

## Names of Jews in Medieval Navarre (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries)

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### Abstract

This paper analyses names of Jews in the rich diplomatic collection “Navarra Judaica. Documentos para la Historia de los judíos del reino de Navarra” (Juan Carrasco Pérez, Fermín Miranda García, Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero; vols. 1–3.2; 1994–1999) in an attempt to contribute to the so far little investigated area of Jewish Name Studies, that is, Medieval Names of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula. After general observations on the onomasticon of the Navarrese Jews relating to statistics, etymological layers, differences between the names of men and women, etc., special attention is paid to the first names of Jews of Latin-Romance etymology, like Bueno, Abenveniste, Buenastruga (f.), Vita, Horabuena Sol (f.), etc.; surnames or nicknames, like Ezquerro, Falaguero, Pesat, Gordo, Moreno, Amarillo, including professions like Argentero or Peletero, etc. The primary aim of the analysis is to detect the naming mechanisms within the Navarrese Jewish community in the Mediterranean Sephardic context.

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### 1. Research on Sephardic names<sup>1</sup>

Although the field of Jewish onomastics has witnessed a real boom in the last decades, certain historical aspects continue to be neglected. The Sephardic onomasticon, especially its early history starting from the first evidence in the medieval documentation up to the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, has not been extensively investigated up to now<sup>2</sup>. The onomastic bibliographies of Lawson (1987, 1997 and 2003) and of Singerman / Gold (2001) list only some thirty papers on Sephardic names. Most of the few existing publications on Sephardic names are retrospective: surnames of modern families with Sephardic background are traced back to their roots in medieval Spain and Portugal (cf. Pita Merce 1975, Roblin 1951 or Kerem 1999). Authors of historical monographs on the Jewry of the Iberian Peninsula occasionally discuss the names of particular persons. Thus, Leroy (1985) comments on the surnames of influential Jewish families in medieval Navarre and Carrasco (1993) lists the most frequent names of French Jews in the Navarrese documents. The dictionary of Guggenheimer and Guggenheimer (1996) contains numerous Sephardic first names and their derivations. Cantera / Millás (1956) explain the meaning of many personal names attested in Hebrew inscriptions of Spain. Kaganoff (1977) offers a brief introduction to particular features of Sephardic naming customs. But there is little interest in the medieval anthroponymy as a whole, with first names and bynames included, as well as in the prospective dimension which is tracing the development of the onomasticon from the first attestations up to modern forms. There is no respective monograph that could be compared to the investigation of Seror 1989 for the names of Jews in medieval France. The latter does not follow the criteria of a scientific edition and is not always exhaustive from a linguistic point of view (cf. the review of Billy 1990), and yet it offers an extremely useful collection of names. A historical dictionary with comments on the etymology and naming motivation is equally nonexistent. The recently published *Dictionary of Sephardic Surnames* by Faiguenboim, Valadares and Campagnano (São Paulo 2003) only contains scanty remarks on the linguistic

character of surnames (e.g., toponymic, patronymic, occupational, biblical, etc.) and their location after the expulsion. Medieval material has barely been included due to “the scarcity of sources” (117–119). Yet, Sephardic names abound in the medieval diplomatic documentation of the Iberian Peninsula, as will be shown in this paper.

The lack of interest is astonishing since Sephardic names make up an extremely important part of the Jewish heritage. The identity of modern Jewish names cannot be defined without understanding the medieval onomasticon. It should be noted however, that a systematic historical investigation of Sephardic anthroponymy would not be an easy undertaking, since solid competence in Hebrew, Hispano-Arabic and Romance philologies would be required. A high degree of difficulty might partly explain the lack of attention to this field of studies.

## 2. Early attestations of the names of Jews in the Christian context

The first Jews in the Iberian Peninsula formed part of the ancient diaspora that was dispersed into all the provinces of the Roman Imperium (Baer 1961, 1,16). The first attestations of the Jewish presence go back to the 3<sup>d</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. (Rother 2001, 325). Names of Jews appear only in three inscriptions of Late Antiquity written (partly) in Latin: *Meliosa* filia *Iudanti* et cura *Maries* s.d. Cantera/Millás 1956, 270–271 (found in Tortosa), [*An*]nia *Salo*[*mo*]nula s.3 ib. 405–406 (found in Adra), *Isidora* filia benememorii *Ionati* et *Axiaes* s.d. ib. 416–417 (found in Pallaresos). In the first and the second examples, the names *Iudanti* from Hebrew *Jehuda* (Greek-Latin *Iuda* / *Iudas*) and *Salomonula* from Hebrew *Schelomoh* (Greek-Latin *Salomon* / *Solomon*) are formed with Latin suffixes and are perfectly adapted to the Latin language system. *Annia* is a Latin gentilicium probably given under the influence of Hebrew *Hannah*. A daughter of a Jew in the first example bears a Latin name *Meliosa* from Latin MEL ‘honey’. *Isidora*, the daughter of *Ionata*, bears a Greek name. The names of Greek or Latin etymology prevail over those of Hebrew origin among the Jews of ancient Rome (Solin 1983, 711).

During the late Visigothic period, starting from the decrees of King Sisebut (612–621), there developed strong anti-Semitic manifestations. Under the King Egica (687–700) the enslavement of the whole Jewish population was planned (Rother 2001, 325–328). Consequently it is no surprise that the Muslim conquest of a large part of the Peninsula in the first decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> century was welcomed by a majority of the Jews. The Jewish population preferred to stay in the Muslim domain and it was not until the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries that the first Jewish communities were established in the Christian territories in the North (Rother 2001, 325–332).

In the course of work on my doctoral thesis, which is dedicated to the medieval names of pre-Roman, Greek, Latin and Romance origin in the Iberian Peninsula (6<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries), I collected some fifty attestations of names of Jews with the identifying tags *ebreo*, *-a*, *iudeo*, *-a*, *israelita* or *rabbi*. The attestations from various diplomatic collections, which can be considered some of the earliest secure testimonies of names of Jews in the Christian North, follow below in chronological order:

*Habaz* quondam *judeos* postea uero *christianis* et *monacus* / ipse *Nabaz* a.905 DiplPeriodoAstur 2,322; in terra de *Maior* *ebreo* a.963(or.) DiplBarcelona 1, 264; in terra de *Ofilo* *ebreo* a.975(or.) ib. 1, 316; terminum de *Abzecri* *iudeo* a.977 CDSahagún 1, 350; uinea de *Moise* vel de *Beneuenisti* *ebreos* a.984 CartStCugat 1, 132–133; terra de *Abram* *ebreo* a.986 DiplBarcelona 1, 356; terra de *Beneuenisti* *ebreo* a.986 ib. 1, 357; uinea de *Donadeo* *ebreo* a.987(or.) ib. 1, 373; *Saluator* *ebreo* a.987 ib. 1, 378; terras qui fuerunt de *Nathan* *ebreo* a.988(or.) ib. 1, 385; in terra de *Gento* *ebreo* a.989(or.) ib. 1, 406; in casales qui fuerunt de *Donnegoco* uel de *Mauro* *ebreo* a.990(or.) ib. 1, 420; in casales de *Uiuas* *ebreo* siue de *Iacob* *ebreo* a.990(or.) ib. 1, 420; uineales de *Beneuenisti* a.992 ib. 1, 435; *Ava* *ebrea* a.992 ib. 1, 435; *Belleo* *ebreo* a.992 ib. 1, 435; *Felicias* *ebrea* a.992 ib. 1, 435; *Iuda* *ebreo* a.992 ib. 1, 435; *Machero* *ebreo* a.992 ib. 1, 435; *Pesado* *ebreo* a.992 ib. 1, 435; in terra de *Beneuinisti* *ebreo* a.994 ib. 1, 477; uinea de *Mosse* Pantiga *hebreo* a.995(or.) ib. 1, 498; *Vitas* *hebreo* a.1008 DocChronSampiroLeón 463; mansiones de *Bens* *hebreo* a.1010 CartStCugat 2, 70; *Citiello* *iudeo* a.1017 CartStMillán(Ubieto) 162; *Crescente* *hebreo* ts.

a.1018 PMHDiplomata 148 (LPretoCoimbra); limite de *Hacon* iudeo a.1024 CartStMillán(Ubieto) 172; *Muza* iudeo a.1024 ib. 172; *Nomenbonu* ebreo a.1038 CDCatedralLeón 4, 92, termino de *Nomen Bono* hebreo a.1049 ib. 4, 247; *Copiosa* ebreo a.1040 DocJuderíaLeón 178; vinea de rabbi *Algazar* a.1043 DocLeire 65; vinea de filiis *Murain* ebreo a.1043 ib. 65; *Thiara* ebreo fidiator a.1043 ib. 66; *Fiduciale* ebreo a.1044 DocJuderíaLeón 179; *Banço* iudeo a.1050 DocLeire 81; *Bonom* hebreo a.1061 ArxiuStAnnaBarcelona 2, n°79; illo iudeo qui dicebatur *Marlahin* qui erat rabbi a.1063 CartStMillán(Ubieto) 315; *Çaac* iudeo a.1071 DocLeire 141; *Bonavite* israelite / *Bonavite* hebreo a.1078 CartStCugat 2, 355; *Bonhomo* filio *Mosse* hebreo a.1093 ib. 2, 410; uinea de *Daudi* ebreo a.1093 PMHDiplomata 474 (Lorvão); *Perfecti* iudei a.1116 CartStCugat 3, 34; *Aion Azizi* iudeo a.1156 DiplPoblet n°189; *Choen* iudeo a.1166 ib. n°280, ego *Chohen* et uxor mea *Cethor* a.1166 ib. n°300; ego *Haion* iudeo et uxori mee *Cetbona* a.1166 ib. n°280; *Haion* de Zuz iudeo a.1166 ib. n°280; *Rosello* hebreo a.1167(1212) ib. n°318

This corpus is small and yet quite representative of the early medieval Sephardic onomasticon. All the persons with two exceptions (*Mosse Pantiga* and *Aion Azizi*) bear only one name which corresponds to the later first name. Bynames started to appear in the Iberian Peninsula sporadically as early as in the 10<sup>th</sup> century but they did not become frequent until the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

Regarding the etymology many of the above mentioned names are biblical: *Abram* (*Abraham*), *Ava* f. (*Eva*), *Algazar* (*Eleazar*), *Jacob*, *Çaac* (*Isaac*), *Iuda*, *Moise* / *Mosse* (*Moses*), *Nathan*. The Jewish name *par excellence* *Choen* (from Hebrew ‘priest’, title of the priests from the lineage of Aaron, ELJF 99) appears in 1166 in Catalonia. *Gento* attested in 989 also in Catalonia is explained by Seror 1989, 47 as a French form (*Jentou*) of Hebrew *Yom Tov* ‘holy day’. But the name *Shem Tov* ‘good name’ fits better to *Gento* phonetically. *Aion* / *Haion* is an old Sephardic form of Hebrew *Haim* ‘life’ according to ELJF 185. *Hacon* is a Sephardic diminutive of a short form of *Isaac Haki* / *Hakou* (ELJF 186). *Machero*, *Marlahin* and *Murain* might also be Sephardic forms of Hebrew names like *Menachem* (cf. the form *Mulaim* in ELJF 300) or names of Arabic origin. *Daudi* und *Muza* are Arabic forms of biblical *David* and *Moses*. The byname *Azizi* is Arabic with the meaning ‘strong, noble, beloved’, one of the bynames of Allah and also a biblical name (ELJF 29). *Abzecri* is an Arabic compound of the *kunya* *abu* ‘father of’ and *Zecri*, an Arabic diminutive of biblical *Zecharia* (ELJF 511). *Habaz* might be the common semitic name *Abbas* (ELJF 1). The female name *Cethor* might be Hebrew or Arabic.

About one-half of the names are of Latin-Romance origin: *Banço* (Roman nomen BANTIUS<sup>3</sup>), *Belleo* (more likely from BELLUS ‘beautiful’, but the structure is unclear), *Benevenisti* ‘welcome’, *Bens* (Roman nomen BENTIUS), *Bonom* / *Bonhomo* (BONUSHOMO ‘good man’), *Bonavita* ‘good life’, *Copiosa* ‘abundant’, *Crescente* (CRESCENTIUS from CRESCERE ‘grow’), *Donadeo* ‘God gives’, *Mauro* (MAURUS ‘moor’), *Felcidas* (FELICITAS ‘happiness’), *Fiduciale* ‘trustworthy’, MAIOR ‘elder’, *Nomenbonu* / *Nomen Bono* ‘good name’, *Perfecti* (PERFECTUS ‘perfect’), *Pesado* ‘heavy’, *Rosello* ‘fair- or red-haired’, SALVATOR ‘saviour’, *Vitas* from VITA ‘life’, *Vivas* from VIVERE ‘live’. Several of these names appear to be translations from Hebrew: *Vitas* and *Vivas* correspond to *Haim* ‘life’, *Crescente* to *Zemach* ‘branch’, *Benevenisti* to the greeting *shalom*, *Perfecto* to the lexeme and the name *Shalom* with connotations ‘peace’ and ‘perfect’ (Kaganoff 1977, 13; 57). These names were popular among Jews and rare or not attested among Christians. *Nomen Bono* ‘good name’ equates to *Shem Tov*; *Bonhomo* ‘good man’ to *Benjamin*. It is however questionable, whether translations from Hebrew played a dominant role in all the cases. It can be assumed that the augurative names like *Bonhomo*, *Bonavita*, *Nomen Bono* were chosen because of their positive connotations. The Romance names reserved for the Jews like *Benevenisti* or *Perfecto* are more likely to be translations. Christian names like theophoric *Donadeo* ‘God gives’ or *Salvator* ‘saviour’ are present in the Jewish onomasticon as well. The names *Mauro* ‘dark-skinned’, *Pesado* ‘corpulent’ and *Rosello* ‘fair-haired’ refer to appearance. *Citiello* is a Romance diminutive of *Cidi*, the name derived from the lexeme *cid* ‘Lord’ borrowed into Romance from Arabic. The female name *Cetbona* seems to be a compound with the female equivalent of *cid* and

BONUS (Cantera/Millás 1956, 122). *Maior*, possibly chosen because of the phonetic similarity to Hebrew *Meir* (ELJF 299), indicates an elder sibling. *Ofilo* seems to be the only name of Germanic origin (Piel / Kremer 1976, 211) in the corpus, Germanic names being highly popular among Christians in that period. The etymology of *Donnegoco*, *Pantiga* and *Thiara* is unclear. Only two names are unmistakably Jewish: *Choen* and *Gento*. The Romance name *Benevenisti* is not attested among Christians in that period. The rest of the names were shared by Jews and Muslims or Jews and Christians. Biblical names from the Old Testament like *Abraham*, *David*, *Eleazar* and *Moses* were not shunned by Christians in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many of the mentioned names, widespread among Jews in all the parts of the Iberian Peninsula, will appear later in Navarre.

### 3. Jews in Navarre

The kingdom of Navarre was founded at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, as the Basques chose their first ruler (*princeps*), Iñigo Arista (ca. 816–851). It first embraced just a few mountain peaks and valleys around Pamplona. One of the descendants of Arista, Sancho III the Great, who reigned from 1004 to 1035, continued the expansion to the west and the north initiated by his predecessors. Sancho the Great protected the pilgrims to Santiago on his territory and favoured the Cluny monastic reforms. At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Ebro Valley was reconquered from the Moslems by the king of Aragon, Alfonso the Battler, who was also the “King of Pamplona”. The kingdom of Navarre regained its independence under King García “el Restaurador”. In 1196 the Pope acknowledged Navarre as an independent kingdom. Sancho VII the Strong was one of the winners of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. By then the kingdom of Navarre had reached its present borders. In 1234 the kingdom was inherited by the nephew of Sancho the Strong, the son of Blanca of Navarre and Thibaut III of Champagne, Count Thibaut IV of Champagne, who became Thibaut I of Navarre. Since then the Capetian rulers of Navarre were more concerned with the happenings in France rather than in the Iberian Peninsula. The strong position of the Navarrese nobility prevented the absorption of the kingdom by the French monarchy. After Jeanne of Navarre-Champagne was given in marriage to Philippe of France in 1274, the French kings bore the title of kings of France and Navarre. In 1328, after the direct Capetian line became extinct, Navarre was given to Jeanne of France, daughter of Louis X the Quarreller, who was married to Philip, Count of Evreux. The reign of the Capetian line of Evreux-Navarre and the decrease of the French influence began. In 1425 the only legitimate heirs of King Carlos III the Noble were daughters. Blanca of Navarre transmitted the kingdom to her husband, Juan of Aragon. The son of Blanca and Juan of Aragon, Carlos de Viana, did not obtain the kingdom upon the death of his mother despite six years of fighting. Juan of Aragon transmitted the regency to his daughter Eleonor, who assigned it to her husband, Gaston de Foix-Béarn. Their granddaughter Catherine and her husband Juan d’Albret ruled in Navarre at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a second son of Juan of Aragon, Fernando, and his wife, Isabella of Castile, included Navarre among their dominions. In 1512 the kingdom was conquered by the armies of the Duke of Alva and Cardinal Cisneros (Leroy 1985, 1–7; Herbers 2006, 117–120; 202–204; 249–251).

The population of Navarre consisted of Gascons, Basques, French, Navarro-Aragonese, the Castilians in Soncierra, the Moslems in La Ribera and the Jews in the towns as well as in villages (Leroy 1985, 10). The Jewish community of Navarre was one of the most significant, although not one of the biggest, in the Iberian peninsula. Its origins lie in the 12<sup>th</sup> century in the cities of Tudela, Pamplona, Estella and Sangüesa, primarily along St. James’ Way and in the Ebro valley. According to different estimates between 300–400 Jewish families (Baer 1, 156), some 3,000 individuals<sup>4</sup> (Leroy 1985, 17) and 1,000 *fuegos* (hearths) (Carrasco 1993, 31) resided in the small Navarrese Kingdom in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. It makes some 5–6% of the Navarrese population,

which is estimated at 60,000 individuals (Leroy 1985, 4) or 18,000 *fuegos* (Carrasco ib.), and at least 4% of the Jewish population in the Christian territories of the Iberian peninsula, which might have reached 100,000 in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Rother 2001, 335). In the valleys around Tudela the concentration of Jews reached 20% (Herbers 2006, 272).

The importance of the local Jewish community is based on other factors than early settlements and statistics. In the first place, the Navarrese Jews possessed a special status that distinguished them from the Jews in Castile, Catalonia and France. The Jewish community was not an insignificant minority; it played a constitutive role in the development of the kingdom of Navarre (cf. Carrasco 1993, 23). The benefits the Jews enjoyed in Navarre favoured constant immigration from the neighbouring kingdoms. Navarre was destined to be the last refuge for numerous Jews of the Iberian Peninsula since they were expelled from this kingdom only in 1498, six years after the expulsion by Ferdinand and Isabella (1492) and two years after the Portuguese expulsion (1496).

When King Alfonso the Battler entered Tudela in 1121, he granted the *Fuero de Nájera* to the Jews of this city. Several chapters of the *Fuero General* of Navarre treat the Jewish population and their rights. The Jews were subject to the king and the king protected them as his personal property in return (Leroy 1985, 20). Religious freedom was officially recognized. Although the period of French domination brought a number of difficulties for the Navarrese Jews (cf. Gampel 1989, 4–5), they did not suffer as much as the northern French Jews. When the kings of England and France and the dukes of Aquitaine expelled the Jews in 1290, 1306, 1324 and 1394, the Capetian kings of Navarre granted refuge to them. While synagogues in France were forbidden, they expanded in Navarre. From 1121 a Jewish man or woman brought to court had to bring a witness of his religion and an observer from his *aljama* (Jewish quarter). The oath of a Jew had a full value. In 1360 the Infante, Louis of Navarre, promised his Jews that the king and his officers would observe the law of the Jews, just as the Jews would observe the law of the kingdom (Leroy 1985, 20–22). It is likely that the Jews of Navarre never sewed an identifying mark on their clothing despite the repeated orders of the Pope (Leroy 1985, 131). Despite ecclesiastic and government pronouncements intended to isolate the Jews, they resided both in the *juderías* (Jewish quarters) and among their Christian and Muslim neighbours (Gampel 1989, 14). A long period of tolerance was interrupted in 1276, as the *judería* of Pamplona was destroyed by the French army, and in 1328 during an interregnum, as local Christians instigated by a Minorite Father pillaged the *juderías* and murdered numerous Jews in Estella (Leroy 1985, 139). Around 1360 a period of conversions began (Leroy 1985, 142). In 1492 the rulers of Navarre, Catherine and Jean d'Albret, accepted refugees from Castile and Aragon. But in 1498 under pressure from the Catholic kings they expelled their Jews, still subjects of the King of Navarre (Leroy 1985, 146). Since it was prohibited for Jews to leave the Iberian Peninsula through Castile-Aragon after the expulsion edict of 1492, the Navarrese Jews were trapped. The majority of them remained in Navarre and converted to Christianity (Gampel 1989, 132).

The internal life of the Jewish community was regulated by the so-called *taqqanots* (law ordinance), which were formulated by *jurats* (elected councilors). Every decision had to be approved by the entire *aljama*. The administrator called *gabay* was responsible for community finances. The hierarchy was crowned by the *albedin* who received one third of the fines levied against guilty Jews. Almost a century later than in other Hispanic kingdoms, in 1390, the position of Chief Rabbi of Navarre was created. The first Chief Rabbi was Josef Orabuena, physician to the King of Navarre (Leroy 1985, 23–28).

Among the Navarrese Jews there were a number of notable Sephardic intellectuals. Rabbi Benjamin son of Yonah from Tudela (1130–1175) was the first of his time to write a book of travels in Hebrew. Navarre was the homeland of the Kabbalist Abraham Abulafia, Samuel Falaquera, Haim ben Samuel, Itzhak ben Josef, Yom Tov Ashvili, Shlomo ben Adret, Josef ben

Itzhak, Joel ben Shuaib. Judah HaLevi (ca. 1070–1141), the author of the *Kuzari*, and Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) lived in Tudela for some time (Leroy 1985, 28–29). Activities the Navarrese Jews performed next to their Christian and Moslem neighbours were irrigation, agriculture and winegrowing. Some occupations were reserved to the Jews: silversmithing, dressmaking, medicine and of course money-lending. These occupations accompany a great number of names of Jews in medieval documents<sup>5</sup>, cf. ‘silversmith’ (Salamon *argentero* a.1259–1266 NavarraJudaica 1, 84), ‘weaver’ (Elisay *teissedor* a.1305 ib. 1, 198), ‘tailor’ (Mosse *Alfayat*<sup>6</sup> a.1286 ib. 1, 145, Juda Jarra, *costurero* a.1351 ib. 3.1, 48), ‘physician’ (don Samuel *Alfachim*<sup>7</sup> a.1162, 1, 38, Salamoni *medico* a.1178 ib. 1, 48, magistro Enoc Constanitini *judeo phisico* a.1335 ib. 2, 74, Dauí fillo de Mosse *cirurgico* a.1336 ib. 2, 111). Further occupations were e.g., ‘parchment manufacturer’ (Gento *pargaminero* a.1280 ib. 1, 119), ‘dyer’ (Galaf *tinturero* a.1334 ib. 2, 44), ‘furrier’ (Samuel *Peletero* a.1280 ib. 1, 119), ‘painter’ (Abraham *pintor* a.1334 ib. 2, 41), ‘juggler’ (Gento el *ioglar* a.1334 ib. 2, 44 = Gento *ioculator* a.1334 ib. 2, 52) and so on<sup>8</sup>. Nevertheless, according to Gampel (1989, 22–23) the occupational tags do not always jibe with the actual business activity described in the documents. A number of Jews bear titles of courtesy like *don* or *magistro*. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century various attempts were made to deny Jews titles of courtesy (Gampel 1989, 151–152, Note 2).

The language the Jews spoke was a Navarro-Aragonese vernacular. The so-called *judevenco*, the local form of the Judeo-Spanish, existed only on paper. It was used in matters that concerned the Jews only (Leroy 1985, 57). Lawsuits took place in the vernacular, but for the sentence Hebrew was used. The law ordinances *taqqanots* were developed and written down in Hebrew in the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, once the Jewish communities were fully established (Carrasco 1993, 90–91). The total number of documents in Hebrew and *aljamiado* (vernacular written with Hebrew characters) from Navarre amounts to 61, which is relatively high considering the scarcity of Hebrew documentation in the Iberian Peninsula (Lacave 1998, 7). A few Hebrew words from the field of money-lending entered Navarrese: *quinan* ‘pledge’, *quenaz* / *quenaces* ‘penalty’ (Leroy 1985, 61–62).

#### 4. Names of the Navarrese Jews

The aspects discussed above, like the density of the Jewish population in the urban areas or the long duration of stay, make Navarre a perfect landscape for research in early Sephardic anthroponymy. There is yet another practical consideration which renders similar investigations easy. Several monographic studies were dedicated to the Navarrese Jewry: Leroy 1985, Gampel 1989 and Carrasco 1993. Furthermore, the access to the diplomatic documentation has been facilitated since the publication of the impressive collection *Navarra Judaica* between 1994 and 2003 by Juan Carrasco and his team. The name corpus analysed in the present paper is extracted from the first four volumes of *Navarra Judaica* (vol. 1–3.2, a.1093–1386)<sup>9</sup>. The majority of the documents date from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The analysis will start with an exemplary selection of attestations from the name corpus. I will then pay attention to the naming system. Comments on first names, both male and female, and bynames will follow.

The names of converts to Christianity will not be discussed here. Documents about Navarrese *conversos* are hard to locate, since scribes and notaries did not always append a tag *converso* or *cristiano nuevo* to a personal name (Gampel 1989, 72) and newly adopted names of *conversos* hardly differed from the names of Christians. Reports on baptisms soon after the expulsion edict in 1498 give an account on the adoption of new names. One example should suffice: On October 26 Abram Abenabez, his four sons and daughter-in-law converted, taking the names Pablo, Martin, Migel, Pedro, Juan and Leonor de Olguerín respectively (Gampel 1989, 132).

Naming customs within the family (naming after relatives, similarities and differences between the names of siblings, etc.) will be equally omitted. The majority of the documents in the

collection *Navarra Judaica* do not allow drawing conclusions at first glance. The names of relatives appear extremely seldom next to each other, so that genealogical trees should be constructed. The only reliable data that could be obtained is that naming after the father was an exception among the Navarrese Jews<sup>10</sup>.

#### 4.1. Examples from the name corpus<sup>11</sup>

Muça Abenardud a.1146, 1, 34; don Samuel Alfachim a.1162, 1, 38; Elias rabi a.1188, 1, 56; Bono, filio de Ibraym Memenir judeo tutelano a.1256, 1, 77; Jamilla Navarret a.1259–1266, 1, 83; Çulema Rogat a.1259–1266, 1, 84; Gento Bonisac a.1259–1266, 1, 84; Coen Algabay a.1259–1266, 1, 85; Iuce Cohen a.1280, 1, 116; Bonastruga, suegra del Cathelan a.1280, 1, 119; Aym Manenco a.1284, 1, 127; Sol, uxore Ibraym Ioseph a.1284, 1, 127; Açach Chevatiz a.1284, 1, 128; Orodueyna a.1284, 1, 128; Ezmael Evenibenist a.1284, 1, 129; Ybraym, filio de la Dobra a.1284, 1, 129; Mosse Evenxucran a.1284, 1, 130; Orovida, filia Mosse Atulituli a.1284, 1, 130; Reyna, filia Samuel Abolafia a.1284, 1, 130; Nattan, judeo a.1284, 1, 132; Juce Auenpesat a.1285, 1, 140; Cima, vxore Salomonis Evensapru a.1286, 1, 145; Mosse Alfayat a.1286, 1, 145; Zacarias Macaren a.1290, 1, 151; Dolça, filla de Simuel Comparat a.1290, 1, 152; Bellida la Ranca a.1290, 1, 152; Faz Buena, filla don Açach Alagan a.1294, 1, 167; Ezter de Padre a.1294, 1, 171; Soloro Fauilla a.1294, 1, 171; Samuel Cortes a.1294, 1, 172; Baruch Açiz a.1300, 1, 181; Açac, aceytero a.1305, 1, 198; Ibraym Ascariel a.1306, 1, 207; Vidal, fillo de Alaçar Amillo a.1307, 1, 215; Mangelina, filia de Ardit a.1312, 1, 245; Oridueynna Calauaça a.1334, 2, 38; Juda Gamiz a.1334, 2, 33; Abraam Ezquerra a.1334, 2, 38; Mayr Ezquerra a.1334, 2, 41; Dauí Alcarçan a.1334, 2, 45; Saul Abolfaça a.1334, 2, 45; Galaf Arrueti a.1334, 2, 46; Gento Alborge a.1334, 2, 46; Merdocay Arrueti a.1334, 2, 50; Salamon Zunnana a.1334, 2, 51; Leui Cayat a.1334, 2, 51; Abraam Albufaça a.1334, 2, 52; Saçon Saldayna a.1334, 2, 52; Salamon Azaniel a.1334, 2, 52; Ruben Maynos a.1334, 2, 53; Oroceti Naaman a.1334, 2, 54; Benuengut a.1334, 2, 55; Rauatoso, judio a.1335, 2, 66; Astruc Albeylla a.1335, 2, 73; Saul Leui, fijo de rabbi Alazar, judio de Pomplona a.1336, 2, 90; Zazon Alborge a.1336, 2, 92; Juçe Gollelludo a.1371, 3.2, 27; Jento Mizdron a.1371, 3.2, 36; Mosse Euendaniel, judio de Pomplona a.1371, 3.2, 48; Juce Sarrsalon a.1371, 3.2, 49; Abraam dicho Boillico a.1372, 3.2, 64; Benjamin, judio de Pomplona a.1372, 3.2, 77

A few examples of the names of Christians for comparison:

Oriol Garcez a.1135, 1, 30; dona Aluira, mulier Petri Martinez d'Almunca a.1142, 1, 31; Petro Latrone a.1190, 1, 59; Diago Alvarez a.1211, 1, 61; Gil Sanchez de Frescano, scudero a.1278, 1, 110; Ferrant Rodriguez de Funes a.1300, 1, 178; Bartholomeo Loçano et dona Taresa mi muger a.1302, 1, 187; Andres Semeniz d'Esteylla portero a.1326, 1, 360; Domingua Miguel, muger de Lope Ochoa d'Echarri, carpintero a.1329, 1, 459; Toda Lopiz a.1353, 3.1, 127; Gracia Ferandiz a.1354, 3.1, 133; Johan Periz a.1354, 3.1, 143; Lope Ruyç, carniceiro a.1355, 3.1, 174; Martin Gil de Larrea a.1356 3.1, 194; Lobet de Sant Johan, portero a.1356, 3.1, 227; Pero Ferrandiz de Helegortes a.1358, 3.1, 267; Pero Sanchiz de Cabanieillas, notario a.1371, 3.2, 29; Pero Chasco, notario a.1371, 3.2., 34; Johan Diaz de Çalua a.1371, 3.2, 48; Gonçalo Periz d'Olit a.1371, 3.2, 48; Pero Dominguez de Boneta a.1372, 3.2, 52; Garçia Martiniz Picacho a.1372, 3.2, 65; Johan Xemeniz de Cascant a.1372, 3.2, 78

#### 4.2. Naming system

The difference of the names given in 4.1 to the names attested in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries is obvious at first glance. While in the earlier corpus all persons bore a single name, now they bear two, a first name and a byname, with only a few exceptions. There are also instances of three names: *Aym Cohen Marico* a.1294, 1, 167, *Symuele Euendabiz Carlos* a.1304, 1, 190, *Fento Asayuel Barriga* a.1306, 1, 207, *Gento Amillo Mudarra* a.1312, 1, 245, *Açach Almancas* dito *Moracho* a.1334, 2, 45, *Judas Leui Cordero* a.1371, 3.2, 37. In these cases the third names were coined in the Christian context being a Christian first name (*Carlos*), a Romance byname with regard to appearance (*Barriga* ‘belly, paunch’), an occupational byname (*Cordero* ‘cordmaker’), a toponymic (*Mudarra* is located in the province of Valladolid) or an ethnonym (*Moracho* from *Mora* in the province of Toledo)<sup>12</sup> respectively, while the second names appear to be Jewish

family names. In exceptional cases a person is referred to only with a byname: *Matasuegro* ‘kill the father-in-law’ a.1259–1266, 1, 86; Bonastruga suegra del *Cathelan* ‘Catalonian’ a.1280, 1, 119. There is evidence of family names in the Jewish context that were inherited from generation to generation. Christians mentioned in the collection *Navarra Judaica* continued to use patronyms, this naming custom being widespread in Castile and Navarre already in the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Particular patronyms and bynames from toponyms, occupations, etc. started to be inherited in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries..

### 4.3. First names

#### 4.3.1. Male first names

The absolute majority of male Jews in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries bore a Hebrew first name. Among the frequent names of Hebrew origin are the following<sup>13</sup>: *Abibi* (from Hebrew and Arabic *Habib* ‘beloved’, 183), *Abraham* (the first Patriarch, 3–4) and its Arabic form *Ibraym* (125), *Açach* (a local form of Greek-Latin *Isaac*, Hebrew *Itzhak*, a patriarch, 210), *Aym* (< *Haim* ‘life’, 185), *Çulema* (most likely a form of *Suleiman*, an Arabic form of *Salomon*, *Shelomo* ‘his peace’, biblical, 448; 417), *Davi* (< *David* ‘friend of God’, biblical, 109), *Ezmael* (< *Ismael*, biblical, 211), *Gento*<sup>14</sup> (< *Shem Tov* ‘good name’, 417), *Jacob* (a patriarch, 213), *Juçe* (an Arabic form of *Josef* ‘may he add’, biblical, 218–219), *Juda* (< *Jehuda*, *Juda*, ‘praise God’, biblical, 216), *Merdocay* (a local form of *Mordecai*, biblical, 313<sup>15</sup>), *Mosse* (< *Moses*, *Moshe*, biblical, 314) and its Arabic form *Muza* (ib.), *Saçon* (< *Sason* ‘joy, delight’, 392), *Salomon* (a Greek-Latin form of *Shelomo*, see *Çulema*), *Samuel* with a variant *Simuel* / *Symuel* (from Greek-Latin *Samuel*, Hebrew *Shemuel*, biblical, 389), *Sanson* (< *Sanson*, a Greek form of *Simson*, *Shimshon*, biblical, 389), *Saul* (a Greek-Latin form of *Shaul* ‘asked, prayed for’, biblical, 392). *Gento* is the most popular male first name among the Navarrese Jews. Rarer Hebrew names are: *Abadian* (< *Obadia* ‘servant of God’, biblical, 330), *Alazar* (< *Elasar* ‘God helped’, biblical, 128), *Barcelay* (< *Barsilai*, biblical, 39), *Baruch* (‘blessed’, biblical, 40), *Çagui* (< *Sagi*, *Saggi* ‘mighty’, 386), *Çahadia* (< *Saadia*, *Saadiah* from *Saad* ‘help’, 384), *Elias* (a Greek-Latin form of Hebrew *Elia*, *Elijah* ‘the Lord is my God’, biblical, 129–130), *Enoc* (< *Enoch*, biblical, 133), *Izrael* (< *Israel*, biblical, 211), *Junez* (< *Yunis*, an Arabic form of Hebrew *Jona*, *Jonah* ‘dove’, biblical, 218), *Mayr* (< *Meir* ‘giving light’, Talmudic, 299), *Naamen* (cf. an Ashkenazic name *Naaman* ‘anemone’, 317–318<sup>16</sup>), *Nattan* (a short form of *Jonathan* ‘God gave’, 322), *Ruben* (< *Reuben*, biblical, 373), *Yzra* (< *Ezra*, biblical, 136), *Zacharia* (‘God remembers’, biblical, 505).

Arabic forms of Hebrew names like *Ibraym*, *Çulema*, *Juçe*, *Muza* and *Junez* were frequent among the Jews, who once migrated to the north from the Muslim territories. The influence of the Islamic culture on their style of life continued to be significant. The Arabic language was widespread among intellectual Jewish society within the Christian kingdoms even in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Assis 1995, 116). Consequently, it is no surprise that non-Jewish names of Arabic origin were also borne by Jews. Some examples: *Galaf* (< *Halaf*, *Chalaf*, a variant of Arabic *Halif*, *Halifa* ‘Caliph, successor’, 186), *Hualit* (‘newborn’, cf. *Al-Walīd*, an Umayyad caliph (705–715), Herbers 2006, 76), *Çalahadi* (< *Saladin*).

The first names of Romance origin are not numerous: *Astruc* (Provençal ‘lucky, born under a lucky star’, Mistral 1, 160), *Avenbenist* (< Latin-Romance *Benevenisti*, ‘welcome’), *Belido* (< Hispano-Romance ‘beautiful’, a derivative of *BELLUS*), *Benuengut* (a Catalan and Provençal equivalent of *Benevenisti*), *Bono* / *Bueno* ‘good’, a derivative of *Bono Boniel* (< *bonellus*), *Leoneto* (a derivative of Latin-Romance *leon* ‘lion’), *Vidal* (< Latin *VITALIS* ‘lively’), *Vita(s)* ‘life’ and *Biuant* (< *vivant*, the French present participle from *vivre* ‘live’). The names *Astruc*, *Avenbenist*, *Benuengut*, *Vidal*, *Vita(s)* and *Biuant* seem to be translations from Hebrew *Mazel Tov* or *Gad* ‘lucky’, the greeting *shalom* and *Haim* ‘life’ (Kaganoff 1977, 13–14; 57). Not all the names originate from the Navarrese: *Astruc* and *Benuengut* were imported from *langue d’oc* or

Catalonia and *Biuant* more likely from Northern France. *Leoneto*, popular among French Jews (Seror 1989, 162), might be imported as well. Navarre was an attractive destination for French Jews. From the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and especially after the expulsion in 1306 numerous Jewish families arrived in Navarre from the neighbouring kingdom. To give an example, the 25 Jewish *fuegos* out of 436 in the town of Sangüesa in 1366 originated mainly from France (Carrasco 1993, 237–238). Obviously some names of French Jews were exported to the Iberian Peninsula. The French influence was by no means recent: according to Rother 2001, 332 the first Jews in Christian lands of the Iberian Peninsula moved there from France. The continuous interchange seems to be responsible for numerous identical names of French and Spanish Jews.

The names I could not identify in the secondary sources are mainly *hapax legomena*. Some examples: *Abzerol / Abzelor, Acearin, Acenia / Çenia, Aya, Auierhu, Azquia, Bieryucuyimias*,<sup>17</sup> *Biot, Chaqmel, Geren, Imanu, Jahia, Marceyllan / Marzelan, Matassies, Mosquer, Ossava, Stornele, Thero, Torniel*.

The situation in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries was quite different: in the small corpus cited above almost half of the names are of Romance etymology. This fact might be explained through internal changes within the Jewish community:

From the twelfth century onward, so widespread was the use of non-Jewish names that the rabbis decreed that every Jewish boy must be given a purely Jewish name at his circumcision. Thus the use of two names became the custom: a sacred name (*shem hakodesh*) by which a Jew was called up to read the Torah and which was employed in documents of a religious nature (*ketubot* and *gittin*); and a non-Jewish name, called the *kinnui*, for civil and business purposes. This rabbinic statute is valid to this day. (Kaganoff 1977, 49)

The question when and under which circumstances the possible rabbinic decrees mentioned by Kaganoff were issued in the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula has not yet been investigated. In case the putative decision to use only Jewish names was taken in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it coincided with the shift to two names in the naming system. From now on Romance or Arabic names could be adopted freely as profane bynames next to the Jewish first names. A strengthening measure from the Christian side followed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Castile: in the year 1351 the Cortes of Valladolid prohibited the use of Christian names for Jews (Rother 2001, 337). At the same time typical Jewish names from the Old Testament like *Abraham* or *Moses* were no longer suitable for Christians.

#### 4.3.2. Female first names

The situation with the female first names of Jews is totally different. Only a few biblical names are present in the female onomasticon. The fact that foreign names were more easily adopted for women than for men at all times starting from the antiquity (Ilan 2002, 8–9) is one of the most striking differences between the male and the female names of Jews. The biblical names are: *Aynna* (probably from *Hannah* ‘charming, graceful’, 188), *Cima* (< *Simcha, Simha* ‘delight, joy’, 427), *Ezter* (< *Esther*, biblical, 135), *Marian* with a variant *Mirian* (< *Marian*, biblical, 292), *Mira* (‘myrrh’ and also a form of *Marian*, 307) and *Sarra* (< *Sara* ‘princess’, biblical, 391). *Jamila* is a female form of Arabic *Djamal* ‘beauty, elegance’ (116). Romance names prevail: *Bellida* ‘beautiful’, *Benuenida* (a Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese equivalent of *Benuengut* above), *Blanca* ‘white’, *Bona* ‘good’, *Bonastruga* (*bona* ‘good’ + *astruga* ‘lucky’, see *Astruc* above), *Colata / Collata* (probably with the connotation ‘adamant, steadfast’, cf. the sword of Cid Campeador named *Colada* from Spanish *hierro colado* ‘cast iron’ [Menéndez Pidal 1954, 2, 662]), *Dolça* ‘sweet’, *Dueyna* ‘lady’, *Faz Buena* ‘good face’, *Fermosa* ‘beautiful’, *Gracia* ‘grace, charm’, *Oroceti* (*oro* ‘gold’ + *Ceti* – the female equivalent of *cid* –), *Orodueyna* (*oro* + *dueyna*), *Orosol* (*oro* + *sol* ‘sun’), *Orovida* (*oro* + *vida* ‘life’), *Reyna* ‘queen’, *Sol, Soloro* (*sol* + *oro*) and

*Solveyllida* (*sol* + *bellida*). Compounds with the elements *bona*, *oro*, *sol* are well attested names both among Jewish and Christian women in the Middle Ages. A few female Romance names might be translations from Hebrew, for example *Gracia* as an equivalent of *Hannah* (175), although *Gracia* also appears among Christians, for *Bonastruga* see *Astruc* above. Examples of names of unclear structure are *Acha*, *Alioifar*, *Chacolina*, *Mangelina* with the diminutive suffix *-ino*, *-a*, *Ornache* / *Ornach* / *Ornanchi* and *Puncela*.

#### 4.4. Bynames

The bynames of Jews are by far less homogeneous than the first names. As for their function, they can be roughly divided into patronyms, toponymics, occupational bynames and bynames with regard to appearance and character. All these types were traditionally present in Hebrew, Arabic and Christian cultures. The two typically Jewish family names *Cohen* (see above) and *Levi* (designation of Levites, ELJF 273) are well attested among the Navarrese Jews. As early as in the 12<sup>th</sup> century some originally individual bynames started to be inherited from generation to generation within the same family. Some of the earliest prominent Jewish families of Navarre are: *Abenardut*, *Abolfazan*, *Alborge*, *Bencrespin*, *Benmenir*, *Benthema*, *Benvenist*, *Benxucran*, *Encave*, *Falaguero* and *Levi* (Leroy 1985, 14).

##### 4.4.1. Patronyms

The most Jewish patronyms were built with the Hebrew element *ben* ‘son of’ (with Sephardic forms *aben* and *eben*): *aben Donat*, *Abenardud*, *Auenpesat*, *Euenbita*, *Euendaniel*. The latter form *eben* could be shortened to *en* / *em*: *Empesat*, *Encardeniel* and *Enfarach*. Patronyms with *aben* / *eben* were formed not only from first names but also from obvious bynames: *Euenluengo* and *Euenrabiça*. Patronyms with the Romance suffix *-ez* of pre-Roman etymology are attested as well, cf. *Cheuathiz*, probably from the first name *Shevat* (from the eleventh month of the Jewish year, ELJF 418).

The phonetic similarity of Hebrew *ben* and the Romance name and lexeme *bono* led to Hebrew-Romance contaminations. For example *Auenbenist* / *Evenibenist* is a result of a reinterpretation of the typical Jewish name *Benevenisti* of Romance etymology, which might be based on the Hebrew greeting *shalom*. As it becomes clear from the forms *Auenbenist* / *Evenibenist*, the compound name was no longer understood as ‘welcome’. Its first element *bene* ‘well’ was reinterpreted as *aben* / *even* ‘son of’. The result of this transformation ‘son of \**Benist*’ does not make sense since the name \**Benist* never existed. On the contrary, in the patronym *Bonisac* the element *ben* ‘son of’ in the original *Benisac* was transformed into *bon* from *bonus* ‘good’.

Arabic *kunyas* or designations as father with the element *abu* ‘father of’ do not seem to be productive among the Navarrese Jews. The byname *Abolhazam* / *Abolfaçan* is a fossilized *kunya* from the Arabic name *Hassan* (‘beautiful, excellent’, ELJF 193). Further names that start with *Ab-* / *Abo-* or *Abol-* might also be original *kunyas*, but cf. metaphoric *Abolafia* (‘man of health’, ELJF 3).

##### 4.4.2. Toponymics

The next large group of bynames is formed by toponymics or names after places of origin or residence. These names help to reveal the origin of the Navarrese Jews and to trace the migrations of the Sephardim within the Iberian Peninsula. Toponymics of the Navarrese Jews could be of Arabic or Romance structure. Arabic toponymics or *nisbas* were formed by adding a definite article *al-* and a suffix *-i* to the place name or the tribal name (Schimmel 1989, 10). Some examples: *Alborge* (from Borja in Aragon), *Alcalahorri* (from Calahorra in La Rioja) and

*Algranati* (from Granada). The byname *Arrueti* seems to be a *nisba* from *Roda* in Aragon with the Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese diphthongization of the stressed vowel ‘ö’.

The Romance form of the toponymic from *Roda* is also attested in the form *Rodano*. The most frequent Romance form of toponymics is with the preposition *de*: *de Ablitas*, *de Calahorra*, *de Pampalona*. In the last case it is hard to distinguish between identifying tags and names. Mere juxtaposition of first names and place names was also possible: Saçon *Saldayna*, Salomon *Saldayna*, Juce *Saldayna* (from *Saldaña* in Castile) a.1334, 2, 38–53, Juçe *Nagera* (from *Nájera* in La Rioja) a.1351, 3.1, 47. The byname *Cortes* might be interpreted as ‘courteous’ or a toponymic from *Cortes* in Southern Navarre. Derivatives with the suffix *-ano* are frequent: *Rodano*, *Çaragoçano* (from *Zaragoza* in Aragon) and *Soriano* (from *Soria* in Castile). Other suffixes like *-(i)el(lo)* or *-et* are attested as well: Gento *Nafarrieyllu* a.1334, 2, 54 and Jamilla *Navarret* a.1259–1266, 1, 83. *Bitá Pampilonense* a.1283 1, 123 is a latinized form with the suffix *-ENSIS*. The French origin can be easily recognized in the Navarrese documents by the bynames *Franco* (cf. Salamon *Franco*<sup>18</sup> a.1334, 2, 52), *Frances* (cf. Juçe *Françes* a.1352, 3.1, 112) or toponymics like *(de) Niort*, *Paris*, *Passy*, *Poitou*, etc. The byname in the attestation *Hualit Alfrangi* a.1305, 1, 198 might be an Arabic equivalent of *Franco*.

#### 4.4.3. Occupational bynames<sup>19</sup>

Bynames formed from occupations are relatively rare in the onomasticon of the Navarrese Jewry. Apart from *Cohen* further typical Jewish occupations appear as bynames: *Gabay* or arabized *Algabay* (the administrator responsible for community finances, ELJF 152) and *Rabbi* with a presumable derivative *Rabiça* (< *Rabish*, *Rabitz*, diminutive of *rabbi*, ELJF 363). If the occupation simply follows the first name, it is hard to distinguish, whether it is a mere identifying tag or a byname: Açac, *aceytero* ‘olive oil merchant’ a.1305, 1, 198, Abraham *Alcalde* ‘judge’ a.1283, 1, 124, Dauí *Çapatero* ‘shoemaker’ a.1334, 2, 52, Saçon, *carnicero* judio ‘butcher’ a.1280, 1, 110, Samuel, *merçero* ‘haberdasher’ a.1334, 2, 41 and Samuel *Peletero* ‘furrier’ a.1280, 1, 119. As a consequence the editors of the medieval documents alternately spell occupations that follow first names with capital or small letters, with comma or without it. An occupation with a definite article is more likely to be a byname: Gento, *el ioglar* ‘juggler’ a.1334, 2, 44. The byname *Tiraz* corresponds to an Arabic designation of a luxury fabric. It might refer metonymically to a tailor.

#### 4.4.4. Bynames with regard to appearance and character

The majority of the bynames of Romance origin refer to appearance. The blond or red haircolour takes first place: *Amariello* ‘yellow’, *Baço* ‘tawny’ and *Royo*, *la Roya*, *Rubea*, *Ruso* ‘fair- or red-haired’. *Royo* is a Castilian and Navarro-Aragonese and *Ruso* a Catalan form of *RUSSUS* ‘red’, cf. modern Spanish *rojo* and Catalan *ros*. The dark haircolour or dark complexion in general: *Cabel negre* ‘dark or black hair’, *el Negro*, *Enegriél*, ‘dark, black’, *Mariéncho* / *Morienço* (from *Mauringus* ‘moorish’ attested already in the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Catalonia with a Germanic suffix *-ingus*). The popularity of Romance diminutives with the suffix *-(i)el* < *-ELLUS* in the names like the aforementioned *Enegriél* and *Boniél*, *Cardeniél*, *Sanchiél* could be influenced by the ending *-(i)el* of numerous Hebrew names. The byname *el Caluo* points at poor hair growth. A byname of Basque origin *Ederr* / *Ederra* means ‘beautiful’. *Quadrado* means ‘squatty, thickset’. *Barba* and *Barba Amplu* refer to a (broad) beard and *Barriga* to a paunch as salient features of the name bearers. A popular byname *Calabaça* ‘pumpkin’ probably originally alluded to a round head. *Melon* ‘melon’ might have had a similar connotation. *Luengo* would be a byname of a tall person and *Chico* more likely of a short one. *Chico* ‘boy, lad’ might also refer to the young age of the name bearer, in contrast to *el Vieio* ‘old’. *Pesado* / *Pesat* seems to derive from the verb *pesar*

‘weigh’ and to possess the meaning ‘heavy, obese’. It is attested as a name of a Jew as early as in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Catalonia (see the early medieval corpus given in section 2). Seror (1989, 211–212) attests the name *Pesatus* in the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries in France. He does not exclude a transcription of a phonetically similar name of Arabic or Hebrew origin. *Gordo* ‘fat’ is a synonym of *Pesado*. Another salient feature of a name bearer is *Sordo* ‘deaf’. *Lazrado* ‘harmed, injured’ possibly indicated a mutilated person. *Pie* ‘foot’ might refer to a lame name bearer. Moral qualities or personality features come up in the bynames like *Bueno* ‘good’, *Falaguero* ‘loving, flattering’, *Fidel* ‘honest, faithful’, *Ardit* ‘brave, courageous, fearless’, *Buena Sauor* ‘good taste’ and *Baturro* with the meaning ‘Aragonese peasant’ in modern Spanish (DRAE) and more likely ‘rough, course, stupid’ as a medieval byname. *Ezquerra*, a popular byname of Basque etymology with the meaning ‘left’, cf. the Spanish adjective *izquierdo*, probably referred to left-handed persons. Names of animals like *Cabron* ‘he-goat’, *Macho* ‘mule’ in Navarro-Aragonese (Aragüés 1989, 197), *el Porch* ‘swine’, *Potron* ‘foal’ and *Pollo* ‘chicken’ relate to the peculiarities of character associated with the corresponding animals. Most of the mentioned bynames are well attested in the Christian context as well (cf. Kremer 1970–1982); only a few of them appear to be typically Jewish, for example *Pesado*.

#### 4.4.5. Unclassified bynames

There are only a few bynames of Hebrew origin: *Iomto* (< *Iomtov* ‘festive day’, ELJF 210) and *Jaffe* (‘beautiful’, ELJF 213). The Romance byname *Buendia* seems to be a translation of *Iomtov*. The affectionate byname *Amado* / *Amatu* corresponds to Hebrew and Arabic *Habib* ‘beloved’ (ELJF 183). *Comparat* is a typical Sephardic byname also attested among French Jews. The name was borne by Christians in Galicia and Catalonia in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to Seror (1989, 71), the name of a seriously ill child was changed to *Comparat* ‘bought’ in order to outwit the angel of death. In ELJF XVIII *Comparat* is traced to the symbolic act of “selling” a newborn child to the neighbours in order to prevent misfortune. Interestingly enough the opposite to *Comparat*, *Vendeut* ‘sold’ is also attested. The latter name appears for the first time in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Catalonia. *Embolat* with an unclear connotation is attested as a name of Christians in the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries. It could originally derive either from the verb *AMBULARE* ‘go’ or *INVOLARE* ‘launch into something, take possession of something’. *Favilla* ‘bean’ with a diminutive suffix might be a term of endearment. *Melosa* ‘honey-like, lovely’ is a term of endearment already attested as a byname of a Jewish woman in Late Antiquity. *Angelet* from *angel* ‘angel’ with a diminutive suffix equally belongs in the category of affectionate names. *Orabuena* ‘good hour’ is attested as a female first name in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries in Galicia. The notion of ‘good timing’ was widespread in the Hispanic world, cf. the modern Spanish felicitation *enhorabuena*. *Rogat* is attested first as a Roman cognomen with the connotation ‘expected, wished, prayed for’ more likely from the parents’ point of view. The medieval name probably possessed the same connotation. The connotation of the following bynames can only be conjectured: *Cardeniel* from *cardeno* ‘blue, dark purple’, *Cornago* possibly from *corno* / *cuerno* ‘horn’, *la Dobra* ‘double’ (?) (cf. *dobla* in DEMi), *Evangelet* from Greek *evangelos* ‘the one who delivers a good message’, *Padre* ‘father’ possibly as a patronym of fatherless name bearers (?), *Pocamor*, probably a compound from *poco* and *amor* ‘little love’ and *Romi*, probably from Arabic *Rumy* ‘Byzantine, Greek’ (ELJF 382).

#### 4.4.6. Bynames of unclear etymology

The list of the bynames for which explanations are hard to find in the existing sources is rather long. A great number of such names are of Arabic origin. Specialists in Arabic philology will certainly be able to identify many of them. A thesaurus of medieval Hispano-Arabic names would be of great help for research in Sephardic onomastics. Unknown Sephardic forms of Hebrew

names come into question as well. Basque etymology is possible in some cases. Numerous bynames of Romance structure cannot be identified either. It can be presumed that some names are original toponymics, occupations or qualities according to the functions of their suffixes *-ano*, *-ero* and *-oso*, but the connotation of their roots remains unrevealed. The medieval vocabulary of Spanish has not been sufficiently investigated up to now<sup>20</sup> and the situation with the historical vocabulary of the Navarro-Aragonese is even worse. Another research gap that renders identification of Sephardic bynames difficult is the lack of a historical thesaurus of the place names of the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, the Hispano-Romance historical lexicography would benefit immensely from research on Sephardic bynames coined from the medieval colloquial language.

Examples of bynames of unclear etymology are cited below in alphabetic order<sup>21</sup>:

*Abceron, Abet, Abricepol, Aladib, Albacar / Alboquar, Albelia / Olbelia, Alcamiel, Alcarahuy, Alcarçan, Alcozenti, Alfazen, Alguesqui, Aliahen, Almaharem, Almanças, Almuyuz, Alpargam, Alquoqin, Amillo, Anssarino, Arpot, Arraiosio, Asayuel, Asenili / Asinili, Ascariel, Atulituli, Auayo, Aveynaem, Azamel / Azanel / Azaniel, Azcariel / Azquariel, Baquit / Batquis / Bauquis, Beynador, Bildocha, Binach, Boillico, Bursano, Cauardo / Çauardo, Cayat, Çeiru / Cerru, Cepa, Cochot, Cuedaynno, Culantia, Cungelot, Çulderro, Encaue, Enfoeu, Enforma / Evenforna, Ensabrut, Entuba, Euemenir, Euenayson / Evaxon / Eveaxon, Evenauar, Evenbofer, Evençarrut, Evenqueron, Evenuerumt, Evenxucran, Favoca, Fison, Gollelludo (cf. *goleludo* in DEMi), Goueru, Guora, Hurruchel, Imasecu, Lamo, Laquef, Maçal, Macaniel, Macaren, Maneton, Matuco, Maynos, Mazgot, Mocha, Mogoen, Monaquiel / Monasquiel, Mosquet, Mozot, Muriel, Naiares, Nazel, Panna, la Ranca, Ravatoso, Raynoso, Rena, Sarrssalon, Sela, Sigindia, Sudero / Çudero, Sufaçon, Suzduque, Tamborer, Teyll, Tonat, Torchas, Uendino / Auendino / Evendino, Velaten.*

### **5. Conclusions: Melting pot of cultures and easy identification as Jews**

The onomasticon of the Navarrese Jews embraced elements of different languages: Hebrew, Hispano-Arabic, Greek, Latin, Hispano-Romance vernaculars (Navarro-Aragonese, Castilian, Catalan, Provençal, French) and Basque. The male first names were mainly biblical and expressed Jewish religious identity. The female first names and the bynames in general were in contrast open to non-Jewish influences. But a number of non-Hebrew names were borne almost exclusively by Jews. Many of such names were translated from Hebrew. In the majority of cases the full names of Jews can be distinguished easily from the names of Christians and Muslims; starting from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the representatives of these cultures set value on a distinguishable onomasticon. The co-existence of phonetically similar elements of different etymology caused contaminations, as the examples *Auenbenist / Evenibenist*, *Bonissac* and perhaps names with the suffix *-(i)el* have shown. Investigations of Hebrew-Romance and possible Hebrew-Arabic contaminations and translated names as well as repertories of Sephardic forms of Hebrew and Hispano-Arabic names can be considered some of the urgent desiderata of Sephardic onomastics.

### **Notes**

1. Publications in Hebrew could not be consulted.
2. See Carrasco 1993, 36: “Es cierto que la antroponimia es todavía un campo apenas explorado y más aún en la sociedad judía.”
3. Names attested in Latin will be cited in small capitals.
4. 1,200 in Tudela, 500–600 in Pamplona, 500–600 in Estella, 150 in Sangüesa, some fifty in Olite, Los Arcos and Viana and a few dozen families in the villages of La Ribera.

5. For designations of medieval occupations on the Iberian Peninsula see Kremer 1976/1977, 1980, 1981/1982.
6. *Alfayat(e)* is an Arabic designation, see Kremer 1976/1977, 225–226.
7. The designation is of Arabic origin, see Kremer 1980, 195.
8. Similar occupations were performed by Jews in other kingdoms, cf. for Portugal Kremer 2005.9. The corpus is not exhaustive so that many rarer names will not be considered.
10. Kremer 2005 finds out that naming after the grandparents was characteristic for the Portuguese Jews in the Middle Ages.
11. All the attestations are taken from the collection *Navarra Judaica*. They appear in chronological order. Full names and identifying tags will be followed by the date of the corresponding document, the volume and the page number. The orthography of the diplomatic collection will be maintained.
12. *Marico* might derive from *Maria*. Perhaps it possessed a lexical connotation.
13. The spelling will correspond to the most frequent form. Short etymological notes will accompany each name in brackets. The number after the etymological note will correspond to the page number in ELJF, unless otherwise noted.
14. It is possible that the name of French Jews *Gentil* ‘gentle’ (Seror 1989, 119–200) was coined under the influence of phonetically akin *Gento / Jento*, also attested in France (id. 47).
15. The name of Persian-Babylonian origin with the meaning ‘a devotee of the god Marduk’ was adopted by the Jews during the Babylonian captivity (Kaganoff 1977, 43).
16. *Naaman* is also attested as a byname of a Jewish woman.
17. This name is most likely misspelled.
18. *Franco* might also have possessed the connotation ‘free’ as a byname of Jews who were exempted from taxes because of services rendered to the king of Spain during the Christian reconquest (Kaganoff 1977, 13).
19. Many of the following examples can be found in the large collection of Hispanic bynames of Kremer 1970–1982.
20. Unfortunately there is no improvement in sight, since the funding of the *Diccionario del Español Medieval* (DEM) directed by Bodo Müller was stopped by the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences.
21. Numerous spelling mistakes of the scribes as well as reading mistakes of the modern editors must be taken into consideration.

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