

Office and Occupational Surnames in Spain

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THE SURNAME EVERYONE OF US possesses today belongs to one of four types: patronymics, place-names, office and occupational names, and nicknames. It has come to us either because one of our forebears decided to identify himself with it or because it was imposed on him by others. In the case of nicknames the second mode has prevailed while in the case of the other types both practices have been factors in varying degrees. In the early stages the eke-name usually died with the man, but eventually it became strong enough to become transmissible to his descendants. Until recently, in the absence of a civil code regulating the use of surnames, it could disappear and be supplanted at any time. It is, of course, only when it is crystallized through hereditariness that a surname acquires real significance. This has come about much later than most people realize, in Spain and elsewhere in Western Europe, with few exceptions, no earlier than the thirteenth century. The patronymical surnames in *-ez*, *-iz* put into use by the nobility have been the first to mark this trend. As for the other types they have been noticeably slower in asserting themselves. Nevertheless, in all of them changes have been common with new surnames constantly coming into being, some even despite the code. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries immigrants returning home from the Indies and Peru, whatever surnames they may previously have borne, were nicknamed *Indianos* or *Peruleros*, epithets that have in some instances been transformed into fixed last names. *Fuseller*, which as we know was introduced into the military vocabulary in 1703, is also a surnominal novelty.¹

For the bulk of the names in this study I have relied primarily on the telephone directories of Madrid and Barcelona. Since the basic pattern of most Spanish surnames consists of a combination of the father's last name and the maiden name of the mother we have what amounts to four massive repertoires instead of two. I have supplemented these sources with names drawn from *Who's Who in Spain*. Barcelona, 1969; A. and A. García Caraffa's *Enciclopedia heráldica y geneológica hispanoamericana* (Madrid, 1919-1963), 88

¹ On the instability of Spanish surnames see Fermín de Sojo y Lomba, *Merinidad de Trasmiera* (Madrid, 1931), vol. II, p. 69-70.

vols; the *Diccionario biográfico* (Barcelona, 1966-70), four vols; and the Alcover-Moll *Diccionario catalá-valenciá, balear* (Barcelona, 1968-69), ten vols., which mentions quite a number of surnames. I have also drawn names from a variety of other sources.

The question of the Castilianization of non-Castilian names that are current in the dialects and in the foreign tongues spoken in parts of the country—Basque, Galician-Portuguese, and Catalan-Valencian is bound to arise in any onomastic inquiry of this topic. I am, incidentally, leaving the discussion of Basque surnames to others. However, since Castilian is the standard language, all of Spain outside the boundaries of Castile can be said to be bilingual causing many non-Castilian surnames to undergo Castilianization through phonetic adaptation. It is also natural to expect that, as non-Castilians have moved into Castilian territory, this adaptation tends to become more frequent. Vice versa in Catalonia, Catalanization of some Castilian names can be expected, for example *zapater*, shoemaker instead of *zapatero*. It is an interesting phenomenon that deserves a detailed investigation.

A NOTE ON MY LISTING PROCEDURE. Since the bulk of the surnames that I cite contain the suffix *-ero* or *-er*, the first of which is predominantly Castilian and the second predominantly Catalan-Valencian, and since a very large number of appellations with these endings are identical in spelling in these two languages except for the inclusion or exclusion of *-o* I have, in order to economize space, deemed it convenient to combine them into single entries by enclosing the *-o* in parentheses. Ex. *Caballer(o)*. There are, of course, many designations that I cite in *-ero* only and a number in *-er*, in addition to *-er* Catalan-Valencian names with etyma different from Castilian. These will be listed separately without notation of their linguistic provenance.

It should be pointed out that in most of the Catalan-Valencian territory the *-r* in final accented syllables is silent but remains in official orthography. However, in Eastern Catalan it has become standard to adopt the phonetic pronunciation in writing. Ex. *Caballe' > Caballer*, or *Tuto' > Tutor*. Treated likewise is the silent *-n* in words with an *-an* or an *-on*. Ex. *Escribá' > Escribano* and *Baró > Barón*. These designations are so readily recognizable as Eastern Catalan that like the *-er* terms they should not require specific identification as such.

Needless to say, the *-eiro* is very common Galician-Portuguese and Western Leonese suffix that corresponds to the *-ero* just noted. Its primitives are generally orthographically identical with them, hence the three could be combined into one entry. Ex. *Caballe (i) r (o)*, which looks quite awkward. For this and other reasons I have found it expedient to omit *-eiro* forms altogether save in a few instances where I have not located matching surnominal equivalents. I am taking it for granted that my readers will be able to supply *-eiro* surnames that correspond to the Castilian and Catalan-Valencian names.

NOBLEMEN AND THEIR ENTOURAGE

In Spain as elsewhere in Europe nobiliary surnames are very much alive today—*Rey*, king, *Reina*, queen, *Príncipe*, Cat. *Príncep*, prince, heir to the throne, *Infanta*, *Infante*, royal children usually not heirs apparent, *Duque*, Cat. *Duc*, *Duch*, duke, *Marqués*, marquis, *Conde*, *Cuende*, Cat. *Compte*, *Comte*, count, and *Bascompte*, *Bascomte*, deformed spellings for *vizconde*, viscount. In the same area a *Potestad* used to be an equivalent of count. *Señor*, lord, was the title borne by some Biscayan rulers. Cf. *Señor de Vizcaya*. Names such as these can hardly qualify as genuine cognomina, but in at least three instances, an *Infante*, a *Duque* and a *Conde*, they have been converted into hereditary surnames. With the possible exception of *Reina*, any of the above could develop through the illegitimate offspring spawned by them. Cf. Eng. *Fitzroy*. It is more likely, however, that they refer to former employees or clients of royal households. This would appear to be the case in a name like *García del Rey*, the *del* of which eventually disappeared resulting in a common *Rey*. I have also found a *del Cuende*. An instance that can be documented is *de la Reina*, a name adopted by Gabriel and Fernán Alvarez de la Reina, personal physicians to Queen Isabella.² This shows that like *Rey*, the surname *Reina* borne by some individuals has resulted from the omission of the *de la*. Plurals, too, *Reyes*, *Infantas*, *Infantes*, *Condes* strongly point in the same direction. It could be that both *Rey* and *Reina* stem from roles played by certain individuals in pageants and festivals.³ Finally, there is a prosaic explanation that should not be overlooked, namely, their derivation from a place-name. For example, the noble family, *Rey*, claims to have got its name from a town by that name in the neighborhood of Santa Eulalia. Others that appear on the map are *Reyes*, *Infanta*, *Infant*, *Marqués*, *Conde*.⁴ For *de las Infantas*, the name of a well-known noble family, we have a unique explanation. Early in the fourteenth century Juan Fernández de Córdoba and Martín López de Córdoba, enemies of Enrique II of Castile, agreed to cease their opposition to him on condition that the three daughters of King Pedro, Beatriz, Constanza and Isabela, be released and taken to Bayonne (France). Juan and his son Alonso Ruiz undertook to conduct them there on which account they decided to add *de las Infantas* to their

² Cf. Narciso Alonso Cortés, "Dos médicos de los Reyes Católicos," *Hispania* XI (Madrid, 1951), 616.

³ *Emperador*, emperor, another surname, almost certainly goes back to a similar role.

⁴ These names and others I mention later are only a few in the vast repertoire of Spanish place-names that supply us at every turn with alternative sources of surnames often making it extremely difficult if not impossible to determine which of the two sources should be given priority. Those who may be further interested will find it useful to consult the *Diccionario geográfico de España* (Madrid, 1958-61), 17 vols.

name. It has been continued by their descendants.⁵

Caballer(o), *Caballé*, *Cavaller(o)*, *Cavallé* is a generic designation loosely applied to members of the nobility. The glamorization of the knight, in the Romances of Chivalry, no doubt added to the temptation of assuming it as a last name.

The names from some of the minor nobility are *Infanzón*, *Barón*, *Baró*, baron, *Vasallo*, vassal,⁶ a feudal lord to whom the king granted the right to collect tolls, taxes etc. in return for military assistance when needed. Within the nobiliary hierarchy a *Bachiller* was usually a younger son who did not enjoy an annuity. A *Fidalgo* or *Hidalgo* was also a member of the noble class. Later the term came to signify a pure blooded Spaniard as distinguished from those who had Jewish or Moorish blood in their veins. A *Doncel*, also used as a first name, was the king's page, while a *Paje*, page, was an attendant of the king or other nobles. A *Prestamero* was a nobleman who either received or assigned church benefices.⁷

From the names of officials who enjoyed their masters' trust we get *Camarero*, Cat. *Cambrer*, chamberlain, whose calling can be duplicated by reference to his realm, *de la Cámara*, *Cámara*, *Cambra*,⁸ *La Cambra*. *Mayordomo*, majordomo, is a term that has a variety of connotations. Ordinarily he was a chief steward of a nobleman's manor. All mansions had their *Copero*, royal cupbearer, or, in his place, a *Trinchante*, a royal carver as well as a cupbearer, and very likely a *Banquetero*, a royal banqueter. The kings of Castile had their *Montero de cámara* who occupied a room adjoining the one in which his masters slept. Under other rulers he might be called a *Ballester(o)* or *Besteiro*. Literally, a *montero* is a huntsman, and *ballestero-besteiro* a crossbowman. A *Porter(o)* is a royal messenger. The *Dueña*, a widow, functioned as a mansion's chaperone. The most favorable environment for the development of a surname like Cook, *Cocinero*, *Cosiner*, *Cusiné* would be a royal household or a manor. To be called a *cocinero mayor*, a *primus inter pares*, was surely a coveted title. The art of cooking has, of course, always been popular. In Spain in the eleventh century the famous cook Pere Felip wrote a *Livre de Sant Soru* on the subject, and in the fourteenth century the Convent of Ripoll had its *Llivre del ventre*. Despite this, however, contrary to what we see in England, France, Germany and Italy, it is disconcerting to note that it has failed to take any deep root surnominally. As for

⁵ Because it is a purely honorary title *Grande*, grandee, can hardly be a nobiliary surname. It is much more likely to have arisen from a physical nickname referring to a big or tall man. *Noble*, another honorary title, loses its claim when pitted against the metaphorical nickname alluding to the magnanimous character of an individual.

⁶ Any royal subject whether noble or not could, of course, be called a *vasallo*.

⁷ For information on *prestamero* see Fermín de Sojo y Lomba, *op. cit.*, 354-60.

⁸ Cf. also *Cambra*, a suburb of Lugo, another source of the name.

Maestresala[s], chief waiter of a nobleman's table, I have encountered it only once and that has been in Barcelona. I am at a loss to explain the epenthetic *s*. The servants who performed the menial chores were *Siervo*, Cat. *Servant* or *Sirvent*. Its synonym *Criado* was at times borne by a noble as we can see from the designation *criado del Rey*. A *Brasero* was the keeper of the hearth. We have, finally, the *Azorero*, falconer, who was indispensable to the pursuit of the nobles' greatest pastime, the hunt. It is surprising not to run across a **Falconero*, **Halconero*, but its absence is more than compensated by *Falcón*, *Falcó*, which stands metonymically for his occupation. There is, obviously, competition here on the part of the nickname.

MILITARY OFFICERS AND PRIVATES

The names of army officers and privates who have furnished surnames are *Adalid*, who, if he had the title of *adalid mayor*, was a field general. Otherwise, he was just a leader, often a leader in battle. The same can be said of *Caudillo* and *Cabo*, now designating a corporal. *Capitán* is another general term for commander. According to his titles he had many different functions, *capitán de las guardas*, *capitán de alabarderos* (crossbowmen), *capitán de peones*, infantry, etc. We know from the rank of *capitán general* that he was a supreme military commander. Next to him in most cases was the *Alférez*, who was ordinarily a standard bearer. A *Garzón*, currently a hired hand, used to be the captain's orderly. *Coronel* is a surname that goes back to the thirteenth century, that is, several centuries before the rank was created. Nevertheless, a surnominal adoption in this sense is not impossible. A *Caballero* is, as has been mentioned, a knight. He formed the backbone of the fighting forces during the centuries-long period of the Reconquista. His attendant was the *Escuder(o)*, *Escudé*, his shield bearer and squire. Frequently the *Doncel*, after his service as king's page, entered the militia headed by the *Alcaide*, a commander of a fortress. During the feudal period the army had a quartermaster called *Cebadero*; later the name of the office was changed to *Pagador*, and still later it was replaced for a time by *Marescal*, originally a blacksmith and headgroom of a stable. A *Maestre* was the grand master and a *Comendador* the knight commander of one of the military orders. *Soldado* is a common term for soldier. Synonyms are *Guerra*, *Guerrero* (cf. *guerrero del Rey*), *Batalla*, *Bataller*, *Batallé*. *Peón* and *Infante* are footsoldiers. One of the meanings of *Lacayo*, Cat., Aragonese *Llacayo*, lackey, is a crossbowman on foot who accompanied the *caballeros* in battle. *Guarda*, *Laguarda* and *Guardián*, guard, as well as *Custodio* can obviously be located in other categories. *La Guardia*, incidentally, is a surname supplied by a dozen or more towns called La Guardia, a watchtower. *Vela*, a sentinel, has long since given way to the

Italianism *Centinela*, *Sentinella*. Archaic terms for soldiery are *Arquer(o)*, *Arqué*, archer, who in the fourteenth century came from Cantabria. It was superseded by *Ballester(o)*-*Besteiro*, crossbowman and *Xalabader*, halberder. *Darder(o)*, *Dardé* is also an archer. In addition, there was the *Lancero*, lancer, and the *Piquer(o)*, pikeman.⁹ *Cruzado*, crusader, may well have got its start as a surname from the Bretons who had come to Navarre in the fourteenth century to help fight the Moors. Though the designation *artillero*, artilleryman, was already in use before the end of the fifteenth century, it has failed to develop as a surname, but in its stead we have a related designation, *Lombardero*, a member of a special corps, *lombardero de los Reyes*. A *Corredor* is a scout as well as a broker and town crier.

Almirante, Cat. *Almiral(l)*, admiral, is now restricted to the navy, but he could also be an executive official of a tribunal. All the other appellations may apply equally to the navy and to the merchant marine.

A sailor or seaman is *Mariner(o)*, *Mariné*. A synonym, *Marino*, also a font name, leads one to recall that in the twelfth century it was an epithet reserved for Don Juan Froila, which he passed on to his sons. Perhaps it first became hereditary in his family. If so, it can be recorded as one of the earliest fixed occupational surnames in Spain. I shall add *Capitán*, *capitán de navío*, its synonym *Padrón*, *Cómitre*, boatswain, *Timoner(o)*, helmsman. *Galeote* is a galley slave or rower in a galley, *Galera*, galley, used both as a merchantman or as a warship is a current surname.

CHURCHMEN

Surnames that have come from the ecclesiastical realm are *Clérigo*, Cat. *Clerich*, *Clerc*, *Clerque*, *Cleric*, a general appellation applied to any member of the clergy. A *Perlado*, that is, *prelado*, is a high church dignitary. Other surnames recall *Cardenal*, *Prior*, *Obispo*, Cat. *Bisbe*, bishop, *Vicario*, *Arcediano*, archdeacon, *Diácono*, dean, *Prevost*, provost, *Canónigo*, *Canonje*, *Calonje*, canon, *Capellán*, chaplain, *Coronado*, a tonsured clergyman who belongs to a minor order, *Chantre*, chanter, *Domer*, *Domé*, a clergyman who served on a weekly basis, *Sacristán*, *Sacristá*, *Sagristá*, sexton, *Escolano*, *Escolá*, an acolyte who was an assistant to the *sacristán mayor*, *Abad*, abbot, *Monje*, *Monjo*, *Fraile*, *Freire*, *Frey*, monk, friar, *Monja*, nun, *Camarero*, a lower dignitary in a monastery, *Cistero*, a member of the Benedictine Order, *Almoner*, *Almonyner*, almoner, *Santero*, keeper of a sanctuary and *Anacoreta*, hermit (a very rare surname). A *Pertiguero*, *Perteguer*, was a verger, an honor which in Santiago was given only to members of the highest nobility.

Titles of these churchmen whose functions, needless to say, vary

⁹ All of these surnames may likewise have originated from makers.

considerably in time and place, are not in themselves transmissible family names. However, they might have taken root in several ways. Some clergymen broke the vows binding them to celibacy by fathering offspring. *Barraganía*, concubinage, was not unusual and, at times, *barraganes* were given permission to legitimize their children. In such cases they assumed the family names of the clergymen. When not legitimized they bore their mother's maiden name, but where the father was known some were alluded to as children of the cardinal, priest, etc., a name that was continued by succeeding generations and which eventually became hereditary. However, more often than not ecclesiastical surnames must have resulted from the fact that an ancestor once served in some capacity in the household of a clergyman or was one of his relatives. Others like *Cardenal*, *Obispo*, *Monje*, *Monja* could have begun with roles played in pageants and festivals like some of the royalty nicknames. A *Familiar* was an officer of the Inquisition and a *Cuadrillero*, also a term for a herder or drover, a police officer of the Santa Hermandad.

Because they perform or have performed church chores I venture to inject here two lay surnames, *Escobaler*, church sweeper, and *Perrero*, employed to chase dogs out of the cathedral church.¹⁰

ADMINISTRATORS AND THEIR SUBORDINATES

One of the most important administrative offices in Spain was that of the *Canciller*, chancellor, who as *canciller mayor* functioned either as the chief secretary of his state or as its minister of justice. Another high judicial functionary was the *Merino*, from the Latin *mayorinus*. Cf. *Merino mayor de Asturias, de Castilla, de Guipúzcoa, de Zaragoza*. It is difficult to define the duties of a *Juez*, judge, in a few words. They have varied according to the civil, ecclesiastical or military body in which he might serve as a magistrate. One special type of judge, the *Ordinario*, (a very rare surname) dealt with questions of civil law. Another, *Justicia*, in his capacity as *justicia mayor*, was in Aragón a mediator between the king and the nobles. An *Adelantado* was appointed by his monarch as a political and military governor of a frontier province. As *adelantado mayor* his duties were equivalent to those of chief justice. An *Alcaide* might be the governor of a castle, but in town administrations he was reduced to the lowly status of jailer. Other names for governors of castles are *Castellán*, *Castellá* and *Cat. Batle*, *Battle*. The latter might also designate a bailiff. However, a more widely diffused term to denote this office is *Baile*, *Bayle*. The *maestros* of the military orders were often put in charge of castles. The *Concejo*, council, also a surname, used to be appointed by the king. It functioned as one of a number of independent entities dealing with finance, war, law and order, Inquisition, Indies, etc. It wielded

¹⁰ *Perrero* is also the designation for a hunting dog warden and communal catcher of stray dogs.

enormous power during the reign of the Catholic Kings. The individual member of a *consejo* is a *Consejero*, *Consejal*. Another name for one of its members is *Jurado*, also an official in one of the guilds. In a municipal council the *consejero* might be known as *Hombrebueno*. Cf. Ital. *Bonomo*. I find no dictionary reference to *Congregado*, which seems to mean an official or member of a *consejo* or *junta*, a *congregación*.

We know that a *Contador* is an accountant. In Aragón, as *contador mayor*, he used to be the state collector of taxes. The *Racionero* or *Tenedor* was ordinarily in charge of the distribution of rations in a community. The *Corregidor*, *Baguer*, *Bague*, *Veguer*, *Vegue*, who was a direct appointee of the king, exercised considerable authority in internal affairs. He was an outsider in the locality in which he held jurisdiction. Either he or the *consejo* appointed the *Alcalde mayor*, mayor and justice of peace. The *Alcalde ordinario*, on the other hand, held an elective office. Organizations like the Hermandades, the Mesta and the Herrerías likewise had their *alcaldes*.

Tesorero, treasurer, speaks for itself. During the entire period of the Reconquista cities like Burgos and scores of others had been left deserted by Spanish Christians in the wake of the Moorish invaders. The resettlement of these towns was placed under the direction of a *Poblador* up to and beyond the Conquest of Granada.

Some of the minor posts held by townsmen were *Regidor*, alderman, *Llavero*, *Claver(o)*, Aragonese *Chaver*,¹¹ keeper of the town keys or who kept the keys of a church, a palace, a prison or a fortified place. An *Alguacil* or *Corchete* is a constable. A *Porter(o)*, *Porté*, porter, was also a toll collector. A *Grillero* was the man in charge of shackling the prisoners.¹² *Verdugo*, *Berdugo*, or *Borrero*, sometimes referred to as *La Justicia*, is an executioner. A *Rondero* was a night watchman. A *Ballester(o)*, *Ballesté* was the name of a tribunal or city hall guard. A *Corredor*, also meaning broker, was the town crier, a *Fontaner*, *Funtané*, the town plumber. The *Botigué*, if he was a *botiguero mayor*, was the deliverer of wheat to the mills of a town when they were communal property while, if he was a *botiguero menor* he sold wheat and flour on behalf of the municipality.

By the middle of the sixteenth century road maintenance and construction, which had been left to the municipalities, was put under the control of the State. But even before that time the State was very much interested in its highways for military and commercial reasons. They were the routes followed by the *Carter(o)*, dispatcher. In Valencia

¹¹ The *llavero*, *clavero* was also a dignitary of the Military Order of Alcántara, a maker of keys. A homograph, *Claver(o)* is a seller of cloves.

¹² Another source is the town near Oviedo, Grillero, cricket field. On the role of the *corregidor* see José Antonio Maravall, *Estado moderno y mentalidad social* (Madrid, 1972), vol. II, 501. Prof. Maravall provides an excellent socio economic complement to my study.

during the fourteenth century the dispatcher was known as *Hoste*, *hoste de correus*, that is, a carrier of documents from and to that city. He got his name from the innkeepers who functioned as dispatchers. In Catalonia the road surveyor was called a *Fiter(o)* and the road builder an *Estrader*. The *Camínero*, or in Navarre, the *Celador*, was charged with the upkeep and repair of a highway. The general term in circulation, however, has been *Peón*. The *Perrero*, *Caner*, dogcatcher, was employed to keep stray dogs off the roads.

THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS

Maeso, *Maestro*, *Maestre*, *Mestre*, the Latinism *Magister*, *Magester* applies not only to any learned individual, but also to a craftsman, master of his craft, anyone with a special skill, a supervisor.¹³ *Maestro* has, of course, always been an appellation for a teacher. *Escolar*, *Escolá*, too, probably used to stand for an instructor, a *maestrescuela*,¹⁴ but like the English *scholar* can denote a scholarly individual. Early in the thirteenth century a García Sánchez was nicknamed "escolar" because of his learning, a name which he transmitted to his descendants. In the Middle Ages the *Clérigo*, who also came to hold important governmental positions, monopolized the teaching profession. A *Tutor*, *Tutó*, *Aya*, *Ayo*, guardian, were involved in the education of their wards and at times, the *Amo*, which can also signify a master, owner, overseer. A *Doctor* is the holder of a doctorate in law, letters, medicine or theology. A *Bachiller*, batchelor, was the holder of a baccalaureate in the same professions. *Médico*, Cat. *Metge*, needs no identification. A *Cirujano*¹⁵ is a surgeon and a *Boticario* an apothecary. *Contador*, accountant, has already been mentioned. An *Escribano*, *Escribá*, *Escrivá*, is a scrivener or notary. As notary he was replaced in name by *Notario*. The *Letrado*, lawyer, held key posts in government during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. He turns out to be disappointing as the producer of his occupational surname. At least the name exists, but its once very popular equivalent, *Licenciado*, apparently does not.

MUSICIANS

From the days of Alfonso X, el Sabio in the thirteenth century and on through the Renaissance music played an important role in church services and in court circles especially during the reign of the Catholic Kings, a time when we should expect most of the musical vocation names to be transformed into hereditary surnames. During the reign of

¹³ The term is so loaded with connotations that it is hard to do justice to it. See Martín Alonso, *Enciclopedia del idioma* (Madrid, 1958), vol. I.

¹⁴ Cf. "Miguel el scholaris" mentioned in Julio González, *Alfonso IX* (Madrid, 1944), vol. I, 306.

¹⁵ Though related to *cirujano* the surname *Sangrador*, phlebotomist, should probably not be listed in this category.

Alfonso IX there is a record of a Domingo *cantador* (J. González, *op. cit.*, 304). He was a singer of coplas or popular songs and one of the forerunners of our present day *Cantador*. *Cantor*, *Cantó* is a synonym, *Chantre* the chief singer in a chantry. Cat. *Jutglar*, *Jutglé*, jongleur, who both sang and played a musical instrument, looks like one of the oldest of contributors to vocational surnames. So, too, must be *Gaitero*, bagpipe player. Instrumentalists eventually gave a cognomen to a *Citoler*, zither player, *Organero*, *Organista*, organist, *Tamborero*, drummer, *Violero*, viola player. The name for fifer, *Pifarrer*, *Pifarré*, *Piferrer*, *Piferré* was apparently popularized by the Swiss mercenaries who participated in the Granada Wars in the late fifteenth century. It was then customary to refer to foreigners with Germanic names as *Alemán* or by their trade, skill or occupation. It is likely, therefore, that many Spaniards with the name of this side-blown instrument descend from them. We know that through metonymy *Corneta*, *Cornet* and *Trompeta* are common dictionary acceptations for a cornetist and trumpeter and the same holds true for *Arpa*, harp, and *Clarín*, bugler.

FIELD AND FARM OCCUPATIONS

Familiar designations for a farmer or peasant are *Labrador*, *Campesino*, *Paisán*, Cat. *Pagés*, and *Villano*, a word that has come to be employed derogatively. A *Collazo* used to be the appellation for a farmer's helper. When money wages became prevalent in the sixteenth century *Obrer(o)*, *Obré* was a current term for a hired farmhand. Today it seems to have given way to *colono* which I have found only as a Catalan surname, *Colón*. In the plays of the Golden Age the *labrador rico* is a picturesquely sympathetic figure. He became a powerful influence in the political life of his times. His holdings together with those of the feudal lords, the Hermandades, the Church and municipalities as well as those acquired by wealthy urban bureaucrats were parcelled out or leased. This situation is strikingly revealed in the following surnames: *Agregado*, a lessee on a small scale, *Casero*, *Torrero*, a lessee of a farm house and surrounding land, *Masover*, tenant farmer, *Quiñonero*, sharecropper, who in some instances is called a *Quiñtero*. A *Forero* was a lessor of a farm estate. A *Montaner(o)*, *Montané*, *Muntaner*, *Muntané*, literally mountaineer, performed not only as a forester but also as a patroller of communal pasture land and the grain fields during the harvest.¹⁶

I shall open with a layout of surnames derived from cattlemen: *Armenter(o)*, *Recuero*, drover, *Cabañero*, *Cabaner*, caretaker of a herd, *Resero*, a lessor or buyer of heads of cattle. A *Rodero* collected taxes levied on woolbearing animals.¹⁷ An *Hatero* was a shepherd

¹⁶ Cf. Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, "agora anda tratada la tierra de obreros alquiladizos," *Libro de agricultura* (Alcalá de Henares, 1539). This is cited by J.A. Maravall, *op. cit.* vol, II, 359.

¹⁷ We should consider *Rodero*, a native of Roda de Ter as another possible surnominal source.

assigned to bring food to the herders. *Punter(o)* occurs too often as a surname to be brushed aside. Its common meaning is a gun dog, pointer, a breed of dog which has originated in Spain. It could conceivably be a nickname or refer to a breeder. However, there is little doubt that it also stands for an agricultural occupation signifying a cattleman who pilots a herd. It is current in Colombia.¹⁸ A *Montaraz* is a cattle guard. A *Corralero* is the owner of a cattleyard which he often rented to herdsman.

Pastor, Pasto, Pastre (Rosellón) is the common name for a shepherd. *Pastorizo* is a derivative. Less common are *Carnerero, Ovejero, Cat. Oveller, Merino* and *Merinero*. A *Borreguero* is a shepherd who tends lambs. A *Mayoral* is the principal shepherd of a sheepwalk. Its occurrence as a surname has been swollen by the fact that it can signify any kind of head, leader or overseer. On the other hand, a synonym, *Rabadán, Rabadá*, applies only to a sheep man. A goatherd is a *Cabrer(o), Cabré, Cabrerizo*.¹⁹ A cowherd is a *Vaquer(o), Vaqué, Baquer(o), Baqué, Vaquerizo*. The designation for an oxherd is *Boyer(o), Boyé, Boyarizo, Bueyero, Buero, Bover, Bove, Bober, Bobé*. A *Cochinero* is a swineherd. A *Mulero, Mulé* is either a keeper of mules or a muleteer. A *Conejero, Cunillé* is the owner of a rabbitry. Loosely related to him is the *Lebrero*, hunter-seller of hares.

Though a *Caballero* has apparently been hindered from coming to signify a keeper or breeder of horses because of a conflict with *caballero*, knight, it may still be expressed metonymically through the animal bred, *Caballo* and especially *Caballos*. Similarly, **Torero* has not materialized as a bullherd because of a conflict with the designation for a bullfighter, *torero*. Instead we have the *denominatio del Toro* and *Toro* though in the second instance we have competition from *Toro*, a town name.

Other metonymical surnominal equivalents exist for most of the cattleman group—*Oveja, Ovella, Carnero, Borrego, Cordero* (lamb), *Cabra, Vaca, Baca, Ternero* (calf), *Buey.*, *Cat. Bou, Novillo* (young bull) and *Conejo, Cunill, Cuni*. Evidently, the unaesthetic connotation of *cochino* and *cerdo* (hog), has caused the term to be avoided as a surname.

In the poultry category there is an abundance of surnames derived from former dove or pigeon fanciers—*Palomero, Pombeiro, Colomer, Colomé*, and its metonymic substitutes *Paloma, Palomo, Pombo, Coloma, Colóm, Colomo*. Thanks to the bird's popularity as a nickname

¹⁸ In María Rodríguez de Montes, "Encuesta en Pora, Yopal y Tauramena," *Noticias culturales* (Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 10 de agosto 1975) we find the definition: "puntero o cabrestero, el que montado en buen caballo va delante de todo el ganado."

¹⁹ The place-names *Cabrero, Cabrerizo* have given some of these last names. In some instances *Cabrerizo* may not refer to the occupational surname at all as evident from the family of Francisco Cabrezo which when it settled in Galicia became known as *Cabrerizo*.

their number is appreciable. A *Chocero*, who made use of a blind or *choza*, is an expert in snaring wild pigeons with decoys. Perhaps *Perdiguer*, hunter of partridges or, more currently, a person who buys gamebirds from hunters, belongs here. It has furnished scores of surnames. Noticeably absent are **Gallinero*, **Patero*, **Gansero*, referring to chickens, ducks and geese. While it is true that there are quite a few **Pato*, this should be attributed to its use as a nickname. There is a possibility that **Gallinero*, if it exists, and it very likely does, has come through as a surname indirectly from one or more of a number of settlements mostly located in Galicia. A very curious surname is *Gallero*, a promoter of gamecock contests. *Gallo*, rooster, metonymically serves as an equivalent but has to contend with *Gallo*, a strong ekename competitor.

The apiarist is represented by *Abejero*, *Avejero*, referring to bees, *Colmenero*, referring to beehives and *Meler(o)* to honey. When we note that in Toledo and Talavera de Villareal the *colmeneros* were able to form a vigilante group with the *ballesteros* to prevent the looting of the *golfines*, we realize that at least in certain parts of Spain apiarism was a flourishing occupation.²⁰

The grower-sellers of specific fruits that have furnished surnames are *Avellanero*, *Grifoler*, hazel nuts, *Castañer(o)*, *Castaner*, *Castañé*, chestnuts, *Cirer*, plums, *Figuer(o)*, *Higuero*, figs, *Madroñero*, strawberries, *Manzanero*, apples, *Morer*, *Morera*, mulberries, *Oliver(o)*, olives, *Palmeiro*, dates, *Perer(o)*, pears.²¹ Grape surnames are *Viñader*, *Vinader*, *Viñer*, possibly *Ubero*. *Hereder*o in the sense of "heir" would seem to be out of place as a surname which is more likely to be related the provincial *hereder*o meaning a vintager.

Incidentally *-er(o)*, a variant of *-ar*, V.L. *-arium*, is also a very common collective spotname suffix, which has the effect of creating a host of competitors for the *-er(o)* names mentioned above. With regard to *Piñero* its designation as a pine grove recurs so frequently topographically that it well-nigh eliminates *piñero*, collector of pine cones from which edible seeds are extracted.

Denominatio forms are *Castaña*, *Cira*, *Figa*, *Higa*, *Higo*, *Madroña*, Cat. *Madrona*, *Oliva*, *Pera*, *Poma*, *Viña*. At times the *denominatio* seems to be the only form that has survived as in the surnames *Almendra*, almond, *Cereza*, cherry, *Limón*, lemon, *Melón* and *Frutos*.

²⁰ See the *Memoria del Rey Don Fernando IV* quoted in Julio Pujol y Alonso, *Las Hermandades de Castilla y León* (Madrid, 1913), P. 35.

²¹ *Manzanero* is a noble surname as well as a place-name. *Morer* and *Morera* are surnames of noble Catalan families. The latter has a numerous representation today. A mulberry tree appears on its coat of arms, but whether or not this is related to its origin is not clear. There also happen to be several place-names *Morera*. This drastically reduces but does not completely shut out the term as an occupational surname. Cf. Port. *Moreiro*. As a font name source *Oliver(o)* competes with the olive grower-dealer, while *Palmero*, a pilgrim, competes with the palm name.

All of them frequently appear as plurals. Furthermore, when we note that the same fruit names in *-a* are repeated by others in *-o*, the usual designation for a tree, *Abellano*, *Almendo*, *Cerezo*, *Higo* (already mentioned), *Manzano*, *Madroño*, *Olivo*, *Pomo* we are prompted to conclude that the *o*-ending can indicate either the tree or its product.²²

The grain and cereal group of surnames is meagre. *Granjer*, if from *granja*, a granary, relates to its owner or warden. Another name for a granary ward is *Ciller(o)*.²³ A *Segador* is a harvester. A *Mes(s)agué* or *Mas(s)ugué* is a grainfield guard. A *Campero* is a patroller of communal pastureland as well as a grainfield guard during the harvest season.²⁴ A *Cuartero* or *Cuartecero* is one who collected rental on the grain in the granges. Other surnames are apt to hark back to merchants, *Granero* to grain, *Arrocer* to rice, *Ceacero* to spelt, *Cebador* to barley, *Centenero* to rye and *Triguero* to wheat.

There is only one general term for a cultivator of vegetables, *Hortelano*, *Hortolano*, *Hortolá*, *Ortolá*. It has furnished other names through its metonyms *Huerta(s)*, *Huerto*. Among the cognomina recalling grower-sellers of specific vegetables we have *Cebollero*, onions, *Fabero*, beans, *Fenoller*, fennel, *Porrero*, leek, *Rabanero*, radishes, *Repollero* cabbages. They are amply represented by their metonymic equivalents *Cebolla*, *Faba*, *Haba*, *Fenol(l)*, *Hinojo* and *Porro*. For some grower-dealers we do not have literal appellatives, but indirectly through the legumes they have handled we come upon such surnames as *Calabaza*, pumpkin, Cat. *Espinach*, spinach, *Lechuga*, lettuce, *Pimiento*, pepper. Nickname sources are not to be excluded here. The non-occurrence of a number of vegetable grower-dealers and their produce as surnominal contributors is puzzling.

Spices can, of course, be rated as a special kind of produce with an incentive to grow and to sell them. Among the cognomina we have are *Cominero*, grower-seller of cumin seed (cultivated largely in the provinces of Cuenca and Teruel). It is flanked by the metonym, *Comino*. There is also *Mostacero*, a grower-seller of mustard seed, also flanked by a metonym, *Mostaza*. We have, in addition, *Tomillero*, grower-seller of thyme. *Romero*, rosemary, must weakly fight for its identity in the face of the very popular *Romero*, pilgrim.

I shall close this section by mentioning several surnames derived from a fringe area, the woodland, first of all that of *Bosquer(o)*, *Bosqué* a denizen of the woods or forest warden. Its synonym, corresponding to his realm, has contributed numerous last names, *Bosque*, Cat. *Bosc*, *Bosch*. Forest warden is also one of the meanings of *Montero*. His name, however, has always been associated with a hunter. *Cazador* is

²² *Naranjo* as a fruit surname is dubious due to the fact that one of the oldest of the Spanish noble families which had its ancestral estate on Monte Naranco near Oviedo eventually converted it into *Naranjo*.

²³ *Cillero* is also a place-name.

²⁴ *Campero* is likewise a place-name.

a synonymous term but much less used and hence not so common as a surname. Though the *cazador* might hunt for its own pleasure and profit, he quite often functioned as an employee of a nobleman. Cf. *cazador del señor príncipe*.

TRADES AND CRAFTS

One cannot speak about merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen without reference to their guilds. Through them they enjoyed a monopoly of the trade in localities in which they operated.²⁵

The surnames in the first group, acquired and passed on to their offspring, are small in number made up of the general trade name *Mercader*, *Mercadé*, *Marchán*, *Merchante*, *Merchán*, *Merchante* and the few others listed in the agricultural section representing merchants who dealt with grains and cereals.

On the other hand, the variety of the crafts in which the craftsmen have been engaged has provided us with a rich harvest of surnames. Until the fifteenth century a craft skill was regularly passed on to male descendants which facilitated the growth of permanent surnames. This trend declined afterwards, owing to the fact that many of the craftsmen were no longer members of the same family but wage earners. Each craft, however, continued to have its master craftsman or overseer *Maestro*, *Mestre* and apprentices Cat. *Mas(s)ip*, *Macip*, *Macipe*. A general designation for artisan is *Obrero* but sometimes *Obrero*, *Obradó* is used in its stead. *Obrador* also means a workshop which could as such be productive of a surname.

By far the most outstanding trade name in the metal industry is obviously: *Ferrer(o)*, *Ferré*, *Farrer*, *Farré*, *Herrero*, smith or ironmonger, which is almost as widespread in Spain as its English counterpart. Needless to say, the connotations it has assumed are many. It was a skilled trade in great demand that was transmitted from father to son and which had the potential of being transformed quite early into a fixed surname. While the Catalan noble family of Ferrer claims English forebears, the Ferrers, which has been traced back to two French towns called Ferrières, its role in the diffusion of the surname must perforce be considered minimal. Synonyms that have rarely been used as surnames are *Fragueiro* and Cat. *Fabre*. An *Herrador* is a farrier, a *Menescal* both a horseshoer and a veterinarian.

Makers of metal household objects are *Agüer*, *Aguller*, of needles, *Baciero*, wash basins, *Biguer*, large nails, *Calderero*, cauldrons, *Cerragero*, *Torniller(o)*, Cat. *Manyá*, locks, *Llavero*, *Claver(o)*, *Clavé*,²⁶ Arag. *Chaver*, keys, *Cucharero*, spoons, *Cutiller*, knives and *Lamparero*, lamps. In the days before street lighting persons who

²⁵ For a more detailed discussion see the article under *gremios* in the *Espasa encyclopedia*, vol. XXVI, 1289-91.

²⁶ On *Clavero*, see other sections.

ventured out at night carried their own lamps; in fact, in many towns they were required by law to carry them.

For the manufacturers of now obsolete military equipment whose names have survived surnominally we have *Armero*, armorer, *Escudero*, *Escudé*, *Escuter*, shields (also squire), *Espadero*, *Espaser*, swords, *Lancero*, lances (also a military term). Corresponding metonymic surnames are *Agulla*, *Caldera*, *Caldero*, *Calderón*, *Cuchillo*, *Escudo*, *Espada(s)*, *Espasa*, *Lanza*, *Tornill*. A *Campanero* is a bell founder.

Representing a more refined aspect of smithery is the surname *Platero*, *Argenter*, *Argenté*, silversmith jeweler. Barcelona, it will be remembered, was famous for its silversmiths. Rare but not lacking is *Dorador*, gilder, though often the silversmiths did their own gilding.

Presentday frequency of the surname *Monedero*, minter, makes this name striking at first glance. It ceases to be so when we learn that coinage in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance in Spain was subject to seigniorage, which gave the feudal lords the right to mint their own money. In León in the thirteenth century the *monederos* were numerous enough to organize themselves into a confraternity.²⁷ Under Enrique IV of Castile during the fifteenth century there were in existence 150 private mints that were licensed and many more that were unlicensed. There was endless confusion, compounded by rampant cheating and counterfeiting. In order to bring order out of chaos the Catholic Kings in 1497 revoked all minting licenses, created state mints, and for the first time gave the country a single national currency. While the occupation of the *monedero* did not die out it was very drastically reduced. The hereditary existence of the surname probably dates back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century when the trade was most flourishing.

The three generic names for Spanish woodcraftsmen are *Carpintero*, *Escarpanter*, and *Fuster(o)*, *Fusté*. If a *fuster* specialized he would be known as a *fuster de obres*, builder, *fuster caixer*, furniture maker, *fuster de banc*, bench maker, *fuster de carros*, cart maker, etc. The noble Catalan family Fuster which has been traced back to France has contributed some to the Fuster surnames. The *Torner(o)*, *Torné*, turner, gets his designation from the chief tool of his trade, *Torn(o)*, lathe, also an existing surname. The term is often equivalent to carpenter. *Estaller* is related to *tornero*. Other carpenters named after their special skills are *Aperador*, wheelwright, *Arquer(o)*, *Arqué*, bow maker, *Ballester(o)*, *Besteiro*, crossbow maker,²⁸ *Artero*, trough maker, *Aspero*, maker of windmill wings, *Barquero*, *Barqué*, *Varquero*, *Buquer*, *Buqué*, boatmaker as well as boatman, *Barrilero*, cask maker, *Boter(o)*, maker of wooden casks, *Cabañero*, if a builder of wooden

²⁷ See Julio González, *op. cit.* vol. I, 305.

²⁸ See also military surnames.

huts, *Cabero*, haftmaker, *Carrer(o)*, *Carré*, *Carreter(o)*, *Carreté*, cartwright, *Carrocero*, builder of carriages, *Cofrer*, *Cofré*, of coffers, *Criveller*, of sieves, *Cubero*, cooper, *Escalero*, ladder maker, *Escañero*, a maker of benches, *Tinaquero*, maker of tubs. *Pisonero*, a maker of tamps, is more likely to have given us this as a surname than a man who tamps, but even this possibility is neutralized by *Pisón*, the name of four settlements one or more of which can give us through the addition of the suffix *-ero* the address name of one of its residents.

Carpenters probably use pitch more than other craftsmen. Here, then, can be added *Peguero*, which denotes one who extracts pitch from pines. He is to be differentiated from the seller who is known as *Pecero*. Together with the painter, too, he is apt to use linseed oil for his paints and varnishes, which he could acquire from a *Linacero*. A *Calafat(e)*, caulker, assisted the *barqueros* in the shipbuilding. Adjunct names for these craftsmen in terms of what they made are *Arco*, *Ballesta*, *Espasa*, *Barco*, *del Barco*, *Barril*, *Bota*, *Cabaña*, *Carreta*, *Carro*, *Carroza*, *Cofre*, *Cubo*, *Escala*, *Escaño*.

The Arabic loanword *Albañil* is the Spanish term for mason, which is a reminder of the days when the Moors controlled the trade. As a builder of a stone hut he might be called a *Cabañero*, *Barraquer*; if he dug wells a *Poceiro*, if he built stone walls a *Tapiador*; if he produced millstones a *Molero*. The *Cantonero* dug the stone that was needed in a quarry, the *Cantero* or *Pedrero*, did the stonecutting. A *Calero* is linked to the limekiln and Cat. *Guixer* to the chalkpit.

The *Barrero*, *Varrero*, *Terrero*, *Terré* might be potters themselves or suppliers of clay to potters like *Oller(o)*, *Ollé*, maker of kettles, *Cantarero*, jugs, *Tinajero*, large jars. A *Botler(o)*, *Botlé*, *Botellé*, is a flask maker which could also be made of leather or glass. The holders of the surname for a tiler, *Tejero*, *Tejero*, are fairly common. As always the things produced can be equated with the occupation of the maker *Cabaña*, *Barraca*, *Muela*, *Mola*, *Pozo*, *Tinaja*, *Teja*.

A *Vidrier* is a glazier. Many of these artisans were imported from German-speaking countries with surnames that for Spaniards were difficult to pronounce; hence they were conveniently referred to by their craft or skill, in this case, *Vidrier*, or by their nationality *Alemán*, *Flamenco*. Cf. also *Piferrer* in the section on musicians. They were brought to Spain to work chiefly on the stained glass windows in the churches. An occupation that must have been predominantly controlled by native Spaniards, the mirror industry, has given *Espejer* surnominally. Another maker or seller of glassware is the *Redomero*, who deals with vials.

The miller, *Moliner(o)*, *Moliné*,²⁹ *Mulner*, *Moner*, *Munner*, *Munné*, used to be a man of consequence in his community, a prestige that undoubtedly added to its attraction as a surname. The mill usually

²⁹ In northern and eastern Aragonese this is a diminutive form equivalent to *Molinet*.

belonged to a lord or was leased to one of his vassals who allowed the miller to derive his revenue from multure. An *Aceñero* is the keeper of a water mill. A baker is *Forner(o)*, *Forné*, *Hornero*, *Panadero* or Cat. *Flaquer*, *Flaqué*, *Flegué*. It may be that *Tarter(a)*, a tart maker and *Bollero* in the sense of muffin maker have also supplied the surnames to which they seem to point. Surnominal equivalents have taken the form of *Molina*, *Aceña*, *Horno*, *Forns*, *Pan* and *Bollo*.

In the leathersgoods industry the key name variously spelled indicating a furrier, leather dresser, processor and seller is *Pelejero*, *Pelijero*, *Pelegero*, *Pellegé*, *Pelijero*, *Pelletero*, *Pelitero* and the most diffused of the terms *Pellicer(o)*, *Pellicé*. In the early days there was a thriving importation of pelts and leathersgoods from Moorish Spain.³⁰ The names of the specialist utilizing the hides followed where found by their referent metonyms, that is, the commodities they produced, are *Abarquero* (Abarca), sandaler, *Alabardero*, *Baster(o)*, *Basté* (*Basto*), saddler, *Boter(o)*, (*Bota*), *Borracher*, maker-seller of wine bags, *Bolsero* (*Bolsa*), Cat. *Bosser* (*Bossa*), maker-seller of pouches, *Cabestrero*, *Cabestré*, maker-seller of halters, *Correger(o)*, *Correjero*, *Corretjer*, *Corretgé* (*Corretja*), *Correcher*, *Correoneo* (*Correa*),³¹ maker of belts, *Frenero*, bridle maker, *Guanter*, glover, *Sellero*, *Sillero* (*Silla*) maker of harness, the ubiquitous *Zapater(o)*, *Zapaté* (*Zapata*, buskin) *Sabater*, *Sabaté* (*Sabat*), shoemaker, *Trailler*, maker of leashes, *Zurronero* (*Zurrón*) maker of shepherd cloaks. Finally, a *Blanquer*, *Blanqué*, is a tanner, and a *Zumaquero*, a grower-seller of sumac used for tanning and drying while a *Casquero* is a stripper of oak bark which is also used in tanning.

The purveyors of raw materials for textile workers whose offspring eventually assumed their surnames are *Cañamero* for hemp, *Cañero* for reeds or rushes, *Cotoner* for cotton, *Espartero* for Esparto grass, *Feltrer* for felt, *Lanero* for wool, *Linero* for linen, *Seder(o)* for silk. They are joined by those who do weaving or knitting—*Tejador*, *Texidor*, *Texidó*, *Testor*, the rare *Perayre*, and the *Astillero*,³² who supplies combs for the looms, the *Tundidor* who is a cloth shearer. The *molino ropero*, clothing mill, plays a role, hence some *Molineros*. millers, belong to the trade. The *Espadaler* as well as the *Pinter* deal with the brakes for dressing hemp, the *Cardoner*, *Cardador*, *Cardero* and perhaps *Peinador* with wool carding.³³ The cloth stretcher is a

³⁰ See J. Lee Shneidman, "The State and Trade in Thirteenth Century Aragón," *Hispania* XIX (Madrid, 1959), 370.

³¹ The Galician noble name of *Correa*, however, most likely has a different origin.

³² Alternative sources for *Astillero* are a dockyard and the name of a town, Astillero.

³³ The only dictionary meaning for *Peinador* that I have found is dressing gown or wrapper. I am inclined to believe that it has had a better chance to develop into a surname as a synonym of the three terms just mentioned.

Tirador, Triador, Triadó. After the cloth is shrunk and pressed by the *Batanero* and perhaps *Llavador* (from *lavar*, wash, cleanse) it is dyed by the *Tintorer(o), Tintor, Tinto, Tinturer, Tinturé.*

For garment making there is the *Sastre*,³⁴ also surviving in the Arabic loanword *Alfayate*. A Catalan synonym is *Cusidó*. An *Escoter, Escoté* is a weaver of serge; a *Goiler, Guller* cut and fashioned the collars worn by magistrates, the ruff; the *Mantero* made cloaks, the *Sayero, Saier, Sayé* smocks, the *Sayalero* coats made out of goat's hair, the *Toquero* hoods, the *Zahonero* short leathern or cloth breeches used to protect the clothing of hunters and farm workers, the *Zamarrero* sheep or lambskin cloaks, the *Capeller(o), Capellé* hats.

A *Bancalero* is the maker of bench covers, a *Berdaguer, Berdagué* of cordage for stud sails, a *Cester(o)* of baskets, a *Cinter(o), Cinterer(o)* ribbons, a *Cobertador, Cubertorer* coverings and trappings for mounts, a *Saquero* sacks, a *Soguero* ropes, a *Trainer* nets for deep sea fishing, especially sardines, a *Velero* sails. *Ministral* is a general designation for an artisan and among textile workmen an overseer.

AQUATIC SURNAMES

Some surnames which happen to denote both naval and non-naval occupations have been cited in the section on Military Surnames. A few more that can be added to the second category are *Balseiro*, ferryman, *Pescador*, fisherman, *Sardinero*, sardine fisherman, *Truchero*, a trout fisherman. Trout was and still is the most abundant of the fish in Spanish inland waters.

SHOPKEEPERS, STOREKEEPERS AND VENDORS

Most of the craftsmen already mentioned had their shops or salesrooms in the towns of their residence, hence their names can be fitted into this category. The same applies to growers of fruits and vegetables. These should be supplemented by a number of store and stall keepers who limited themselves only to selling. To what extent they were proprietors of their establishments we do not know. Many of them were not. For example, Enrique II of Castile, who held a monopoly of stores in cities within his kingdom granted individuals the control of all or a part of the shops in them.³⁵ A similar monopoly must have been held by others in different sections of the country and at different times. As between producers and sellers we may expect that fixed surnames have been more apt to have sprung from the first group.

I shall start with the collective *Tendero*, storekeeper. Those who specialized in the sale of a particular product were the *Aceitero*, Cat.

³⁴ A curious case of a combination of font and craftname is *Tonisastre*.

³⁵ See Julio Valdeón Baroque, *Enrique II de Castilla: La guerra civil y la consolidación del régimen (1366-1371)* (Valladolid, 1966), 296.

Olier, in oil, *Bercero*, in greengrocery, *Carnecer(o)*, Cat. *Maeller*, *Maseller*, in meats, *Boquer*, in deer meat, *Especier*, in spices, *Claver(o)*, *Clavé* in cloves, *Espliguero* in lavender, *Ferreter* in hardware, *Librero* in books, *Mercer*, *Mercé*, *Marcer*, *Marcé*, in haberdashery, the *Ropero*, *Draper*, *Trapero*, in clothes.³⁶ The *Barber(o)*, *Barbé*, barber, also used to function as a minor surgeon by performing bloodletting. The designation for a midwife is *Partera*. There is also the *Bodiguero*, owner of a wine cellar, who is supplied by the wine merchant, *Vinatero*, *Vinader*, *Vinadé*, and both, in turn, supply the *Taberner(o)*, *Taverner(o)*. Banking has been available through the *Banquer(o)*, *Banqué* or the *Tauler* when the more archaic Catalan term was current. Transients could board at an inn run by a *Mesonero*, *Ventero*, or an *Hostaller*. Since *Pusateri* is a common Hispanic surname in Sicily, we may expect to find **Posadero*, **Posatero*, but I have not located any as yet. *Mozo* has always been the designation for a waiter.

With the displacement of the ox by the mule the muleteer, *Muler(o)*, *Mulé* became a very important cog in the transportation of goods and supplies. This was regularly done in a *cuadrilla* or caravan headed by a *Cuadrillero*. The mule was also utilized by the carter, *Carreter(o)*, *Carreté*, the water-carrier *Arriero*, *Aguadero*, *Aiguader*, *Ayguadé*, who, incidentally, delivered wine as well as water. Either mules or oxen could have been used by the *Carbonero*, charcoal seller, the *Cisquer*, coaldust seller, *Leñero*, lumber merchant, or the salter, *Salinero*. In addition, the animal was apt to be the means of transportation for itinerant vendors and their goods like *Chalán*, *Regatero*, hawker, *Cepero*, seller of brassware, *Formatger*, cheesemonger, the *Cerero* or *Cirero*, waxman, the *Jabonero*, seller of soap. The *Conchero* sold conch shells used mostly for horns. In the thirteenth century the *concheros* were numerous enough to be organized into a *cofradía*.³⁷ *Recober*, *Recover* is a poulterer. In various buying and selling transactions the *Corredor*, *Factor*, broker, play a frequent role. The urban day laborer is a *Bracero*.

In terms of the inseparable adjuncts of an individual, his place of work and the commodities he sold, the occupations just listed can be surnominally increased by the following partial list: *Tienda*, *Drap*, *Ropa*, *Trapo*, *Mercado*, *Clavo*, *Ferret*, *Bodega*, *Vino*, *Taberna*, *Hostal*, *Posada*, *Mulo*, *Carro*, *Carreta*, *Agua*, *Carbón*, *Leña*, *Formatje*, *Concha*.

In the type of surnames we have been discussing it is unmistakably clear that it is almost completely dominated by men; in fact, I can think of only three occupations in which the opposite sex has enjoyed a

³⁶ *Trapero* now refers only to a dealer in rags.

³⁷ See Julio González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 306.

monopoly: chaperonage as expressed by *Dueña*, midwifery, by *Partera*, and nunnery by *Monja*, none of which has been sufficiently attractive to insure easy transmissibility and hence is rarely found as a surname. In general, wherever we find an office or occupational name in *-a* we can assume that it is apt to refer to the wife of one of its former holders. However, in view of the special skills demonstrated by women in the performance of certain tasks we can accept a handful as genuine occupational surnames contributed by the distaff side: in weaving *Tejedora*, *Tejerina*, in milling *Molinera*, *Monera*, in baking *Panadera*. A post like *panadera de los Reyes* could carry with it sufficient prestige to convert it into a surname.³⁸

The role of women is visibly strongest in the herding category where they have always shared the chores with men: *Pastora*, *Vaquera*, *Cabrera*. For the unusually widespread surname *Herrera*, it is possible that some of its holders may trace it back to the wife of a smith, and perhaps a few to a woman smith. Most of the surnames, notwithstanding, are sure to have had their genesis in the unromantic place-name, *Herrera*, smithy.

Of much greater relevance in this study are the plurals. There is a plethora of *Ballesteros*, *Herreros*, *Ferrers*, *Flaqués*, *Sabatés*; in fact, almost every occupation and craft has its surnominal plural: *Pastors*, *Mayorales*, *Cabrerros*, *Carnereros*, *Vaqués*, *Barqueros*, *Carboneros*, *Mercaders*, *Olleros*, *Panadés*, *Pelliceros*, *Torneros*, etc. The simplest explanation for this phenomenon is to consider these names as stemming from the pluralized forms of craft and occupation names which designated the street or quarters where the craftsmen lived and worked, the settlements that used to be the permanent homes of roving herdsmen, or one-time roadside service stations such as the *herrería*. In the beginning when the place of residence and occupation-craft were identical it is logical to expect these surnames to have arisen there.

CONCLUSION

Among the names of offices and occupations that do not appear in my survey are the following garnered from sundry documents, books and articles: *abogado*, lawyer, *acemilero*, muleteer, *agujetero*, strap maker, *alfarero*, potter, *almotacén*, guild judge, *andador*, bailiff, messenger, *anzuelero*, fishhook maker, *aposentador*, officer of the household who goes before the royal family to provide and prepare reception, *arcabucero*, harquebusier, *archiduque*, archduke, *arci-preste*, archpriest, *arzobispo*, archbishop, *auditor*, a judge, *banastero*, basket maker, *boyatero*, oxherd, *borceguinero*, buskin maker,

³⁸ See Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "Mercedes reales en Granada anterior al año 1500 *Hispania* XXIX (Madrid, 1969), 374.

bozador, plowman, *bruñidor*, burnisher, *caballerizo*, keeper of a nobleman's stable, *cabecero*, head herder, *caletero*, knitter, *calesero*, driver or maker of a calash, *cambiador*, moneychanger, *capataz*, overseer, *capachero*, basket maker or basket porter, *capucero*, hood maker, *cercenador*, shearer, *condestable*, constable, *corambero*, hide dealer, *cordelero*, cord maker, *curtidor*, tanner, *chapinero*, clog maker, *dehesero*, drover, *galguero*, hound keeper, *ganadero*, herder, *latonero*, braizer, *jaulero*, maker-seller of cages, *lechero*, milkman, *logrero*, lender, *loriguero*, armorer, *meditor*, surveyor, *odrero*, wine bag maker, *oidor*, a special judge, *párroco*, parish priest, *pergamintero*, parchment maker or seller, *pollero*, poulterer, *pontero*, collector of bridge tolls, *porquerizo*, raiser of hogs, *pregonero*, crier, *personero* or *procurador*, attorney, *presbítero*, clergyman, *pulpero*, cuttlefish man, *puñalero*, maker of daggers, *rempujero*, grange worker, *repostero*, pastry cook, *seneschal*, seneschal, *sombrerero*, hatter, *tahonero*, baker, *talabartero*, maker of sword belts, *trotero*, dispatcher, *ujier*, usher, *veedor*, inspector, *yeguerizo*, mare breeder, *vesquero*, tinder maker, *virrey*, viceroy, *zurrador*, pouch maker. There has been no attempt to make this list exhaustive.³⁹

Some of the occupations just mentioned I have undoubtedly missed as suppliers of surnames. Some that once existed must have become extinct. Most of them, however, must have failed to crystallize as cognomina including, surprisingly, such common designations as *alfarero*, *caballerizo*, *condestable*, *arcipreste*, *boyatero*, *cambiador*, *ganadero*, *lechero*, *párroco*, *virrey*. Elsewhere I have mentioned *licenciado*, *falconero*, *halconero* and a few others. This warrants the conclusion that the existence or non-existence of a great many surnames of the office-occupation type and, undoubtedly, a heavy percentage of those in other types, is due to purely fortuitous circumstances. Furthermore, insofar as dating their genesis is concerned we can in the cases where a designation has become obsolete posit a *terminus ad quem* but not a *terminus a quo*. Any of these surnames might have come into being anywhere between the two, that is, over a period of as long as several centuries. In most of the other instances dating is even more indeterminate.

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³⁹ Three lists where many of these can be found are Fernando Arroyo Ilera, "Estructura demográfica de Segorbe y su comarca en el siglo XV," *Hispania* XXIX (Madrid, 1969), 304-05; Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "La repoblacion del reino de Granada anterior al año 1500," *Hispania* XXVIII (Madrid, 1968), 554-55, and Julio González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 204-206.