamed it *Papia(m)* when they acclaimed it as the capital of their kingdom in the seventh century AD.<sup>45</sup>

**Pugliesevich** [39] is another form of the Croatian surname *Pulješević*; the first element is the provenance appellation *pulješ* (Italian

39 Zingarelli, 2104.

40 Caracausi, 877.

41 Ibid., 1022; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 170, sub ‘Milani’; Francipane, 156–7, sub ‘Milani’. *Milanese* was also employed as a given name; as a nickname it sometimes means ‘industrious’. *Milanesi* is the name of a locality in the province of Reggio Calabria.

42 Caracausi, 462; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 109; Francipane, 400, sub ‘Cremonesi’. Cf. also Zingarelli, 2103.

43 Cremona is renowned for its long-standing tradition of violin-making (1550–1750); the term is now loosely applied to any good instrument.

44 Caracausi, 1186; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 191, sub ‘Pavese’; Francipane, 579, sub ‘Pavese’.

45 Zingarelli, 2104. **Pavia** was sometimes also employed as a given name. Pavia is also a *frazione* of Vignolo (Cuneo province), whereas Pavia di Udine is a commune in Udine province.

*pugliese*) ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Apulia’; the second element is the Slavonic patronymic suffix *-(ev)ić* (‘son of’). The term might have applied to all Italian immigrants, not necessarily Apulians, arriving from the opposite side of the Dalmatian coast.

**Pulis** [494] demands an ample discussion. It has sometimes been interpreted, rather cryptically, as an apocopated and syncopated form of the surname *Pugliese* (or *Puglisi*) < Italian *pugliese* ‘a native or inhabitant of Apulia’. Fucilla argues that people who are not fluent enough in Italian, to avoid cacophony in names containing *gl*, tend to eliminate the *g*, as in *Lulio*, *Palia*, and *Pulise* (for *Luglio*, *Paglia*, and *Puglise*).<sup>46</sup> However, **Pulis** may also stand as an apocopated form of the toponym (and surname) *Pulizzi* (probably Polizzi Generosa, Palermo province, containing the Greek element *polis*, ‘city’), or even an apocopated form of *Pulisi*, itself a dialectal form of the surname *Polisi* < Neo-Greek *Polysis*.<sup>47</sup> To compound matters, Rohlf records the nickname *Pulisi* in Calabria, but tentatively suggests the meaning ‘from Polia’, a commune in the province of Catanzaro.<sup>48</sup>

The Veneto is represented by the surnames **Veneziani**, **Padovani**, and **Trevisan**. **Veneziani** [33] is the plural form of the provenance surname *Veneziano* ‘Venetian’, ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Venice’ < Latin *Venetia*, which, apart from referring to the city of Venice, was also used as a feminine font name.<sup>49</sup> The name *Venetia*

- 46 Joseph G. Fucilla, *Our Italian Surnames* (Baltimore, 2003; originally Illinois, 1949), 241. *Puglisi* is chiefly counted in Sicily; the provenance suffix *-isi/-ise* is in fact the southern Italian equivalent of standard *-ese*. Cf. Emidio De Felice, *I cognomi italiani* (Bologna, 1980), 324.
- 47 Cf. Caracausi, 1261; G. Wettinger, ‘Non Arabo-Berber Influences on Malta’s Medieval Nomenclature’, *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Studies on Cultures of the Western Mediterranean* (Algiers, 1978), 201. *Poliçium* derives from Byzantine [*Basileō*] *polis*, ‘Basil’s city’, via Arabic *bulīṣ*. Cf. Giovan Battista Pellegrini, *Toponomastica italiana – 10,000 nomi di città, paesi, frazioni, contrade, fiumi, monti spiegati nella loro origine e storia* (Milan, 1990), 82.
- 48 Gerhard Rohlf, *Dizionario dei cognomi e soprannomi in Calabria* (Ravenna, 1979, 1986, 1993), 422. Otherwise Lorenzo Manconi, *Dizionario dei cognomi sardi* (Cagliari, 1987), 112, records the surname **Pulis** in Sardinia and derives it from Latin *pulix* ‘flea’, probably referring to an obnoxious, irritating person. Sicilian *pulisi* means ‘communal guard’, ‘policeman’. Cf. Giorgio Piccotto & Giovanni Tropea, *Vocabolario Siciliano* (Catania–Palermo), III (1990), 971. Giovan Battista Pellegrini suggests that *Polisi* is an Italian surname which originated from central Albania. Cf. ‘Un panorama dei cognomi italiani’, in *RION*, III, 2 (1997), 354.
- 49 Caracausi, 1694; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 259, *sub* ‘Venezia’; Francipane, 718–19, *sub* ‘Venezia’. Cf. Hanks & Hodges, 553, *sub* ‘Venezia’. Venice was one of the four

derives from the tribal name, of obscure origin, of the Veneti, probably a Celtic tribe who inhabited this area before the Roman expansion.<sup>50</sup>

**Padovani** [31] is the plural form of the provenance surname *Padovano* < *padovano* ‘Paduan’, ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Padua (Padova)’.<sup>51</sup> Padua derives its name from Latin *Pataviu(m)*, related to *Padu(m)*, the Latin name for the River Po, both containing the pre-Latin element \**pat-* ‘opening’, ‘expanse’.<sup>52</sup> **Trevisan** [9] is the apocopated form of the provenance surname *Trevisano* < Italian *trevisano* (*trevigiano*) ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Treviso’ < Latin *Tarvisium*, probably of Gallic origin.<sup>53</sup>

Liguria is represented by the surnames **Genovese**, **Genuis**, **Savona**, **Seguna**, and perhaps **Viacava** and **Gaffarena**. **Genovese** (< Italian *genovese* ‘Genoese’) [272] is ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Genoa (Genova)’. Since in the Middle Ages the Genoese were regarded as clever individuals, it is possible that the surname, in this sense, is sometimes a nickname.<sup>54</sup> Genoa derives its name from Late Greek *Genoua*, or directly from Latin *Genua* ‘gulf’, ‘inlet’.<sup>55</sup> **Genuis** [51] is an apocopated form of the personal name (and surname) *Genuisi* or *Genuise* < Latin *Genua*, *Genuen*, *-sis* ‘Genoa’, ‘Genoese’.<sup>56</sup> For this reason, **Genuis** stands as a collateral form of the afore-

great maritime republics which for long dominated Italian trade and commerce. The family name **Veneziani** prevails in Piacenza, Bari (city and province), Florence, Genoa, and Rome. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1737.

- 50 Hanks & Hodges, 553, *sub* ‘Venezia’. *Venezia* is also employed as a feminine given name. Sicilian *vinizzianu* refers to a lout or to a good-for-nothing person. Cf. *Vocabulario Siciliano*, V, 1112.
- 51 Caracausi, 1140; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 185; Francipane, 567. **Padovani** prevails in Lombardy, Emilia-Romagna, and the Veneto. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1246.
- 52 Zingarelli, 2104.
- 53 Caracausi, 1650; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 252, *sub* ‘Treviso’; Francipane, 701–2, *sub* ‘Treviso’. **Trevisàn**, as expected, stands out in the Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia, but it is also occurs sporadically in Emilia-Romagna and Lombardy. Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 252. It is the commonest surname ending in *-n*. Cf. Caffarelli, *Cognomi italiani* (1999), 9.
- 54 Caracausi, 696; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 134, *sub* ‘Genova’; Francipane, 465, *sub* ‘Genova’; Hanks & Hodges, 279, *sub* ‘January’. In some isolated cases, **Genovese** may be a variant of the medieval first name *Genovino*. Cf. [cognomiitaliani.org](http://cognomiitaliani.org). The surname **Genovese** occurs most frequently in Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and Piedmont. Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 134, *sub* ‘Genova’.
- 55 Zingarelli, 2104. Genoese influence in Malta dates back to the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. S. Fiorini, ‘The De Malta Genoese Counts of Malta: c.1192–1320’, *Melita Historica*, XII, 4 (1999), 359–66.
- 56 Caracausi, 698. English *Janeway* has exactly the same origin and meaning.

mentioned **Genovese**. *Genuisi* is typical of Messina, whereas *Genuise* is characteristic of Catanzaro province.<sup>57</sup>

**Savona** [79] is the Ligurian city and port; its name derives from Medieval Italian *Sagona* < Latin *sao*, *-onis*.<sup>58</sup> The polenym was sometimes also employed as a personal name. **Seguna** [289] and **Saguna** [21] are nothing but regional forms of the surname **Sagona** [5], itself another form of the surname **Savona**.<sup>59</sup> *Civitas Sagona* was the medieval name of the Ligurian city before it became modified to its present form (*Sagona-Saona-Savona*, just as *Ligorno-Liorno-Livorno*).<sup>60</sup>

**Viacava** [23] probably reflects a Ligurian microtoponym, composed of the elements *via* (for Italian *vite*) ‘vine’ and *cava* ‘hole’, ‘cellar’ < Latin *cavus* ‘quarry’ ‘mine’, ‘pit’.<sup>61</sup> **Gaffarena** [59] seems to be a voiced form (*G* < *C*) of the Ligurian toponym Caffarena di Torriglia, of dubious origin.<sup>62</sup>

The Marches are represented by the surname **D’Ancona** [6]. It indicates a native of or an immigrant originating from Ancona, province and capital city of the Marches; the polenym itself derives from Latin *Ancona* < Greek *angkon* ‘elbow’, referring to the crescent-shaped promontory of its harbour.<sup>63</sup> *Ancona* was also sometimes employed as a feminine given name. In the Middle Ages, Ancona was a great Jewish centre.

Latium and Emilia-Romagna are respectively represented by the surnames **Romano** and **Bologna**. **Romano** [34] is first and foremost a baptismal name from Latin *Romanus* < *romano* ‘Roman’, ‘a native of

57 Enzo Caffarelli, ‘Cognomi italiani da toponimi ed etnici dialettali o scomparsi: postille e aggiunte’, *RION*, X, 1 (2004), 134.

58 Caracausi, 1462; Francipane, 645. **Savona** is mainly a southern Italian surname. Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 226.

59 In present-day Sicily, the surname **Seguna** is mainly concentrated in Palermo. Cf. Caracausi, 1511, *sub* ‘Seguna’.

60 Hanks (ed.), III, 250, *sub* ‘Sagona’. *Segon* (easily a reduced form of *Segona*) is usually ascribed to the *Sega* family of surnames (< Italian *sega* ‘saw’, ‘scythe’), presumably referring to a wood-cutter or a harvester. As for **Sagona**, the term may stand for the French toponym Sagonne (Cher).

61 Caffarelli & Marcato, 1752. The family name is actually found in Genoa, city and province.

62 Cf. Italian elements *gaffa* (< Provençal *gaf*) ‘shoulder of a hill’, ‘mountain ridge’; *arena* < Latin *harena* ‘sand’.

63 The diffusion of **D’Ancona** (and *Ancona*) is today very modest; the surname has its highest density in Mesagne (Brindisi), Francavilla al Mare (Chieti), the island of Pantelleria, Bari, and Rome. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 571.

or an immigrant originating from Rome'.<sup>64</sup> For that reason, it may also be a provenance surname. In medieval times, the term *Romano* referred to both Romans and Greeks in apposition to all barbarian peoples such as the Germans, the Slavs, and the Arabs.<sup>65</sup> The term *romano* was also used by the Byzantines in southern Italy as a synonym for *greco* but later began to be applied specifically to someone of the Latin rite.<sup>66</sup> **Bologna** is the chief city of Emilia Romagna; the polenym derives from Latin *Bononia*, itself of Gallic origin, meaning 'well-built' or 'excellent bequest'. The Etruscans knew it as Felsina, when it was still an independent city. The Gauls changed its name to *Bononia*, composed of the Celtic elements *bona* 'foundation', 'base' + *oppidum* 'fortified settlement'.<sup>67</sup> At present, in Malta, it only occurs in the double-barrelled surname **Apap Bologna** [31].

Campania is represented by the surnames **Napoli**, **Avellino**, and **Salerno**. **Napoli** [11] specifies the old city of Naples (Napoli); it was founded by the Greeks in c.600 BC as *Neapolis* (composed of the Greek elements *nea* 'new' and *polis* 'city'). The provenance appellation might have been conferred on an immigrant hailing from this city; it might have also been adopted as a surname by Jewish settlers.<sup>68</sup> **Avellino** [85] is another province and city in Campania, which derives its name from *Irpine Abellin(u)*, itself a diminutive form of the polenym Abella 'the city of apple-trees'.<sup>69</sup> *Abellinum* (*b = v*) was a stronghold of the Hirpini (an ancient Italic people) and later a Roman colony, the site of which lies just to the east of the modern city. **Salerno** [97] is the chief city of Campania's southernmost province; the polenym stems from Latin *Salernum* < Greek *salernon*.<sup>70</sup> The name may also be related to pre-

64 Caracausi, 1378; De Felice, *Dizionario dei nomi italiani* (Milan, 1986), 214; Francipane, 204–6.

65 Caracausi, 1378.

66 Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1468. Italian *romano* may also carry the meaning of *lazzarone*, 'scoundrel' or 'lazybones'. Alternatively, the term might have simply referred to someone who had been in Rome on a pilgrimage. Cf. Hanks & Hodges, 456, *sub* 'Roman; Zingarelli, 2104. The toponym *Romano* occurs frequently in northern Italy; it is the name of places in the provinces of Turin, Milan, Bergamo, and Vicenza.

67 Hanks (ed.), I, 188.

68 Otherwise, it is a pan-Italian surname scattered all over the peninsula; its chief nucleus is in Calabria. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1189.

69 Zingarelli, 2102. The surname **Avellino** occurs mainly in Campania and northern Apulia. Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 64.

70 Caracausi, 1409; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 220; Francipane, 215–16.

Latin *\*sala* ‘canal’, ‘water-way’,<sup>71</sup> or else to *salum* ‘sea’ compounded to Irno, the name of the river washing the city, which in the fifth century BC was an important Etrusco-Campanian centre.<sup>72</sup>

Calabria is represented by the surnames **Reitano** [10] and **Torpiano** [26]. The former is another form of the surname *Riitano*, itself a regional form of *rizzitano*, a provenance appellation meaning ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Reggio Calabria’. The term, just as the dialectal cognates *rizzitanu*, *riggitanu*, and *rijitano*, derives from Neo-Greek *Rhēghion* (pronounced *rigion*).<sup>73</sup> Otherwise, Reitano is the name of a commune in the province of Messina, and Reitana is a commune in the province of Catania. **Torpiano**, on the other hand, reflects a metathetic form of the surname *Tropiano* < Italian *tropeano* ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Tropea’, commune in the province of Vibo Valentia < Latin *tropaeum* ‘victory memorial’, ‘token’ < Old Greek *tropaion* ‘trophy’.<sup>74</sup>

In Malta, the south of Italy is further represented by the surnames **Dandria**, **Arena**, **Bisazza**, **Francica**, **Miggiani**, and **Ascolese**. **Dandria** [8] may be interpreted as the agglutination of the provenance preposition *D’* with the place name Andria, a city west of Bari, in Apulia. The polonym derives from the anthroponym *Andrea*,<sup>75</sup> and hence the surname may alternatively stand as a patronym. **Arena** [27] is a commune in the province of Vibo Valentia, as well as a municipality in the province of Catanzaro, both in Calabria. The name derives from *arena* ‘arena’, ‘stadium’, itself from Latin *harena* ‘sand’, as in Roman times gladiators and acrobats performed in sand-covered stadia.<sup>76</sup> In Spain, the word *arena* still conserves the meaning of ‘sand’ but usually

71 Zingarelli, 2105. The place name was possibly adopted as a surname by the Jews of Salerno in the Middle Ages when it was also used as a given name. Cf. Caracausi, 1409. The surname **Salerno** is particularly conspicuous in Calabria, Basilicata, and Sicily (e.g. Syracuse). Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1501.

72 Parodi, 258.

73 Caracausi, 1344–5; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 208; Francipane, 616, *sub* ‘Reggio’. The surname **Reitano** is chiefly counted in Calabria and eastern Sicily (e.g. Catania, Messina). Cf. gens.labo.com; Caffarelli & Marcato, 1436.

74 Cf. Caracausi, 1659, *sub* ‘Tropiano’, ‘Tropeano’. Otherwise, Calabrian *trupiano* means ‘pock-marked’, ‘pitted’ and Sicilian *trupiano* means ‘drunkard’. The surname **Tropiano** is most frequent in Salerno and Reggio Calabria. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1690, *sub* ‘Tropeano’ and ‘Tropiano’.

75 De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 56, *sub* ‘Andria’.

76 The surname **Arena** prevails mainly in eastern Sicily, Calabria, and Naples; it is the commonest surname in Messina. Cf. *ibid.*, 60; Caracausi, 70–1; Francipane, 32–3.

refers to a bull-ring. **Bisazza** [16] must be the toponym Bisaccia (a commune in the province of Avellino) < Sicilian *bisazza* (*visazza*) ‘saddlebag’, ‘knapsack’ < Late Latin *bisaccia* < Latin *bisaccium* ‘double pouch’ (comprising the dual prefix *bi*);<sup>77</sup> or from Sicilian *bisaccia*, a unit of plot measurement equivalent to 4365 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>78</sup> Calabrian **Francica** [83] suggests the name of a commune in the province of Vibo Valentia, and a *frazione* in the province of Catanzaro; the toponym derives from Greek (*ta*) *Phragkika* ‘Franco’s estate’.<sup>79</sup> Apulian **Miggiani** [43] is the plural form of the toponym Miggiano, commune in the province of Lecce; the name itself is a variant form of Italian *mediano*, composed of the Latin first name *Mædius* ‘middle (man)’ and the praedial suffix *-anu*.<sup>80</sup> **Ascolese** [8] carries on Italian *ascolese* (archaic form of *ascolano*) ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Ascoli Satriano, a commune in the Apulian province of Foggia. The toponym derives from Latin *Ausculum*, containing the pre-Latin root *\*aus(a)* ‘font’.<sup>81</sup>

### Problematic cases

It is sometimes difficult to be precise about whether a surname is derived from an identifying topographic element such as in the phrase *presso la costa* ‘(at) the hillside’ and ‘(by) the coast’, or from an established place name such as **Costa** [171]. It is also sometimes possible that what has been thought of as a topographic name is, in fact, a habitational name from some other minor, unidentified place now lost.<sup>82</sup> In addition, with a common place name like **Massa**, **Gravina**, **Cassano**, **Poggi**, **Mirabella/Mirabelli**, and **Sant’Angelo** (to name just a few) many families must

77 Caracausi, 158; Migliorini, 38.

78 Figuratively, *bbisazza* may also mean ‘fat, unclean woman’; humorously, the term also refers to the ‘stomach’. Cf. Fucilla, 185n; *Vocabulario Siciliano*, I, 421.

79 Caracausi, 644. **Francica** is decidedly Calabrian. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 790.

80 Caracausi, 1020, *sub* ‘Miggiano’. *Miggiano* is almost exclusively a southern surname; *Miggiani* is very rare and occurs in Rome and its surroundings. The truncated form [*Par*] *miggiani* cannot be excluded either.

81 The term *ascolano* generally refers to someone who hails from Ascoli Piceno (city and province of the Marches). Cp. Italian *D’Ascoli*. Old local form: *Scolesi*. **Ascolese** is mainly a Neapolitan and Apulian surname. Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 63. *Ascolese* is also a minor locality in the province of Salerno, but the place name derives from the anthroponym.

82 Hanks & Hodges, p. xx.



have arisen, and in many areas. Of course, the locality from which a surname derives, when many places bear the same name, can be proved only by the possession of authentic family documents.

**Massa** [189] must be one of the most profuse place names in Italy (e.g. localities in Benevento, Potenza, Salerno, Messina, Pistoia, Foggia, and Carrara). The element *Massa* also occurs as a first component in several composite Sicilian toponyms (e.g. *Massa Annunziata*, *Massa Grande*, *Massa San Giorgio*, etc.). It derives from Latin *massa* ‘lump’, ‘mass’ < Old German *maza* ‘tenement’, ‘possession’. In fact, Old Provençal and Catalan *mas* means ‘farmstead’ (< Late Latin *mansum*, *mansus*), referring either to an extensive rural settlement or to someone who lived in an isolated dwelling in the country rather than in the village. The term is hence allied to Italian *masseria* ‘farm’, ‘agricultural holding’.

**Gravina** [166] is the name of several places in Italy, such as Gravina in Apulia, a walled town in the province of Bari (celebrated for its wine); Gravina, a locality in the province of Cosenza; Gravina, a locality in Masalucia; and Gravina di Catania. Italian *gravina* means ‘pebbly’, ‘gravelly stream’, and derives from Latin \**gravena*; otherwise, southern Italian *gravina* means ‘fault’, ‘deep ravine’, ‘precipice’.<sup>83</sup>

**Cassano** [30] is the name of several places in Italy (e.g. Bari, Avellino, Cosenza, Alessandria, Milan, Varese) composed of the Roman family name *Cassius* and the praedial suffix *-anu*. Otherwise it derives directly from *cassinu* ‘oak tree’.<sup>84</sup>

**Poggi** [16] is the plural form of the surname *Poggio*, itself the name of several places in Italy (e.g. Poggio Roseto, Poggio Vecchio, Poggio Rotondo, Poggio d’Asti, Poggio di San Remo, etc.), from Italian *poggio* ‘hill’, ‘hillock’, ‘mountain’ < Latin *podium* ‘podium’, ‘high platform’, ‘balcony’.<sup>85</sup>

83 Caracausi, 755; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 141; Francipane, 481. **Gravina** is a southern Italian surname, while **Gravino** [44] is extant in Caserta province (e.g. San Tammaro, Santa Maria la Fossa), Naples, and Rome. Both *Gravina* and *Gravino* are attested as baptismal names as well. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 886. The **Gravina** family in Sicily traditionally dates back to Norman times. Italian *gravina* also means ‘pickaxe’, but the term does not seem to have contributed to surname formation.

84 Caracausi, 330; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 97; Francipane, 376. Cp. Italian surname **Cassia**. **Cassano** is mainly a southern Italian surname, prevailing conspicuously in the region of Apulia; it is, in fact, the commonest surname in Bari. It might also have absorbed other names such as *Cassiano* (e.g. Ancona) and *Casciano* (Florence). Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 97.

85 Caracausi, 1257, 1258, *sub* ‘Poggio’; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 199; Francipane,

**Sant'Angelo** [6] is a cognate form of the surname *Santangelo* < toponym Sant'Angelo (e.g. localities in the provinces of Cesena, Salerno, Benevento, Avellino, Campobasso, Potenza, Cosenza, Catanzaro, Messina, and Agrigento).<sup>86</sup> The places possibly acquired their names from a shrine or church dedicated to St Angelo.

**Mirabella** [9] and **Mirabelli** [6] are usually anthroponyms, but they enjoy another currency as toponyms. The given name is in fact the source of several Italian localities: Mirabella Eclano (Avellino), Mirabella Imbaccari (Catania), Mirabello (Lucca), Mirabello Monferrato (Alessandria), Mirabello Ciria (Cremona), Mirabello Sant'Angelo (Frosinone), Mirabello San Bernardino (Milan), Mirabello Sannitico (Campobasso), Passo di Mirabella (Avellino), and Mirabello di Pavia.<sup>87</sup> The place name, just as the Old Tuscan personal name *Mirabellus* (English and French *Mirabelle*), derives from Medieval Latin *\*mirus (et) bellus* 'pleasant (and) handsome'.<sup>88</sup>

**Sinagra** [32] is a commune in Messina province, but the toponym itself probably represents the Greek and Latin first name *Xenagóras*, composed of the Greek elements *xenos* 'strange', 'foreign' and *geras* 'honour'.<sup>89</sup> **Lauro** [12] is a commune in Avellino province, whereas **Bellizzi** [264] is a commune in Salerno province; however, as surnames, the former is better explained as a derivative of the feminine baptismal name *Laura*, whereas the latter is arguably a member of the *Bella* group.

595. The surname **Poggi** prevails mainly in northern and central Italy; it is quite common in Liguria, Campania, and Tuscany. Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 199. *Poggio* was also employed as a forename.

86 The surname **Santangelo** is mainly established in southern Italy, especially in Sicily and Basilicata (e.g. Potenza). Cf. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 56–7; Caffarelli & Marcato, 1514. It tops the frequency list at Adrano, locality in the province of Catania. Cf. Caffarelli, *Cognomi italiani*, 6.

87 The Gulf of Mirabella (modern Greek, Kolpos Mirabellou) lies in the Aegean Sea on the northern coast of eastern Crete.

88 Caracausi, 1035.

89 *Ibid.*, 1537; Hanks (ed.), III, 354. According to Francipane, 665, the toponym means either 'old man's field', from Latin *senis ager*; or 'gift of the fields', from the given name *Xenagora*, presumably owing to the fertility of the land. Note the different interpretation of the patronym. Rohlf's, 466, records the nickname *Zinagra* in Reggio di Calabria in this habitational sense. **Sinagra** is mainly a southern and Sicilian surname (e.g. in Porto Empedocle, Agrigento province; Palermo, city and province; and Sinagra itself). Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1580.

## Habitational names: non-Italian regions and cities

Sometimes, the provenance hints at a particular foreign province, city state, or town. The places outside Italy which are embedded in Maltese surnames are mostly Spanish. The old regions mirroring Spain's Golden Age are amply represented. **Catalogna** [6] is the name of the Spanish historical region of Cataluña (English Catalonia, Catalan *Catalunya*), apparently so called from a pre-Roman tribal name, which is of unknown origin and meaning.<sup>90</sup> The name might have been adopted by Sephardic Jews after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. However, one cannot ignore the sustained influx of Catalans into Italy via France from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, as well as the strong commercial ties between Barcelona and the Italian maritime republics during the same period.<sup>91</sup> **Ragonesi** [11] is the plural form of the provenance surname *Ragonese*, itself an aphaeretic form of *aragonese* 'a native of or an immigrant originating from Aragon', historical region of north-eastern Spain.<sup>92</sup> **Navarra** is a Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Jewish (Sephardic) surname, attached to Navarra (English and French *Navarre*), a province of modern Spain, formerly a region and kingdom of northern Spain and south-western France. The name itself probably derives from Spanish *nava* 'treeless plateau' or 'hollow surrounded by hills'.<sup>93</sup> **Navarro** [148] simply suggests an inhabitant of Navarra. **Navarra**, at present, only occurs in the double-barrelled surname **Stagno Navarra** [35].

**Galizia** designates the former kingdom of Galicia, now an autonomous region of north-western Spain. The name might have

90 Caracausi, 341; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 98, *sub* 'Catalano'; Francipane, 62–3, *sub* 'Catalano'; Hanks & Hodges, 98, *sub* 'Catalán'. Catalonia, in the east corner of Spain, comprises the modern provinces of Barcelona, Gerona, Lérida, and Tarragona.

91 De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 98. In Sicily, the surname *Catalonia* prevails mainly in Palermo. Cf. Caracausi, 341.

92 *Ibid.*, 1319; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 59, *sub* 'Aragona'; Francipane, 291–2, *sub* 'Aragona'. The surname **Ragonesi** has two main nuclei, one in central Italy (e.g. Rome, Viterbo, Romagna) and another in Sicily (e.g. Catania, Acireale). Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1414.

93 Hanks & Hodges, 384; Caracausi, 1102; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 176; Francipane, 551. The place name was probably adopted as a surname by several Sephardic Jews of Navarre. In Italy, **Navarra** is conspicuous in Rome, but is mainly southern, featuring in Campania (e.g. Naples, Salerno), Apulia (e.g. Bari), and Sicily (e.g. Palermo). The less frequent **Navarro** occurs in Naples, Rome, the Veneto, and other northern areas. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1195.

been bestowed on someone who had been on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, located in this region.<sup>94</sup> Galicia was named after an Iberian-Celtic tribe, whose own name presumably derived from \**cala* ‘waterway’, i.e. ‘dwellers by the water’. In Italy **Galizia** is chiefly Apulian (e.g. Taranto, Bari province, etc.); fewer numbers occur in Naples, Catania province, and Cassano allo Jonio (Cosenza).<sup>95</sup> At present, in Malta, it now only occurs in the double-barrelled surname **Caruana Galizia** [17].

The old great cities of **Valencia** and **Toledo** are also conspicuous in local onomastics. **Valenzia** [26] limpidly suggests Valencia, the city in south-eastern Spain; the toponym derives from Spanish *valentia* ‘bold’, ‘courageous’.<sup>96</sup> The ‘brave’ city of Valentia was actually named by the Romans through a derivation of the first name *Valens* ‘strong’, ‘powerful’, ‘healthy’. **Toledo** [24] is an Italian, Spanish, and Jewish (Sephardic) surname related to Toledo, a city in New Castile, central Spain. The modern name stems from Latin *Toletum*, of obscure etymology, possibly connected with Toletto in Piedmont, or to the Celtic element *tol* ‘elevation’, ‘height’.<sup>97</sup>

**Cardona** [864] is a Catalan city not far from Barcelona. The name dates from the pre-Roman period and probably has the same origin as that of Cortona, in Italy, but the precise meaning is unknown.<sup>98</sup> **Bajona** [12] is a less clear-cut example, as the surname might indicate Bayona in Spain, or else Bayonne, a city in south-western France, near the Atlantic Pyrenees.<sup>99</sup> Spanish *bayo* means ‘white’, whereas *-ona* is a Basque locative suffix. The French toponym, on the other hand, may

94 Fucilla, 113.

95 Caffarelli & Marcato, 817–18.

96 Caracausi, 1681; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 256–7. In Italy, **Valenzia** is essentially a Sicilian surname, easily explained by the long Aragonese rule over the island. Cf. gens.labo.com. There are various other cities called Valencia or València in Spain, whereas Valentia (Valence) is also the ancient name of a locality in Drôme, France. Valenza is a town in Alessandria province, named after the Roman emperor Valente, whereas Vibo Valentia is a Calabrian province. *Valencia* is now a Spanish feminine given name.

97 Hanks & Hodges, 536; Caracausi, 1628; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 248; Francipane, 694. The surname **Toledo** is sporadically scattered in southern Italy, especially in Naples, Salerno, and Catania. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1660–1. Cp. De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 248.

98 Hanks & Hodges, 94; Caracausi, 304. To complicate matters, Cardona is the name of several places in Calabria, Campania, and Sicily.

99 Otherwise, **Bajona** represents a respelling of the Italian surname *Baiona* (also a Sicilian toponym), which like the surname *Baione* represents an augmentative form of *Bàio*.

be based on Low Latin *baia* ‘bay’.<sup>100</sup> **Rodenas** [15] reflects Ródenas, the name of a locality in the province of Teruel, Spain; the toponym itself derives from *rodено*, a Mozarabic dialectal form of Old Spanish (*tierras*) *roano* ‘reddish (land)’.<sup>101</sup> **Peralta** [8] is the name of several localities in Spain (e.g. in the provinces of Huesca and Navarra) and Portugal; the toponym itself derives from Latin *petra alta* ‘high rock’.<sup>102</sup> The term *pera* is actually a Spanish dialectal form of *piedra* ‘stone’, ‘rock’.<sup>103</sup> **Medina** (< Arabic *madīna* ‘town’) [18] has survived in Spain in a substantial number of toponyms. The main ones of these are: Medina de las Torres (Badajuz province), Medina del Campo, and Medina de Rioseco (both in Valladolid), Medina de Pomar (Burgos), Medinaceli, and Medina-Sidonia.

France is unmistakably represented by the surnames **Brignone** and **Avallone**. **Avallone** [31] continues Italian *avallone* ‘a native of or an immigrant originating from Aval(l)on (Old French *Abalon*)’, a Saracenic district in Langlois.<sup>104</sup> **Brignone** [40] must reflect Brignon, the name of several places in France (e.g. in Gard and Haute-Loire) and the French-speaking part of Switzerland. The toponym recalls French *brignon* ‘crust of bread’ (perhaps figuratively denoting ‘kind-heartedness’), but it is supposedly related to the pre-Roman element *briga* ‘hill-top’, ‘crest’.<sup>105</sup> Otherwise the surname reflects dialectal Piedmontese and Ligurian *brignùn* ‘(wild) thorn bush’; therefore related to Sicilian *brignuni* (a Gallo-Italic term) with the same meaning.<sup>106</sup>

100 Sephardic Jews employed the surnames *De Baiona* and *Bayona* with reference to the French place name.

101 Hanks & Hodges, 455.

102 Ibid., 414. Otherwise, Portuguese *peralta* means ‘dandy’, ‘coxcomb’.

103 The given name *Peralto* is a member of the *Pietro* tribe; hence the toponym and the forename actually share the same meaning, as *Petros* is a Greek name meaning ‘rock’. In Italy, the surname **Peralta** is mainly established in Sicily, particularly in Trapani province (e.g. Trapani, Paceno, Erice), and Sardinia (e.g. Sassari); the toponymic variety is surely of Iberian origin, concentrated in Navarra and Catalonia. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1660–1.

104 Caracausi, 89. **Avallone** is mainly found in Campania, particularly Salerno. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 114. **Avallone** also happens to be the Italian equivalent of Aval(l)on, the ocean island and earthly paradise of Arthurian legend, whose name perhaps derives from the Celtic element *aval* ‘apple’.

105 Caracausi, 196. *Breugnon* is a French surname while Brion and Brignoles are French place names.

106 **Brignone** is counted in Cuneo, Turin, and Savona. It is also found in the south (Campania, Calabria, and Sicily). The surnames *Brignoni* and *Bregnone* occur in Lombardy, but here they reflect dialectal *bregnòn*, ‘inhabitant of or migrant originating from Val di Blienio (Bregn)’ . Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 301.

There are two possible provenance appellations related to the Slavonic regions. **Schiavone** [157] derives from Italian *schiaivone* ‘Sclavonian’, ‘Adriatic Slav’,<sup>107</sup> although it may also be an augmentative form of *Schiavo* < Medieval Latin *sclavus*, *slavus* ‘slave’. However, even in Latin the term specifically denoted a Slavonic prisoner of war. The term also designated a guard of the Doge of Venice armed with a broadsword; the *schiaivoni* were actually a special military corps of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>108</sup> **Dalmas** [57] is less straightforward. It might be an apocopated form of the Italian family name *Dalmasso*, related to *Dalmazia* (English Dalmatia, French *Dalmatie*), a region on the east coast of the Adriatic in present-day Croatia.<sup>109</sup> The name of the region may be of Illyrian origin, akin to southern Albanian *delme* ‘sheep’. The main problem is that local **Dàlmas** and *Dalmàs(so)* do not share the same prosody. Otherwise, the surname might be another form of the Provençal surname *Delmas* < Old Provençal *mas* ‘farmstead’ < Late Latin *mansum*, *mansus*; in which case it is related to the Italian surname **Massa**.<sup>110</sup>

Greek localities are also in evidence. **Calamatta** [51] probably reflects the toponym Kalamáta, a seaport in the south-western Peloponnesus.<sup>111</sup> Probably, the place derived its name from an old Byzantine monastery known as Panagia the Kalomáta meaning ‘The Beautiful-Eyed Madonna’. Kalomáta later became Kalamáta.<sup>112</sup> However, the surname may, alternatively, recall Kalamata (aka Kalamai), a locality in the prefecture of Messina.<sup>113</sup> **Mallia** [2,928], in one way, may reflect the paleonym Mallia, a coastal town in Heraklion (Crete).<sup>114</sup> In another

107 Caracausi, 1483; De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 227–8, sub ‘Schiavo’; Francipane, 649, sub ‘Schiavo’. The surname **Schiavone** is mainly concentrated in Apulia (e.g. Foggia province; Taranto province, particularly in Martina Franca; and Fasano, Brindisi province); Sicily (e.g. Syracuse); Campania (e.g. Casal di Principe and Aversa, both in Caserta province; San Marzano sul Sarno, Salerno province. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1544.

108 The Italian toponyms Schiaivone (Reggio Calabria) and Masseria Schiaivone (Foggia) derive from any of the two suggested meanings. **Schiavone** may, after all, be a Neapolitan ‘botanical’ surname meaning ‘water parsnip’. Cf. Fucilla, 97.

109 Hanks & Hodges, 137. *Dalmasso* is also a variant of *Dalmazzo* < toponym Borgo San Dalmazzo. Cf. Caffarelli, ‘Cognomi italiani da toponimi’, 146.

110 Hanks & Hodges, 350, sub ‘Mas’. Cp. French *Dalmis*, Catalan *Dalmàs*.

111 J. Aquilina, ‘Linguistic Pot-pourri’, *The Sunday Times [of Malta]*, 7/12/86.

112 A. Parinou, personal communication.

113 *Calamai* is a southern Italian surname probably derived from Medieval Greek *kalamos* ‘reeds’. Reeds were used for wattling and thatching.

114 Caracausi, 924. Otherwise, Mallia is also a Cypriot toponym; Malia is the name of a locality in

sense it derives from Late Greek and Neo-Greek *mállas*, *málléas*, (a) ‘weaver or seller of wool’ < *malli* ‘wool’, or (b) ‘curly (headed)’ < *mállia* ‘hair’. **Rodo** [34], on the other hand, often suggests the toponym *Rodu*, the Old Sicilian name for the Mediterranean island of Rhodes < Late Greek *Rodon* ‘rose’.<sup>115</sup> *Rodio* means ‘Rhodian’, ‘Rhodiot’, while *Rodino* < Neo-Greek \**rhodius* < Old Greek *rhodinos* means ‘rosy’, ‘rose-coloured’, ‘crimson’.<sup>116</sup> **Desira** [840] may easily be a matronym (< *Sira*), but sufficient documentary evidence is on hand to suggest a Greek provenance surname referring to a native of or an immigrant originating from the Greek island of Sira (Greek *Syra*, *Síros*, or *Syros*), located in the department of Kikládés, in the region of Aiyáion. Entries in the Maltese Curia’s *Status Liberi* of the early seventeenth century confirm the Greek origin of plaintiffs bearing this family name.

The Muslim territories are epitomized by the surname **Serracino** (or **Seracino**) [26/10]. It is first and foremost another form of the given name (and surname) *Saraceno* < Late Latin *saracēnus* < Greek *sarakenós*, a generic term for all Muslim peoples in the Christian Middle Ages, ultimately from Arabic *šarqī* ‘oriental’, ‘easterner’ < *šarq* ‘sunrise’, ‘east’ < *šaraqa* ‘to rise’. The term *Saracens* was applied by medieval writers to Arabs in general, especially those of Syria and Palestine; it also applied to all infidel nations who opposed the Crusades. The name was originally given by the Greeks and Romans to the nomadic tribes of the Syro-Arabian desert. However, in Sicily, *Sarraceni* was the word routinely used to refer to the Sicilian Muslims in almost all Latin sources, including the royal chancery, throughout the Norman period.<sup>117</sup> In the Neapolitan dialect, *sarracino* also means ‘ferocious’, ‘brutal man’.<sup>118</sup>

Cefalù, Sicily; Mallea (< dialectal Spanish *malla* ‘pasture field’, ‘grazing land’) occurs as a place name in the neighbourhood of San Pedro en Mallabia, Eibar, Durango, Ermua, and Bilbao.

115 Caracausi, 1375.

116 De Felice, *Dizionario dei cognomi*, 213, *sub* ‘Rodi’. Rodo is the name of a district in Roccaforte, province of Reggio Calabria, whereas Rodio is the name of a commune in the province of Salerno. The surname **Rodo** features in Pantelleria (Trapani province), Catania, and southern Latium. Cf. Caffarelli & Marcato, 1464.

117 Alex Metcalfe states that there is some debate about the origin of the term *Sarracenus*. Cf. *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic Speakers and the End of Islam* (London & New York, 2003), 57. Perhaps more plausibly, like the Greek *Hagerene* (< *Hagar*, Abraham’s concubine), it may have been of biblical inspiration and referred to Sarah, the patriarch’s wife. Cf. Metcalfe, 242n.

118 Sicilian *saracinu* also refers to ‘a cruel, fierce or villainous person’, but at the same time may

## Deceptive provenance surnames

While the individual in possession of a foreign provenance name has good reason to believe that his ancestors were originally expatriate immigrants, it is often risky to be categorical about the matter. The very same names may, for instance, also refer to individuals who after a specified sojourn on foreign soil returned to their homeland and were given the nickname of *Bulgaro*, *Fiammingo*, **Cipriott(o)**, etc. by their fellow countrymen.<sup>119</sup> Some may have acquired the appellative simply owing to some trading connections with a particular country. As a matter of fact, a *Fiammingo* may have truly emigrated from Flanders, but he could have simply been a merchant with commercial links with that region. In some cases a provenance name could have been acquired simply through marriage to a foreign bride; for example, a *Maltese* could indeed be an Italian with a Maltese wife. In some cases, an **Albanese** may be simply a light cavalryman;<sup>120</sup> a **Schiavone**, a swordsman; and a **Tedesco**, a fifer.

As already hinted, it is possible that in some other cases these were originally nicknames bestowed in line with the imagined character traits associated with the inhabitants of a region or state concerned, rather than denoting actual nationality. Someone called *Francese* may have been truly French, or he may have adopted sophisticated or even affected mannerisms and tastes popularly associated with French people and culture.

A nickname like **Albanese** or *Greco* may simply project the prejudices usually associated with that ethnic type. Since the days of the Romans, *Greco* (cf. **Grech**) has been a synonym of astuteness and disloyalty; sometimes, it also connotes a stammerer. In Sardinia, the term *greco* usually carries contemptuous connotations; for example, in Nuoro it means ‘miser’, ‘niggard’, while in Campidano di Oristano it means ‘swindler’, ‘trickster’.<sup>121</sup> A **Spagnol(o)** denotes a haughty

infer ‘a tall, robust, bold person’. Cf. *Vocabulario Siciliano*, IV, 373.

119 Fucilla, 111.

120 The *albanesi* were Albanian mercenaries employed by the Maritime Republic of Venice.

121 Manconi, 70. Sicilian *g(g)reco* means (a) ‘foreigner’, ‘stranger (who speaks in an unintelligible tongue)’; (b) ‘deceitful’, ‘wicked’, ‘cunning’; and (c) ‘agnostic’, ‘irreligious’. Cf. *Vocabulario siciliano*, II, 265–6, 300. The supposed close-fistedness of the Greeks is echoed in the Maltese proverb: *Min jżżewweġ Grieg, butu jidjieg* (‘The purse of a woman who marries a Greek gets tight’). Cf. J. Aquilina, *A Comparative Dictionary of Maltese*



person or a dandy.<sup>122</sup> A **Tedesco** may also be a stammerer apart from a simpleton. A *Saraceno* (cf. **Serracino**) or a *Turco* might have referred to a cruel or irreligious man or simply to a swarthy person.

Again, names of regions and cities do not necessarily indicate authentic provenance. Some ethnic adjectives may also carry metaphorical connotations. For instance, a *Calabrese* is a ‘crafty fellow’ in the Trentino and an ‘uncouth person’ in Naples; a **Genovese** is usually a ‘clever individual’; *Rauseo* (cf. **Rausi**) in Apulia denotes an ‘ill-mannered person’;<sup>123</sup> and a *Catalano* (cf. **Catalogna**) is a ‘noisemaker’ in Bergamascan. A **Romano** meant civilized and cultured, as opposed to barbarian, and in the Early Middle Ages, the same term used to indicate a farmer or even a freeholder.<sup>124</sup> In Calabria, *Catanise* (‘one from Catania’, cf. **Catania**) refers to a ‘crafty’ or ‘showy’ person, and in Sicily itself *Catanisi* stands for a ‘deceitful, disloyal person’.

A few European provenance terms also happen to be Italian place names: *Franco* (Cosenza), *Armeno* (Novara), *Spagna* (Florence, Novara, Pavia, Siena), *Todesco* (Belluno). Otherwise **Nicosia** [6] is in Cyprus but also in Sicily;<sup>125</sup> *Rodi* (cf. **Rodo**) is an island pertaining to Greece but also a place in Apulia; *Ragusa* (cf. **Rausi**) may be Croatian Dubrovnik besides the Sicilian province. *Aragona* (cf. **Ragonesi**) is the name of a Spanish historical region but also of a commune in the province of Agrigento. **Galizia**, the name of another Spanish region, is also the name of a place in Carleto, Lucania (Basilicata).

Some seemingly obvious provenance names like *Italiano*, *Africano*, *Algerino*, *Armeno* (cf. **Armeni**), **Gravino**, *Greco* (cf. **Grech**), *Veneziano* (cf. **Veneziani**), *Triestino*, *Romeno*, **Navarro**, *Pisano* (cf. **Pisani**), **Tedesco**, **Lucchese**, **Toscano**, and **Milanes(e)** were sometimes employed as masculine baptismal names. On the distaff side, it has always been customary to give women names of famous cities or regions, a fact which probably brought into being much of the surnames

*Proverbs* (Malta, 1986), 487.

122 In Sicily, the term *spagnola* denotes either a litigious woman or a gypsy woman who roams about selling trifles. Cf. *Vocabulario Siciliano*, V, 112.

123 Caffarelli, ‘L’antroponomia’, 484.

124 Migliorini, 52.

125 **Nicosia** is surely a place name of Greek origin, but its etymology is obscure. Some have proposed the etymon *nichos*, ‘victory’. Cf. Trovato, 155. The surname is mainly concentrated in Messina and Catania. Cf. Francipane, 553.

under discussion<sup>126</sup> – e.g. *Toscana, Roma, Venezia, Firenze, Ancona* (cf. **D’Ancona**), **Savona, Pavia, Alessandria, Francia, Dalmazia, Siria, Marsiglia, Macedonia, Olanda, Egizia, Galizia, and Valenzia**. An old Venetian tradition involved the naming of children (particularly girls) after the surname of their baptismal godparent. Hence a *Pisana* might have had a *Pisano* or a *Pisani* as her godparent.<sup>127</sup>

126 Fucilla, 114.

127 De Felice, *Dizionario dei nomi*, 301.