

What Do Names Tell Us About Our Former Occupations?

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ABSTRACT

The paper will analyze some linguistic, primarily onomastic evidence of still existent or extinct crafts and occupations within the framework of the former social structure. Many onetime crafts became extinct in the course of time, but traces of their former diffusion and importance can be reconstructed from their onomastic, primarily, anthroponomastic reflections. Similar surnames motivated by occupation can be found all across Europe. Some surname statistics in various European countries are given in the paper.

Key words: *onomastics, anthroponymy, occupational surnames, Croatian surnames, crafts*

Introduction

In many ways names express the identity of a community. From a historical perspective they bear witness to valuable non-linguistic information on cultural, social, religious and other levels. So-called occupational surnames represent an especially interesting group of names found all across Europe. Many former long forgotten occupations and local crafts are extinct, but the memory of their former importance is well preserved in onomastic evidence, mostly in surnames.

Originally, in the »pre-surname« periods, names motivated by occupation used to be a sort of nickname given to craftsmen in order to distinguish them among

other members of the local community. Today, when we view Croatia that group of surnames covers about 10% of all family names¹. Most of them originate from the period of the late Middle Ages, the age of a highly developed feudalism in which craftsmen settled at market places and around medieval towns. At that time they started to play an important role within the framework of the feudal social structure. Since for centuries crafts and occupations were mostly hereditary, a group of family names motivated by them in most European countries developed and hence they represent one of the earliest groups of hereditary surnames. It is

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especially true for the period after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) when the majority of family names obtained an official status and gradually, throughout the 16th and 17th century, became not only hereditary but also an obligatory part of the naming formula².

The Development of Medieval Crafts

In most of Europe, crafts gradually emerged by the end of the 10th and at the beginning of the 11th century, a time in which medieval towns developed into centers of trade and manufacturing. From the 11th to the 14th century, the urban settlements were in a constant rise all across Europe. That situation was somewhat changed due to an economic and demographic depression in the 14th century, but already by the middle of the 15th century many urban settlements were officially given a kind of an urban epithet and that represented the culmination period of medieval crafts. However, the Ottoman army invasion in the 16th century, and the Turkish conquest of the large portions of the South-Eastern Europe and Hungary, brought depression and stagnation of many former urban settlements. Well-established trade routes were suspended which in turn meant in many towns a downfall in production for craftsmen. There were, however, European cities in which the crafts were kept from decay almost in the continuity from the late Antiquity until the present. This refers mostly to Italy, but also to some of the Dalmatian cities that were under Byzantine and later Venetian rule.

The situation was, of course, quite different in the rural communities where the local population was for the most part

able to produce its own goods. In most villages, until the end of the 19th century, crafts often used to be just a complementary seasonal activity in periods in which the farmers were not fully involved in farming, or cattle breeding. From the 19th century onwards, in rural areas craftsmen gradually differentiated from farmers. Still, the market was too small to initiate the growth of manufactures, and craftsmen mostly traded within their own regions. In spite of their undefined status, or better, as a result of that status, many of those »seasonal craftsmen« obtained nicknames that later became surnames, that differentiated them within their communities. It should be noted that in the 18th and 19th centuries, the differentiation of craftsmen in rural environments had a somewhat negative connotation³. Those were the people that became craftsmen not because of their skills but out of necessity since they had lost their land. They were often treated with contempt within their communities and the nicknames motivated by crafts were somewhat pejorative.

Many craftsmen came to Croatia about the 13th century. In the northern part of Croatia, king Bela the Fourth (1235–1270) invited them to »his« territory as so-called »hospites«. Many of them were of foreign, often German origin* and most medieval towns very soon became partly cosmopolitan settlements. Shortly afterwards craftsmen started to form market districts within the cities and organize themselves into brotherhoods on an ethnic or occupational basis. However, it seems that the first brotherhoods were more religious and social organizations. In Zagreb »the Croatian Brotherhood« is mentioned in historical records of 1355, »German« in 1357, and »Latin« in 1384⁴.

* Many German craftsmen stayed in Croatia for centuries, and only at the beginning of the 20th century their number rapidly declined.

At that time the term *Latin* was mostly referred to Italian builders, such as stone-carvers from Florence who came to Zagreb to build the cathedral. A memory of that ethnic group is preserved in the name of one of the major Zagreb streets, *Vlaška ulica*, as well as in the name *Laščina* that used to be a village where the Italians had their properties. Germans, on the other hand were often shoe-makers so the district they settled was known as »German« or *Šošarska ves* (Shoemakers Lane). In later periods, when the craftsmen suburban settlements became integrated districts of the cities, a memory of their former importance is often, to the present day, preserved in numerous street or district names that were named after them. Thus we find, for example in the Croatian capital Zagreb, street names like *Kožarska* (kožar 'leather-worker'), *Lončarska* (lončar 'potter'), *Mesnička* (mesar 'butcher'), *Mlinarska* (mlinar 'miller'), *Šošarska* (šoštár 'shoe-maker' ← *Germ.*), *Šloserska* (šloser 'lock-smith' ← *Germ.*), *Zvonarnička* (zvonar 'bell-maker' used in the sense of bell workshop) and so on. In Rijeka we had *Užarska* (užar 'rope-maker'), in Dubrovnik *Crevljarska* (crevljar 'shoe-maker'), *Zlatarska* (zlatar 'goldsmith'), in Zadar *Kovačka* (kovač 'blacksmith') etc. Since those names, that date back hundreds of years, very explicitly bear witness to a historical development of medieval towns, and represent an important part of their history, they should not be renamed as they unfortunately often are.

In the 15th century craftsmen began to form guilds, occupational associations with the same or similar crafts that functioned as sort of medieval unions. Due to the fact the guilds had to be authorized

by the responsible municipal authorities, or by the ruler, Croatian historical records give us valuable information on the importance of certain crafts and the order in which they were established, until their abolishment in 1872. According to historical records in the Zagreb region there were 28 guilds, most of them concentrated in Gradec*, although the number of various crafts that were present in the Croatian capital from the 13th to the 19th century certainly surpasses that number. In the 15th century Gradec registered 38 different crafts, while the historical records of Vienna from 1454, that at the time had about 20,000 inhabitants, list 68 different crafts that were organized within 55 guilds. The number of craftsmen is of course proportionally related to the level of the urban development of a certain town.

The situation in Zagreb⁵ mostly corresponds to the situation in other north Croatian towns. For example, according to a number of registered craftsmen in Varaždin, the most numerous were butchers, then came blacksmiths, shoe-makers, tailors, small shop-keepers, millers, salt-producers or salt traders, weavers, bathers, goldsmiths, joiners, bow-makers, armoires, strap-makers, furriers, carpenters, organ makers, gun-smiths, stone-carvers, barbers, vessel makers, cartwrights, etc.⁶

The southern, coastal part of Croatia was in general, economically more prosperous than the north. The indigenous Romance population of Dalmatian towns was mostly assimilated before the coastal territory came under the political and administrative influence of Venice. The Croats, who originally lived outside the city walls gradually entered the cities

* The capital of Croatia that was until 1860 divided into Gradec (the royal free city on basis of a charter granted in 1242 by King Bela IV), the capitular part of the town called Kaptol, and the Vlaška district that was under the Bishop's jurisdiction.

and started to participate in the urban economic life. Craftsmen in Dalmatian towns were usually organized in brotherhoods before those in the north of Croatia⁷. They were able to develop some technologically more demanding production as shipbuilding, shipping-trade, salt producing etc. Medieval Dubrovnik was well known for its production of very fine cloths, weavers and dyers (tinctoria)⁸.

What can be said about crafts all over Croatia is that they were mostly oriented to small, closed communities. For most towns it seems there were too many craftsmen of the same branch, and in most cases they did not produce goods for trade outside their own town. In such a situation there was hardly any need for technical improvements. Furthermore, the Turkish invasion in the 16th century, and Ottoman plundering all across Croatia, had a devastating impact on a still very feeble economic production and in many territories caused almost a complete manufacturing breakdown.

The Diffusion of Occupational Surnames Motivated by Various Crafts

From the number of people bearing occupational surnames one can speculate over the diffusion of certain crafts and thus to a certain degree reconstruct the former social structure of late mediaeval towns. Furthermore, the anthroponymic data also show us what was the ethnic origin of people bearing those surnames. Specifically, the analysis of foreign elements in occupational surnames clearly indicates which ethnic communities were mostly involved in certain crafts and occupations in Croatia. Moreover, from the

surname geographical distribution we can obtain very useful information for the study of migrations from a historical perspective.

Since it is not possible to list all surnames motivated by crafts on this occasion, I shall single out the most indicative, or the most numerous ones, according to the frequency list of all Croatian surnames.

It is not surprising that among all occupational surnames⁹ in Croatia, the far most wide-spread are those derived from METAL WORKERS, like the word *kovač* 'blacksmith', since from the time of the first historical records we know that almost each settlement had to have a blacksmith. According to the surname statistics it seems that **blacksmiths** were mostly Croats since the highest ranking are *Kovačević* (2), *Kovačić* (6) and *Kovač* (12) while *Šmit* (←Germ.) is only on the 849th position. Other metal workers are not that numerous. Among **spuriers** and **locksmiths** most common are *Špoljarić* (93) and *Špoljar* (252), both from *špoljar* (←Germ. Sporer, also 'locksmith'), while Croatian *Strugar* 'spuriere' is listed at the 1778th position and *Bravar* 'locksmith' at the 6160th. **Tinmen** were of Turkish: *Kalajdžić* (2313), *Kalajžić*, *Kalaj* ← *kalajdžija* (Tur. kalayci), or German *Klanfar* (3690) (←Germ. Klampner) origin. It seems that **goldsmiths** were mostly Muslims since *Kujundžić* is listed 721 and *Kulundžić* (2915) ← *kujundžija* while from the Croatian term *zlatar* we list only *Zlatar* (1422) and *Zlatarić* (4079).

WOOD WORKERS' crafts terminology is without doubt mostly German. The most numerous are **sawyers** *Žagar* (237) ←Germ. Säger, then **joiners** *Tišljar* (1259),

* For each of the listed family names the rank of surname at a national list (according to the 1991 census) is given in the parenthesis since it is very important for the study of the diffusion of certain late mediaeval crafts⁹. For the help in statistical elaboration I thank my brother, Hrvoje Brozović.

Tišljarić (4483), *Tišljarec* (8015) ← *Germ.* Tischler and **carpenters** *Cimerman* (3487) ← *Germ.* Zimmerman. Croatian terms *pilar*, *tesar*, *stolar* are poorly represented in surnames except for the surname *Tesla* (2323), as well as those derived from *Ital.* *marangun* (*Marangon*, *Marangoni*, *Marangunić*). According to surname statistics **turners** were not that numerous. Less than hundred people have names such as *Šiftar*, *Šiptar* derived from the term *šiftar* ← *Germ.* Schifter. Much better represented were **cartwrights** and it seems that this occupation was mostly reserved for the Croats since *Kolar* (80), *Kolarić* (99), *Kolarek* (1941), *Kolarević* (2240) derived from *kolar* are positioned fairly high among Croatian surnames. Less represented are *Kolesar* (2851) and *Kolesarić* (7879) from the synonymous term *kolesar*. Those of Hungarian *Bognar* (2703) ← *bognár*, German *Vagner* (4032) ← *Wagner* or Turkish origin (*Rabadžija*, *Rabađija* ← arabaci) are even less frequent.

Since they were needed in each HOUSE-HOLD **potters** were very numerous according to the Croatian surname statistics: *Lončar* (25), *Lončarić* (98) *Lončarević* (278) ← *lončar* are of the Croatian origin, while from *gerenčar* (← *Hung.* göröncsér ← *Slav.*) *Gerenčir* is listed only at 5390th position. It seems that the other **vessel-makers** were also mostly Croats: *Sudar* (491), *Sudarić* (3892), *Sudarević* (4055) ← *sudar*, *Stupar* (743), *Stuparić* (3433) ← *stupar* and *Zdjelar* (1493). The same can be noticed for **tub-makers** *Kablar* (2813), **trough-makers** *Koritar* and **kettle-makers** *Kotlar* (4052), very few names *Kazandžija*, *Kazandžić* ← *Tur.* etc. Regarding other craftsmen that supplied house-holds, we can single out as the most numerous the **riddle-makers** *Rešetar* (535), **sieve-makers** *Sitar* (1179) and much less common **basket-makers** *Košarač*, *Korpar* (1170), *Korbar* (3454) and *Logožar* (3480) ← *rogožar*.

Worth mentioning are also **soap-boilers** *Sapunar* (6626) and **rope-makers** *Užarević* (2569) ← *užar*, while surnames such as *Štrangar*, *Štranjgar* etc. derived from the term *štrangar* of German origin are very rare. On the contrary, very numerous are surnames representing **coopers**, who were either mostly Germans or using German terminology: *Pintarić* (105), *Pintar* (302), *Pinter* (2130) ← *Germ.* [Faß]-binder, while the Croatian *Bačvar* has only 29 name bearers. Somewhat more common are names derived from the term *buter* ← *Ital.* *bottaio*, such as *Buterin*, *Butijer*, *Butjer*.

It seems that leather workers were of various origin. The most numerous were **furriers**, mostly Croats *Krznarić* (266), *Krznar* (570), *Krznarević* (7950) ← *krznar*, but also we register some less common surnames such as *Čurčić*, *Čurčija* ← *čurčija* (*Tur.* *kürkçü*) and *Peliciarić* ← *pelicar* (*Ital.* *pellicciaio*). Generic terms for leather-workers are not common in surnames, for example *Kožar* (2453), *Kožarić* (5857), *Kožuhar*, *Štavljić* of Croatian, *Leder*, *Lederer* of *Germ.* and *Sagradžija* (← *sağrıci*) of Turkish origin. Here we should also mention **strap-makers** *Remenar* (1929), *Sarač*, *Saračević* (← *Tur.* saraç) and **harness-makers** such as *Vuzdar*, *Vuzdarić* ← *uzdar*. Far more numerous were **saddlers**. We register surnames derived from the Croatian *sedlar*: *Sedlar* (573) and from *samardžija* of Turkish origin: *Samardžić* (317), *Samardžija* (333), *Samaržija* (1008).

Craftsmen involved in CLOTHING were also of various origin. **Weavers** were most often Croats whose surnames are derived from the term *tkalac*: *Tkalec* (329), *Tkalček* (683), *Tkalčević* (1124), *Tkalčić* (1339), *Tkalac* (4230) and through *Hung.* mediation (← *takács*) *Takač* (845) or rarely Germans: *Weber*, *Veber*. Although **tailor's** terminology is to a large extent of German origin, and we register many variations of Croatian surnames derived from

šnajder (← *Germ.* Schneider), they are not as numerous as those of Croatian, Hungarian or even Turkish origin. The highest ranking from those derived of *šnajder* are *Šnajder* (1366), *Žnidarić* (2005), *Žnidarec*, *Šnajdar*, *Žnidar*, *Žnajder* etc. The most numerous are those derived from *Hung.* *szabó*, such as *Sabo* (262), *Sabolić* (404), *Sabol* (613) then *Sabolović*, *Sabolek*, *Sabolčec* etc. Turkish term *terzija* (← *terzi*) is recorded in the surname *Terzić* ranking at the 351st position, while surname *Sartori* of Italian origin has only 26 name bearers. The Croatian *Krajačić* ← *krojač* 'tailor' ranks only at the 422nd position, and much less frequent are *Krajač*, *Krajačec* etc. It seems that **shoemakers** were mostly Germans since not only the terminology is German but also a vast majority of surnames are derived from the term *šuster* (← *Germ.* Schuster). The highest ranking are *Šostarić* (136), *Šoštar* (1326) then *Šostarko*, *Šoštarec*, *Šuster*, *Šostarić* etc. However, here we encounter a similar situation as with tailors. Although we do not find *Hung. varga* 'shoe-maker' as an appellative in standard Croatian, surnames derived from it are very numerous: *Varga* (85), *Vargović*, *Vargek*, *Vargić* etc. Much less frequent are surnames *Kaligari*, *Kaligarić*, *Kaligaris*, *Kaliger* derived from *kaliger* (← *Venet.* *caligher*, *Furl.* *Caligaris*), while according to surnames *Čizmar*, *Čizmadija*, *Čizmarević* etc. it seems the Turks were mostly making boot for the army. Croatian terms *cipelar*, *postolar* etc. are not reflected in surnames. We register only rarely wide-spread surnames like *Opančar* ← *opanak* 'traditional shoe from mountainous regio', then *Čevljaković*, *Dretar*.

However, it seems that Croats were the only **hatters** since the family name *Klobučar* ranked at the 267th position, followed by *Klobučarić*. According to surname statistics **button-makers** were not that common. The only rare surnames

Gumbas, *Gombar*, *Gombović* etc. are derived from *Hung. gomb*.

Language Contacts According to Occupational Surnames

Throughout the centuries, due to its geographical position, Croatia has long been a borderland between different cultural, religious and political influences in this part of southeastern Europe. Since the Croatian territory has been very active with respect to migrations, various ethno-linguistic contacts are clearly reflected in onomastics, both in place- and proper names. The level of phonological or orthographical adaptation of those loanwords of Romance, Turkish, German or Hungarian origin often bears witness to the period in which they were formed, and thus represents important linguistic data for the history of the Croatian language and the study of language contacts.

Over the centuries the Croatian language received considerable lexical influences from different non-Slavic languages. Many of them are no longer productive in Standard Croatian but they were onomastically productive at the time when Croatian family names were established. The present-day distribution of surnames based on loanwords mostly corresponds to the historical domination of various languages in different parts of Croatia.

The most numerous non-Slavic onomastic layer in Croatia is that of Romance origin, but it is mostly restricted to a coastal region and mostly to place-names. In the northern part of Croatia German and Hungarian made a considerable influx to Croatian anthroponymy, while in the hinterlands, and in Slavonia we find a large number of surnames of Turkish origin.

In some Dalmatian towns the first Croatian surnames were recorded as early as the 12th century, and thus made

the Croats the first of all Slavic peoples to adopt family names as a hereditary part of anthroponymic name formula. Although the influence of Venice was especially prominent and aggressive in the so-called cultural lexicon, for the reason that surnames became hereditary very early along the coast, loanwords of Italian origin that refer to various occupations are not as represented in Croatian surnames as, for instance, German and Hungarian ones in the North, or Turkish ones in central Croatia and Slavonia. Among surnames of Romance origin I shall single out just one maritime occupation of *shipbuilders* (*Kalafat*, *Kalafatić*, *Kalafatović* ← *kalafat*) and fairly numerous *barbers* (*Barbir* ← *barbir*).

In the northern part of Croatia the German language had a huge impact on the cultural lexis of the Croatian language, especially on crafts terminology. As the Germans, or more precisely the Austrians were known as skilled craftsmen, a lot of German words from that semantic field have entered the Croatian anthroponymic system, and are often reflected in occupationally motivated surnames. According to surname statistics, Germans were very often shoe-makers (*šuster*) and tailors (*šnajder*), locksmiths and spurriers (*šporer*), tinmen (*klanfar*) and coopers (*pintar*), sawyers (*žagar*), carpenters (*cimerman*), joiners (*tišljar*) and turners (*šifter*). Many of them were also rope-makers (*štranger*), glaziers (*glazar*) and bakers (*fišter*).

Eight centuries of political union of Croatia and Hungary, as well as the long northern border, left a permanent trace in onomastics, especially in anthroponymy¹⁰. Occupational surnames of Hungarian origin are usually derived from Hungarian stems, but often formed with Slavic suffixes. Except for those direct Hungarian loan-words, Croatian anthroponymy also contains many originally German or Turkish words that were adopted

through Hungarian mediation. Although some of presented surnames are very numerous they are certainly less diverse than those of German origin. According to the diffusion of occupational surnames it seems that the Hungarians in Croatia were very often tailors (*szabó*) and shoemakers (*varga*).

Occupational anthroponymy of Turkish origin clearly reflects the type of military rule that was imposed by force. Countless different terms for soldiers, commanders of different ranks, military authorities, camps and military equipment, all kinds of fire and side arms, cutting, stabbing and slashing weapons can be recognized from numerous Croatian surnames of Turkish origin. Except for those, there are many surnames that testify how manufacture and maintenance of military equipment and Turkish cavalry was economically very propulsive, especially in the regions of Slavonia, the Dalmatian hinterlands and Lika, the parts of Croatia that were for centuries under the Ottoman occupation. Very numerous were saddlers (*samardžija*), tailors (*terzija*), goldsmiths (*kujundžija*) and bootmakers (*čizmar*, *čizmedžija*). Terms for other craftsmen such as *čebedžija* 'one who makes blankets', *ćurčija* 'furrier', *džamdžija* 'glazier', *kalajdžija* 'tinman', *kazandžija* 'kettle-maker', *rabadžija* 'cartwright' and so on, are only rarely found in Croatian surnames and they are much better attested in Bosnia.

From the given examples it is evident that most surnames of foreign origin are well adapted to the Croatian phonological system, although the foreign origin can often be recognized by the name suffix, for instance those of German origin usually end in *-er*, the Turkish ones in *-džija* etc.

Some occupations were traditionally related to certain ethnic groups. Furthermore, there are quite a few ethnonyms that have undergone certain semantic

shifts, and gradually became common nouns referring to a certain occupation. Many surnames were formed this way. For example, in regions under the Austrian rule German was the official language, and officials from German-speaking countries, primarily from the provinces of Styria and Carniola, were usually employed as clerks. In northern Croatia the ethnonym *Kranjac* became a synonym for 'clerk, office-worker', and thus motivated many family names as *Kranjec*. *Cincar* was originally an ethnic name for Macedonian Rumanians. Since *Cincars* were mostly travelling merchants, the ethnonym *Cincar* became an occupational term for 'merchant, miser', *cinčarija* 'trash', and *cinčariti* 'to split hairs; be tight-fisted'. Croatian family names such as *Cincar*, *Cincarić*, should probably be interpreted in the light of those meanings.

In conclusion, although surnames of foreign origin in many cases bear witness to the ethnic origin of their primary bearers, that assumption should by no means be generalized. In the late Middle Ages, many individuals were given surnames of foreign origin according to their occupational, military or social status at the moment of naming, and regardless of their actual ethnicity. Today, many people bearing these names have no idea of their original meaning, and they should not be automatically identified with German, Italian, Hungarian or Turkish ethnic origin.

Comparison with Some Surname Statistics in Other European Countries

The ranking list of 20 the most frequent surnames* in various European

countries clearly shows different tradition in naming patterns. In general, Germanic countries show the dominance of occupational surnames. It is especially true for Germany itself where the first ranking in the surname is *Müller* 'miller' then *Schmidt* (2), *Schneider* 'tailor' (3), *Fischer* 'fisherman' (4), *Meyer* 'estate steward' (5), *Weber* 'weaver' (6), *Becker* 'baker' (7), *Wagner* 'wagon-maker' (8), *Schäfer* 'shepherd' (9), *Schulz* 'village representative' (10), *Hoffman* 'regional administrator' (11), *Bauer* 'farmer' (12), *Koch* 'cook' (13), *Klein* 'small' (14), *Schröder* 'tailor' (15), *Schmitz* 'blacksmith' (16), *Schmitt* 'blacksmith' (17), *Schwarz* 'black' (18), *Wolf* 'wolf' (19), *Meier* 'estate steward' (20), *Neumann* 'new-settler' (21), *Schmid* 'blacksmith' (22), *Braun* 'brown' (23), *Zimmerman* 'carpenter' (24) etc. In England the first ranking of occupational surnames is *Smith*, then *Taylor* (5), *Clark* (14), *Baker* (15), *Wright* (16) and *Thurner* (20). The others are mostly patronymics like *Jones* (2), *Williams* (4), *Harris* (7), *Wilson* (8), *Johnson* (9), *Martin* (10), *Davies* (12) *Davis* (17), *Evans* (18), *Thomas* (19) or nicknames like *Brown* (3), *White* (6), *King* (11), *Green* (13). In Scandinavia, however, almost all first ranking surnames are patronymic for the reason that family names just recently became obligatory and hereditary in those countries (and can be easily still changed).

For completely different reason, patronymics presents the vast majority of first ranking surnames in most Mediterranean countries, although this part of the world was the first to introduce family names as the obligatory and hereditary part of naming formula. For example, among the first 20 surnames in France, the highest ranking of occupational surnames is *Lefebvre* 'blacksmith' on the 15th

* Some surname statistics in different European countries were given by many contributors and gathered by Enzo Caffarelli (1998)¹¹. The number in parenthesis is the rank of a surname at the national level.

position and then *Fournier* 'baker' at the 19th. The most numerous, however, are patronymics like *Martin* (1), *Bernard* (2), *Thomas* (3) etc. and surnames of nickname origin like *Petit* 'small' (4), *Moreau* 'dark' (7), *Leroy* 'king' (13), *Roux* 'reddish' (16) etc.

In Italy*, which is of course much more relevant for interpreting Croatian data, the best ranking of all occupational surnames at the national level are those derived from a term meaning 'blacksmith' such as *Ferrari* (3), *Fabbri* (46), *Ferraro* (56), *Ferrero* (205), *Ferrario* (324) and *Fabris* (480) then *Barbieri* 'barber' (21), *Sartori* 'tailor' (120), *Molinari* 'müller' (128), *Pastore* 'shepherd' (156), *Magnani* (163) 'smith', *Vaccaro* 'cowherd' (277), *Carraro* 'cartwright' (333), *Massaro* (340) and *Massari* (495) 'peasant', *Cavaliere* 'horseman' (384), *Sarti* 'tailor' (535) and so on.

In Hungary, where surnames became stable as late as the 18th century, we find highly ranked ethnonymic names (names based on ethnic or territorial origin) such as the first ranking *Tót(h)* meaning Slovak or any Slav, then *Horvát(h)* 'Croat' (4), *Német(h)* 'German' (13), *Török* 'Turk' (16), *Rác(z)* 'Serb' (23). Occupational surnames are also quite wide-spread, and the most numerous is the 3rd ranking *Kovács(-ts)* 'blacksmith' of Slavic origin, then *Szabó* 'tailor' (5), *Varga* 'shoemaker' (6), *Molnár* 'miller' (7), *Szücs* 'furrier' (10) then *Pap(p)* 'priest' (12), *Takács* 'weaver' (14), *Mészáros* 'butcher' (17) all of Slavic origin, followed by *Juhász* 'shepherd' (21), *Csizmadia* 'boot-maker' (22) and so on. The other surnames are originally nicknames like *Nagy* 'big' (2), *Kis(s)* 'small' (8), *Balog(h)* 'left-handed' (11), *Veres(s)* 'red, reddish' (15) or patronymics.

If we compare some surname statistics in various European countries we should not be surprised by the fact that first ranking in most European countries are of course surnames derived from terms for the blacksmith. In Croatia, few variants of surnames derived from an appellative *kovač* 'blacksmith' all together make it the most common Croatian surname by far (the first ranking is ethnonymic surname *Horvat*). A similar situation can be noted among all Slavic peoples. In Russia it is *Kuznjecov* ← *kuznjec*, (only in Moskow there are almost 100,000 people bearing that name), in Czech R. *Kovář*, Poland *Kowalczyk*, Spain *Herrera*, Italy *Ferraro*, France *Ferris*, in Germany *Schmidt*, in England and USA *Smith* and so on.

Conclusion

Statistics on the diffusion of certain surnames motivated by crafts and occupations often presents a valuable testimony on the everyday life of a certain historical period. For example, according to a number of registered butchers, who were almost exclusively Croats, it seems that in many medieval towns people used to eat a lot of meat. But even in medieval times eating habits varied in different regions. Thus, in a north Croatian town Varaždin, that in the 15th century used to have about 2500 inhabitants, there were 24 registered butchers, while in the Dalmatian town of Zadar, that at the same time had about 8000 inhabitants, we have only 8 butchers. They were, presumably, already at that time practicing healthy, fish oriented Mediterranean cooking. Of course, it may partly be due to a restricted number for various professions that was imposed by the municipal au-

* For more detailed statistics on Italian surnames I owe thanks to Enzo Caffarelli, editor-in-chief of *Rivista Italiana di Onomastica*.

thorities, but the distribution of surnames motivated by that occupation confirms that almost all family names are registered in the northern part of the country.

Another example. According to number of surnames derived from a Hungarian *szabó* 'tailor', it is obvious that in the late Middle Ages that craft was largely reserved for the Hungarians, or people who came from a territory under Hungarian rule. *Šnajder*, a German loanword

that is even today very common for a tailor, especially in northern Croatia is not that present in surnames, while the Italian tailors were non-existent at that time. As we see, quite a different situation from the present one.

In conclusion, the purpose of this paper was not to present an overall study of occupational names in Croatia, but to show one of the many ways linguists and anthropologists can use extensive onomastic data.

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ŠTO NAM GOVORE IMENA O NAŠIM NEKADAŠNJIM ZANIMANJIMA?

SAŽETAK

U članku se obrađuje sloj hrvatskih prezimena motiviranih obrtnim zanimanjima te se na temelju jezičnih, u prvome redu onomastičkih podataka analizira društveno i jezično okruženje unutar kojega su takva prezimena nastajala. Mnogi od nekoć vrlo rasprostranjenih obrta u današnje su doba gotovo izumrli, no tragovi njihove negdašnje rasprostranjenosti i važnosti bjelodano se ogledaju u hrvatskoj antroponimiji, prvenstveno u prezimenskome korpusu. Prezimena motivirana zanimanjima nalazimo u gotovo svim europskim antroponimijskim sustavima te se u članku sažeto navode neki statistički podaci o njihovoj rasprostranjenosti.