

Name-Changes and Everyday Self-Fashioning in the Toledo Inquisition, 1575–1610

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This article surveys more than a thousand *relaciones de causa* (summaries of cases) from the Toledo tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition to examine the uses of names in early modern Iberia. Three crucial features of early modern names come to the fore: the potential to communicate information about the bearer, contingency upon interpersonal use, and the ease of changing one's name. The confluence of these factors made names a potent means for creating, maintaining, or altering identities, and thus for negotiating any number of problems or opportunities. This agency of ordinary people over their own social identities demands a democratization of the concept of "Renaissance self-fashioning." Furthermore, the ubiquity of name-changes in the early modern period highlights the extent to which naming is a continual process, problematizing traditional onomastic sources that privilege birth-names and focus on subjects' names at a single point in time.

KEYWORDS Conversion, early modern, migration, name-changes, self-fashioning, Spanish Inquisition, social mobility

I. Introduction

A minor plot-point of Robert Ludlum's 1978 thriller, *The Holcroft Covenant*, concerns the unusual first name of the female protagonist, Helden von Tiebolt. *Helden* turns out to be a Brazilian doctor's mangled transcription of *Helga*. "In those days," explains one character, "one did not argue with what was written on papers. The name stayed with her" (Ludlum, 1978: 101–102). The anecdote embodies a feature of modernity we are apt to retroject onto earlier periods: the "fixedness" of names. Without lapsing into technological determinism, it seems fair to say that material contexts influence social dynamics. Censuses, photography, and similar developments have shaped how modern people think about and use names. Because modern infrastructure fixes a name at birth and ties it to the bearer's physical (e.g. photo identification) and legal (e.g. a signature)

person — and because changing a name is a formalized process — modern names are defined by their inertia. This in turn primes us to think in terms of “real” and “false” names. In the absence of these material contexts, however, what we might call “onomastic culture” looks very different.

Even as early modern names were powerful signifiers of identity — familial, social, national, and religious — they were enormously unstable, with some energetic individuals employing more than a dozen different names over the course of a lifetime. Rocío Sánchez Rubio and Isabel Testón Núñez note the “everyday character” of changing names, and society’s “permissiveness” towards doing so (2008: 220 [all translations are the author’s, unless otherwise noted]). This combination of mutability and meaning made names a powerful tool for navigating daily life.

This article analyzes 1,177 *relaciones de causa* (summaries of cases) from the Spanish Inquisition’s Toledo tribunal between 1575 and 1610. The *relaciones* comprise BUH, Yc 2^o 20², published in an excellent edition by Julio Sierra. The manuscript is written in Spanish, the work of more than 20 hands over 35 years (Sierra, 2005: 16). *Relaciones de causa* were abbreviated accounts of an individual’s background, the charges against them, and the verdict and sentence rendered by the tribunal. Although the manuscript does not record each individual’s own testimonies, the work of the Inquisition’s scribes brings us as close as we are likely to get to the words and lives of ordinary early modern Spaniards. Indeed, as we shall see, the interaction between scribe and accused is itself an influence on the “onomastic culture” of the Inquisition.

The study of historical “onomastic cultures” often relies on certain types of sources: birth and baptismal registers, censuses, gravestones, and the like. Valuable though these sources are, they generally reflect only a single moment, which may or may not correspond to how subjects “lived” their names. In particular, there has been an understandable tendency, driven both by the nature of the sources and by modern attitudes towards names, to focus on the giving of a name at birth (e.g. Main, 1996; Smith-Bannister, 1997). Yet even today naming is not a once-and-for-all moment, but a process that continues throughout an individual’s life. This article is an attempt to demonstrate how reading non-demographic sources qualitatively, “onomastically,” can illuminate how names are lived, *in medias res*. The *relaciones* are ideal for this purpose: their subjects are adults, and their authors, the inquisitors, were keenly interested in the subjects’ pasts — they do not overly privilege birth names and depict names changing across time. They are, moreover, the tip of the proverbial iceberg: as summaries of cases, they represent only a small and preliminary instantiation of what might be found in more detailed inquisitorial documents and elsewhere in the Iberian world. Furthermore, sixteenth-century Spain has been chosen for the Inquisition’s abundant written records, not for any unique feature of early modern Spanish nomenclature. I am confident that similar patterns could be observed elsewhere in Europe during this period.

The Toledo *relaciones* reveal an early modern “onomastic culture” marked at once by a density of meaning communicated by a name, and by fluidity in names and agency on the part of the bearer. Names allowed early modern individuals to recreate their own social identities, a possibility I argue can be usefully theorized through Stephen Greenblatt’s (1980) concept of “Renaissance self-fashioning” — even as it demands a shift from an exclusively literary self-fashioning to a more universal “everyday self-fashioning.”

II. Contingency

Names are social constructs. They function, in the last analysis, because they are used in common by a group of people. The meaning of a given name is likewise a social product, born of its resonances with a particular cultural background. These facts are apt to get lost when scholars wax lyrical over the communicative power of names. María José Ferro Tavares writes: “a name reflects an identity, belonging to a family, to a clan, to a land, to a kingdom” (2014: 93). David M. Gitlitz describes names as “social shorthand, indicating to the socially sensitive listener the named person’s ethnicity, religious affiliation, and even socio-economic status” (1996: 200). If this is carried too far, however, a name’s meaning is rendered overdetermined, even objective — witness Gitlitz: “Among both primitive and modern societies nouns, people’s names in particular, resonate with a kind of magic power. In many respects the name *is* the thing” (1996: 200). Of course, the socially constructed nature of names does not preclude genuine meaning. I will not, however, dwell on all the facets of personal identity to which early modern names could advert, as this has been ably and amply done elsewhere (see Gitlitz, 1996: 200–202; Tait, 2006; and Yerushalmi, 1980: 1–5). Rather, I will concentrate on how all of these meanings were the products of social practice, and thus radically contingent.

Let us begin with perhaps the most fundamental level of significance for a name, family identity. Most straightforwardly, children inherit a surname from their parents: “Alonso Gómez, son of Juan Gomez” (Sierra, 2005: 407). Families reused given names, too, as was clearly the case for a teenager arrested in 1595 for heterodox opinions about extramarital sex, “Juan de la Peña, son of Juan de la Peña” (Sierra, 2005: 446). Testifying to the *limpieza de sangre* (“purity of blood”) of one Bernardino de Torres, Lope de Herrera stated that “he had known [...] Juana Lopez de Ubeda and Bernardino de Torres [...] the maternal grandparents of the said Bernardino de Torres” (Sierra, 2005: 333). What is significant here is how the identity of an individual was situated, even in official documents, within a familial context. Such information was often recorded as part of the name itself, as with the 63-year-old scribe “Ginés Hernández, *el Mayor*” (“the elder”) (Sierra, 2005: 516). It strains credulity that the tribunal in Toledo knew enough about the Hernández family of the small town of Valdemorillo to have supplied this: this would have been how Ginés was identified to them, either by the man himself or by his accuser. Here we see how contingent a name could be on time *and* place: identifying Ginés as *el Mayor* requires both the existence of younger individuals of the same name *and* sufficient familiarity with the community to know this. Such details call to mind Clodagh Tait’s distinction between “names as given” and “names as used in everyday interpersonal interactions” (2006: 327).

Similarly, the *relaciones* abound with nicknames, many of which reflect personal history — or how personal history was perceived. Presumably, neither Juan García de Escobar, *el Viejo* (“the old”) nor Pedro Díaz del Arrabal, *el Viejo* (80 and 60 years old, respectively) were known as such as young men (Sierra, 2005: 243, 273). María López could be referred to as *la Çamorana* (“the Zamoran”) because she lived in Manzanares and not Zamora (Sierra, 2005: 564). Moreover, the distinction between name and nickname was not hard-and-fast: some informal additions became part of the family name, as with “Alonso *el Gordo*” (“the fat”), the son of “Gonçalo *el Gordo*,” or the young man whose full name was recorded as “Juan García de Matheo García” (Sierra, 2005: 267, 347).

Closely tied to familial identity is socioeconomic status. Some surnames were recognized across the Peninsula as those of the great noble houses, but these could be (and were) easily appropriated by social inferiors: the powerful Guzmán clan, for instance, might have been pained to know of the existence of Gaspar de Guzman, a *morisco* (a Muslim who had converted to Christianity, or the descendant thereof) servant punished for apostasy in 1599 (Sierra, 2005: 480; Yerushalmi, 1981: 62n). Alternatively, some individuals are without recorded surnames. In the Toledo records, these are often (but not always) slaves, whose identity is subordinated to and fixed by that of their master: “Inés, one of the *moriscas* of the kingdom of Granada, the slave of Doña Brianda de Guzman” (Sierra, 2005: 236). In other cases, this might be an individual relatively unknown in the community where she had been accused, whether because of recent arrival or reticence. Still others went by a surname (“calling himself Céspedes”) alone (Sierra, 2005: 357). That a body as powerful as the Inquisition could at times come up with no more than “Lucas” or “Alonso, called ‘Littlefoot’” speaks volumes about the real limits on tying a pre-modern individual to a name (Sierra, 2005: 493, 496).

As to geographic origin, a “foreign” name — that is, one not obviously of Peninsular extract — was a key indication of origin. “Guillermo Keith” (a Scot arrested for criticizing the Inquisition) would have been readily marked out by his name as a non-Iberian (Sierra, 2005: 249). Toponymic surnames linked individuals to specific places: in 1588, for instance, the Toledo tribunal examined the Franciscan Marcos del Atanzón, “a native of Latanzon” in Guadalajara (Sierra, 2005: 366). But it is worth asking how long the friar’s family had been called *del Atanzón*. As with María López’s moniker *la Çamorana*, the name may have been acquired only when its bearers were not in Latanzon. Similarly, we have Jorgé Veronés, a native of Verona whose case was suspended by the Holy Office in 1583 (Sierra, 2005: 320). Perhaps his ancestral surname was indeed something like *Veronese*, but it seems more likely that he began to be called *Veronés* after leaving Verona.

The intersection of nomenclature with religion, the category of greatest interest to the Inquisition, has been well documented. For example, there were definite patterns to the given names used by Christians versus Jews: patron saints and members of the Holy family for the former, biblical patriarchs, kings, and prophets for the latter. So pronounced are these trends that Ferro Tavares deems it “unthinkable” for a Christian to bear a name like *Abraão* or *Moisés* (2014: 90). The same observations can be made for surnames: Jewish family names tended to be Hebrew or Arabic in origin (e.g. *Halevi* or *Abrabanel*), Christian ones Gothic or Romance (e.g. *Gómez* or *López*) (Roth, 1931). Of course, this dichotomy is too neat, ignoring, first and foremost, the *conversos*. On baptism, converts took “Christian” names — using the same standbys of saints and New Testament figures — and even if they Judaized in secret, they and their children used such names in public. Concomitantly, over time, as a result of both social osmosis and intensified surveillance, *conversos*’ surnames came to match those of the general populace ever more closely (Gitlitz, 1996: 201). Thus, a group of women punished for Judaizing in 1576 bore such impeccably Christian names as *Mencia Núñez*, *Leonor Rodríguez*, *Branca Díez*, and *Ana de Almeyda* (Sierra, 2005: 237–238). The change of name at conversion points to the basic social reality at work here: the instability of early modern names. In the absence of modern structures “fixing” a name, the social construction of nomenclature allowed for frequent, sometimes dramatic, changes.

III. Changes

It was exceedingly common for early modern individuals to use more than one name in the course of a lifetime. Inquisition records are thick with full (“Blanca de Sepea, who was also called Catalina de Fonseca”) or partial (“Jacques Tesa, alias Jacques Ardison”) aliases (Sierra, 2005: 241, 477). For some, a name was changed once and lasted until death, while others invented dozens of pseudonyms — and whole new identities to match. At both extremes and at every intermediary point, individuals took advantage of social and institutional structures that fostered the “everyday character” of changing one’s name.

As an initial matter, the early modern period was one of transition in personal nomenclature. “In the fifteenth century common people were just beginning to take surnames for themselves;” consequently, the norms of personal nomenclature had not yet solidified. For example, “the rules for combining parents’ names were just beginning to stabilize,” and parents’ names did not necessarily become those of their children (Gitlitz, 1996: 202). Witness “Diego Ruiz Peinado, son of Juan Martin,” or Pedro Báez, whose mother and sister were called Violante Alvarez and Beatriz Alvarez, respectively (Sierra, 2005: 367, 470). Changes were rarely permanent, complete, exclusive, or sequential: individuals often retained or returned to previous names, or changed them only partially. Recent converts frequently found old names difficult to shed: documents refer to “Don Samuel, who is now García Alvares” and “Luys Alonso, who previously was called Yuda Peres.” Several generations after abandoning Judaism, converts might have the moniker “the Jew” appended to their Christian names (Antonio Rubio, 2009: 176–177, 180). Others deliberately held on to a former name: years after converting, Fernando Gonzálo Husillo’s signature included his Jewish name (Gitlitz, 1996). Even an alias might retain elements of the prior name, as with “Jacques Tesa, alias Jacques Ardison.” Furthermore, one individual might oscillate back and forth, never definitively adopting or abandoning any one name. The man known as *Luis de la Ysla* among Christians became *Abraham Abzaradiel* whenever he was among Jews (Kagan and Dyer, 2011).

Exacerbating this instability was the absence of institutional or social structures to “fix” names. No central register of citizens existed, and the inquisitors had neither the resources nor the technology to create one. Tamar Herzog notes that citizenship itself could be “a highly informal status,” which “did not depend on the inclusion of a resident’s name on official registries” (2003: 53). Thanks to the vagaries of early modern orthography, a single name, even if the bearer never deliberately changed it, could prove unstable. Within a single *relación*, the scribe could render a prisoner’s name several different ways: *Luisa* and *Luysa*; *Stephan*, *Estefan*, and *Stephano* (Sierra, 2005: 253–254).

To return to a familiar theme, much of this stemmed from the role of social interaction in generating and maintaining names. Between 1585 and 1610, the tribunal of Toledo investigated no fewer than ten separate instances (no doubt more were never detected) of witnesses perjuring themselves to prove an individual’s claim to *limpieza de sangre* (Sierra, 2005). The authorities themselves, as Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez observe, acknowledged this factor by the frequent use of “expressions such as ‘he said he was called,’ ‘as they say,’ ‘as it was said,’ in place of ‘he is called’” (2008: 219n, 220). They add that, in the absence of centralized regulation, “we must start from the basis that a change of name was not, in and of itself, a punishable offense” — or, for that matter, an official act at all (Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez, 2008: 220).

In such a context, there can be no clear distinctions between “real” and “false” names. With repeated use, adopted names could come to be regarded as “true,” while the original name was unknown, forgotten, or considered an alias. The fluidity and contingency of early modern names did not, however, undermine their capacity to signify, any more than names’ semiotic richness prevented their being manipulated. Rather, as we shall see, it was the combination of significance and mutability that made names a powerful tool of identity-formation.

IV. (Re) Creation

Because early modern names were so meaningful, they could communicate considerable amounts of information about family ties, socioeconomic status, and ethnic or religious identity. Because they were so unfixed, individuals exercised a remarkable level of control over this aspect of how they presented themselves to the world. Consequently, changing one’s name can be read as a means of reinventing oneself, the better to meet myriad challenges or opportunities. In a still-familiar pattern, many changed their names to assimilate or to reflect major life events. It was “a widely accepted social phenomenon” for foreigners in Spanish lands to “castilianize” their names, “with the object of easing their social acclimation and acceptance” (Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez, 2008: 229). The Toledo *relaciones* are filled with such “castilianizations:” the Frenchman *Pedro Luis*, the Greek *Demetrio Phocas*, the Fleming *Juan de Malinas*, the Irishman *Nicolás Rocha*, the Scot *Gilberto Lamb* (Sierra, 2005: 234, 249, 290, 306, 368, 432). Although not yet the rule, it was far from uncommon for names to change on marriage: the *relaciones* rarely record maiden names, but we can sometimes infer a change, as in the 1589 entry for “María de Plasencia, *morisca*, wife of Domingo de Plasencia” (Sierra, 2005: 367). Perhaps most dramatically, we have the surgeon Eleno de Céspedes, who changed his name from *Elena* to signal his expression of a male identity (Sierra, 2005: 357–358).

Alongside accommodating or reflecting a shift in context or social identity, changing one’s name could be a part of the shift itself — or, indeed, indicate an aspiration to such a change. We have already observed the possibility of appropriating aristocratic surnames to simulate noble lineage. One New Christian family, the Bernuys, took this a step further, purchasing the title of marquis of Alcalá del Valle (Amelang, 2013). As only Spaniards were permitted to emigrate to the Americas, many foreigners adopted Spanish names and personas to secure passage (Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez, 2008: 227). Changes of name could also lead to more direct windfalls. It was not unknown for Christians to create Jewish or Muslim aliases in order to inveigle gifts of land or money by pretending to convert (Kagan and Dyer, 2011; Schwartz, 2008).

Conversion under any circumstances, as we have seen, usually involved a change in name. When one “Itala” (*Ataullah?*) “was baptized and called Luys,” the taking of a new name was part of the creation of a new spiritual and confessional self. More concretely, *Luys* now marked its bearer as a Christian, just as *Itala* had marked him as a Muslim (Sierra, 2005: 345). At the same time, this new name could act as a smokescreen to shield apostasy, which often involved the use of another name. The *morisca* Mari López, condemned in 1607 for “performing the fasts and ceremonies of the sect of Mohammed,” also used the name *Çaytima* (*Fatima?*) (Sierra, 2005: 558). The children of such individuals

were generally given two sets of names: a public, Christian name, and a private Jewish or Muslim name (Gitlitz, 1996: 62, 201–202). Another Mari López, also a *morisca*, was punished in 1606 for “a ceremony of the sect of Mohammed with newborn children, which was to perform *salat* with them, giving them Moorish names [*nombres de moros*]” (Sierra, 2005: 542–543). Maintaining multiple names allowed individuals to retain their own religious identity while outwardly conforming.

It is worth noting that the process also worked in reverse: Christian sojourners among Muslims changed their names, too. The captured sailor Jacome de Acosta agreed to become a Muslim “and took the name Mustafa” (Sierra, 2005: 410). Likewise, the Toledan Juan López “turned Moor [*se torno moro*]” in Fez, including taking a “Moorish name [*nombre de moro*]” (Sierra, 2005: 280). Often, when New Christians or *moriscos* settled in communities of their coreligionists abroad, the return to their ancestral faith was enacted by the reassuring of “their original names” and the abandonment of “the baptismal name” (Roth, 1931: 31–32). Not infrequently, the “original names” had been forgotten after generations of secrecy, necessitating the invention of suitable replacements (Yerushalmi, 1980).

Some brave (or foolhardy) individuals adopted non-Christian names while still under the Inquisition’s jurisdiction. Francisco de Rivera, a *morisco* living in Pastrana, came to regret his conversion and publicly declared: “he was not called Francisco, but rather Amete” (Sierra, 2005: 557). We may interpret the gesture as one of defiant loyalty to a religious identity in spite of, or perhaps because of, danger. Probably a comparable spirit of resistance prompted the *morisco* nobleman Hernando de Córdoba, leader of the Alpujarras Revolt, to take the *nom-de-guerre* *Aben Humeya* (Amelang, 2013).

In a move akin to the use of Christian names by apostates, names could also be aliases to avoid confrontations with the authorities, by “erasing one’s name [and] inventing a new identity” (Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez, 2008: 227). Ideally, this allowed one to evade pursuing authorities and/or to shed any penalties attaching to past transgressions — the latter was a particular concern, given that those condemned by the Inquisition passed the stigma on to their descendants. We have already noted the many attempts to rewrite genealogies or invent new personas to escape this legal taint. A special category is that of bigamists, for whom “the adoption of a new identity erased the traces of a previous marriage” and thus freed them to wed anew (Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez, 2008: 226). In 1610, the Toledo tribunal condemned Juan González to three years in the galleys for having contracted a bigamous marriage under the name *Amaro González* (Sierra, 2005: 395).

A final, colorful subset of early modern uses of names was the appropriation of institutional power. The *familiar* (a deputy of the Inquisition) Francisco López Valtodano embezzled thousands of *maravedís* from the tribunal by claiming expenses both “in the name of the Holy Office” and “in the name of Gaspar de Cadahalso” (a colleague) (Sierra, 2005: 405). Some years earlier, Francisco de la Bastida:

feigning that his name was Felipe de Estrada and that he was a bailiff and official of the Holy Office [...] went and demanded of the magistrates of Berninches that they give him forces in order to go and apprehend a man for the Inquisition. They gave him five harquebusiers. With them, he seized Lope de Belmonte [...] and carried off three or four goats and a mule. They left him prisoner in Peñalver in the house of a *familiar* [...] he went to Almaden and seized Joan Xadler. On the one hand, he took one thousand ducats in *reales*, and on the

other fifty-two ducats from his salary [...] He also took several shirts and gowns from the said Joan Xadler, whom he left prisoner in Ciudad Real. (Sierra, 2005: 266)

Francisco pleaded that poverty had forced him to this picaresque expedient. An assumed identity allowed him to commandeer the power of the Inquisition to remedy his financial situation. In any number of arenas, names provided a tool for negotiating the vicissitudes of everyday existence.

V. Conclusions

The constraints of space have restricted this investigation to how individuals manipulated their own names. Yet, Inquisition records also furnish examples of other, broader uses of names. These include religious devotion — Christian (“blessed be the Name of Jesus,” “the day of the Name of Jesus”) (Sierra, 2005: 316, 389), Jewish (“they gave up their lives for the sanctification of the Name”) (Yerushalmi, 1980: 2), and Muslim (“lists of names, with the invocation of Mohammed”) (Sierra, 2005: 407) — as well as magical practices (“he called to the demons by certain names”) (Sierra, 2005: 532). It is also worth remembering the Inquisition’s own use of names: compiling lists of suspects and witnesses, reading out names during *autos-da-fé*, publicly displaying *sanbenitos* (hats worn by those punished by the Inquisition, labeled with the convict’s name and crime).

Although the cultural and social significance of early modern names has not gone unnoticed by historians, their fluidity has been largely ignored, and with it the contexts that made names so useful. Irene Silverblatt, seeking to locate the roots of modernity in the Inquisition, distinguishes between the modern state’s concrete accoutrement (e.g. state-issued identification) and the dynamic established between the state and the individual, which she sees being constituted in the inquisitors’ demands for prisoners’ vital statistics (Silverblatt, 2004). Silverblatt fails to acknowledge, however, that “vital statistics” as we think of them — fixed information demographically defining an individual — depend for their very existence (to say nothing of their internalization by the citizen) on particular bureaucratic and technological contexts. Similarly, Mary Louise Nagata’s article on name-changing in early modern Japan is exclusively concerned with *official* changes, leading her to the conclusion that “In the Western context, a child nearly always bears his or her given name for life. Name changing is not a common social behavior” (1999: 316). This *may* be true of the modern West (I leave that question to my modernist colleagues), but it is not of early modern Europe, where the absence of official structures made name-changing a very common social behavior indeed.

Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez’s study of name-changes by emigrants to the Indies is likewise hampered by an insistence on the “invented name” and the “authentic” (2008: 222). Modernity reinforces such categories in ways the early modern period did not and could not. By what criterion is the scholar to say that *Francisco de Rivera* was the “authentic” name, rather than *Amete*? To be sure, the Inquisition records privileged Christian names over non-Christian ones, and names given at baptism over those adopted later, but to give these the mantle of “authentic” names is to wade into troubling political and ethical waters. Do we follow the inquisitors in using *Elena de Céspedes*, rather than *Eleno*, thus disregarding the deliberate choices of the individual in question? (cf. Kagan and Dyer, 2011). These issues are at once historiographical and ethical, and need to be interrogated as such.

Finally, it is impossible to speak about identity in early modern Europe without mentioning Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980). Greenblatt's seminal book has inspired a great deal of excellent scholarship on the ways in which early modern individuals constructed personas. Yet, even as historians have examined the creation of "new social selves" (Silverblatt, 2004: 158), the heuristic of "Renaissance self-fashioning," with its emphasis on interiority and a conscious understanding of one's own identity, has remained the preserve of literary studies (i.e. concerned with those who produced texts).

The subjects of this article came from every register of society — laborers and surgeons, friars and slaves. Very few ever put pen to paper. It would be false, however, to say that they were not engaged in self-creation; it would be elitist to say that they never became aware of this. Changes of name were part of "a total change of identity: profession, origin, and social status [*estado civil*]," as well as religious and national affiliation (Sánchez Rubio and Testón Núñez, 2008: 233). Individuals adjusted their identities, or abandoned them wholesale, to remake themselves as something closer to their needs, desires, or beliefs. The power to transform oneself (and an understanding of what that meant) was not limited to the fortunate, literate few: self-fashioning could be achieved with something as commonplace and universal as a name.

The present generation of scholarship has forced us to reconsider the role of ordinary people *vis-à-vis* the Inquisition. Stuart B. Schwartz has upended intellectual history by locating notions of "tolerance" among the common citizenry (2008). Jaime Contreras showed how the "victims" of the Inquisition could coopt its power for private ends (1992). We treat the humanist habit of classicizing names — as when *Philipp Schwarzerdt* became *Philippus Melancthon* — as a form of self-expression and self-fashioning, querying what it tells us about how the individual saw themselves. To be sure, we will never attain the intimate familiarity with the minds of Blanca de Sepea or Francisco López Valtodano that we enjoy with Thomas More or William Shakespeare, but we can accord them the respect of taking seriously their everyday self-fashioning.

Acknowledgements

A version of this article was presented at the inaugural conference of the Limerick Early Modern Studies Forum, at the University of Limerick, Ireland, in November 2015. The author would like to thank the participants, especially Alex Kerner and Alison Rowlands, for their feedback; the two *Names* reviewers for their comments; and Maria V. Jordán and Stuart B. Schwartz for their guidance.

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