

The development of Jewish anthroponymic system in north-eastern Poland – the historical perspective

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Abstract

Anthroponymy contained in the documents of the Jewish community in the north-eastern Poland (Podlasie region) in the 16th-20th c. is analyzed against the background of the history of Jews and the history of the region.

The lexical base of Jewish surnames were Slavic languages, mainly Polish and Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew. The patterns of the countries of settlement were used to form surnames. Two main semantic groups of surnames are distinguished: I. Formed in a natural way, as the answer to the question: 1. patronymic/matronymic (answering the question: whose is X, who does X belong to, e.g. *Abelewicz, Wolfson, Riwkin*); 2. toponymic (where is X from, where does X live), e.g. *Tykocin, Berliner, Warszawski*; 3. occupational (which job does X do, which function does X perform), e.g. *Kupiec, Kaufman, Gendler*; 4. characterizing of nickname type (what does X look like, how does X behave), e.g. *Baum, Dub, Kaleka*. II. Formed in an artificial way, without any connection with the person named: 1. artificial nicknames, which could be given by office workers, e.g. *Goldenbach, Rosenfeld, Szczęsnagóra*; 2. ornamental names, cultural ones, taken and formed by the persons named, e.g. *Rubin, Safir*.

Anthroponymy contained in the documents of the Jewish community in the north-eastern Poland (Podlasie region) in the 16th-20th c. is analyzed against the background of the history of Jews and the history of the region.

The influx of Jews into north-eastern Poland took place in stages. Little do we know about the earliest period of colonization. Historical sources suggest the 14th-15th century. During the 16th-18th centuries Lithuanian Jews, the refugees from the Ukrainian territory, and the oppressed Jews from Germany were coming in great numbers into Podlasie. In subsequent centuries, the Jewish people came into the region from countries and cities of eastern and western Europe. The number of Jewish population increased also by the rate.

Jewish colonization in north-eastern Poland, in comparison with other parts of former Kingdom of Poland, had favorable conditions: the location of Podlasie in the borderland between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the location of new towns, friendly attitude of aristocratic families and nobility living in the Podlasie region, as well as a period of peace which had lasted since the mid 17th century. The privilege “*de non tolerandis Judaeis*” was used only in towns belonging to the Crown, where the Jewish community did not exist as such. Naturalization of the Jewish people in Podlasie led to assimilation and obliteration of cultural differences between newcomers from all over the world (Leszczyński 1974: 43).

In feudal Poland, Jews constituted a separate class, and they had their own district organization (Hebrew *quehila*) with their own judiciary. Like nobility, they had their own Sejm (Parliament). According to the binding legislation, they were not allowed to change their class; this social situation could be changed only by baptism (Leszczyński 1989: 8).

The process of assimilation of Jews with local inhabitants, particularly with Slavic people, was reflected in Jewish anthroponymy. Relevant information is provided by various handwritten and printed sources which are stored in Polish archives: chronicles; noble and royal inventories; municipal registers in Białystok and other towns in Podlasie; register books, dating back to 1826, of the Jewish Community in Tykocin; and register books, dating

back to 1835, of the Jewish Community in Białystok and other towns in Podlasie region. Recorded personal names prove that Jews applied anthroponymic patterns of countries they settled in, but at the same time they did everything they could to preserve their own tradition and their own anthroponymic customs. Sometimes the decisive factor, influencing anthroponymic processes, was the authorities' policy: up to 1895 – Polish, 1895-1807 – Prussian, 1807- the beginning 20th century – Russian¹ (Dacewicz 2008; Abramowicz 2010).

1. First names and their function in the Jewish anthroponymic system

First names appeared to be the most stable element in Jewish anthroponymy in Podlasie. On the basis of recorded materials which date back to 16th-20th century, it can be stated that names had been deeply-rooted in Jewish culture for several centuries. In the Jewish Diaspora, giving name to a child was always connected with centuries-old tradition reaching biblical times: a child was given a name during circumcision on the eighth day after it was born (Rdz 17, 12). When the child died within the eight day period or it was born dead, then it was not given a name. Then, the birth certificate stated: son died before he was given a name, he died on the seventh day after birth without a name, etc. (Abramowicz 2010: 38).

The male system of Jewish names was mainly based on biblical names of Hebrew origin, e.g. *Abel, Abram, Aron, Benjamin, Elia*, as well as on talmudic ones, e.g. *Bencion, Meer, Nachman, Nisan*; post-biblical Hebrew, e.g. *Chaim, Symcha*, and Yiddish, e.g. *Alter, Ber, Gutman, Hirs, Wolf*. Sometimes Jews translated their names into a local language, e.g. *Hirs – Jeleń* (Deer), *Bina – Pszczółka* (Bee); they also borrowed Christian names, e.g. *Aleksander, Bogdan, Frantz, Marek, Mitrofan, Roman, Szczęsny, Grigorij, Ferdynand, Maksymilian, Lubomir, Leon, Julian*. However, names had not been borrowed accidentally. Borrowed Christian names referred to biblical events, and they were equivalents of biblical Hebrew names or their exact copies, e.g. *Benedykt* and *Baruch* (Dacewicz 2008 : 44, 53-60; Abramowicz 2010 :113).

The female namesake was to a larger degree based on Yiddish anthroponymy, which was fully justified: biblical sources did not provide many female names. In Podlasie, most frequently given names were: *Chana, Debora, Leja, Rywka*. The gap was filled with postbiblical names, e.g. *Bejla, Szejna, Taube, Złata, Czerna, Szprinka*. Christian names were also eagerly borrowed, e.g. *Benigna, Helena, Cecylia, Paulina, Regina, Rozalia, Flora, Fiedora, Olga* (Dacewicz 2008: 60-61; Abramowicz 2010 : 113).

Since time immemorial a characteristic feature of Jewish anthroponymy in north-eastern Poland had been the richness of phonetic and morphological variants, e.g. *Joszue* changes its phonetic form in the following way: *Joszue > Oszue > Ouszue > Ousze > Owszej/Owsiej/Osiej; Samuel : Zamuel : Zamwel : Zawel* (Abramowicz 2010: 116; Dacewicz 2008: 56).

Phonetic transformations accompanied structural changes in native Hebrew and Yiddish names. Vowel alternations, consonant replacement, falling sounds in names led to disintegration of stem. On the basis of such a stem derivative forms were created: abbreviated, diminutive and hypocoristic. Among derivative means there were Slavic suffixes: *-ka, -ko, -ek, -ik, -uk, -ec, -sza, -sia, -a/-ja, -na*, and suffixes characteristic of the Yiddish language: *-el, -i*, see: *Abram : Abram-ek, Abrami-ec, Abram-ko; Mosze : Mosz-ka; Chaja : Chaj-ka; Gerson : Gersz-ko; Icchok : Ic-el, Ick-el, Ic-ek, Ic-ko, Ic-uk; Jakow / Jakob : Janch-el, Jank-el, Kop-el; Becelel : Calel, Cal-ko; Cypora : Pa-ja; Estera : Stir-ka, Stir-el; Jeszaja : Szaj-ka* itd. The most popular were the names composed of the suffix *-ko* typical of the Polish-Slavonic borderland of Ukrainian provenance, e.g. *Herszko, Icko, Joszko, Judko*,

¹ For that reason materials in Białystok register books of 1835-1915, printed in Russian, will be quoted in the original language.

Lejbko, Mordko, Szmerko, and Yiddish suffix *-el*, e.g. *Chackiel, Josiel, Ickel, Jankel, Michel, Szewel, Szmuel, Zunde* (Abramowicz 2010: 42-86; Dacewicz 2008: 53-62).

Sometimes diminutive forms of Jewish names were the same as forms used by Christians, e.g. Christian name *Basia* was a derivative form of *Barbara*, while Jewish derivative was *Baszteba*; *Gienia* - Christian from *Eugenia*, *Genowefa*, Jewish - from *Genedel* (Abramowicz 2010: 117). Historical sources confirm that in the examined area the first name was the basic element of identification. By using first names various personal names were created which played the role of surnames (various descriptions, e.g. *Izaak son of Abraham, Abram from Zabłudów*, and synthetic patronymic formations, e.g. *Abrahamowicz, Chaimowicz, Izraelowicz, Mowszuk, Moszkowski* (Dacewicz 2007, 89-96; 2008: 72-86; Tronina 1999: 312-320).

2. Surnames

Until the end of the 18th century, Jews in north-eastern Poland had not used hereditary surnames, even though since as early as the 16th century local Christian inhabitants, gentry and burghers in particular, had used hereditary surnames bequeathed from generation to generation. Identification of the Jewish people took various forms. The oldest sources clearly recognize Jews even when they are mentioned together with other inhabitants of a given settlement. This ethnic group was recognized by typical Jewish first names and the following descriptions: *orthodox, infidel* or ethnonym *Jew, Jewess*, see: *...nomine perfidi Ilko Zelmanowicz Judei de Woinin* 1583; *...z Żydem Morthajem* 1752; *...starozakonni Jankiel Janchelowicz y Leyzor Jakubowicz* 1781; *...między niewiernymi Szmuilem Ickowiczem...* 1768 (Dacewicz 2008: 68).

The Jewish people who had been settling in Poland since the 10th century were identified in a similar way to autochthons. In Anthroponymy of Polish Jews, Tomasz Opas isolates a few basic types of anthroponyms used in a function of surnames (until the end of the 18th century). Identical types were used to identify Jewish inhabitants of Podlasie (given examples come from Podlasie):

1. patronymic surnames whose derivational base were Jewish names, e.g. *Aronowicz, Izraelowicz, Lejbowicz, Rabinowicz, Boruchow, Salomonow, Szlomowicz, Jankieluk, Hercyk, Zelmanczyk, Berkowski, Moszkowski*;
2. toponymic surnames (deriving from places of origin), e.g. *Białostocki, Gdański, Grodzieński, Królewiecki, Wileński, Krakowiec*;
3. surnames describing a former or present profession, office or repeated activities, e.g. *Cyruлик* (Barber), *Kantor* (Cantor), *Krawiec* (Tailor), *Szynkarz* (Butcher), *Złotnik* (Goldsmith);
4. other surnames, often rude nicknames, e.g. *Brodawka* (Wart), *Chromy* (Lame), *Głupiec* (Fool) (Opas 1974: 48; Dacewicz 2008: 72-86).

Moreover, in Podlasie there were recorded surnames equal to the ones of patronymic character (e.g. *Isaac Abraham krawiec, Jankel Hirsch szewc*) (Dacewicz 2007: 93).

Similarly to the entire area of Poland and Europe, in Podlasie for centuries hereditary surnames had been shaped in a natural way on the basis of several onomastic models.²

2 Polish specialists in onomastics, among others J.Bubak (1986), G.Surma (1991), F.Czyżewski, S.Gala (2000), distinguish five basic onomastic models containing baptismal names and concomitant proper names or common words: 1. First name + characteristic description answering the question - what is he like? 2. First name + dependent form - who does he belong to? 3. First name + form from local, topographical, ethnic place - where does he live or come from? 4. First name + appellativa indicating profession, office or social status - what does he do? What office does he hold? 5. First name + name indicating family relations - who is he? What family does he belong to or come from?

Among Jews in Podlasie the custom and need to have hereditary surname became clearly visible only in the 19th century. In the part of Podlasie belonging to the Kingdom of Poland, officials in register offices considered subsequent proper name after the first name or names as a surname. When after the first name there was only a patronym, then the formation was considered as a surname. When a patronym was accompanied by additional identification elements, then the elements usually played the role of a surname. Profession or father's profession were seldom considered as surname of a nominated person. According to register books of Tykocin Jews (Tykocin - the largest Qahal in north-eastern Poland) as surnames functioned the following:

- a) the second patronymic or matronymic formation, see: father: *Mordechaj Zuskowicz Perlowicz Nauczyciel dzieci [Teacher of children]...*- son: *Moszek Hersz Perlowicz* (U 1827, 3); father: *Moszek Nachmanowicz Blumowicz* – son: *Idzko Blumowicz* (U 1827, 33); father: *Jona Morthowicz Dynowicz Wyrzownik* – son: *Dynowicz Fajwel Moszek* (U 1830, 8);
- b) patronymic surnames of different derivational bases than the first name, see: father: *Dawid Tyszkowicz Miastkiewicz* – son: *Fiszko Hersz Miastkiewicz* (U 1827, 4); father: *Szloma Josielowicz Rajgradowicz Kramarz* – daughter: *Bejla Rajgradowicz* (U 1827, 6); father: *Moszek Michlowicz Srebrowicz Kramarz* – son: *Judel Srebrowicz* (U 1826, 9).
- c) toponymic surname, see: *Arya Eliasowicz Kurlandzki Kramarz* dwelling here in Tykocin zamieszkujący – son: *Abraham*, in Register: *Abram Kurlandzki* (U 1827, 12); *Leyba Abramowicz Zawadzki* – son: *Abram Faybel*, in Register: *Abram Fajba Zawadzki* (U 1827, 29); father: *Szloma Samsonowicz Grodziński Spector* – son: *Dawid Grodziński* (U 1827 25);
- d) characteristic nickname, see: *Zyskind Moszkowicz Choroszuca Szykarz* – son: *Ajzyk Choroszuca* (U 1826, 8); father: *Jankiel Dawidowicz Czerwonka Karczmarz* – córka: *Rochla Leja Czerwonka* (U 1827, 11); father: *Morthay Aronowicz Linek Powróznik* – son: *Moszek Linek* (U 1827, 21); father: *Motel Gdaliowicz Rumianek Kramarz* – son: *Judel Gdal Rumianek* (U 1827, 28); father: *Morthay Herszkowicz Piwko Mieszkaniec...*- son: *Piwko Leyzor Ber* (U 1830, 3);
- e) professional surname, see: father: *Moszek Leybowicz Meylechowicz Pieczętarz* – son: *Josiel Zelman Pieczętarz*, though the father signed the birth certificate as *Meylachowicz* (U 1827, 9); father: *Herszek Zawelowicz Rybak* – daughter: *Szejna Rybak* (U 1827, 14);
- f) names of foreign origin, see: father: *Herszek Meierzohn* – son: *Szmojł Mejersohn* (U 1827, 2); father: *Gerszen Herszkowicz Herszberg* – son: *Hersz Dawid Herszberg* (U 1827, 5); *Szloma Meyerowicz Fleyszer Rzeźnik* – son: *Jankiel Meyer Fleyszer* (U 1827, 7); father: *Herszek Monasowicz Morgensztern Kramarz* – son: *Fajwel Morgenstern* (U 1827, 18); father: *Zaywel Lejbowicz Bryll Handlarz* – son: *Moszek Bryll* (U 1827, 27).

The idea of hereditary surname was alien to Jews but throughout the 19th century the process of stabilization of surnames was headed towards hereditary nature of surnames. Birth and death certificates from Tykocin indicate that in the early 19th century in the first place names of *foreign origin* were established as surnames, e.g. *Katz, Goldman, Grosman, Fleyszer, Herszberg, Dylon, Morgensztern*, etc. The second place in terms of numerical strength took hereditary *patronymic surnames*. However, these structures occurred in double roles: on the one hand they were treated by officials like surnames but not necessarily hereditary. Created for next generations from father's first name, at the same time they played filiation function. Surnames, strictly speaking, were usually patronymic formations which in derivational bases had a town name, profession or a phrase describing father, also mother's name, e.g. *Blumowicz, Miastkowicz, Rajgradowicz, Srebrowicz*, etc. Also hereditary were

surnames having character of nicknames, e.g. *Burak, Bursztyn, Czerwonka, Linek, Rumianek*; toponymic surnames, e.g. *Grodzinski, Kurlandzki, Zawadzki*, and professional names, eg. *Pieczętarz, Rybak*.

Migration of the Jewish people was an important factor shaping surnames in that ethnic group. Migration influenced the presence of structures characteristic for other European nations and for toponymic surnames in onomastics of Jews in Podlasie. Arriving in the second half of the 19th century from Germany, Austria or East Prussia, Jews brought into Podlasie previously assumed German or Yiddish surnames, i.e. foreign surnames. From the very beginning they had functioned as surnames of entire families, e.g. *Grosman, Rozenbaum, Morgenstern, Bryll, Fleyszer, Herszberg* (see above). It is worth mentioning that until late 18th century this type of surnames had constituted a small percentage of personal names in anthroponymy of Podlasie Jews, see: *Anselberg, Bolter, Cargo, Hirszbejn, Lichtsztejn, Ronkes, Waiswaser* and others. In the 19th century their number grew considerably (Dacewicz 2008: 88).

Patronymic names of foreign origin are mostly personal names copying German patterns. Together with the mid 19th century influx of Jewish people to Białystok from the Kingdom of Poland and western Europe, there appeared untypical of Slavic anthroponymy complex structures with elements *-son/-zon, -man*: *Вольфсон, Исерсон, Меерсон, Райхманб Фельдман* (*Wolfson, Iserson, Meierson, Reichman, Feldman*) etc. Matronymic names, based on mother's first name are usually created by formants coming from German inflection of genitive: *-es, -s, is, -us*, e.g. *Енткес, Двошес, Гольдес, Шошес* (*Jentkes, Dwoszes, Goldes, Szoszes*) etc. There appear surnames equal to first names, e.g. нр. *Яфе, Шнеер, Шмуль* (*Jafe, Szneier, Szmul*) etc., *-i* surnames: *Ицхаки, Гершуны* (*Ichaki, Gerszuny*) and surnames-acronyms: *Бад, Бал, Барак, Бат, Баф* (*Bad, Bał, Barak, Bat, Baf*) itd. (Abramowicz 2003; 2010: 183-267).

In anthroponymy of Podlasie Jews, in the 19th century patronymic surname *-owicz* was still live formation, created for every member of the Jewish community on the basis of father's first name and sometimes mother's first name. Probably an official who wrote down register records in accordance with regulations of a particular area created a patronym and then decided on its function (patronymic or surname). Source materials indicate that much confusion was created in Russian partition of Poland by long-lasting tradition in north-eastern Poland of giving several names to children. Giving many names was widely used by the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish population. However, Orthodox Catholics living in Podlasie used only one first name. Register books of the Białystok Diaspora indicate that tsarist officials had problems with molding patronymic forms from father's several names. Various methods were applied. Patronyms were created from:

- a) father's first name: *еврею Зельману Мошковичу Шапире - Зельман Шапира от Мошки-Герша Ниселиовича Шапира и Леи Абрамовны* (U 1835, 21) *Абрам-Бер Иоселиович Маркус торговец жена его Хая Сора Иуделиовна...*(U 1872, 42) and later record: *Абрам-Бер Иоселиович Маркус из м. Городока жена Хая-Сора Иудель-Лейбовна...*(U 1875, 8);
- b) father's second name: *Азриель Мордко-Вольфович Фишер с девицею Етля-Блюмою Хаимовною* (Ś 1876, 8) and *Азриель Мордко Вольфович Фишер с женою своею Етля Блюмою Абрам Хаимовною* (R 1876, 4);
- c) both names:
 - at the same time the following forms were created: *-owicz/-ewicz; -owna/-ewna* from each name individually, and both patronymic forms were written down with or without the hyphen: *Абрам Ицкович Иовелиович Гельберд жена его Михле Лавочник из г. Белосток доч Лея* (U 1866,29); *Кадышу Мордковичу-Елиовичу Баренбауму* (U

1835, 13);

- suffix formation was created from the second name, while the first name was left uninflected: *Абрам-Абель Йосель-Давидович Клейнман торговец...*(U 1869, 45).

The above notations prove that **patronymic surnames** of Podlasie Jews was shaped in a slightly different manner than Slavic surnames. Slavic patronymic surnames were of avonymic or posonymic character,³ while among Jews they were single-generation patronymic formations of a nominated person. Patronyms created on the basis of the second name were interpreted by officials as surnames, see: in birth certificate: *Абрам Лейзерович Мордхелиович ткач жена его Шейна Шебселиовна сын Янкель Бер* (U 1871, 112); there is an index record concerning the same person: *Mordchelowicz Jankiel Ber* (1871 in: Abramowicz 2010: 139-140).

In the 19th century anthroponymy of Podlasie Jews there appeared numerous **toponymic formations**. Jewish Community Register in Białystok indicates that this type of surname was shaped in a similar way to the one of autochthons on the basis of names of places by:

- omitting preposition *from*: he comes *from Baranowicze* – surname *Baranowicz*;
- creating an adjective on the basis of town name *-ski* or a noun on the basis of name of inhabitant *-ak, -czyk, -ec*: *Busły* > *Буслак (Bustak)*, *Litwa* > *Литвак (Litwak)*, *Minki* > *Миняк (Miniak)*, *Knyszyn* > *Кнышинский (Knyszynskij)*, *Zabludów* > *Заблудовски (Zabludowski)*, *Grodno* > *Гродзенчик (Grodzienczyk)*, *Wilno* > *Виленчик (Wilenczyk)*, *Mazowsze* > *Мазовец (Mazowiec)* etc. (Abramowicz 2003; 2010: 195-251);
- assuming surname equal to town name, e.g. *Tykocin* > *Тикотин, Тыктин (Tikotin, Tyktin)*, *Wittenberg* > *Витенберг (Witenberg)*, *Wołpa* > *Волпа (Wołpa)* etc.;
- creating toponymic personal name by means of German-Yiddish suffix *-er*: *Baranki* > *Баранкер (Baranker)*, *Wilamówka* > *Вилимуфкер (Wilimufker)*, etc.

Because of great mobility of Jews, toponymic surname was justified: it indicated the place of residence or the town of origin. When a surname was created on the basis of regional toponymy using characteristic means of a given area, then it was not conspicuous from the point of view of other inhabitants' surnames.

Identifying a person by indicating his profession or function performed was present both in Jewish and Slavic cultures. Yet, they were not a common type of hereditary surnames for subsequent generations in the early 19th century Poland. That is proved by birth and death certificates of Tykocin Community. Sources in Białystok indicate that this type of hereditary surname became established in the 19th century. In bases of **professional surnames** appeared names of occupations and performed functions typical of the Jewish community, i.e. connected with activities in the synagogue, ritual activities, teaching, e.g. *Хазан, Кантор, Меламед*, etc., names of craftspeople providing their services for the Diaspora, e.g. *krawiec* (tailor), *piekarz* (baker), *rzeźnik* (butcher), *szewc* (shoemaker), etc. The number of professional surnames grew along with the development of the Białystok Industrial Region and the influx into Podlasie of German and Jewish factory owners and a mass of skilled workers and foremen – specialists in the textile industry. That is why among professional surnames most common were of German and Yiddish origin, e.g. *Аинбиндер, Фельман, Кеслер (Ainbinder, Felman, Kesler)* etc. In certificates appeared surnames created on the basis of Slavic professional names connected with trade, textile industry, metal processing industry, etc., e.g. *Аткатчик, Капелюшник, Крохмальник, Желязник (Atkaczik,*

3 Find more on the issue in Z. Kaleta's publication (1991, 120).

Kapelusznik, Krochmalnik, Żeleznik) etc. A characteristic feature of the set of professional surnames is the lingual variety of appellativa bases and the instability of personal names. These surnames were often copied, hence entire series of surnames created on the basis of one profession were recorded: *Гауфман / Кауфман – Гендлер – Купец – Купчик – Лавочник* (*Gaufman/Kaufman – Gendler – Kupiec – Kupczyk – Ławocznik*) etc.

Summing up, it can be stated that in Podlasie in function of hereditary professional surname two groups of anthroponyms were established based on names of professions and performed functions:

- a) sacerdotal surnames connected with religious life: *Kagan, Kaplan, Chazan, Segal* etc.;
- b) surnames most often connected with crafts and work performed by Jews for their community: *Belfer, Melamed, Mielnik, Palter, Cukierman, Czapnik* etc. Names of professions used in function of surnames are widely proved by source materials. They appeared regularly throughout the entire examination period (Dacewicz 2008: 83-84; Abramowicz, 2010: 169, 293).

In Podlasie, Jews also used **characterizing surnames** which constitute the oldest layer of anthroponyms in anthroponymic systems of numerous nations. In the Jewish community this type of individualization appeared quite seldom throughout several centuries (16th-17th). Characterizing surnames developed on the basis of nicknames created most often by the surroundings: officials, neighbors and friends. Appellativa constituting the basis of such surnames stigmatized people's flaws, informed about their virtues, and focused on their physical appearance. In the 19th century, in bases of characterizing surnames appeared elements from many languages: Hebrew: *Хизде, Яфа, Кавеноки, Капцан* (*Chizde, Jafa, Kawenoki, Kapcan*); Yiddish: *Борд, Браверман, Буф, Шейн, Шуляр* (*Bord, Brawerman, Buf, Szein, Szular*); Slavic languages: Belorussian *Аркав, Бабидур, Чудак, Крутель* (*Arkaw, Babidur, Czudak, Krutel*); Ukrainian *Байдач, Пизнак* (*Bajdacz, Pizniak*); ros. *Балде, Безпальчик, Дилда, Криворучка* (*Balde, Biezpalczik, Dilda, Kriworuczka*); Polish *Белях, Бляды, Цухач, Длугач* (*Bielak, Blady, Cichacz, Długacz*), etc. Lingual variety of word formation bases of the above-mentioned personal names confirms the mass influx of the Jewish people from various Slavic countries and from western Europe into Podlasie in the 19th century (Abramowicz 2010: 301-312).

In Jewish anthroponymy, the most conspicuous were **artificial surnames**. They were formations of nickname type, maliciously given by officials in order to humiliate Jews, e. g. *Balender, Bozuner, Gasz, Gluptaszewicz*, as well as artificial surnames created by Jews themselves, e.g. *Рубин, Сапир, Сапирштейн, Ейнгорн, Гольденбах, Гольденберг, Розенфельд, Розенцвейг* (*Rubin, Sapir, Sapirsztein, Jengorn, Goldenbach, Goldenberg, Rozenfeld, Rozenweig*), etc. The latter referred to the history and culture of the Jewish nation and were often based on national symbolism. Until late 18th century, in Jewish anthroponymy only single examples of such surnames could be found (Dacewicz 2008: 88). The advantage of Yiddish-German structures over Slavic ones in the 19th century register books proves that surnames of that type appeared in the examined area together with new settlers in the 60's and 70's of the 19th century and later. Lingual basis on which they were created indicates German-speaking countries (Abramowicz 2010: 381).

A major part of Podlasie was included in the Russian empire after the third partition of Poland. In the 19th century certificates we can find numerous examples indicating Russification of the Jewish nominative system. In Russian culture based on Orthodox Church, a triple-barreled nominative system was developed: first name – patronym – surname. When in Kingdom of Poland in the 19th century formations *-owicz / -ewicz, -icz* could play the function of surnames, then in Russian tradition they were mostly used to

express filiation relations. The triple-barreled Russian nominative system was imposed upon the conquered nations. Jewish certificates recorded in Russian reflect aspiration of the invasive authorities to standardize onomastic formulae. Most certificates include entries in accordance with tsarist officials' requirements: *Абе Биниаминович Зильцман с девицею Инда Хаимовна Цинес* (Ś 1858, 8); *Абе Юделович Кац* (Z 1855, 17); *Баиша Ицковна Соболю* (Z 1871, 62) [Abramowicz 2010, 121]. Introduced by Russian authorities in 18??, the writ to assume a permanent surname extorted artificial development of the Jewish anthroponymic system in Podlasie. The 19th century brought stabilization of the Jewish nominative system which was based on first name, patronym, and hereditary surname in subsequent generations, which is proved by entries in old documents: *Бел. мец. Цалеля Лейбовича Гониондскаго и Леи Хаимовны ур. Шпира сын Кальман - ему Кальману Цалелиовичу Гониондскому...* (U 1835, 20); *Шебселя Мовшовича Немко и жены его Соры-Ханы ур. Курц сын Янкель – Янкелю Шебселиовичу Немки* (U 1835, 18) (Abramowicz 2010: 138).

In the 20th century Jews in Podlasie used surnames which were established as hereditary surnames during the 19th century.

Conclusions

The analysis of the Jewish nominative system in north-eastern Poland in historical perspective (16th-20th century) allows to formulate the following conclusions:

1. The basic identification element in the Jewish Diaspora was first name. Native biblical and post-biblical first names were used; borrowed or copied first names from countries of destination were used more seldom. Derivative forms of first names were created on the basis of Slavic patterns (initially Polish, Belorussian and Ukrainian influence could be found; in the 19th century also Russian).

2. Traditional Jewish ways of identifying an individual changed under the influence of historical, political, and cultural conditions of their country of destination. Throughout the 16th-19th century, the Jewish nominative system (surnames and onomastic models) was shaped on the basis of onomastic traditions of the Polish and east-Slavic people. Slavic influence on the Jewish anthroponymy in the north-eastern Poland became visible on many levels: phonetic, formative, and lexical. Here are some examples:

- a) first names phonetically and structurally transformed under the influence of Slavic dialects and languages: Polish, Belorussian, Ukrainian, and Russian, see: *Icko* (< Icchok), *Mowsza*, *Moszek* (< Mosze), etc;
- b) transforming an analytical formula: X son/daughter Y into synthetic one: first name + patronym -owicz/-ewicz / -owna/-ewna: *Abram son of Benjamin* > *Abram Beniaminowicz*; *Sora daughter of Abram* > *Sora Abram-owna*;
- c) transforming toponymic descriptions of X type from Y town into synthetic formulae of XY type: *Izaak from Tykocin* > *Izaak Tykocin / Tykocki, Tykociński* itp.;
- d) Slavic professional surnames: *Czapnik, Introligator, Krawiec, Portnoj*, etc.;
- e) Slavic characterizing surnames: *Babidur, Blady, Choroszuca, Niemoj*, etc.

3. Jews were strangers to the idea of hereditary surnames and that is why Jewish surnames in Podlasie assimilated this property as late as in the 19th century. The earliest established traditional surnames were a few nicknames which characterized a person. The latest hereditary surnames were patronymic and professional formations. For a long time both the former and the latter had played a function of surnames for one generation.

4. The hereditary feature was possessed by surnames of foreign origin. They appeared in the examined area together with newcomers from foreign lands where they had already performed such a function. The largest increase in foreign surnames dates back to the 19th century.

5. Because of numerous migrations of the Jewish people in the 19th century, in the Jewish anthroponymy in Podlasie a toponymic hereditary surname started to dominate.

6. In the first half of the 19th century, there existed a tradition of creating patronym for every person. Patronymic formation played a double role. It played the basic filiation function and at the same time it functioned as surname, i.e. it identified the wife but was not always inherited by children. For a child a separate patronym was created which played the role of surname. It was possible to maintain this tradition in the 19th century north-eastern Poland in the Russian partition because on territories seized by Russia a triple-barreled nominative system containing a patronym was used.

7. The Jewish anthroponymy in the examined area was distinguished by the presence of artificial names which referred to national Jewish history, culture and symbolics.

8. For Jews, the most important were the closest family relations: father and mother, and next the biblical patriarch family. Inheriting surnames, often under pressure, was artificial, strange to the Jewish community, and was imposed by the authorities. The final conclusion of the process of stabilization of Jewish surnames in Podlasie took place in the second half of the 19th century and was strongly connected with the tsarist authorities' policy.

Abbreviations

Rdz:	The Book of Genesis
R:	the book of divorces
Ś:	the book of weddings
U:	the book of births
Z	the book of deaths

Sources

The examples of surnames were taken from: Z. Abramowicz 2003, 2010; L. Dacewicz 2008 (see: References) and from Tykocin – the Book of Birth and Death Certificates, Tykocin District Court, Augustów Voivodship, vol. 1, 1a (years 1826, 1827, 1828).

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