HISPANO-JEISH ONOMASTICS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. JEWISH POPULATION RECORDS FROM XVTH CENTURY CASTILE

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1. Introduction

The research project that has been carried out was launched in November 1st last year with the support of the International Institute for Jewish Genealogy and Paul Jacobi Center. It aims to provide a scholarly approach on medieval Jewish Anthroponomy through the edition, sociohistorial and onomastic analysis of a significant selection of Jewish population records (padrones) from the second half of the XVth century in the Castilian villages of Hita (Guadalajara), Urueña (Valladolid), Medina de Pomar (Burgos), Dueñas (Palencia) and Saldaña (Palencia). In this sense the study of these unpublished data may allow for a better understanding of the names and surnames system used by Jews in Castile as well as of the importance of Jewish family kindships and Jewish genealogy in Sepharad.

This study is the result of such research, providing comprehensive analysis of the onomastic and sociocultural data concerning the Jewish population recorded in these registers. This is the first time we see together such a wide documentary collection of population records with Jewish names of medieval times, which undoubtedly will contribute to the knowledge of such documentary sources as well as the enrichment of studies on Hispanic-Medieval Jewish onomastics. Further editing and complementary annotations with philological and anthroponymic explanations constitute the fundamental character of this work, which has been complemented by an extensive introductory study structured in five chapters in which sources are contextualized and obtained data is analyzed from a onomastic and historical point of view. Thus it is offered a valuable and cohesive anthroponomics corpus, constituted by three hundred fifty-two names of Jews, all from the ancient kingdom of Castile in the second half of the XV century. The most significant of this unprecedented list of names of Jews is not only the variety of their structures and designations, but the fact that, in many cases, there are the first documentation of Jewish population (men and women) in a given locality. On the other hand, another research achievement has been to relate the similarities and differences of the Hispanic-Medieval Jewish onomastic system with the Sephardic Jewish environment of modern times. I hope that with all this I may have contributed to a better understanding of an area so little known about and in which there is still a lot to be done such as the Jewish Medieval anthroponomy.
Finally, I would like to express my special thanks to the International Institute for Jewish Genealogy and Paul Jacobi Center for their financial support during all the stages of the project. I am also grateful to those of them that in the different work meetings I had the opportunity to attend have contributed with their suggestions to the enhancement of this research. Especially I would like to thank the advice and support provided by Amy Eliasaf (IIJG), prof. A. Demsky and Prof. Yigal Levin (Bar Ilan University), Dr. Alexander Beider (Paris), Prof. Yaron Ben Naeh (The Hebrew University) and the Genealogy Advisory Service of NLI for their special contribution to bibliographical and methological orientation.

2. The sources: Medieval Jewish Population Tax Records

One of the main objectives of this research has been to inform and show the specialist and the non-specialist a type of tax documents little known in the field of Hispano-Jewish Medieval history such as the tax records (padrones fiscales).

These records, which will ultimately cease to be a type of population patterns, are a major source for the study of demography and medieval taxation in general. When names and surnames of Jewish inhabitants are included, the documentation acquires exceptional interest for the researchers of this minority, as this type of lists with names and Jewish family names are very few, especially in the ancient kingdom of Castile during the 13th and 15th centuries. In any case, the interest of the unpublished records presented in this research is that they are basically sources that provide great information for the study of the Hispano-Jewish Medieval onomastics.

A significant collection of Jewish names on these standards as the one already done, makes it possible to develop analysis on designation systems of the Jewish population, their demographic representation in the general population, as well as it enables us to define some family ties and solidarity among its members. If in addition to the above, we take into account that in some specific cases (such as standards of Urueña, Dueñas), very little was known about its Jewish population, there is no doubt that such sources are extremely valuable for the study of the Hispano-Jewish Medieval past. It is convenient, therefore, to define some general characteristics of this type of documentation in order to proceed and formally describe the ten population tax records that have been edited.
2.1. **Textual Typology of Tax Records and Jewish Population**

The population tax record in Castile has been considered as a multipurpose reality\(^1\), as it reflects various legal actions with a single purpose: to satisfy the full amount of tax by the taxpayer. This is not time to extend ourselves in consideration of the fiscal nature of these documents or their diplomatic features, but it is true that the tax record as a written document represented a material element of great importance in the complex tax and financial system developed during the Middle Ages. To a large extent, both in typology and legal nature, it was conditioned by the evolution of medieval taxation. Tax records of many different types depending on the taxes due to raise, if they were direct or indirect, ordinary or extraordinary were developed. The agencies designed to ensure the full collection of them were primarily the Crown, councils and Jewish communities. And around them a large number of charges for the proper pursuit of such tasks was developed: enumerators, appraisers, dustpans, collectors, taskmasters, notaries, etc. It can be said, in short, that the register was a fundamental working tool for direct taxation council, without which we cannot understand either the starting point or the end of all the tax collection process.

Although it will be discussed in more detail when describing each of the standards, it should be noted that there is no longer a single documentary type. In its most basic conception, as a tax record it can consider any list of individuals made up mainly of military and economic needs, rather than the strictly demographic. Broadly speaking, according to the terminology employed by A. Collantes de Terán Sánchez\(^2\) and A. Romero Martínez\(^3\), there are three basic types to be identified that meet the various moments of the tax collection process:

a). Heritage or goods register (*Padrón de Patrimonio* o *padrón de bienes*). They were concocted in order to determine the value of the movable and immovable


property of the taxpayers. They are inhabitants’ registers, hence they report on the equity holdings of residents and the value thereof. With this valuation of goods was determined a tax base on which the tax levy.

b). Register on pricing or amounts (Padrón de tasación o de cuantías). Once the valuation of property is done, a tax base or tax rate was determined through a matching process. Assets of every neighbor were thus included in one or another level of tax rate previously determined by the councils in a graduation ranging from exclusion payment by default up to a maximum rate of tax base.

c). Register of taxation or distribution (Padrón de tributación o de repartimiento). It was the register with which the collecting practice was exercised because it gathered the exact amount that a neighbor should give to help in a certain distribution process after previous tax valuations undertaken in the standard pricing.

The emergence of Jewish neighbors in any kind of population record meets the requirement of them to contribute to the payment of a specific tax. In this regard, it should be remembered that from the fiscal point of view, the Jewish population had a very heavy burden: first, as a distinct religious minority, faced special payment of direct taxes to the Crown (cabeza de pecho, servicio and medio servicio, castellanos de oro), but it was also forced to pay certain taxes like the rest of the population in Castile, both real character – official currency, requests and coins, regular contribution of La Hermandad (the Brotherhood) – as municipal⁴. With this in mind, its presence in population records can be exclusive, that is to say, only Jewish neighbors are registered, or integrated, in the case where they appear along with the rest of the obligor population of a given locality.

Records with exclusive or integrated Jewish population are not really well known⁵. At least in the Spanish medieval documents there are very few samples. The most comprehensive so far is a tax record of Jews from Talavera de la Reina dated

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⁴ M.Á. Ladero Quesada, La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV, La Laguna 1973, p. 219.

1477-1478, published by F. Fita\textsuperscript{6} and subsequently published with critical notes by C. Carreter Parrondo\textsuperscript{7}. Although there is a copy in the Municipal Archive of Talavera, the original I have consulted is located in \textit{The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People} in Jerusalem\textsuperscript{8}. It is a record of goods where the heritage of a hundred sixty eight Jews from the Jewish community of Talavera de la Reina was valued. The total amount was 1,089,000 mrs.

Another unique Jewish tax record, perhaps less known, is that of Valdeolivas in the province of Cuenca. It was also published by F. Fita\textsuperscript{9} in 1888, based on the reading made by T. Domingo Palacio, municipal archivist of Madrid, who also transcribed the document that same year\textsuperscript{10}. This is a record on distribution of coins made in 1388 by don Çulemán Pardo and don Simuel Peralta validated before Pero Sanchez, Valdeolivas’ clerk. In his twenty neighbors said town Jewish names were recorded. The paper contained a registration of twenty Jewish names, residents of that village.

With a municipal character and local integrated Jewish population is the Register of Ciudad Rodrigo of 1486 which was developed in order to repair the bridge of the village with a final amount of 150,000 mrs; it was published by M. F. García Casar\textsuperscript{11}. The Jewish community of Ciudad Rodrigo participated in the spill including its neighbors - a total of 76 Jewish householders - in the general distribution.

An excellent example of the possibilities of having conveniently edited tax records is the last publication of M. Herrero Jimenez\textsuperscript{12} on several patterns of commoners from Olmedo (Valladolid), years 1482, 1483 and 1501-1504 as well as the related to Bonilla de la Sierra (Avila), years 1478, 1484 and 1489. Just as helpful are the

\textsuperscript{6} "Padrón de los judíos de Talavera que se hizo entre los años 1477 y 1478", \textit{Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia} II (1833), pp. 321-327.

\textsuperscript{7} "Talavera de la Reina y su comunidad judía. Notas críticas al padrón de 1477-1478", \textit{En la España Medieval} 1 (1980), pp. 43-57.

\textsuperscript{8} Signature 1724, \textit{vid.} \url{http://sites.huji.ac.il/cahjp/}

\textsuperscript{9} "Padrón de los judíos de Valdeolivas", \textit{Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia} XII, 1 (1888), pp. 6-8.

\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Documentos del Archivo General de la villa de Madrid}, 1888, doc. XXXVI, pp. 237-240.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Fontes Iudaicorum Regni Castellae VI. El pasado judío de Ciudad Rodrigo}, Salamanca 1992, pp. 72-116; The Jewish population in pp. 93-95 and pp. 103-105.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Padrones y registros notariales medievales abulenses en el Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid}, Ávila 2010.
registration notebooks that occasionally pick up new Jewish settlers, as is the case studied by J. Castaño and S. Rey Granell for Villalón (Palencia) in the second half of the 15th century. This type of documentation is the basis for further demographic and anthroponomic studies that can be of great interest. It should be noted, however, that not all registers preserved before 1492 have necessarily references to Jewish neighbors. And hence the great difficulty that I have had locating the ten tax records I edit. It depends on the nature of the register itself and the object with which they were developed so the Jewish community had not always to be included.  

At other times, it may refer to the overall contribution of the Jewish community in a particular distribution, without giving news of the continuous tax collection process record or the register officers of the Jewish community would have had to develop.

2.2. Description of the edited sources

The ten tax records edited in this study from Urueña (1) Dueñas (4), Saldaña (3), Hita (1) and Medina de Pomar (1) are essentially preserved in the Sala of Hijosdalgo, Protocolos y Padrones section of the Archive of the Royal Court and Chancery of Valladolid. It is convenient to briefly describe the context in which these records appear in this section in particular. The Protocolos y Padrones section is, strictly speaking, a factitious collection depending directly on Sala de Hijosdalgo because all the documents have been extracted from nobility lawsuits from that Sala. The Old Court and Real Chancery of Valladolid, founded in 1371 and restructured in 1489 with new ordinances by the Catholic Monarchs, had direct jurisdiction over nobility lawsuits, who were reviewed at first instance. There went all those who wanted to have an official recognition of their status as Hidalgo (noble), which, in the case of

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13 Vid. E. Pedruelo Martín, ‘El archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid. Description instruments and access systems to its documentation, Investigaciones Históricas: Época Moderna y Contemporánea, 23 (2003), pp. 273-282. On This section, vid. also, Mª. S. Martín Postigo – C. Domínguez Rodríguez, La Sala de Hijosdalgo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, Valladolid 1990.

confirmed, relieved him, among other privileges, to contribute to the treasury as a commoner neighbor. There was also the possibility that bodies such as the local councils began litigations against individuals for refusing to contribute with a specific tax or spill declaring themselves exempt, fact that justified the start of the lawsuit in Chancery.

Throughout the case, both parties delivered the necessary documentary evidence to prove or invalidate the status of noble alleged by the plaintiff. This is the reason that explains the inclusion of copies and original documents, such as privileges, wills, weapon certificates, nobility enforceable actions, notarial registers, etc. in these lawsuits. The tax records were a common proof to justify the extent neighbor condition (that do not pay taxes). In fact, in the Protocolos y Padrones section, it have been counted two thousand and forty-two documentary units drawn from the reference lawsuits, mostly copies and originals of municipal character records from 1420-1875. With all, it should be noted that the number of documents stored prior to the sixteenth century is relatively modest. In many cases, lawsuits incorporate incomplete transfers of some old tax records, selecting only the relevant information treated in Court. In others, however, original copies were delivered and even originals as separate parts, which are those able to be extracted from the reference case.

2.2.1. Padrón of Hita (Guadalajara)

This tax record was located in the Sala de Hijosdalgo (signature 458/3) within litigation faced by his nobility Juan Hurtado de Encinas and his sons Nicolas Ordóñez Hurtado and Ana María Hurtado Vaca, neighbors of Uceda (Guadalajara) and Málaga during the years of 1546-1578. The suit contains a copy of a mid-16th century record of distribution of the town of Hita (Guadalajara), dated in 1456. The distribution was made to pay for the reconstruction of the villa’s fencing for the following year. The distribution includes both Christian and Jewish neighbors, so it can be considered a fairly complete census of the total tax payer population of the village. Neighbor payers were included in different categories: knights and squires (fols. 13v -23v) The Jewish

community (fol. 24 r – 31 v) general population in the village (fol. 31 v – 35 v) and settlers (fol. 35 v – 36 r).

It is an important record because it collects a hundred seventeen Jewish names, that is, all members of the Jewish community in Hita in 1450 subject to taxation. Although a very detailed study on Hita’s Jewish community was already published, it is the first documentary news of a census of population, supplementing the inventory made on Jewish property in Hita in 1492, some of whose owners reappear in this record. The total amount with which the Jewish Community of Hita contributes to this distribution was two thousand seven hundred and three maravedíes and two cornados.

2.2.2. Padrón of Urueña (Valladolid)  
This record is also part of a nobility lawsuit (Sala de Hijosdalgo, signature 402/24). In this case, Francisco de la Sierra, a resident of Urueña, pleaded at the hearing in 1550 for his noble status. The incorporated record is also a copy of a lost original that refers to the martiniega tax for the year of 1464. It is a tax record with integrated Jewish-Christian population, rising to 63 paying neighbors in total (twenty Jewish and forty two Christian neighbors). This is not a complete census of the entire population, since in the culmination of it there is an indication that the copy is partial and not all residents were removed from the original record. In any case, it is significant enough to get a rough idea of the existing paying population in this small village at the end of the 15th century and, above all, of its Jewish community, whose members themselves are recorded in full. In this distribution the amount paid by the Jewish community of Urueña amounted to 1253 maravedíes.

2.2.3. Padrones of Saldaña (Palencia)  
Three tax records from the town of Saldaña, one from the Municipal Archive of Saldaña and the other two kept in the Archive of the Royal Chancery of Valladolid are published. The first is included in a book of resolutions of the Council of Saldaña (leg. 19, fol. 16v) and consists of a distribution for the expenses of maintenance of the

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bridge and near the village in which also participated squires and paying neighbors, besides the Jews. The document is original but it is not dated. For anterior and posterior entries of the council minute book it is reasonable to think that it was written ca. 1563-1464. They appear in it a total of forty-two Jews, with twenty squires and two clergymen; there is no record, however, of the number of common neighbors of the town that must have been numerous. All Jews contributed with fifteen maravedies, so the total amount paid by the Jewish Community was six hundred and thirty maravedies. As I mentioned, the other two records come from the Sala de Hijosdalgo of the Archive of the Royal Chancery of Valladolid. They are copies of the second half of 16th century incorporated to the nobility lawsuit initiated by Damián Díez de Rábago and Gregorio, Martín and Roque Díez de Rábago in 1573 (Hijosdalgo, signature 902/2). It is a voluminous litigation of eight parts, being located the two tax records on part No. 7.

The first padrón is a record of distribution (padrón de repartimiento) whose cause is unknown, but in which the Jewish community is included in the collation or neighborhood of San Martin. Here, thirty-eight Christian neighbors were registered (fols15 v. - 20 v), then the names of fifty-eight Jews were recorded (. 22 v - 24r), but the spatial allocation in the village is not entirely clear. In relation with the previous census, around twenty Jewish names are repeated which can serve as a reference for dating, being not that chronologically far from the other. In any case, we can say that this is a padrón of the second half of the 15th century.

The second padrón is from the same suit and is a later copy of a distribution made in 1474 for the payment of the cáñama (amount owed) between commoners and Jews of the town, although the specific object of the distribution is unknown, which totaled six thousand one hundred and four maravedies, being 1700 maravedies the amount paid by the Jewish community. In this document appear sixty-one Jewish names (fols 20 v - 22 r.); but in relation to Jews cited in the other tax records, only about twelve names are repeated. They were not the only records that joined this lawsuit but unfortunately in them there is no Jewish population.
2.2.4. Padrón of Medina de Pomar (Burgos)

The record of Medina de Pomar is of exceptional importance for being an original tax record of its former jurisdiction of the year 1477 and the only preserved for this villa containing Jewish population. It is also kept in the Sala de Hijosdalgo (signature 739/5) and proceeds from the lawsuit filed by Juan Salinas del Olmo, a resident of Medina de Pomar, during the years of 1549-1552. Strictly speaking, it is not a definite distribution tax record, but rather a relationship of notes on payments of the moneda forera tax. In any case, in this pattern is recorded virtually the entire Jewish quarter with a total of fifty-three Jews and other references, such as the name of the recipient of these amounts, Salamón Hamores. The tax record collects payments of the Jewish quarter (fols. 1r – 1v) and then that concerning other points of the neighborhood (fols. 2r – 11v).

2.2.5. Padrones de Dueñas (Palencia)

The located set of four registers from the town of Dueñas, Palencia constitute a significant contribution to this research. They all come from the same Royal Chancery lawsuit, engaged in 1555 by Juan de Arévalo Nieto, neighbor of Sarracín (Burgos). As proof of nobility the litigant showed a book containing original records, all dated between 1488-1489 (Sala de Hijosdalgo, signature 484/8). In a rather deteriorated booklet a record of distribution is included of the martiriega tax and peones (laborers) for the war of Granada, dated between 1488-1489, related to the gang or neighborhood of Santa Maria de Dueñas, with a total of one hundred sixty four common paying neighbors. Among them, the payment of thirty Jews (fols. 1 r – 4 v) is recorded. The second document collects payments from the gang or Santotis neighborhood for the same years and concept, in which case there is twenty six references to Jewish names (fols. 11r - 15 r) out of a hundred seventy-one common neighbors. The third included padrón refers back to the gang of Santa Maria and consists of a pattern of distribution (padron de repartimiento) of moneda forera tax in 1489. In this case, out of a total of one hundred seventy Christian neighbors, twenty Jewish commoners are collected (fols 19 - 19 v). Although some Jews match with previous records, most of them are listed for the first time. Unlike other tax records, the amount paid by each member of the Jewish community was set to be 16
maravedies. Finally, the fourth tax record corresponds to the distribution *(repartimiento)* made in 1489 of the *moneda forera* tax in the *quadrilla* or Santotis neighborhood. It is very similar to the second register, with a distribution of twenty six Jews (fol 25 r - 25 v) in front of a total of one hundred twenty nine Christian commoner neighbors. As discussed below, however, the comparative study of anthroponymic designations in this tax records are of special interest.

This original notebook contains other tax records of other neighborhoods, such as Santa Cruz and San Martin (fol 5 r - 10 r, 27 r - 29 v), but there are no Jewish inhabitants located. No doubt this is an exceptional piece from the municipal archive of the council of Dueñas that, for reasons unknown to us, went to the Chancery as proof of the lawsuit. As we will shortly comment, the lawsuit also included a further copy of these records (fols. 32 - 81 v).

### 2.3. Editing and presentation criteria

The editing of these *padrones* with a paleographic and appropriate scientific criteria has meant facing various difficulties, not always easy to resolve. First, it is noteworthy that this type of tax documentation is particularly cumbersome, since, in addition to the corresponding lists of commoner neighbors, the sums owed are included thus becoming real time fiscal accounts. To keep the authenticity of these documents, in transcribing the records was decided to also include the amounts allocated to each taxpayer compliance respecting, as far as possible, the spatial distribution of such annotations.

In any case, the transcription tasks have focused on developing a truthful and organized list of names of Jewish taxpayers in each of the tax records. For this, they are properly numbered in brackets [1], [2], [3], etc. respecting the order and repetition (when they do) in different records. With this, a tight reproduction of the document fiscal reality is obtained, but also a suitable arrangement for the analysis and study of onomastic information.

Given the particular nature of every document, it has being respected the way in which the Jewish names are presented. Thus, where the Jewish population is listed continuously *(vgr.* Hita, Saldaña, Medina de Pomar, Dueñas) only the names of the Jews and not the full record have been transcribed, because adding the names of
Christian commoners would not have contributed to anything in the subject of this investigation and, on the contrary, it would unnecessarily increase the volume of documentation transcribed. Only in the case of the tax record of Urueña (2) the mixture of Christian and Jewish settlers’ names has been respected, transcribing all the names and pointing out the Jewish ones in bold.

Other details of the editing procedure involves the system and transcription difficulties. Without entering paleographic issues and getting too technical, the manuscript graphics applications have been respected. This is a particularly important criteria to analyze the possible phonetic vacillations of the Jewish names and surnames and their graphical, own variation of the Castilian of the time and adaptation to the possible Hebrew terms.

In this sense, we followed the criteria for editing medieval texts defined years ago by P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja, both vowel and consonant aspects of transcription. The letter used in these standards is a courtly Gothic cursive (letra cortesana), especially in those that are original. In the copies of the second half of 16th century, predominates a letter more evolved towards the procedural court italic font (letra procesal). The difference between originals and copies is fundamental in understanding the transcribed forms. Usually the original documents, being so old resulted in copies quite difficult to read. We should add, moreover, that Jewish names were not always identifiable at first glance by the Christian notary. The most part of the dubious readings or corruptions in some names come from the tax records which are copies and, especially, in the documents of Hita (1) and two from Saldaña (3.2 and 3.3). By contrast, transcripts of the original padrones of Medina de Pomar (4) and Dueñas (5.1; 5.2; 5.3; 5.4), done with the necessary expertise, are much more reliable, since they have not been subjected to an onomastic reinterpretation process by the notary.

This issue is of great importance for several reasons: first, as a general rule, it should be noted that an erroneous or doubtful transcription of a name or a Jewish surname cannot ensure a proper onomastic analysis. Only in cases where the reading is completely safe it has been integrated into the anthroponomic study, without

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stopping to conveniently score in the editing of each tax record document the fact that it might be a dubious reading. On the contrary, it may fall easily on a misinterpretation of the anthroponym, as so often has happened to historians who ignore the Hispano-Jewish anthroponymic system. In the case of the four Dueñas’ tax records (5.1; 5.2; 5.3 and 5.4) it has been a special circumstance. Alongside the original, a copy is also included. Thus, by confronting both transcripts (the original and the copy) it can be seen best the possible misinterpretation of the notary. Obviously, always when possible, all transcripts offered in this research are made from the original record. Only in those cases where the copy is the only document preserved it has been transcribed from it, following the methodological precautions indicated before.

Other paleographic difficulties in which it was necessary to reflect was the use of capital letters, abbreviations development, and use of commas, as this affects the onomastic interpretation. Although discussed below, the capitalization or comma can determine, for example, the interpretation of a profession as a lexicalized form which happens to be considered then as a surname (vg. Diego Labrador / Diego, Labrador (Tiller) [Urueña: 3]; or the use of certain elements as names or nicknames.

In order for the transcript to be contrasted with the original manuscript it has also been incorporated a digital reproduction of documents. The aim is that any scholar can access and amend the original text or provide, if necessary, other ways of reading. In any case, the publication of these ten standards should be considered definite and correct. Only from this idea an onomastic analysis of the listed forms can be safely addressed.

3. Antroponimical and comparative study of the Jewish tax records

3.1.- Jewish Historical Background

One of the particular features of the edited padrones is that they refer to Castilian localities with a Jewish community barely known during the Middle Ages. All of them housed Jewish population but practically almost nothing was known about them as they were average localities mostly far from urban centers and, therefore, more complex to study from the historical point of view due to the notable absence of documentation. The villages of Medina de Pomar (Burgos), Urueña (Valladolid) Dueñas and Saldaña (Palencia) were located in the heart of medieval Castile and they were
influenced by the most outstanding Jewish centers at that moment, such as the cities of Burgos, Palencia and Valladolid. On the contrary, the town of Hita (Guadalajara) is located in the current community of Castilla-La Mancha, whose centers of expansion were mainly Toledo and Guadalajara. The importance of Jewish names published in each tax record should not be underestimated for they give a better understanding of Jewish past in these Castilian cores and significantly enlarges what is known about family and socio-professional structures in Jewish communities.

Hita’s Jewry was, after the capital, the most important of the present province of Guadalajara. Already in the 13th century its population was remarkable and by the 14th century they should have progressed notably. In any case, the period of splendor began when the Jewish quarter fell under the noble house of Mendoza, to whose family belonged Hita from the reign of Enrique II. So far what was known of the Jewish quarter of Hita was referred to the period immediately prior to the expulsion of Jews in 1492. The documentation provided by F. Cantera Burgos and C. Carrete Parrondo, as well as the most recent study by G. Viñuales, shows that at the time of the expulsion more than 500 Jews lived in Hita, many of whom were elderly and members or descendants of the most prominent families that appear on the edited padrones, as the Baquix, Alasán, Adaroque, the Porpolero, Alazraque and Pastrana.

As regards the town of Urueña, data from its Jewish community have been nonexistent to date. Only the recent monograph of C. Mier Leal offers the first news of this small community dating from 1469, in which the Jewish Salamón Bueno is documented, a surname also present in the register that concern us [Urueña: 2; 21; 32], giving for the first time news of the existence of the Jewish padrón that I entirely edit. The community, which may not come to constitute Jewry (aljama), was very small because in 1485 there were only 18 Jews married, very close to the number of Jews gathered in the census of 1464.

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Towards the second half of the fifteenth century there was more than thirty Jewish communities scattered throughout the province of Palencia. The one in Saldaña had a strategic and numerical importance because it was considered *aljama*, that is, with proper administrative and judicial independence, with cemetery, butchers, ritual baths and other community agencies. The monograph published by J. Mª Caballero González\(^\text{21}\) has provided many historical facts about this community, including some news about the tax records that I edit in this study. In 1290 the Jewish quarter of Saldaña was the smallest of the bishopric of Palencia and paid their taxes jointly with the Carrion community. The same situation is observed in the 15\(^\text{th}\) century, being very similar to the one in Dueñas. Some references on their synagogue were also collected by P. León Tello\(^\text{22}\), whose administration after the Jewish expulsion was in charge of the Duke of the Infantado who gave it in donation to an individual in 1493.

Dueñas’s Jewish past, although probably quite similar to Saldaña’s for both being Jewish average type communities, is least known. The first documented news dates from 1225, but at the end of the 8\(^\text{th}\) century they appear listed as one of the smaller communities in Castile. This was the fundamental characteristic also during the 14\(^\text{th}\) century as they suffered the assaults and looting caused by the Castilian Civil War in 1368, as the Hebrew chronicler Semuel Zarza\(^\text{23}\) tells. The four tax records of Dueñas thus constitute a document of exceptional interest to rebuild the unknown Jewish history of this town.

Much better known is the historical background of the Jewish community of Medina de Pomar. This village is located in Burgos, in the area of the Merindades, a natural gateway to the Cantabrian Mountains and close to the limits of the provinces of Santander, Biscay (= Vizcaya) and Alava. In the Middle Ages it was a very lively economic centre with outstanding Jewish communities such as Oña, Frías and Villarcayo. It is not surprising that the strategic value of this area as a doorway to the Cantabrian ports and gateway to the Meseta favoured the proliferation of the Jewish

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\(^{21}\) *La judería medieval de Saldaña* [on line], http://jmcaballero.blogspot.com.es/2010/12/la-jud%C3%ADa-medieval-de-salda\%C3\%B1a.html

\(^{22}\) *Los Judíos de Palencia*, Madrid 1967.

community, attracted by the socio-economic wealth of the area, all through the Middle Ages.

According to the updated studies of I. Cadiñanos Bardecí24, there is evidence of the Jewish presence in Medina de Pomar that dates back to the 13th century. However, because of the repopulation process, the presence of Jewish residents might be expected to date back to as early as the 10th and 11th centuries, although there is no documentary evidence. Even the charter for repopulation drawn up by Alfonso VIII lacks references to the Jewish community. In short, it can be stated that Jewish presence at these early stages did not play a decisive role in the onomastic uses of the time. The repopulation process mainly involved Mozarabs, hence the origin of the place name Medina de Pomar, Andalusian combined with a Latin etymon (Pomar) that was probably added to differentiate it from other “Medinas” of Castile (Medina del Campo, Medina de Rioseco, etc.

The proliferation of documents including Jewish names began in the 14th and 15th centuries due to the splendour the Jewish aljama acquired at the time under the protection and encouragement of the Velasco noble house. The administrative documents of the Velasco feudal estate, together with the royal documents available, are proof of the major role placed by Don Yuçá el Nasçí (=Yudá Nasí), tax collector of the Velasco estate for all the Merindades and royal lessor, who died in 1418. The form Yuça el Nasçí, (=Yehudá ha-Nasí; Yehudá el príncipe) is worth mentioning, drawing attention to the Castilian article it includes as a direct calque on the form of the Hebrew article. This is a hardly systematized procedure in the designation of Jewish aliases with parallels with other medieval place surnames of Semitic origin such as el-Balencí, el-bargeloní, Al-mugribí, etc. The spelling and phonetic evolution of Yuça el Nasçí, as well as its geographical distribution would require, however, a slightly more detailed case study within the general context of the transfer of the Arabic and Hebrew article into Spanish medieval onomastics. In any case, regardless of the new onomastic evidence that is offered with the edition of its tax record, the roster of Jews

in Medina de Pomar between the 13th century and the late 15th century that we have knowledge of so far, includes about 67 proper names in all.

3.2.- Uses, etymology and designation structures of proper names

Throughout this study it should not be forgotten that the anthroponymic system used by Iberian medieval Jews hardly differed from the general system of anthroponymic designation of the late Middle Ages among the Christian population in Castile. Unlike Hispano-Arab onomastic applications, much more determined in their structure by specific features of Semitic origin (kunya, nasab –lineage- nisba –relation and laqab), the nominal designation among the Jewish population quickly adapted to the local custom, usually defined by the binary sequence: First name + last name. With this in mind, the Spanish-Jewish onomastic system present certain peculiarities especially in the designing system of proper names. The comparative analysis between these ten padrones leaves no doubt as to the biblical origin of most of them, representing a clear brand identity and differentiation from the designative use among Christians.

The cast of names should be done distinguishing the male names from the female names. The first mark, so to speak, the general trend of the Hispano-Jewish anthroponymy given that in the case of female anthroponymy other difficult outstanding issues must be addressed, such as the proliferation of nicknames, the constant presence of marks referred to men as well as a contextual matter, like the low representation of women in these tax sources.

Given its size, the tax record of Hita (1) can serve as a guide to offer some of the most important features related to the distribution and frequency of male names among Iberian medieval Jews. They are mostly names of biblical origin, emphasizing

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among others the forms derived from the Heb. *Yishaq: Caque* [Hita: 2, 11, 28, 36, 37, 59, 84, 86], *Zaque* with affricate š sound realization [Hita: 47, 113, 117]; short forms as Çag [Hita, 32]; or particularly corrupt ways Yunças [Hita 74]. *Moseh:* consistently with the form Monsé [Hita: 4, 15, 25, 34, 35, 41, 49, 60, 61, 107]; Elizezer with frequent vowel hesitation, Lazar / Lezar [Hita: 13, 78]; Aliase [Hita: 16, 71], with devoicing trend of the zain as in Lesar [Hita: 3], Lasar [Hita 77], and in its exceptionally etymological form Aliáser [Hita: 115]. Other Biblical names often used, usually taken from patriachs or prophets are widely used. Thus, Heb. Šemu’el, with vowel hesitation Simuel [Hita 38], Sumuel [Hita: 50, 111]; Samuel [Hita, 73]; Heb. Ya’aqob systematically Jacó [Hita: 9, 21, 27, 39, 52, 67, 72, 85, 110], Heb. Selomoh, as Solomon [Hita, 10, 29, 75, 83]; Heb. Yosef, with a tendency to sound, Yuzé [Hita: 14, 17, 53]; or finally Heb. Yehudah, with abbreviated forms like Yuzás [Hita: 18, 26]; Hudá [Hita 24], Yunças [Hita 66]. There is hardly any differentiation with male uses present in the rest of the registers, to which can be added: Heb. ‘Abraham, shaped like Abraan [Urueña 32]; Abraham [Urueña 47]; Abraham [Saldana: 3.1, 1; 3.2, 15, 18]; Abrahem [Medina de Pomar: 40]. Given such widespread use, it is interesting to point out less frequently men designations, but also those of biblical origin, such as Yusías [Hita: 12]; Ysrael [Hita: 57]; Aarón [Hita: 83; Saldaña 3.1, 30]; Ajías [Saldana 3.2, 49]; Osúa [Hita: 63; 104].


In spite of all, the published tax records provide isolated applications of great interest. Thus, the use as a common name to Christians and Jews of the form Fierro [Dueñas: 5.3, 28]; or, what a priori is more strange, the exclusive use of Christian names by Jews, a very significant fact in the register of Hita in which is not conceivable the spontaneous inclusion of Christian population that is recorded separately. Thus, between the Jewish community we find: Juan Baquix [Hita, 5] Martin Çurajón [Hita:

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59]; Garçi Rodrigo [Hita 90]. Possibly a misreading of the notary answers the frequency of the form Abinse [Hita: 33, 40, 43, 46, 48, 97, 98, 99, 100], perhaps from Aben Ça.

As noted, feminine anthroponymy is more conditioned by the nature of published sources in which women are under-represented and often referred to in terms of household heads. This is the reason why they hardly appear in the records. In any case, their presence usually indicates a high family socioeconomic status, or degree of independence, possibly because cases of widowhood or professional specialization. Thus, of the total set of records, just structures with labels of social distinction are found in Doña Paloma [Hita: 2, 79], Doña Jamila [Hita 89] Doña Ordueña [Hita: 105] Doña Bienbenida [Urueña: 30], Doña Ester [Urueña 24]. The rest of appointments respond to structures with certain labels, referring to conjugal or fraternal affiliation: the one of don Samuel [Hita: 7]; Clara, wife of don Yzes [Hita: 116]; Gabay's wife [Urueña 26]; the Santo Morejon’s wife [Saldaña, 3.1, 16]; the one of Sentó Alalú [Dueñas, 5.2, 15]; the sister of Ysaque Así [Saldaña, 3.1, 57]. Versus the individualized nomination of very low productivity in the registers, like the unique case of Catalina [Saldaña, 3.2, 8], references to Jewish women with indefinite marks as toponymical references or professional nature nicknames or spousal affiliation are much more frequent. Thus, for example, there are paradigmatic uses such as la Rabisa [Hita: 58]; la comadre [Hita 88], la Vitona [Saldaña, 3.3, 36], la Partala [Dueñas. 5.1, 14; 5.3, 10], La judia de la Parra [Dueñas 5.2, 1], la pellyjera [Dueñas, 5.2, 24]. As can be observed in the case of Medina de Pomar, the overall trend in women’s anthroponymic designations is to adopt culturally unmarked names, being shared by both Christian and Jewish, except for some concrete cases in which Arabized ways were adopted, Jamila [Hita, 89].

As far as allocation structures concern, the studied records confirm some of the classifications made by R. Cuadros Muñoz29 in the case of documents on Christian population, those applied by R. Muñoz Solla30 to several Jewish population records in Treviño County. Instead of unit designations, personal identification of each commoner

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(tax payer) is pretty much guaranteed in these tax records using a binary structure that normally consists in a name + surname sequence\(^\text{31}\).

As just noted, religious identification is mainly established by proper names, but not in all cases, because it is possible to find situations in which surnames are also marks that indicate affiliation with the Jewish community. In these cases, exclusively, one can speak of genuine Jewish names, while in the rest, at most, one can speak of shared surnames in both onomastic systems, Christian and Jewish. In the edited records appendix is well accounted in page footnotes of the diverse origins of the most common surnames, so it does not seem necessary to dwell on it. By the contrary, a more detailed study of names is provided below that can serve as a general model of analysis for all tax records given that the procedures used in all of them are very similar.

### 3.3. A case study: Medina de Pomar tax records and onomastic analysis

The list of tax-payers is short, four sheets of paper written on both sides with two headings. On the one hand, the first three sheets are a record of the residents who “are still to pay the money”. The last sheet contains information about the maravedis already collected by a Jewish tax collector named Salamón Hamores. From a referential approach, attention must be drawn to the fact that the Jewish community as a whole is under a heading that reads “in the Jewish quarter”, as opposed to the rest of the villages under the Velasco house control, obviously occupied by Christian population (thus, La Riba, Recuerco, Santander, Villatomil, Çançosa, Salinas, Vetares, Çéspedes). This is common practice in this type of documents, showing the spatial segregation and concentration of the Jewish population within the urban layout of Medina de Pomar. Interestingly, the list of Jewish tax payers (pecheros) is at the beginning of the register, unlike the case with other documents of this kind, where it may appear at the end. All seems to lead to the conclusion that, even in the drawing up of these tax records, the Jewish population was treated as a separate group within

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the municipality, which followed a spatial criterion where the “Jewish quarter” was seen as a different neighbourhood or quarter.

3.3.1 Designation and reference procedures

The section corresponding to the Jewish quarter of Medina de Pomar, which extends over both sides of the first sheet of the tax record includes the names of 53 Jews: 33 men and 20 women. Nonetheless, this is not the final number of Jews recorded on this tax record, since some of the entries include references to more than one Jew. Considering this, the number total is 68 names (48 men and 20 women).

As is well known, in the 11th century the Jewish minority began to adopt the same system of naming as the Christian population, steering away from the specific structures that, especially during the Andalusian period, they had applied following the model of the Arabic anthroponomical system, as is the case with certain court poets (who could use both their Hebrew and Arabic name) and medieval Jewish scribes (who followed more complex anthroponomical forms, also of Andalusian influence, in their colophons). As opposed to these uses, in this case we are before simple structures that are common to the onomastic uses of the Christian population and that are characterized by their binary form (name + surname). With all, the range of designation procedures is wide enough to attempt their classification according to two criteria: 1) Type of designation structure (unitary, two-part or three-part). 2) Type of referential structure (when an individual is designated in connection with another).

3.3.2 Types of designation structures

The Unitary structure, meaning the presence of only one name (generally proper), is rare. This could be due to the need for individualization required by the designation process, which means that reference to the person concerned is to be clear and allow for quick identification. There is only one instance of this in the reference to the Jew Ospina [Medina de Pomar: 1]. In this case, it may be considered a proper name, although in other documentary sources it appears as a surname.

A more common procedure within the unitary structure is to add to the proper name an indication of trade, social and/or religious status, either as a determinant or as an adjacent component. This is the case of Abrahân, físico (physicist) [Medina de
Pomar: 2] or Habino, mantero (blanket maker) [Medina de Pomar:3], -with a mark that clearly indicates their trade-. However, in these cases, especially in the first one, the lexicalization of the trade mark does not appear to have taken place, so that it cannot be interpreted as a surname; in the case of Habino, mantero, as in many other instances, this is not so clear. Other examples are Doña Vrucara [Medina de Pomar: 7], Doña Hermosa [Medina de Pomar: 16] or Doña Soloro [Medina de Pomar: 38], with the mark of social distinction doña.

A last example of the unitary structure is that of the unnamed, involving structures characterized by an absence of the proper name, which is replaced by an individualizing socio-religious mark. In this tax record, there are only two cases, both of great interest, since the marks are related to administrative positions in the Jewish quarter. Thus, el procurador [Medina de Pomar: 29], the attorney or muqqadem of the Jewish quarter; or the feminine reference La gabaya [Medina de Pomar: 47], a clear translation into Spanish of the Hebrew term gabbay, “tax collector” of the Jewish quarter. This is obviously a reference to the “gabbay’s wife”, and can almost be interpreted as an alias or nickname. Morphologically, the Spanish form of the Hebrew term, gabaya, resulting from the addition of the mark of feminine singular –a, deserves to be underscored. Finding a Spanish form for Hebrew terms is not unusual (vgr. Carne caser – carne caserada; tebilá – atebilada, etc.), although it is not as common in medieval Jewish onomastics.

The two-part structure is the one that appears most frequently in all the tax records edited. It is the most characteristic procedure in late medieval onomastics and involves a proper name and a surname. In Medina de Pomar’s padrón there are 13 instances of this structure: Salamón Carrasco [6], Yudá Mañán [9] Salamón Bahalú [10] Yuçe Bahalú [20] Salamón Medina [21] Čag Agudo [23] Hayn Sotiel [33], Salamón Harditi [35], Yudá Bahalú [36], Yudá Sotiel [42], Sentó Mañán [45], Salamón Toví [49] Salamón Mañán [50]. Surnames as toponymic marks are also very common. This leads to the possibility of speaking about detoponymic two-part structures. Thus, Yuçe de Harajas [38], Jacó de Arroyuelo [53]. As regards Salamón Medina [21] the detoponymic motivation was presumuably lost, although considering the village where he resided (Medina de Pomar), it originally worked as a toponomyc.
With regard to three-part structures, it should be noted that from the 15\textsuperscript{th} century onwards their use becomes more frequent, giving way to later structures consisting of a proper name and two surnames, which will finally become established during the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries. In these cases, the two-part structure is complemented either with an alias or nickname, or with a socio-religious identification mark, this last one generally in prepositive position. Examples of the first case are: *Habino Carrasco, el de Villasana* [1]; *Salamón Hayín, el viejo* [11]; and of the second: *Don Jacó Bahalú* [17], *Doña Sol Vellida* [30], *Don Ça de Arroyuelo* [44], *Rabí Sentó Leal* [24], *Don Ça Mañán* [46].

### 3.3.3. Types of referential structure

The referential structures used are especially important in padrones because they are the ideal procedure to accurately identify individuals. The most outstanding characteristic of these structures is that the names (regardless of whether their structure is unitary, two-part or three-part) are accompanied by a referential mark that is always associated to another individual. Therefore, the person concerned is identified by reference to another individual.

The most common form in the tax record of Medina de Pomar is the *patronymic mark*: individuals are defined through their family filiation, generally paternal (“hijo de”, that is, “son of”). Thus: *Jacó, fijo de Hauino Hayín* [5]; *Mosé Amiel, fijo de Symuel Amiel* [8]; *Jacó, fijo de don Ça Leal* [14]; *Jacó, fijo de don Mosé Leal* [27].

Family filiation can also be established by reference to the immediately preceding name on the padrón. The person referred to is usually the father, although there are cases where it might be the mother. In any event, these cases are always in connection with first-generation family members. Thus: *Yuçe, su fijo* [4] (of Habino, 3); *Yontó, su fijo* [6] (of Salamón Carraso, 6: in the same entry); *Symuel, su fijo* [13] (of Mosé la Torre’s wife, 12); *Mosé, su fijo* [41] (of Abraham Amico’s wife, 40); *Mosé, su fijo* [51] (of Yudá Pajón’s wife 51: in the same entry, although here the referent is ambiguous and could be the father or the mother).

Finally, family filiation can also be recorded in the same entry. This is especially the case with women, since it is usual for them to be unnamed, preferring indirect reference: The granddaughter of don Salamón Leal [37], *La nieta de Don Salamón Leal*;
The wife of Salamón de Frías and their children [43], *la muger de Salamón de Frías y sus hijos*; The granddaughters of Salamón Aguado [52], *La nieta de Salamón Aguado*.

Alongside this is the procedure of naming women through a substantivized structure including their husband’s name, which acts as a referent. This is the most common procedure in the padrón of Medina, appearing eight times: *La de Mosé Latorre* [12], *La de don Ça Hase* [15], *la de Mosé Touí* [18], *la de Symuel de Najar* [19], *la de Don Abrahem Mañán* [34], *la de Yuçe de Harajas* [39], *la de Abrahem Amico* [40]; *la de Yudá Pajón e Mosé, su fijo* [51].

3.3.4. Proper names and surnames

There are not many peculiarities regarding the use and variation of Jew’s proper names, women’s or men’s. Generally speaking, this padrón, as well as the rest of those edited from Dueñas, Urueña, Hita and Saldaña, as we have already said, reflects the traditional uses found in other documentary sources and records listing Jewish population.

Thus, for example, it is not surprising that most of the male names are biblical, Salomón, Mosé and Jacó being the most quoted, followed in frequency by *Yudá* [4], *Yuçé* [4], *Abrahán* [3], *Simuel* [3] and *Ysaque* [1]. All these names have positive connotations, referring to patriarchs and prophets, and are aimed at giving continuity to the anthroponomical tradition of biblical origin. These names were given a Spanish form and adapted to the phonetic features and syllabic spelling characteristic of 15th-century Spanish. In addition to these names, there are some of postbiblical tradition, with a sufficiently well-known etymology, that were very frequently used in medieval Castile, such as *Ça* [15] (short for Yshaq, and its spelling variants, Çag, Çad, Çague), *Sentó* [45] (Heb. Shem Tov), *Yontó* [6](Heb. Yom Tob) and *Hayn* [33](=heb. Hayyim, ‘life’).

On the other hand, it is much more interesting to briefly comment on female names. There are not many, since, as already mentioned, the identification procedures followed often avoided women’s proper name. Consequently, we can assume that those women whose names are explicitly stated are of higher social status than the rest. Therefore, the fact that all the names quoted are preceded by the social distinction mark, *doña* in medieval times, is no coincidence. In the padrón of Medina
de Pomar, there is only one instance where this mark is also used as a proper name, *Doña, la de Rabí Ça Leal*, this being a case of monoptongized form of “Dueña” (from Latin, *Donna*).

Morphologically speaking, there is a preference for name formation through *composition*: thus, Vrucara (=Oro + cara [gold + face]); Soloro (=Sol + Oro [sun + gold]). In these compounds the stress lies on one of the values that should supposedly characterize the woman named: feminine values, at the time, such as beauty, courage, modesty, perfection, etc., usually pictured through the use of precious gems or metals, such as gold. A specific case is that of *Sol Uellida* [30], since it seems that we are before a name + surname structure, despite the fact that Vellida was usually used as a proper name. Its use as a surname might be explained by analogy with its male correlate *Vellido*, recorded much more frequently as a Jewish surname.

The form of all these female names proves the general idea that the anthroponomical system for Jewish and Christian women was not much different. Both groups shared the names with no specific reference to their religious affiliation. Unlike the case with men, there are hardly any female names of biblical origin in Spanish-Jewish medieval onomastics. This may be because it was not really necessary to define women’s socio-religious situation, since their status was mostly defined by that of their husband’s (except in the case of widows) and they did not play relevant roles in the liturgy of the synagogue, where men, on the other hand, were addressed by their names when the Torah was read.

With regard to the surnames included in this tax record of Medina de Pomar, they can be divided into two groups: those used indistinctly by Christians and Jews (such as Carrasco [1], La Torre, Leal [24], Medina [21], Agudo [23], de Frías, de Arroyuelo [44], Pajón [51], Harajas [39]), and those exclusive of Jews (such as Haýn, Amiel [8], Bahalú [10], Touí [18], Sotiel [42], Harditi [35], Hasé [15]. In the case of the Jewish group, it is essential to define a reliable etymology, understandable from a phonetic point of view in those cases where the etymons are less evident, as well as to consider its geographical distribution in further detail.

Interesting from the etymological point of view are the theophoric surnames *Amiel, Sotiel*, whose different spellings and geographical distribution are better documented than the ones of the aforementioned. In the case of *Harditi*, as opposed
to Faiguenboim, Its sense should not be considered with the meaning of “burnt”, “burning”, according to Latin or Romance etymology, although the fact that documentation for the period before 1492 is scare makes the forwarding of a hypothesis difficult. Neither do later proposals regarding the extensive use of this surname among Sephardic Jews, shed light on this issue.

On a separate issue, the repetition of identical surnames throughout this padrón could be proof of the existence of several Jewish families with a particularly outstanding social status. Examples are the Leal family, with six members; the Bahalú family, with four; or the Mañán family, with five. The census allows for a first prosopographical approach to the kinship structures and the socio-economic significance of these families within the Jewish community. This type of analysis is especially fruitful if it is made extensive to the Jewish quarters and aljamas in the area, since members of a same family generally set up economic and common solidarity networks throughout the whole region. Thus, it is not surprising to find similar surnames in other nearby places, which facilitates the genealogic study of specific family lines and their influence at the regional level.

4. The Sephardi connection

As a result of the expulsion of the Jews from the Spanish kingdoms, the onomastic system used until then by Jewish communities, which, as pointed out on several occasions barely differed from the anthroponymic structures of the Christian population, began to be influenced by the onomastic uses of the different destination places. The influences of other designation systems developed mostly along the Mediterranean basin (Maghreb, Balkans and former territories of the Ottoman Turkish Empire) determined the evolution of the designation procedures. Thus, gradually, Greek, Arabic, Slavic and Turkish origin names were incorporated among the members of Jewish communities welcomed in these territories of the diaspora. Yet, as recently

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demonstrated by M. Tagger\textsuperscript{34} in her study on sephardic given names, Sephardic onomastic tradition did not completely disappear. Many Jews continued to use the old names of Hispanic roots, mixing and evolving phonetic, visual and semantically by contact with other languages.

This continuity of onomastic use allows a bridge to be established between the results discussed in this study, devoted to Iberian medieval Jewish onomastics, with modern uses of the Jewish onomastics in the Sephardic tradition. However, the basic question to be asked is what is the correct interpretation of these shared uses among medieval-Hispanic Jews and Sephardic Jews and how this connection can be demonstrated in all cases in a reliable way.

These issues have come to have a real importance in actuality as a direct consequence of the Spanish nationality law for the Jews of Sephardic origin. On June 25th, 2015, the Spanish Government approved the Law on Spanish citizenship for those Sephardim Jews who can prove their Iberian origins. The Law is expected to be an official recognition for those descendants of the Jews expelled of 1492, as well as an easy and practical way to obtain an European passport without losing the previous citizenship they have, as it was determined in previous and parcial laws. The administrative process for that requires some of these evidences:

a). A Certificate corresponding from rabbinical authorities (Jewish Federation of Spanish Jewish Communities, FCJE or similar where the applicant resides) stating their Sephardim origin or connections.

b). The use or knowledge of ladino or hakética as an evidence of sephardic familiar tradition.

c). The Ketubbá with reference to Castilian Jewish marriage traditions: “As it is the custom of the exiles”.

d) Some practical tests of knowledge of Spanish languages and culture

e). Finally, and this is what I would like to emphasize, the Law establishes the possibility to submit A motivated report that states the sephardic origin of surnames of the applicant.

\textsuperscript{34} Dictionary of Sephardic Given Names, New Haven: Avotaynu, 2015, especially, pp. 1-19.
Surnames of Sephardic origin become in the law an historical evidence to prove the connection with the history of Jews in Sepharad. Although there has not been established a very specific criteria to determine the suitability of this motivated report on Sephardic surnames, there is no doubt that genealogical research can take advantage of the first stages of the Sephardic onomasticon system, that is, that referred to the pre-1492/1497 Expulsion.

Actually, Sephardim surnames can give us information about the origins of a family as well as their cultural traditions. But, first and foremost, it is a clear evidence of the feeling of sharing a common history, where Jewish identity continued alive during centuries after Expulsion. All this, in spite of the acculturation processes that also can be traced through the analysis of surnames, reflected in linguistic phenomena, such as phonetic shifts, graphic variations, dialectal differences or the influence of foreign onomastic systems. A clear example of how an original Spanish surname can be interpreted as a genuine sephardic one is Béjar case. With the support of the Jewish Museum Davíl Mellul of Béjar (in the province of Salamanca, Spain), in 2004 an international meeting of people named Béjar (with its different variations) was organised in Béjar to commemorate the presence in the village of many Jewish with this surname. In words of one of the organisers, Iako Iossef Behar, “the meeting gave us the opportunity to understand our own history and to have new relations with the Christian community of Béjar”. Some other initiatives like this have been organised all over the world, joining Jewish members with more genuine Jewish surnames such as Shealtiel or Abravanel.

As far as Hispano-Jewish surnames is concerned, we have to pay attention on some publications that, at least, can be confusing: the two volumes of Pere Bonnin\(^\text{35}\), for example, is supposed to gather an extensive list of ‘original’ Jewish surnames. This sort of lists, contrary to what should be expected, are misleading and they do not support any scientific anthoponimical analysis: surnames of Christian origin are mixed with genuine Jewish ones, but also with converso surnames or surnames from different geographical areas, that could have been shared both by Christians and Jewish population. Summing up, these kind of works obscures rather than clarifies the

\(^{35}\text{Sangre judía. Españoles de ascendencia hebre y antisemitismo cristiano;}\text{ Madrid: La Flor del Viento, 2006; Sangre judía 2. La Brillante estela de los españoles expulsados;}\text{ Madrid: La flor del Viento, 2010.}\)
origin, etymology and usages of Sephardic surnames and, consequently, in the new Law of Nationality, are not going to be taken into account because of this very weak evidence.

Another branch of the problem about sephardic surnames is the increasingly importance of movements of return to Judaism and the value given by anusim to Jewish surnames as a sign of their rediscovered identity. Even then, Malka González⁶⁶, psicologist and expert on anusim genealogies, has recently edited a monograph on anusim identities and judeoconverso surnames where, apart from giving an extensive lists of converso-Jewish surnames, claims: “Surnames are still some anecdote and they not always have to be considered as an absolute”. From my point of view, there is nothing to object against the legitimate right of anusim to find their own place in modern societies, but this has nothing to do with the widespread belief that keeping a a surname of ‘apparently’ Jewish origin gives directly a Jewish identity. It is clear that they are other gaps that have to be fullfilled and that anthroponomy here may only be the most visible mark of a Jewish identity found after a long and desired personal search.

For all these reasons, it is of crucial importance to adopt an appropriate homogeneous methodology to prevent the atomization of studies on Hispano-Jewish medieval anthroponomy and their Sephardic continuity and to define the different chronological stages of evolution and specific uses at each particular time of Sephardic Onomasticon. As recently A. Beider has suggested⁶⁷, four main historical periods in sephardic anthroponomy must be distinguished, which can be considered and studied, at least at its first stages, with a particular methodology and specific research goals:

- Names and surnames used in the Iberian Peninsula before 1492 and 1497.
- Christian names and surnames adopted by Crypto-Jewish families in the Iberian Peninsula after their conversion.
- Names and surnames adopted by Crypto-Jewish families in new emigration centers where they came back to official Judaism: The Netherlands, England, Germany, France and Latin America.

⁶⁷ “Perspectives on Jewish Onomastics”, p. 4, [on line], http://iijg.org/
• Names and surnames assigned in different stages of the history of North-African Jewish Communities.

There’s no doubt that addressing the particularized study of each of these periods is a project that cannot be done individually but in collaboration with different specialists. This research has attempted to shed new light on the earliest period, possibly the most difficult to study due to its documentary shortage, but it can certainly provide invaluable material for the onomastic studies of more modern times.

5. Jewish Tax Records as a source for Sephardic Genealogy research

Any sephardic genealogist who is studying the history of a certain Jewish family needs at some point of his research to access to primary sources, so that he can determine the origin or the medieval uses of a certain surname. As J. Malka has pointed out, genealogists are interested in the history of families, but not names. These last ones are just one tool among many in this family history search and though the etymological meaning and classification of a name can be an interesting topic to discuss, it is only useful for genealogists if it meets their specialized needs and research objectives. But there is no any doubt that the genealogist requires documentary proof that the variants were actually used interchangebly by the same individual or family and such proof is indeed available through archive research38.

In this sense, the Jewish tax records I have edited may be used as a reliable source for verifying and attesting the originality and ancient uses of some Sephardic family names, their spelling, translation variants and etymology. Due to many Sephardic surnames have similar variants in different periods, they need to be accurately documented based on records and not guesswork. Most of the origins of Sephardic anthroponomy stem from Spanish medieval period (with its own peculiarities depending on the linguistic environment of the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Navarre or Catalonia), so that going back to Jewish medieval anthroponomy system makes the duties of genealogical research more reliable. Medieval sources help

to identify many hereditary sephardic surnames, which makes the job of identifying potential ancestors in old records much easier.

Genealogists have always based on medieval sources to document the oldest variants of their family lines. One of the most remarkable examples is the research of I. Cohenca regarding Cuenca’s surname and the Jewish ancestors of his family\(^{39}\). In his study, he traces the history of his father’s surnames Cuenca-Yeoshua and his mother’s surnames Mizrahi – Paredes, through a deep inside in notarial and inquisitorial sources from medieval Castile. Thus, he managed to attest the presence of members of this family before the 1391 persecutions against Jewish population in Castile and documented some other members of the family during XVth century just before the 1492 Royal Expulsion Decree. The existence of Cuenca surname in Salónica in XVIth century under the Ottoman rule was directly connected with their medieval backgrounds, as well as it usually happens with other surnames of Spanish medieval origin such as Saporta, Chiniyo\(^{40}\), Casorla, Soria/Soriano\(^{41}\), Béjar or Corcos\(^{42}\). Accordingly, behind a Sephardic name there is always a widely dispersed family history that frequently begins in Sepharad, but it has been diversified across many migrations and stages till reaching its modern form. The work of B. B. Pinto\(^{43}\) is also a good example of how genealogical research has to cope with medieval sources to understand the complexities and historical uncertainties of some Sephardic family names.

As I have pointed out at the beginning of my study, editing, classifying and ordering the Jewish population tax records of Hita, Urueña, Dueñas, Medina de Pomar


and Saldaña is a novel approach that may allow researchers to take full advantage of the scarcity of medieval sources on Jewish names and genealogical data. Up to now, Sephardic genealogical study was mostly based on notary books and church records, but the description and edition of the related *padrones*, a quite unknown medieval source for genealogical interpretation, may help to improve this discipline and enhance genealogical inquires on certain Jewish family names. In this sense, I would like to briefly address the following questions: What kind of genealogical information can be extracted from medieval sources, in general, and what specific uses can the edition of these *padrones* have for Sephardic genealogists? Undoubtedly, one of the greatest advantages of these sources is that genealogists can attest the existence of older hereditary Sephardic surnames. This requires editing archival material and organising it through well-structured database in order to facilitate personal genealogical inquiries. The names and surnames of the ten *padrones* that I have studied may be included in future genealogical database in order to broaden the corpus of Sephardic given and medieval Jewish family names. Generally speaking, these database use published or printed material, but they do not usually include new archival insights, which makes some of them quite similar and repetitive in the results of searching. The three hundred fifty-two Jewish names and surnames, including their spelling and transcription variants I could register are significant enough to be included in the current repertoires and other genealogical works.

The genealogical information that can be extracted from these records cannot be also underestimated. It is true that medieval sources on Jewish population have their own limitations. The allusions to Jewish inhabitants are frequently subjected to very short references with simple onomastic structures and scarce genealogical data regarding family kinship, which do not usually exceed from first-grade family marks. The latest database on sephardic names and surnames elaborated by Roger L. Martínez44, offers two hundred and sixty-one family charts of Jewish and Converso population from Spanish Extremadura in which Jewish family kinships are mostly reconstructed through marital and filial relationships. Tax records of Jewish population offer a little more advantage to this type of genealogical information, due to the fact that every single tax-payer had to be identify without any doubt, which means that the

The possibility of error in the identification of Jewish individuals is much lower and thus, rebuilding their genealogy tree is a bit more reliable, especially in cases of homonymy or when identical designative structures are used. In any case, any attempt to reconstruct Jewish family charts in Medieval Spain is still a desideratum in cases of families with little or no socioreligious influence in the Jewish community they belonged to.

Hita’s population tax record, which included most of the male members of the Jewish community, may serve as example of what can be done from a genealogical point of view. The Baquix family is one of the largest ones in this padrón, represented by sixteen members. There is no doubt that many of those individuals had a high and wealthy status, not only because of the quantity of maravedies they had to paid, but also because of the frequent use of social distinction title Don. In these cases, family kinship information is usually a little more detailed. We can find the following references:

- Doña Paloma [1], wife of Guada Baquix
- Don Çaque Baquix [2]
- Don Juan Baquix [5]
- Don Dauí Baquix [6]
- Guada Baquix, trapero [8]
- Don Jacó, son of don Guada Baquix [9]
- Don Guada Baquix, son of don Lezar [13]
- Doña Dona, wife of don Lesan Baquix [20]
- Don Monsé Baquix, corredor [34]
- Don Çague Baquix de Monsé Rodrigo [49]
- Yomón, son of don Salamón Baquix [69]
- Hudá, son of don Çague Baquix [76]
- Lasar, son of don Guada Baquix [77]
- Paloma, daughter of don Yuzes Baquix [79]
- Guada Baquix de Trixueque [80]
- Don Abiase Baquix de Pastrana [100]

Taking into account that all these references are unique for each individual as well as the filliation marks included in each one, it is possible to develop a family chart as follows:
In this case, the family references are quite clear, so we can consider, at least, the existence of three generations of the Baquix family member focused on Don Guada Baquix [13]; his father, don Lezar [13], and his son, Lazar [77]. It is noteworthy the Sephardic tradition of naming the firstborn male with the name of his grandfather, in spite of the spelling variant Lezar – Lazar of the padrón.

The information available does not permit us to connect the rest of the Baquix members quoted in this padrón with the above family chart, but it is better to do that rather than guess an hypothetical relationship that does not appear explicitly in the sources. This would lead to an erroneous interpretation of the family genealogy, which occurs quite often given to the frequent homonymy between male Jewish names in medieval Castilian sources. On the other hand, interpreting the detoponymical designations Guada Baquix de Trixueque [80] or de Pastrana [100], one must assume that other Baquix family branches had been established in the same region.

Another possibility of genealogical research through tax records consists of clarifying the antiquity of a certain surname in Jewish medieval Spain that can be connected with more modern registers. The case of the Leal family, from Medina de Pomar padrón may shed some light on it. In the mentioned tax record there are seven members with the surname Leal:

- Jacó, fijo de doña Leal [14]
- Rabí Sentó Leal [24]
- Doña, la de Rabí Ça Leal [26]
- Jacó, fijo de don Mosé Leal [27]
- La nieta de Don Salamón Leal [37]
- Oroçety, fija de Salamón Leal [54]
These references can be complemented with other published medieval sources where Leal members are also documented. In the case of Medina de Pomar, there are another three members that belonged to this family in years nearby:

- Eleazar Leal [1478]
- Halí Leal [1430]
- Yuçé Leal [1475]

Although it is not possible to rebuild a family chart due to the lack of accurate kinship references, it is interesting to point out that ancient records of this family name in Castile may help to understand how it spread among other Jewish families of the Western Diaspora. Thus, Leal family name is well-documented in one of the three Portuguese Sephardic congregations in Amsterdam in the Netherlands in 1629: David Leal and Ester Leal, married and born respectively in Miranda and Trancoso (Portugal) in 1593, were probably descendants of the Iberian branch of this surname, that probably reverted to their ancestral religion when they settled in Amsterdam. A slightly variation of the medieval family name is also attested in the forms Lealtad and Lealtar. Seven married couples in the Portuguese Sephardic congregation of Talmud Torah in Amsterdam were registered in XVIIth century with these surnames. There is more evidence of the presence of Leal family in the Portuguese Sephardic community in the Netherlands in the burial register of Bet Hayyim cemetery, where family names such as David Leal, Daví Leal and O. Leal are documented\(^45\). For a genealogist the possibility of going further back in family research is of high importance, and tax records as I have edited, together with other medieval sources can be an accurate instrument to confirm hypotheses that, otherwise, could never be checked. From my point of view, this is one of the benefits that can be drawn from the Jewish tax records as have been shown in this study from a balanced and interdisciplinary perspective.

\(^{45}\) www.jewishgen.org/Sephardic/
APPENDIX
En la villa de Hita en quince días del mes de diciembre año del nacimiento de nuestro señor Ieshu Christo de mill e quatroçientos e cinquenta y seis años en presencia de mí, Rui Lopez de Sant Pedro, escriuano de nuestro señor el rey y escriuano público en la dicha villa y de los testigos de yuso sobreescritos fueron ayuntados Pedro Sánchez, mayordomo, e Alonso Gómez, escriuano, vecinos de la villa de Hita, por el poder a ellos dado por el concejo y común de la dicha villa e su tierra con los adelantados del común y aljama de la dicha villa y su tierra fizieron repartimiento para pagar para las labores de la zemca desta dicha villa para que se labre en ella este año que verná de mil y quatroçientos e cinquenta e siete años sobre los vecinos de la dicha billa e su tierra los maravedís que aquí serán contenidos en esta manera que se sigue.

El aljama de los judíos

[1] **Doña Paloma**, muger de **don Guada Baquix**, de ciento e veinte e cinco mrs que le registraron en Valdarenas e de ciento e ochenta e cinco mrs. en Hita, ciento y tres mrs. y dos cornados. [CIII-II]

[2] **Don Çaque Baquix**, de ciento e veinte mrs. que le registraron en Hita y en Çiruelas e sesenta e cinco mrs e quatro cornados. [LX – IIII]

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46 The Jewish population in this tax record is separated from Christian one, which may indicate the urban segregation of the Jewish community at that time.

47 This feminine name from Romance origin is shared by Christians and Jewish women. It is also documented in Judeo-Spanish, M. Tagger, *Dictionary of Sephardic Given Names* [=Sephardic Given Names] New Haven: Avotaynu, 2015, 120: *Palomba, Paloma, Pelombo, Cobomba*. Nevertheless, it is quite common that Jewish onomastic tradition has its own synonym. Heb. *Yonah*, ‘dove’ is mostly a male name, except from Yiddish translation.


49 Val de Arenas, in the province of Guadalajara.

50 In the province of Guadalajara.
[3] **Don Lesar Xabí**, de ciento e noventa marabedís, sesenta y tres mrs. y dos cornados. [LXIII-II]

[4] [fol. 24v] **Don Monsé**<sup>52</sup> **Albelda**<sup>53</sup>, que le registraron en Cañizar<sup>54</sup> setenta cántaras y en Hita cincuenta, que son ciento e veinte cántaras, quarenta mrs. [XL]


[7] La de **don Samuel Alasán**<sup>55</sup> e sus hijos, de ciento e ocho mrs., treinta e seys mrs. [XXXVI]

[8] De **Guada Baquix**, trapero<sup>56</sup>, de doçientos, sesenta y seis marabedís e quatro cornados. [LXVII-III]

[9] **Don Jacó**, hijo de **don Guada Baquix**, de ciento e quarenta e ocho maravedís, quarenta e nueve maravedís y dos cornados. [XL IX II]

[10] **Don Salamón Misi**<sup>57</sup> de ochenta e ocho marabedís [fol. 25 r], veinte e nueve mrs. e dos cornados. [XXIX-II]

[11] **Çaque**, su fijo, de ciento e veinte e ocho maravedís, quarenta e dos marabedís e quatro cornados. [XLII-III]

[12] **Yusías Alasar**, del diezmo de Cañizar<sup>58</sup> de ciento e cincuenta cántaras, cincuenta mrs. [L]

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<sup>51</sup> This surname is also attested in Toledo and Guadalajara: Faiguenboim, *Sobrenomes*, 425; Viñuales, *La Edad Media*, 101. Probably from Heb. Tzvi.

<sup>52</sup> It is used sistematically in this padrón instead of the most common variant Mosé.

<sup>53</sup> Detoponimic surname from romance origin. It is documented in Valencia and La Rioja (northern Spain) but from Aragonian origin. It may be connected with Arab. *Al-Balada*, “the village”, vid. R. Muñoz Solla, “Padrones y antroponimia”, 125.

<sup>54</sup> In the province of Guadalajara.


<sup>56</sup> “Ragman”. The structure Name + surname + professional mark, is quite common in these kind of tax records.

<sup>57</sup> A misreading of the well documented surname *Michi – Miche* used in many areas of Castilla-La Mancha. Cfr. as well, nº [16] and [17].

<sup>58</sup> Vid. n. 46.
Don Guada Baquíx, hijo de don Lezar, de sesenta e quatro marabedís, veinte e vn marabedís e dos cornados. [XXI – II]

Don Yuzé[s] Alipapa, de ochenta marabedís, veinte y seis marabedís e quatro cornados. [XXVI–III].

Monsé Mayr, de quarenta mrs., treze maravedís e dos cornados. [XIII–II]

Aliase Misi, de çiento e dos marabedís, treinta e siete mrs. y dos cornados [XXXVII–II]

Yuzés Misi, su fijo, de quarenta mrs. treze mrs. y dos cornados [XIII–II]

Yuzás Aranda, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez marabedís e quatro cornados. [X–III].

La muger de don Lasan Alasán, de treinta e dos marabedís, diez marabedís e quatro cornados. [X–III].

Doña Dona, muge r de don Lesan Baquix, de ochenta e ocho mrs. veinte e nueve e dos cornados [XXIX–II]

Don Jacó Alasán, de noventa e seis marabedís, treynta e dos maravedís. [XXXII].

Don Guada Alasán, de çiento e dos marabedís, treinta e siete maravedís e dos cornados. [XXXVII–II]

Yuzás Baruque, de çiento e dos marabedís, treinta e siete maravedís y dos cornados. [XXXVII–II].

Hudá Baruque, su hijo, de quarenta marabedís, treze maravedís y dos cornados [XIII–II].

[fol. 25 v] Yuzás Aranda, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez marabedís e quatro cornados. [X–III].

[fol. 26 r] Don Monsé, cirujano, de çiento e dos marabedís, treinta e siete maravedís e dos cornados. [XXXVII–II].

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59 It seems a misleading interpretation of the notary. The Greek origin surname “Gallipapa” is scarcely documented among Castilian Jews and may be from Aragonian origin. Hayyim ben Abraham Gallipapa was a rabbi in Monzon, Huesca and Pamplona in 14th century. Maimón Gallipapa came from the doctor’s Gallipapa family in Lérida (Catalonia).

60 Detoponimic surname of pre-roman origin. Documented among Jews from Toledo: Faiguenboim, Sobrenomes, 179.

61 Variants: Dueña, Fadueña, Donna: M. Tagger, Sephardic Given Names, 56.


63 In this case, the social and professional marks seems to be enough to identify the individual without adding a surname. This is the case of doctors, tax collectors, officers or specific professions in Castilian Jewish communities.
[26] Yuzás, hijo de Salamón Michi, de ochenta e ocho maravedís, veinte e nueve maravedís y dos cornados. [XXIX-II].

[27] Don Jacó Zalama⁶⁴, de diez e seys maravedís, cinco maravedís y dos cornados. [V-II].

[28] Don Çaque Capage⁶⁵, de ciento e quatro maravedís, treinta e quatro maravedís y cuatro cornados. [XXXIII-III]

[29] Don Salamón Çofán⁶⁶, de ciento y setenta e seis maravedís, cincuenta e ocho maravedís y cuatro cornados. [LVIII-III]

[30] Don Dauí, cirujano⁶⁷, de sesenta e quatro maravedís, veinte y un maravedís y dos cornados. [XXI-II]

[31] Salamón Adaroque⁶⁸, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho mrs. [VIII].

[32] [fol. 26 v] Çag Crezeiyente⁶⁹, de sesenta e quatro maravedís, veinte e quatro maravedís. [XX – III]

[33] Abinse Çides⁷⁰, de sesenta e quatro mrs. veinte e un maravedís y dos cornados [XXI – II].

[34] Don Monsé Baquix, corredor, de diez y seis maravedís, cinco mrs. y dos cornados. [V – II]

[35] Monsé de Pastrana⁷¹, el mozo⁷², de cincuenta e seis maravedís, diez y ocho maravedís y quatro cornados. [XVIII – III]

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⁶⁵ Although the transcription is correct, I have not documented it in any dictionary. Cfr. in Viñuales, La Edad Media, p. 103, the forms Huda Capachen, Osúa Capachen may be closely connected with it.

⁶⁶ Probably a misleading transcription of “Çarfán”.

⁶⁷ Cfr. n. 18.

⁶⁸ Quite common surname among Castilian Jewish in the Middle Ages. From my point of view, the etymology is not convincing. Laredo, Les noms, 224-225, derives it from arab. Ad-dorukkiyya. Place name of the aragonese village of Daroca; Faiguenboim, Sobrenomes, 168.

⁶⁹ “Creciente”. Laredo, Les noms, 1080, explains it as well as a detoponimical surname, from the village “Creciente” in Pontevedra (Galicia). I consider it quite unlikely.

⁷⁰ From arab. Šayyid, “prince” and castillian Çid.

⁷¹ Pastrana, in the province of Guadalajara. The Pastrana family was another wealthy group in the Jewish community of Hita.

⁷² The forms “el mozo” vs. “el viejo” are typical nicknames used to distinguish old and young generations among males from the same family.
[36] La muger de don Çague de Medina, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez maravedís y quatro cornados. [X – III].

[37] Çague Sobrino73, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedís. [VIII]

[38] Simuel Miche, el viejo, de quarenta maravedís, treze maravedís y dos cornados cornados [sic] [XIII – II]

[39] Don Jacó Estacho74, de ochenta e ocho maravedís e dos cornados e dos cornados [XIX – II].

[40] Abinse Açaya, de sesenta e quatro maravedís, veynte y un mrs. y dos cornados. [XXI – II]

[41] Monsé de Pastrana, el biejo, de quarenta maravedís, treze maravedís e dos cornados. [XIII – II].

[42] Don Samuel el Bueno, de çiento e dos maravedís, treinta e siete maravedís e dos cornados. [XXXVII – II]

[43] Don Abinse Çalama, de ochenta maravedís, veinte e seys y quatro cornados. [XXV – III]

[44] Don Abinse Aderos75, el biejo, de quarenta y ocho mrs. diez y seis maravedís. [XVI].

[45] Don Estanyu76, portugués77, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez maravedís e quatro cornados. [X – III].

[46] Abinse, su yerno, de beynte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedís. [VIII].

[47] [fol. 27v] Zaque Alastaque78, de ochenta maravedís, veinte e seys maravedís y quatro cornados. [XXVI – III].

[48] Abinse Gobarra79, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedís. [VIII].

73 Surname of romance origin, shared among Jews and Christians. Originally a filiation mark.

74 Cfr. nº [53], with graphic variation.

75 Not documented in any repertoire. It might have an Arab origin due to the normative assimilation of the arab article and consonant “d”.

76 The transcription of the notary may be incorrect.

77 Detoponimic surname, but still used as an adjective.


79 The transcription is correct but it might be related to surname Çabarra
[49] Don Çague Baquix de Monsé Rodrigo, de treçientos y sesenta e cinco maravedís, çiento e veinte y un maravedís y quatro cornados. [CXXI – IIII].

[50] Don Sumuel Aderaque, de treynta e dos maravedís, diez maravedís e quatro cornados. [X – IIII].

[51] Hudá Adaroque, de quarenta e ocho maravedís, diez y seis maravedís [XVI].

[52] La de Jacó de Nuñez, de çinquenta e seis maravedís, diez e ocho maravedís e quatro cornados. [XVIII – IIII].

[53] Don Yuzé Ascacho, de çiento e veinte maravedís, quarenta maravedís. [XL]

[54] [fol. 28r] Yuzens, trapero, de ochenta maravedís, veinte y seis maravedís e quatro cornados. [XXVI – IIII].

[55] Don Abiase Bueno, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez maravedís e quatro cornados. [X – IIII]

[56] Sumuel Juqueral, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedís [VIII].

[57] Ysrael de Monsé Rodrigo, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez maravedís e quatro cornados. [X – IIII].

[58] La Rabisa, de setenta e dos maravedís, veinte e quatro mrs. [XXIII]

[59] Don Martin Çurajón, de çiento y beinte maravedís, quarenta mrs [XL].

[60] Monsé Papolero, de quarenta mrs. treze mrs. e dos cornados [XIII – II].

[61] Monsé Michi de Atienza, de quarenta e ocho mrs. diez y seis maravedís [XVI].

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80 This structure lacks of filiation mark.

81 Patronymic surname of Castilian origin.

82 The transcription is correct but I cannot document any similar form.

83 Cfr. [8]

84 In contrast with [42] here this nickname from latin origin is used as surname.

85 Feminine nickname stemming from heb. Rabbi and a Castilian derivational suffix, probably to indicate the wife of the Rabbi.

86 Or Çurujón, according to Viñuales, La Edad Media, 105: Mosé Çurujón, Simuel Çurujón. It is likely that derives from çurujano, “surgeon”, as a professional mark.

87 Or Porpolero. Cfr. with Abayn Porpolero, Bueno Porpolero, Çague and Jacó Porpolero, Viñuales, La Edad Media, 106. The etymology is not clear, probably used as a nickname.

88 In the province of Guadalajara, used as detoponimic surname.
Çague de Verlanga\textsuperscript{89}, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedís. [VIII]

Yontó Çalaque\textsuperscript{90}, de ocho maravedís, dos marabedis e quatro cornados. [II – IIII]

Yunzás Basalud, de veinte e quatro maravedies, ocho maravedises. [VIII]

Sumel Alenabid, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedis [VIII]

Yunçás Çurajón, de quarenta e ocho maravedís, diez y seis maravedís [XVI]

Jacó Alcalá, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez maravedís y quatro cornados. [X – IIII]

Don Simuel Gonbaro\textsuperscript{91}, de quarenta e ocho maravedís, diez y seis mrs. [XVI]

Yomon\textsuperscript{92}, hijo de don Salamon Baquix, de quarenta mrs. treze mrs y dos cornados. [XIII – II].

Don Guada Yuso, de çiento e noventa maravedís, sesenta y tres mrs. y dos cornados. [LXIII – II].

Aliase Çurujano, de diez y seys maravedís, çinco maravedís y dos cornados [V – II].

Jacó Roderes\textsuperscript{93}, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedís. [VIII].

Don Samuel Najari\textsuperscript{94}, de treinta e ocho mrs, diez y seis mrs [XVI].

Yunçás Arontox\textsuperscript{95}, de treinta e dos maravedís, diez maravedís e quatro cornados. [X – IIII].

De Salamón Castellano\textsuperscript{96} de Çiruelas, de ochenta e ocho marabedis, veinte e nueve maravedís e dos cornados. [XXIX – II]

\textsuperscript{89} Berlanga de Duero, in the province of Soria. Used as detoponimic surname.

\textsuperscript{90} Probably of arab origin. Cfr. Adaroque.

\textsuperscript{91} I could not find any reference to this surname, but it seems to have been previously a nickname.

\textsuperscript{92} The transcription is clear. It can be connected with the heb. Yom, probably with an augmentative castilian suffix.

\textsuperscript{93} It seems to be a misleading interpretation of an uncertain surname from original tax record.

\textsuperscript{94} Detoponimic surname, from Nájera (La Rioja), according to Laredo, Les noms, 860.

\textsuperscript{95} I could not find any certain reference to this surname, probably from Arab origin.

\textsuperscript{96} From Castilia. This detoponimic use among Jews may be of certain interest to guess the sociocultural identity of Jewish communities in the different Iberian kingdoms (Aragon, Castille, Navarra and Portugal).
[76] Hudá, hijo de Don Çague Baquix, de cincuenta e seys maravedis, diez y ocho maravedis y quatro cornados. [XVIII – III].

[77] Lasar, hijo de don Guada Baquix, de setenta e dos mrs. veinte e quatro mrs [XXIII]

[78] [fol. 29v] Lazar de Pastrana97, de noventa y seis maravedis, treinta e dos maravedis [XXXII].

[79] Paloma, hija de don Yuzes Baquix, de setenta e dos maravedis, veynte e quatro mrs [XXIII].

[80] Guada Baquix de Trixueque98, de treinta e ocho mrs. diez maravedis e quatro cornados. [X – III].

[81] Monsé, su hermano, de quarenta maravedis, treze mrs. y dos cornados [XIII – II].

[82] Salamón Albose, de veinte y quatro maravedis, ocho maravedis [VIII].

[83] Aron de Cobeña99, de treinta e dos maravedis, diez maravedis e quatro cornados. [X – III].

[84] Çaque Carrión100, de treinta e dos maravedis, diez maravedis e quatro cornados [X – III].


[86] Çaque Adaroque, de veinte e quatro maravedis, ocho maravedis. [VIII].

[87] Samuel Michi, hijo de don Salamón, de ciento e dos maravedis, treynta y siete maravedis y dos cornados. [XXXVII – II].

[88] La comadre102, de diez y seys maravedis, cinco maravedis e dos cornados. [V – II].

97 In the province of Guadalajara, used as detoponimic surname.
99 In the province of Madrid, used as a detoponimic surname, vid. C. Carrete Parrondo, “Cobeña, aljama castellana en los albores de la expulsión”, Proceeding of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies, 71-76.
100 Carrión de los Condes (Palencia)
101 From Arab. Al-ŷawhar, “jewel”.
102 Used as professional mark: “midwife”.
Doña Jamila, de diez y seis maravedis, cinco maravedis e dos cornados. [V – II].

Garçi Rodrigo103, de veinte e quatro maravedis, ocho maravedis [VIII].

Çaque Çalama, de treinta e dos maravedis, diez maravedis e quatro cornados [X – IIII].

Abinse de la Riza104, de ocho maravedis, dos mrs. y quatro cornados [II – IIII]

Haron Galaque105, de diez y seis maravedis, cinco mrs. y dos cornados [V – II].

[fol. 30v] Jacó de Berlanga, de diez y seis mrs. cinco maravedis y dos cornados [V – II].

Çague Franco106, de quarenta maravedis, treze maravedis e dos cornados [XIII – II].

Samuel, cuñado de don Salamón Çasfaro107, de treinta e dos maravedis, diez maravedis e quatro cornados [X – IIII].

Abiase Adaroque, el mozo, de veinte e quatro mrs. ocho maravedis [VIII].

Don Jacó Vellido, de treynta e dos maravedis [XXXII]

Don Abiase Algaudix, ochenta maravedis [LXXX]

Don Abiase Baquix de Pastrana, de ochenta marabedis, veinte e seys marabedis y quatro cornados [XXVI – IIII].

Los hijos de Sanyano108, treynta e dos maravedis [XXXII].

Don Yuzes Albilda, de doçientos e çinquenta cántaras, ochenta y tres maravedis e dos cornados [LXXXIII – II].

[fol. 31r] Guada Calaq, de ocho maravedis, dos maravedis e quatro cornados [II – IIII].

Osúa de Verlanga, de ocho maravedis, dos maravedis y quatro cornados [II – IIII].

103 It has not any mark of Jewish origin. The use of a given name and surname both of Castilian origin for a Jewish designation is scarcely documented. A converso origin cannot be excluded.

104 An uncertain detoonymic surname.

105 Dubious reading. Cfr. [63], Çalaque. Also, [103].

106 From German origin, it is a widespread surname in all territories of Castile and in Sephardic diaspora as well. Used among Jewish and Christian population with the meaning of “honest”, “free”, Fageinboim, Sobrenomes, 262.

107 It may be an erroneous reading of the notary.

108 The designation structure is not very often used in this tax record. Sanyano can be interpreted as surname or even nickname, but with no clear etymology.
[105] Doña Ordueña, de diez y seis maravedís, cinco maravedís e dos cornados [V – II].

[106] La de Basabul, de diez y seys maravedís, cinco maravedís e dos cornados [V – II].

[107] Monsé Mayor de Brihuega, de diez y seis maravedís, cinco mrs. y dos cornados [V – II].

[108] Los hijos de Jacó Vellido, de diez y seis mrs, cinco mrs. y dos cornados [V – II]

[109] Samaya Alagraque, de diez y seys mrs, cinco mrs. y dos cornados [V – II].

[110] Jacó Çurajón, de diez y seys maravedís, cinco maravedís e dos cornados [V – II].

[111] Sumuel Anbra, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedis [VIII].

[112] La de Rosos, de ocho mrs, dos mrs y quatro cornados [II – III].

[113] [fol. 31v] Doña Dona, la de don Zaque Juani, de ocho maravedís, dos maravedís e quatro cornados cornados [sic] [II – III].

[114] Ayun Adaroque, de veinte e quatro maravedís, ocho maravedis [VIII].

[115] Samuel, hijo de don Aliaser Adaroque, de diez y seys maravedís, cinco maravedís y dos cornados [V – II].

[116] Clara, muger de don Yuzes Bena, de diez y seis marabedis, cinco mrs y dos cornados [V – II].

[117] Rabi Zaque de la Fija, de diez maravedís, cinco mrs y dos cornados [V – II].

Ansí que montan todos los dichos maravedís que a la dicha aljama cupo a pagar en el dicho registro e repartimiento en la manera que dicha es dos mill e setecientos y tres maravedís e dos cornados.

---

109 Another usual innominated and unitary designation structure for Jewish women. The form Basabul is unclear.

109 In the province of Guadalajara. It has a well known Jewish community, F. Cantera Burgos – C. Carrete Parrondo, “Las juderías medievales en la provincia de Guadalajara”, 20-29.

115 The prepositional surname de la Fija might be interpreted as a detoponimic from Hijes, in Guadalajara.
...
fol. 29 v
2

Urueña (Valladolid)

Padrón de Repartimiento de la martiñeiga (1464)

ARCHV, Hijosdalgo, 402/24
Copy

Padrón sacado del arca del concejo de la villa de Vrueña por carta e provisión reales de escriuano en el pleito quel fiscal de sus magestades trata con Francisco de Herrera e su hermano sobre la hidalguía que pretenden.

[fol. 6 r] Este es el libro de la suma de la cabeza de la villa de Vrueña por donde se an de contar la martiñeiga de mill e quatroçientos e sesenta e quatro años. Los pecheros e pecheros [sic] son los siguientes:

[1] Pero Bochán	XXX VII
[2] Yuçé Bueno\(^{118}\)	L
[3] Diego Labrador	V
[6] Pedro Rodríguez Revilla	C XX V
[7] la sinoga\(^{119}\)	XX III
[8] García Rodrigo Peçosorios	C X V
[9] Juan Loçeno	X VII
[10] Elvira García	XC II

\(^{117}\) This is the only tax record where Jewish population is mixed with Christian payers. It is a clear evidence that there was no physical segregation at that time in the village.

\(^{118}\) Bueno family is represented by 4 members: [2] Yuçé Bueno [21] Yudá Bueno, [27] Yuçé, fijo de Xacó Bueno, [32] Abraan Bueno. Bueno must be interpreted as a surname, but previously was used as a nickname, referring to trait characteristic. As a surname is well-documented as well in Sephardic onomasticon and Magreb till XXth. Century, Faiguenboim, Sobrenomes, 211. Etymologically, it can be considered an adapted translation of heb. Yom Tov, or Tovi. also attested with the patronymic form Avenbueno, Laredo, Les noms, I, 399; Tagger, Bulgarian surnames, 37.

\(^{119}\) In this tax record, the communal institution of the sinagoge paid as an institutional tax payer.
Fernán López el Prieto
Juan Belasco
Antón García, clérigo
Bartolomé
Emilio de Álvaro Pérez
García, yerno de Juan de Palencia
Juan Alonso Bueno
Fernán Rodríguez Quadrado
Pedro de Salas
Yudá Bueno
Simuel Rubio
Jacó Pichó
Doña Ester
Fernán Gonçález, clérigo
La mujer de Gabay
Yuçé, fijo de Xacó Bueno
Salamón de la Puerta
Rodrigo Rodrigues, maestro
Doña Bienbenida
Jacó Monte Chux
Abraan Bueno

Surname of Castilian origin, lat. Russeus - Rubeus. It a clear example of the lexicalization of a physical nickname, “of red hair”.

From lat. Pincione. The variants Pichón, Pinchó, Pinçón, Pinzón, may be explained phonetically from the evolution of –NKY- latin consonant group to romance –NC- /ʃ/, “ç” and –NCH-/ʃ/, “ch”. Pichón/Pichó is documented as surname among Jewish and converso population: Yosef Picho, treasurer of Enrique II of Castille (Seville, 1379).

Heb. Gabbay, “tax collector”. Here used as a surname. Cfr. tax record of Medina de Pomar, [47].

It is a very well known Castilian surname spread in all territories, from lat. Porta but with a toponymical sense, “pass, defile, coomb”. This composed variant De la Puerta, may be an allusion to the place of living of the individual. The origin of the Catalan hybrid surname Sasportas, “six doors”, heb. šeš, lat. Porta, has been studied by M. Tagger in http://www.sephardichorizons.org/Volume3/Issue3/tagger.html

The surname has different graphemes: Monte Chuz, Monte Chuz, Montelux. Compound detoponymic with the meaning of “mountain of light”.

65
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father's Name</th>
<th>First Number</th>
<th>Second Number</th>
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<td>Mosé Monte Chuz</td>
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<td>C X IX</td>
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<td>C VIII mº</td>
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<td>LXXX II mº</td>
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<td>Fernando de Tiedra</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Bernaldo Rodrígues</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Fijos de Alonso Ferrandes de V¿avallis?</td>
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<td>XC IIII mº</td>
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<td>CC LXXX VIII</td>
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<td>Juan Rodriguez Ángel</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Francisco Ximeno</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Fernán Sánchez</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>Teresa Díez</td>
<td></td>
<td>XC VII</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Fernando Herrero</td>
<td></td>
<td>XXX mº</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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125 The religious mark “Rabí” is enough to identify the individual. That is the reason why in this designation structure the surname does not appear.

126 It frequently appears as female name. In this case, it is used as a surname, without any reference to her wife, which seems quite unlikely, *vid. Tagger, Sephardic Given Names*, 118.

127 I could not attest this form in other repertoires.

128 Also *abreros*. It might be connected with the surname Abreu, “hebrew”.
[67]

[fol. 7 v] Del qual dicho padrón que ansý fue hallado en el arca del concejo de la dicha villa de Hurueña yo, el dicho Pedro Ybañes, saqué solas dos fojas dél que fue la cabeza hasta la foja donde está escripto e asentado vn nombre que dize Juan de la Sierra, con otros pocos nombres de personas que estavan escritos en la misma hoja hasta acabar la dicha foja e no saqué más escritura del dicho padrón por no hazer al caso a este pleyto, el qual fue sacado en la noble villa de Valladolid a veynte e seys dias del mes de henero de mill e quinientos e cinquenta e quatro años, el qual ba cierto e berdadero e corregido con el dicho oreginal [...].
Padron. Puedo declarar que el señor [nombre] no está en el pueblo en este momento. Se ha presentado a la [institución] y ha sido declarado ausente. 

Tom. Sancho. [fecha]
3

Saldaña (Palencia)

3.1

Archivo Histórico Municipal de Saldaña
Original, Leg. 19, fol. 16 v

Padrón de repartimiento sobre puente, términos, cerca, toros, berracos y pregoneros de la villa de Saldaña

s.d.
ca. 1463-1464

[fol. 16 v] En la manera que Alonso Martines e Lope Ferrandes e Alonso de Memimbre [sic] Rodrigues de la villa de Saldaña derramaron el bachiller Pero Gonsales e Juan Mancos e Juan Gonsales e Alonso Mancos, clérigos, en nombre de los clérigos de la dicha villa e sus barrios e Abrahán Mantero e Jacó Timón en nombre de los judíos de la dicha villa e Gonzalo Oria e Juan Gonsales en nombre de los escuderos de la dicha villa e sus barrios derramaron cierta quantía de maravedíes por los vecinos e pecheros e escuderos e judíos e clérigos segund que se contiene en un memorial que sobre esto los dieron e visto lo que toca a los dichos clérigos e escuderos e judíos en los sobredichos maravedíes asý derramaron para pagar los gastos que son fechos de puente e términos e cerca, toros e berracos e pregoneros son estos que aquí dirán en esta guisa:

[1] Abrahán Maestro
[2] Yuçé, su fijo
[3] Semuel Tymón
[5] su madre
[6] Ysaque Az
[7] su cuñado Abrahán

129 In this case Maestro functions as surname, but it can be used sometimes as professional mark as well.
130 The reference is connected with the previous tax payer.
131 Castillian surname documented in Cáceres and Madrid. It has nothing to do with nautical terms, but with the plow beam. This surname may stem from nicknames regarding people who made or repaired plows helms.
132 It is also used as a prefix in feminine given names like Azibuena. Probably from Arabic origin.
One of the scarce examples of genuine Jewish surnames, from heb. Baruk.

Cora family members are cited in this tax record three times. I could not find any other documented evidence of this surname.

In plural it may be used as a nickname. Nevertheless, in singular it is a frequent female name, widely documented in Judeo-Spanish.

Plural female nickname connected with the surname Bitón, augmentative of Hayyim, one of the Hebrew translation of lat. Vita, vid. Laredo, Les Noms, I, 423.

Used as surname, with the meaning of “fish”.

Originally a nickname that comes from Gordo. The antithetical composition Gordo + liso (Fat + slim) may have a humorous use.

Detoponimycal surname, Cea in the province of Palencia.
[29] Yuçé de Grajar\textsuperscript{140} 
[30] Haron, su fijo 
[31] Maestre Ysaque 
[32] Abrahán Lanado\textsuperscript{141} 
[33] Hayó\textsuperscript{142} 
[34] Jacó Halayo 
[35] Mosé de Frómesta\textsuperscript{143} 
[36] Semuel Azi 
[37] Mosé Pex 
[38] Abrahan Pex 
[39] Vidales 
[40] Semuel de Çea 
[41] don Ygal\textsuperscript{144} 

En XL judíos, son a XIII cada vno.

\textsuperscript{140} Grajal de Campos, in the province of Palencia.

\textsuperscript{141} Adjectival form from Castilian, Lana, “wool”.

\textsuperscript{142} Cfr. [16] and [39]. Augmentative of Heb. Hayyim.

\textsuperscript{143} Detoponymic surname. Frómista, in the province of Palencia.

\textsuperscript{144} I could not attest the use of this name, probably from heb. Yigal ?
### 3.2

**ARChV, Hijosdalgo 902/2**

s.d. (segunda mitad del s. XV)

copia

*Padrón de Repartimiento*

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio 22v</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1] Abrahán Maestro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] Doña Orodueña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5] Semuel Timón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[7] Abrahán Morejón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[8] Catalina Toche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[9] Hombre Bueno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[10] Ysaque Asi</td>
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<thead>
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<th>Folio 23 r</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[12] Semuel de Carrión</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[13] Rabí Yuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[14] Yuçé Lanado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[15] Abrahan de Çea, hierno de Ysaque</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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145 I could not document the etymology of this surname. Catalina was a given name shared by Jews and Christians but not very often used among Jewish women in the Middle Ages.

146 Castilian translation of the Heb. *Yom Tov*.

147 *Yom Tov*. He was exempt from paying because of his profession.
| No. | Nombre | Patrón | Matrícula | Nota
|-----|--------|--------|----------|------
| 16  | Rabí Yuçé Evenastra | C | XX | 
| 17  | Mayor Abenagra, su fijo | C | XX | 
| 18  | Abrahán Asi | C | XX | 
| 19  | Abrahán Cota | C | XX | 
| 20  | Herrón de Grajar | C | XX | 
| 21  | Ysaque Benjamín, tiene carta de libertad por cinco años | --- | --- | 
| 22  | Maestre Ysaque Verday | C | XX | 
| 23  | Semuel de Gordalisa | LXXX | | 
| 24  | Abrahán de Gordalisa | LX | | 
| 25  | Ysaque de Gordalisa | LX | | 
| 26  | Su fijo Jacó | LX | | 
| 27  | Ojaluo | LX | | 

[fol. 23 v]

| No. | Nombre | Patrón | Matrícula | Nota
|-----|--------|--------|----------|------
| 28  | Yuçé Lauando | LXXX | | 
| 29  | La de Moçé Coto | C | XX | 
| 30  | La de Mosé Asi | C | XX | 
| 31  | Mosé Pax | C | XX | 

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148 Evenastra and the following Abenagra are misreadings of a patronymic that the notary could not understand. Transcriptions are quite disrupted in this tax record copy.

149 Laredo, Les noms, II, 1058, considers it a detoponymic surname, through the arabic appellative Yaqut. It is a well-known surname used as well among converso population, e.g. Rodrigo de Cota, Faiguenboim, Sobrenomes, 232.

150 Here used as a surname.

151 The correct transcription of the surname made by the notary is dubious.

152 Cfr. Saldaña, 3.1. [24].

153 In this tax record the unitary structure of designation through a given name without any other marks, which is a rare procedure, is used five times: [27] Ojaluo, [33] Alciano, [48] Vidales, [49] Ajías and [54] Ayalo. Obviously all of them are names or surnames that are not commonly used so that the tax payer can be identified without any difficulty among the members of the Jewish community.

154 Probably a misreading of the surname Pix, Pex. Cfr. Saldaña 3.1. [37]; 3.2 [41]; 3.3 [43].
<p>| | |</p>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[32]</td>
<td>Su fijo Semuel que vive en las casas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>de Afonso Gonsales, clérigo alçeano(^{155}) [sic] C XX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[33]</td>
<td>Alciano</td>
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<tr>
<td>[34]</td>
<td>Yuçé de Grajar</td>
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<td>[35]</td>
<td>La de Tresetina(^{156})</td>
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<td>[36]</td>
<td>El yerno de Yuçé de de [sic] Grajar</td>
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<td>[37]</td>
<td>El fijo de [A]lçiano</td>
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<td>[38]</td>
<td>El rabí de los judíos</td>
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<td>[39]</td>
<td>Mayor Asi</td>
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<td>[40]</td>
<td>Haron de Çea</td>
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<tr>
<td>[41]</td>
<td>Salomon Pix</td>
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<td>[42]</td>
<td>Habraan Lauado</td>
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<tr>
<td>[43]</td>
<td>Mosé de Frómesta</td>
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<td>[44]</td>
<td>Samuel Asi</td>
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<td>[45]</td>
<td>Mosé de Sea</td>
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<td>[46]</td>
<td>Yuçé Maestro</td>
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<td>[47]</td>
<td>El rabí de las judías(^{157})</td>
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<td>[48]</td>
<td>Vidales</td>
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<td>[49]</td>
<td>Ajías</td>
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<td>[50]</td>
<td>Leser Asi</td>
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<tr>
<td>[51]</td>
<td>Yucé Cota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[52]</td>
<td>Ysaque Modor</td>
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</table>

\(^{155}\) Interestingly the reference shows that Jewish inhabitants lived in rented houses of Christian property. The notary repeated unnecessarily the following name, which indicates the difficulties to identify the given name.

\(^{156}\) I could not attest this form.

\(^{157}\) In this tax record are mentioned two rabbis: one for men and another for women. In Sephardic communities it is well known that women were taught and instructed particularly by the cantor (heb. Sheliah tzibur or hazzan). This reference could be more suitable also here, instead of considering the existence of two rabbis in a small community like Saldaña.
[53] Abrahán Bardian\textsuperscript{158} C XX

[54] Alayo C XX

[55] El fijo ¿del que es?\textsuperscript{159} LXXX

[56] La madre de Samuel de Carrión LX

[57] La hermana de Ysaque Asi XL

[58] Mese\textsuperscript{160} Mayor C XX

Fecho y sacado corregido y consertado fue este traslado del dicho padrón original que [fol. 24v] hestaba en el archibo de la dicha villa de Saldaña que de pedimiento del dicho Luis Vermúdez, deligençiero, saqué, el qual va cierto y bien sacado según y de la manera que estaba en el dicho original sin firma ninguna, el qual saqué he hize sacar en la dicha villa de Saldana a 20 días del mes de nobienbre e mille quinientos y ochenta y un años.

\textsuperscript{158} There are two possible explanations for this designation: a short variant of basque surname, Barandiarán or the lat. Bardinus. In any case, it is not common among Jewish population.

\textsuperscript{159} The transcription is correct but it has no sense.

\textsuperscript{160} Maestre
fol. 24 v
[fol. 15 r] En la villa de Saldaña a doce a abril de setenta y cuatro años Juan Gonçales, alcalde y Gonzalo Garcia e Juan de la Huerta, regidores de la villa de Saldaña y Juan del Campo e Luis de Grado e Juan de Pedroza, cuadrilleros e Françisco Samaniego repartieron este padrón que se sigue para pagar mill y ochoçientos de un deramamiento de villa y tierra que coxó García Gómez a çiento y ochenta la cáñama que coxó a la villa diez cáñamas e para pagar Alfonso de la Puerta otra que cojó por villa y tierra a doçientos y tres que son II U XXX e para pagar al frayle I U CI e para pagar nueve cargas y un quarto de trigo que copo a la villa y a sus varrios, que pagaron los judíos tres cargas, los quales se le pagaron a CXXX la carga que montaron II U C, que son por todos UII U CXXX maravedies [fol. 15 v] ansi que quedan U U CCCCXXX maravedís los quales se derramaron por los pecheros desta villa y sus barrios en esta manera a XI la cáñama y a maravedí el millón, los quales I U DCC los dichos tomaron en sí de las dichas tres cargas de pan que prestaron e los III U maravedies porque ello hizieron obligación Sancho Dias y Garçia Gonsales y Juan Angon, alcaldes.

[fol. 20 r] En Saldaña este año a treze de abril del dicho año de setenta y cuatro años hestando Juan Goncales e Diego Martínez e Juan de la Fuente, regidores e Garçia Gonçâles alcalde dieron a coger este padrón suso dicho a Goncalo, fijo de Garçia Gómez e Diego de Mercado, mayordomos de la dicha villa, el qual dicho padrón monta VI U C III maravedís para pagar a las personas en él contenido según está a la caueza deste padrón e a le dar coxido fasta quinze días por menos e dio Diego de Mercado por su fiador Luis de Grado, vezino de Saldaña [...].

[fol. 20 v]

Judíos

[1] Abrahán Maestro
[4] Ça Maestro

---

161 In this tax record the transcriptions of the notary are very corrupt so that it has not been easy to identify some given and Jewish surnames.
[5] La de Arán Morijo\textsuperscript{162} XV
[6] Su hijo XV
[7] La fija de Ysur\textsuperscript{163} XV
[8] Sabarru\textsuperscript{164} LV
[9] su yerno XXV
[10] Abrán de Andalisa\textsuperscript{165} X
[12] Mayr, fijo de don Ca Jus XXXV
[13] Donmunios\textsuperscript{166} C LXXXV
[14] Mosé, su fijo XXXV
[15] Abrán de Çia\textsuperscript{167} XXXV
[16] Mayr Abenasar XXXV
[17] Su padre y el Yuçe XX
[18] Simuel de Gallo\textsuperscript{168} XX
[19] La de Abraham Jus LXXX
[20] Don Abrán Cota LXXXV
[21] Ysaque Benjamí XXV
[22] Aron de García Jus XXX
[23] Santó, su hermano XX

\textsuperscript{162} It seems to be a misreading from the original tax record.

\textsuperscript{163} ¿Ysaac?

\textsuperscript{164} Probably a corrupted nickname.

\textsuperscript{165} Gordalisa, cfr. Saldaña 3.1 , [24], and 3.2, [23] [24] [25].

\textsuperscript{166} Misreading

\textsuperscript{167} Çea

\textsuperscript{168} De Carrión
[fol. 21 r]

[24] Crescènte¹⁶⁹, el chapinero¹⁷⁰ XV
[25] Yuçé de Ancorri¹⁷¹ XXX
[26] el padre de rebí Yudá V
[27] Yacó Ojusno XV
[28] Maestro Ysaque LXXXV
[29] Semuel Timón LXXXV
[30] Semuel de Çía V
[31] Tanganillos XXX
[32] Yuçá de Garrai¹⁷² XXX
[33] el yerno de Çiano XV
[34] la fíja de Gridaliça V
[35] la de Mocé Cota XX
[36] La Vitona XXX
[37] el colcherón¹⁷³ XV
[38] Gordalisa XV
[39] Yucé Cota L
[40] Dona Leal¹⁷⁴ XXX
[41] Lasar Jus LV
[42] Lauando XXX

[fol. 21 v]

[43] Mosé Pex XXXV

¹⁶⁹ According to Laredo, Les noms, II, 1080, is a detoponymic surname, with different variants: Crexent, Creciente, Carciénte. It is a well known surname among Jewish population in Castile. Vid. Also, Faiguenboim, Sobrenomes, 233.

¹⁷⁰ Shoemaker

¹⁷¹ Detoponimic surname, but I could not find the place. If transcription is correct, may be from Basque country.

¹⁷² Detoponimic surname. Garray in the province of Soria.

¹⁷³ Bedspread maker, professional mark used as a sort of nickname.

¹⁷⁴ Castilian surname well documented in the Middle Ages. It is possible that in its origins was used as a affective and positive nickname. Cfr. Tax record of Medina de Pomar 4: [14].
[44]  La de Quesente\textsuperscript{175}  XX
[45]  Elceano  XX
[46]  su yerno  XX
[47]  Abrán Barday\textsuperscript{176}  XXX
[48]  Jacó de Serdalis  V
[49]  Mosé de Frómesta  C  XXX
[50]  El Garrido  LXXX
[51]  Semuel de García Jus  XX
[52]  Salamón Axias  XX
[53]  Rabí Yudá  XX
[54]  Vidalles  XL
[55]  Yusá Nustester\textsuperscript{177}  C  X
[56]  El de Villalón, don Salamón\textsuperscript{178}  C  XXX
[57]  Munuel\textsuperscript{179}  XX
[58]  El que uiue en las casas de Pero Martin\textsuperscript{180}  XX
[59]  el rabí de los judíos  XXX
[60]  Galayo Menbrado\textsuperscript{181}  XXX

[fol. 22 r]

[61]  Yusá Lancado\textsuperscript{182}  XXX

\textsuperscript{175} Crescente

\textsuperscript{176} Cfr. Saldaña 3.2. [22]

\textsuperscript{177} Yuçé. The surname is unintelligible.

\textsuperscript{178} This is another detoponimical way of designation that appears in Saldaña’s tax records for first time. In this case, we can assume that the payer not only comes from Villalón (in the province of Palencia) but also that he is not a regular resident in Saldaña.

\textsuperscript{179} Heb. diminutive of Imanuel but also used among Christian population. This unitary designation form is exceptional in the tax records, which may indicate it was not a very common given name among Castilian Jews.

\textsuperscript{180} The spacial location in this case replaces the antroponymical designation.

\textsuperscript{181} The transcription is clear but it has not sense.

\textsuperscript{182} ¿Yuçé Lauando? Cfr. Saldaña, 3.2. [28].
Tásase ello a los judíos en este derramo mill y setecientos.
Fol. 21 r

[Handwritten text not legible]

Fol. 21 v

[Handwritten text not legible]
Los que paresçe que han quedado por pagar las monedas

[fol. 1 r]

En la judería

[1] Habino Carrasco\textsuperscript{183}, el de Villasana
[2] Abrahán, físico
[3] Habino, mantero
[4] Yuçé, su fijo
[5] Jacó, fijo de Hauino Haýn\textsuperscript{184}
[6] Salamón Carrasco e Yontó, su hijo
[7] Doña Vruçara
[8] Mosé Amiel\textsuperscript{185}, fijo de Symuel Amiel
[9] Yudá Mañáñ\textsuperscript{186}, que juró por LXXVII
[10] Salamón Bahalú\textsuperscript{187}

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\textsuperscript{183} It is a surname shared with Christians. A three-named structure, with a detoponymic surname. Villasana de Mena, in the province of Burgos.

\textsuperscript{184} It is well known as a given name but it is scarcely used as a surname before 1492, vid. Faguenboim, Sobrenomes, 279-280.

\textsuperscript{185} Theophorical given name used as a surname, heb. Amiel, “servant, people of God”.

\textsuperscript{186} Cfr. [45], [46] and [50]. It is not documented in the repertoires I have consulted. Variants: Mañá.

\textsuperscript{187} According to Laredo, Les noms, I: 397, stems from berber Bahlul. Variants: Bahalut, s. XIV (Borja); Bahalu (Toledo, before 1492).
[12] La de Mosé Latorre
[13] Symuel, su fijo
[14] Jacó, fijo de doña Leal
[15] La de don Ça Hase
[16] Doña Hermosa
[17] Don Jacó Bahalú [Al margen: juró. Pagó ... en LXXVI]
[18] La de Mosé Touí [Al margen: X]
[19] La de Symuel de Naja [...] e sus fijos [Al margen: En LXXVI]
[21] Salamón Medina [Al margen: Juró]
[22] Su suegra. [Dixo ella que pagó e dio por moneda]
[23] Ça Agudo
[24] Rabí Sentó Leal [Al margen: Juró tenía dados]
[25] Su muger XXX

[fol. 1 v]

[26] Doña, la de Rabí Ça Leal
[27] Jacó, fijo de don Mosé Leal [Al margen: Juró pagó en LXXVI]
[28] Doña Soloro
[29] El procurador
[31] Yuçé Amiel, fijo de Ysaque Amiel [Al margen: juró]
[33] Haýn Sotyel [Al margen: juró]
[34] La de Don Abraham Mañán

---

188 Cfr. Tax Record, Saldaña, 3.2 [40].

189 Heb. Tov, abbreviated form of Biblical Tobiya, "kindness of God". In medieval Castile is documented only as surname. Spread all over Magreb and Sephardic diaspora, vid. Faiguenboim, Sobrenomes, 405; Laredo, Les noms, 604-605; Pinto, 278.

190 Detoponimic surname of arab origin.

191 Shared surname among Jews and Christians. It has a double use with the meaning of "bright, smart" and also as toponomic.
Salamón Harditi
Yudá Bahalú, que lo ygualó su muger.
La nieta de Don Salamón Leal en LXXVI
Yuçé de Harajas192, está por dº e pagó
La de Yuçé de Harajas [Al margen: pagó la forera]
La de Abraham Amico [Al margen: pagó la forera]
Mosé, su fijo, dº [Al margen: pagó en LXXVI]
Yudá Sotiel
La muger de Salamón de Frías193 e sus fijos
Don Ça de Arroyuelo
Sentó Mañán
Don Ça Mañán
La gabaya
Doña Vruñara
Salamón Toví
Salamón Mañán
La de Yudá Pajón e Mosé, su fijo.
Las nietas de Salamón Aguado
Jacó de Arroyuelo

Lo que ha reçebido Salomón Hamores es lo siguiente

En la juderia

Resçibió de Oroçety, fija de Salomón Leal, LX, los quales le pagó Mosé Leal.
Más resçebió Abillo194, el jubetero, XLV
De doña Oruçety, la de don Ça Abenamías, XXV
Del fijo del sillero, LX
De cobrança […] de fruente de la sinoga XXI

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192 Dubious reading.
193 In the province of Burgos.
194 Surname with the meaning of “bright, skilled”.
5

Dueñas (Palencia)

5.1

*ARChV*, Hijosdalgo 484/8

**Padrón de repartimiento de la martiniega y para los peones de la guerra de Granada así como para otras cosas concejiles. Santa María**

1488 – 1489
original

[Fol. 1 r]

Este es el padrón del quarto de Santa María de las dos martiniegas del año de LXXXVIII e LXXXIX años que se derramaron así para los peones de la guerra de los moros deste año de IX como para otras cosas concejiles.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>XX</th>
<th>[1]</th>
<th>don Ça Lasar XX</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LXIII</td>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>Mosé de Soto¹⁹⁵</td>
<td>LX</td>
<td>III</td>
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<td>XII</td>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>Mayr Çalama XII</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>II</td>
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<td>LXIII</td>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>Symuel Obed¹⁹⁶</td>
<td>LX</td>
<td>III</td>
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<td>LXIII</td>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>Ysaque Obed LXIII</td>
<td>LX</td>
<td>III</td>
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<td>XXXII</td>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>Yuçé de Soto LXIII</td>
<td>LX</td>
<td>III</td>
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<td>XXXII</td>
<td></td>
<td>casas del prior de Santisydoro</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>II</td>
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<td>[7]</td>
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<td>Rabý Sentó XXXII</td>
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<td>II</td>
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<td>[8]</td>
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<td>Yudá Franco III</td>
<td>III</td>
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<td>[9]</td>
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<td>la nuera de Abenros¹⁹⁷ II</td>
<td>II</td>
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¹⁹⁶ Heb. *Obed*, “who works”. It is a genuine hebrew surname among Castilian Jews, with no parallel in Christian anthroponomy.


Augmentative of Morato, lat. Maurus, but with lost of any religious reference. It was indistinctly used by Jews and Christians. It can also be interpreted as a color surname, “brunet”, Faiguenboim, Sobrenames, 332.

Professional mark, “midwife”, but with the article it functions as a nickname. Cfr. Dueñas, 5.2 [10], la partala.

Doubious transcription

Rare variation of Heb. Yom Tov, but in this case, literal translation of heb. Saná tová.

Detoponymic surname: Cevico de la Torre, in the province of Palencia.

Color surname, widely used among Jews in Middle Ages and Sephardic Diaspora since s. XIII.

Arab. ḥayyat, “tailor”.

I could not find any suitable but arabic ethymology.
Garçon

Rabý Jaldete

su fijo

el yerno de Yucé Farache

Achote

su fijo el mayor

Fierro, físico

Carmas, el judío

Mosé Castellano

Fueron empadronadores destas martiniegas Juan Alonso Cacharro e Bartolomé Herrero e Loys de Peñafiel e Rodrigo Alonso de Tariego. Físose esto a X días de enero de LXXXIX años.

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209 French. Garçon, a common surname in medieval Christian Spain to express youth, vitality and courtesy towards women. It is a quite frequent surname among Jews of Castile in XVth century but it is not an exclusive one for this group, vid. Laredo, Les noms, I, 459; Faiguenboim, Sobrenomes, 269.

210 Laredo, Les noms, II, 974 explains this surname as a toponimic. From my point of view, phonetically it can be considered of arabic origin, al-farayj.

211 Clearly a nickname.

212 It is not common in these tax records the religious mark “the Jew”, because all of the tax payers are Jews. The use of a nickname that can be attributed also to Christians, as it is the case, determined this special appositive mark.
5.2

ARCHV, Hijosdalgo 484/8

Padrón de repartimiento de la martiniega y para los peones de la guerra de Granada así como para otras cosas concejiles. Santotis

1488 – 1489
original

[fol. 11r] Este es el padrón de la villa de Santotis de la villa de Dueñas de las dos martiniegas, la una del año pasado de LXXXVIII y la otra es deste año de LXXXIX años que se echaron así para los peones de la guerra este año como para otras cosas del concejo desta villa.

[fol. 12 r]

[1] La judía de la Parra\(^{213}\) e su hijo XX XX i

[...]\(^{213}\) Again, together with a detoponymic designation, the mark “Jewish woman” to specify her religious adscription.

XLIII [2] don Ça Çalama XLIII LX III I i


XL [4] Salamón Çalama XL XL i

XX [5] Symuel Reyno XX XX i

I IIII [6] Reyno, el moço IIII III

XL [7] Rabý Océ Alalú\(^{214}\) XL XL

XX [8] Ça Reyno XXXII XXX II

VIII [9] Jacó Boriguero\(^{215}\) VIII VIII

XL [10] Symuel Farache XL XL


XX [12] Simuel Laçar, el moço XX

\(^{214}\) May be a detoponymic designation, from Alaló, in the province of Soria.

\(^{215}\) A professional mark. Old Castilian, borreguero, “caregiver sheep”.

105
[fol. 12 v]

XXXX [14] Symuel Alalú XL
LXIII [15] La de Sentó Alalú LXIII
XXXII [16] Harabon XXXII
X [17] Barata\textsuperscript{216}X
XII [18] Avuel, texedor XII
XVIII [19] Manuel XXVIII
XX [20] don Ça Françés XX
III [21] Jacó el laçafe\textsuperscript{217} III
LXIII [22] Symuel Pygaço LXIII
X [23] Velleçid Dies\textsuperscript{218}
[24] La pellyjera\textsuperscript{219} II

[...]

[fol. 14 v]

II [25] Pancorbo\textsuperscript{220}, judío II
[26] El fyjo de Reyno

[fal. 15 v] Fueron enpadronadores, de las dos martiniegas Juan Alonso Cachorro e Bartolomé Herrero e Luis de Peñafiel e Rodrigo Alonso de Tariego, vecinos de Dueñas. Fecho a X días de enero año de XLXXXIX.

\textsuperscript{216} Clearly a nickname but I cannot guess its exact meaning.

\textsuperscript{217} Dubious reading

\textsuperscript{218} Castilian patronymic Diez. It is the only case in all tax records that a Jew has a patronymic Castilian form in –ez, "son of". There is no any evidence to consider that Castilian surnames in –ez have a Jewish origin as it is usually claimed.

\textsuperscript{219} Professional mark to designate a woman that works and tans animal skins.

\textsuperscript{220} An interesting case of the use of a detoponimic designation in a unitary structure that can be interpreted as a nickname. Pancorbo is a small village located in the province of Burgos.
[fol. 19 r] Este es el padrón de la quadrilla de Santa María de la villa de Dueñas que los reyes mandaron derramar este año de LXXXIX años.

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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[1] Don Ça Lazar XVI</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[2] Mosé de Soto XVI</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[3] el yerno de Çalama</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[4] Yucé de Soto</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[5] Symuel Obed</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[6] Jacó Obed</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[7] los Reynos</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[8] Jacó Moratón XVI</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[9] su madre</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[10] La partala</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[11] Pycador</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[12] Tormez(^{221}), judío</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[13] Los fyjos de Ça Año Bueno</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[14] Harache, judío</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[15] el rabí Blanco(^{222})</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[16] Mosé Amarillo</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[17] Davyd Hayate</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[18] Rabý Santó, físico</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[19] Yudá Franco</td>
<td>X VI i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{221}\) Transcription is not sure.

\(^{222}\) Here used as a given name, “white”.
| 20 | Bary\textsuperscript{223} Jaldete | X | VI | i |
| 21 | Mosé Pigaço | X | VI | i |
| 22 | Fyerro, fisyc | X | VI | i |

[fol. 19 v]

| 23 | el yerno de Harache | X | VI | i |
| 24 | Mosé Abari | X | VI | i |
| 25 | Achote | X | VI | i |

\textsuperscript{223} Barú
5.4

ARChV, Hijosdalgo 484/8

Padrón de repartimiento de la moneda forera. Santotis

1489
original

[fol. 23 r] Este es el padrón de la moneda forera año de LXXXIX, años que los reyes, nuestros señores, mandaron derramar.

[fol. 25 r]

pº  [1]  Pancorbo\textsuperscript{224}  X  VI  i

[...]  [2]  Torres, judío  X  i
XVI  [3]  la judía de la Parra  X  VI  i
XVI  [4]  su fijo, otros  X  VI  i

[...]  XVI  [5]  Torrarro, judío  X  VI  i
XVI  [6]  Reyno, el moço  X  VI  i

[...]  XVI  [7]  Santó Çalama  X  VI  [i]
XVI  [8]  Reyno, carnicerero  X  VI  [i]
XVI  [9]  don Ça Çalama  X  [VI]  [i]
XVI  [10]  sus fíjos, dos  X  [roto]

[fol. 25 v]

XVI  [11]  Ça Reyno XVI  X  VI
XVI  [12]  Rabý Oçe Alalú XVI  X  VI

\textsuperscript{224} In tax record 5.2. it appears with the ethnic and religious mark, but not here apart from two new ones: [2] and [5]. Nevertheless, this tax record offers a wide range of bi-named structures, with professional marks: [8] [13] [22], [24], or family kindship references to the previous tax payer [4] and [10].
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[14] Symuel Farache XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[15] Yudá Reyno</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[16] Yuçé Farache XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[17] Symuel Alalú XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<td>XI</td>
<td>[18] Jacó Lasar</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<td>XVI</td>
<td>[19] Harabón XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[20] La de Sentó Alalú XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[21] Barata</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vlmº/Xmº</td>
<td>[22] Avuel, tejedor</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[23] Manuel XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[24] Çanías&lt;sup&gt;225&lt;/sup&gt;, çapatero</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[25] don Ça Francés XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<td>XVI</td>
<td>[26] Symuel Pygueço</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>[27] Villeçid XVI</td>
<td>X VI</td>
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<sup>225</sup> The transcription is not sure.