

ONOMASTICS AND MOBILITY OF THE POPULATION IN CÁCERES (13TH CENTURY-1525)*

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses demographic mobility in Cáceres from its Christian conquest in 1229 to the early 16th century, with particular focus on immigration. During the 13th and 14th centuries, settlement was gradual and driven primarily by immigrants from León, Galicia and Castile, whose presence is also reflected in local toponymy. By the 15th century, although León continued to be the main source of settlers, migration became more diversified, including arrivals from New Castile, Galicia, neighbouring Extremadura towns, Andalusia and Portugal. Unlike earlier centuries, immigration in this period no longer responded to the structural need to repopulate newly conquered lands, but rather to economic opportunities, service in noble households, and artisan or labour mobility. Although the town no longer experienced a structurally positive migratory balance, the continuous arrival of newcomers contributed to the renewal and consolidation of Cáceres as a key urban centre in late-medieval Extremadura.

KEYWORDS: Onomastics, Mobility, Middle Ages, Extremadura, Castille.

ONOMÁSTICA Y MOVILIDAD DE LA POBLACIÓN EN CÁCERES (SIGLO XIII-1525)

RESUMEN

Este estudio analiza la movilidad demográfica en Cáceres desde su conquista cristiana en 1229 hasta los inicios del siglo xvi, con especial atención a la inmigración. Durante los siglos xiii y xiv, el poblamiento fue gradual y estuvo impulsado principalmente por inmigrantes procedentes de León, Galicia y Castilla, cuya huella se refleja también en la toponimia local. En el siglo xv, aunque León siguió siendo el principal origen de los repobladores, la procedencia se diversificó, incluyendo a Nueva Castilla, Galicia, localidades extremeñas, Andalucía e incluso Portugal. A diferencia de los siglos anteriores, la inmigración ya no respondió a la necesidad estructural de repoblar territorios recién conquistados, sino a oportunidades económicas, al servicio en casas nobiliarias y a la movilidad de artesanos y trabajadores. Aunque Cáceres dejó de experimentar un saldo migratorio estructuralmente positivo, la llegada continua de nuevos pobladores favoreció la renovación y consolidación de la ciudad como centro urbano de referencia en la Extremadura bajomedieval.

PALABRAS CLAVE: onomástica, movilidad, Edad Media, Extremadura, Castilla.



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INTRODUCTION

Onomastics is an important research tool in Medieval studies. Beyond being a component of social structures, it serves as a crucial source for analysing population mobility, particularly in the absence of other records, such as the parish registers available to Modern historians. Onomastics has been employed internationally in research for decades, and this methodological approach has been fully developed within Peninsular Medievalism.

The phenomenon known as the Reconquista was closely linked to the resettlement of reconquered territories, which, owing to partial depopulation or to processes of ethnic cleansing, was probably undertaken by demographic groups from the north of the Iberian Peninsula. The history of the Peninsula cannot be understood without this mobility, which extended from the 10th to the 19th centuries. For its study, we possess little specific information apart from toponymy and anthroponymy.

A pioneering analysis of the subject, though sometimes forgotten, was the remarkable work of Julio González on the *repartimiento* (redistribution of land) in Seville, in which he examined the origins of the new settlers (González, 1951, vol. I: 317-324 and 314-3155, map). A systematic analysis of population mobility and careful use of toponymic and onomastic records was later undertaken by Ángel Barrios for the diocese of Ávila (Barrios García, 1983-1984, vol. I: 128-137). This research was subsequently expanded by Barrios and Luis Miguel Villar García to encompass the whole of Historic Extremadura (Barrios García, 1985; Villar García, 1986: 102-116). Since then, the use of these sources has become standard practice in the study of resettlement and, more broadly, of population mobility.

The use of onomastics to study demographic movement has at times raised doubts. Nevertheless, in some cases it has been possible to demonstrate its reliability. By comparing it with other sources (*cartas de vecindad* or available records concerning immigrants), researchers have found a high degree of consistency (Rucquo, 1983: 36-37; Collantes de Terán Sánchez, 1984: 143-144). In general, the application of onomastics has produced consistent results in recent decades. In our case, the correlation between our conclusions and studies based on more precise sources for the Modern era reinforces its credibility. It should be borne in mind, however, that onomastic evidence reflects population mobility with a certain delay. This has led us to extend our analysis into the first quarter of the 16th century, thereby covering the Medieval period more comprehensively.

Our study seeks to analyse demographic mobility between the Christian conquest of Cáceres and the first quarter of the 15th century. We distinguish two

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clearly distinct phases. The first encompasses the 13th and 14th centuries, during which Hispano-Christian resettlement took place. The near-total disappearance of the Muslim population opened the way for immigration into the area under study from the north, a process which continued at a steady pace throughout the 14th century. During these centuries, migration exhibited a positive net balance, consistent with an area of new settlement. For this initial period, we will also draw on toponymy, which functions as a fossilised record, given its tendency to persist or to change only slowly. After the Hispano-Christian conquest, the only centres of population that endured were the cities, towns and castles that structured the territory. The toponymy of villages and smaller settlements, almost exclusively Romance in form, becomes an invaluable source for establishing the origins of the settlers. The data yielded by these sources in Extremadura is not abundant, owing to the relatively small number of documented villages, but it is nonetheless vital in view of the scarcity of other records.

From the 15th century onwards, Extremadura developed a stable settlement pattern and a level of occupation comparable to that of northern regions, despite the growth of *adhesamiento*. Regarding mobility, however, it can no longer be characterised as structurally positive. Studies on demographic mobility are very scarce for Extremadura, and not numerous for the Crown of Castile as a whole. In many cases the information is minimal, offering only qualitative assessments. This situation hampers a proper understanding of demographic processes, since only a few available studies trace the full lines of mobility or estimate the number of emigrants and immigrants in the different centres and territories examined.

In our case, by focusing exclusively on documentation from Cáceres, we will concentrate solely on immigration. The sources available are relatively rich. Notarial records begin later, but municipal documentation, despite the abundance of public records only from the second quarter of the 16th century onwards, provides useful information. Private documents, the most valuable for our subject, are plentiful only for the Late Middle Ages. Noble records are scarce until the 15th century, becoming more numerous after 1450, particularly in the final quarter of the century. Some of these are preserved in the *Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza*. The *Archivo Municipal Histórico de Cáceres* also houses the Pereros Collection. The Fundación Tatiana Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno has moreover made its extensive documentation concerning various Cáceres lineages available online.

The possibilities afforded by the documentation from Cáceres have encouraged us to address a subject that has, to date, received relatively little attention, but which is central to establishing the relationships among different economic and geographical environments and urban hierarchies. We are aware that only through a proliferation of studies on this topic will it become possible to correlate immigration with emigration and assign proper weight to the data presented. Nonetheless, we consider that conducting localised studies is imperative to advance research into a subject that remains insufficiently explored, despite its importance.

1. REPOPULATION AND NORTHERN IMMIGRATION (13TH - 14TH CENTURIES)

The initial settlement of Cáceres following its conquest in 1229 was gradual. By the middle of the 13th century, according to Julio González, there were around 200 settlers, rising to nearly 1,000 by the end of the century (González, 1951, vol. I: 317).

Several factors contributed to this slow resettlement. The first was the political instability created by the conflicts between the monarchy and the nobility during the reign of Alfonso X, which affected large parts of the realm. A second factor was the insecurity generated by the proximity of the frontier with Islam, a circumstance that persisted until the definitive conquest of Seville in 1248 and, to a lesser extent, until that of Cádiz in 1262. Finally, the allocation of Cáceres to the Order of Santiago also slowed the repopulation process, since its military orders prioritised the establishment of fortified centres rather than the development of surrounding rural settlements (Barrios, 1983: 137-138).

Despite these difficulties, the population of Cáceres grew throughout the 13th century, largely because of immigration from the north of the Peninsula. The documentary record shows that most settlers originated from León, Galicia and Castile, with León being particularly prominent (Villar García, 1986: 102-110). This pattern corresponds closely to the general trends observed for Extremadura. The predominance of settlers from León is logical, not only because of geographical proximity but also because of the historical ties that linked León and Extremadura during the period of the Reconquista and resettlement.

The study of toponymy also sheds light on this process. The majority of place names in the surrounding territory are Romance in origin, reflecting the cultural imprint of the Christian settlers. These names function as a fossilised record of the colonisation, since only a handful of toponyms of Arabic origin survived the conquest. The exceptions are almost always associated with hydronyms or oronyms, which tend to persist despite political and demographic changes.

The demographic movement that followed the conquest of Cáceres thus exemplifies a broader phenomenon characteristic of Extremadura and of other resettled territories. The predominance of immigrants from León and, to a lesser extent, Galicia and Castile, highlights the extent of the migratory flows that reshaped the social fabric of the town and its hinterland during the 13th century.

The study of this phase, for which we count on a general study at a regional level (De la Montaña Conchiña, 2003), aims to provide a more accurate profile of the repopulation of Extremadura. As indicated previously, apart from anthroponomy, we will use, the abundant toponyms that are only registered later, in documentation of the Late Middle Ages, the origin of which we have established as being from the High Medieval Period. This source will help us show a more documented and richer image of northern immigration.

We do not have a clear and detailed image of the demographic input in the period of repopulation of the region of Cáceres. The scarcity of documents, particularly private records, drastically limits our information. On the other hand, the emergence of a network of settlements with a small number of communities,

and the disappearance of others that were never documented, reduces toponymic examples. Few toponyms indicate a clear geographic origin. The Castilian dominance in the Eastern part of Alta Extremadura seems clear. In the western area there is a diversity of input, and it has not been possible to arrive at such precise assessments as those for historic Extremadura (Montaña, 2003: 151-159). The repopulation of the northern area of Leonese Extremadura (diocese of Coria) has a very similar chronology to that attributed to Historic Extremadura (Duero - Central System Mountain range), although the chronology is later in the eastern part of Extremadura (diocese of Plasencia). We consider that the input of new inhabitants was similar in both regions. Ángel Barrios noted a predominance of Galicians in historic Leonese Extremadura, particularly in the border zone with Portugal, which decreased towards the east (Salamanca and even more so in Alba de Tormes). The most western region of Castile (Ávila, Medina del Campo) shows a certain Castilian-Galician balance, with a slight predominance of the former (Barrios García, 1985: 64-75, especially 73-74).

Cáceres is geographically located in the middle of the eastern and the western parts of the province. Situated on the Ruta de la Plata (Silver Route), which separates Leon from Castile in the north (the Leonese towns of Granadilla and Galisteo across from the Castilian town of Plasencia), is on a border area. We have already pointed out the Castilian predominance in the eastern part of the province. Based on the information available for Historic Extremadura, Cáceres shows a certain balance. Until the mid-14th century, over a century after the conquest of Cáceres, there is a balance between the Galician and Castilian components. We have used toponymy as a fossil which was established in the early stages of occupation, and we have assigned it to this stage. North/south mobility is predominant. The result is a certain balance between the Galician and Castilian components. We have registered a dominance of the regions of the kingdom of Leon. Here we see a clear Galician predominance, in detriment to the strict Leonese territory, which has little weight. The Castilian input is notable, with almost a third of the cases. Immigration from Castilla la Nueva (present day Castilla-La Mancha and Madrid), like Extremadura, in the first half of the 13th century only had a settlement to the north of the Tagus River and is almost residual. This was a regional space in full process of repopulation (González, 1975). We can only link two toponyms to this area. Navarra is the only region with a demographic contribution from outside the crown of Castile, and it is residual.

TABLE 1. CACERES: IMMIGRATION (13TH CENTURY-1350)

| CONCEPT/YEARS | GALICIA | LEON | CASTILE (NORTH) | NAVARRA | CASTILE (SOUTH) |
|---------------|-----------|-------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|
| Toponymy | 8 | 1 | 5 | - | 2 |
| ...-1300 | ¿surname? | - | - | - | - |
| 1301-1350 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | - |
| TOTAL | 11 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 2 |
| % | 42,31 | 11,54 | 34,61 | 3,85 | 7,69 |

Sources: Floriano, 1987: docs. 12, 19, 28, 30, 31 y 40; Mayoralgo y Lodo, 1985: doc. 4, p. 149.

Regional and internal mobility in the land of Cáceres do not seem to have been significant. In the area north of the Tagus River there was a network of basic settlement in the Leonese side, and weak occupation in the area of Plasencia (Clemente Ramos; De la Montaña Conchiña, 2000)¹. There is a fairly large number of people from the villages around Cáceres who appear in the rare documentation for Cáceres. Ordinarily the records do not specify whether they are residents of the town of Cáceres. In fact, it was normal for villagers to travel to the town. There are records of Miguel Muñoz del Casar, Pero Mingo de Aliseda, Vicente Iván Pérez from Aldea del Cano and Benito Fernández de Arroyo del Puerco, having been in Cáceres (Floriano, 1987: docs. 12 y 16; AFT-CC, c. 17, nº 5; Mayoralgo y Lodo, 1985: doc. 4). One case offers no doubt: Domingo Martín "de Torredalgas" (Torreorgaz) appears among the good men of Cáceres who reach an agreement with the Order of Santiago (Floriano, 1987: doc. 35). The town had centrality in the region and an attraction for the surrounding villages that can not be underestimated. Regional immigration in this period also seems very limited. There are records of a Juanes Domingo from Gargüera (región of Plasencia) and a Lázaro López from Trujillo, as residents of Cáceres (Floriano, 1987: docs. 3 y 35).

Until the mid-14th century, immigration to Cáceres is part of the general dynamic of occupation of southern regions by people from the north. This north/south mobility is clear and exceeds 80%. Regional mobility, including the jurisdiction of Cáceres itself, and that of Castilla la Nueva, is very limited. Noteworthy is the inflow from the kingdom of Leon, and especially from Galicia, which was the largest incoming faction after an also important contribution from Castile. Cáceres is, therefore, part of the documented repopulating dynamic south of the Duero, and in the region Extremadura.

2. MOBILITY AND IMMIGRATION IN CACERES IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

The second half of the 14th century, for which we have very little data, seems to show a transition to the model of mobility of the Late Middle Ages. Northern immigration, which must have decreased notably due to a recessive demographic tendency, seemed to remain constant. However, there are no records of immigration in the western areas of Leon. Documented immigrants come from Castile, with an important inflow from Historic Extremadura – Riaza, Osma, Piedrahita and Castilla la Nueva – Toledo, Corrales, and the Basque area – Oñate – (Floriano, 1987: doc. 54 y 57; Mayoralgo y Lodo, 1985: doc. 8; AFT-CC, c. 8, nº 1).

¹ A situation like this does not exclude mobility, as can be seen clearly in the *repartimiento* of Seville (González, 1951: vol. 1, 314-315 –mapa–). Few centers, however, would have the attraction of this city.

From the 15th century onwards, mobility is no longer influenced by repopulation. The southern areas reach normalized demographic quotas, within extensive systems of development. Patterns of demographic mobility will emerge which will, in broad terms, continue throughout the Modern Era. The model of immigration will be evident in the urban profile of Cáceres, and in economic and commercial relations. Due to its modest economy, Cáceres has little capacity for attraction to its close surroundings. Its production is directly and indirectly associated with agriculture and livestock. Textile activity is developed and attains some importance, but commercialization does not go much beyond the surrounding area. Textiles from Extremadura are not sold outside the region.

The available data indicate that interregional migration carried more weight than migration from neighbouring areas, which is unlike the usual situation². International immigration (from outside the Crown of Castile) follows a very coherent pattern. It has limited weight and is basically represented by the neighboring kingdom of Portugal, which in some cases is quite close, and never further away than some interregional provenances. Interregional immigration also follows predictable patterns, as we will see.

TABLE 2. IMMIGRATION IN CÁCERES (1400-1525)

| GEOGRAPHIC ORIGEN | Nº | % |
|----------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Regional | 139 | 27,63 |
| Interregional (Crown of Castile) | 332 | 66,00 |
| Foreign (outside Castile) | 32 | 6,36 |
| TOTAL | 503 | 100 |

Two out of every three registered immigrants have interregional provenance, a fact for which we have no clear explanation³. However, only about one out of every fifteen are not from the crown of Castile. Of those, slightly more than half come from Portugal. Those with extra-peninsular provenances comprise only 1,59%, approximately one out of every sixty-two immigrants. This is a marginal proportion, as would be expected in towns whose economy was based on agriculture.

Immigration remains steady throughout the 15th and first quarter of the 16th centuries, whereby we can consider it uniform. The increase in registered cases was a result of documentary proliferation. It is possible, however, that the limited

² Predominance of the closest area tends to be a repeated occurrence in the Late Middle Ages and early Modern Era: Casado Alonso, 1987: 89-91; Rucquo, 1983: 38-39; Olmos Herguedas, 1998: 125-127; Collantes de Terán Sánchez, 1984: 144-146; Vera Yagüe, 1999: 40 y 117-118. The situation is less clear in Ciudad Rodrigo and among the Basque *hidalgos* (noblemen): Bernal Estévez, *Ciudad Rodrigo*, 225; González Zalacaín, 2012: 36-37 (cuadro p. 36).

³ Something similar is recorded in this period in the town of Medellín, with a dominance of immigration from different regions of the crown of Castile, while in the villages mobility between districts predominated (Clemente Ramos, 2007: 88).

foreign input, excluding Portugal, was consolidated from the last quarter of the 15th century onwards. Almost 90% of extra-peninsular immigration was recorded between 1476 and 1525.

| TABLE 3. EVOLUTION OF IMMIGRATION (1400-1525) | | | | |
|---|----------|----------------|---------|-------|
| Period | Regional | Inter-regional | Foreign | TOTAL |
| 1401-1450 | 21 | 30 | 1 | 52 |
| 1451-1475 | 34 | 52 | 1 | 86 |
| 1476-1500 | 42 | 119 | 14 | 174 |
| 1501-1525 | 43 | 131 | 17 | 191 |
| TOTAL | 140 | 332 | 33 | 503 |

The different types of immigration show a coherent structure, which also coincides with the lines studied for the Modern Era. The patterns of mobility recorded during the 15th century, which were a change from those of the previous period, remain steady until the contemporary period.

Regional immigration follows lines that we can consider normal. Areas that are closer have more weight. Approximately less than a quarter of immigrants come from the region of Cáceres. We must not forget the great extension of many jurisdictions in Extremadura, including the one under study. Distances are greater than in other territories and vary between over five and twenty kilometers. Along with the villages recorded in the census of 1528-1532 there were the *heredamientos*, old rural settlements (which appear as villages until the second half of the 15th century), and became estates of the local oligarchy (Clemente Ramos, 2022: 181-3; y 2024). A major part of the population of those centers ended up settling in the town (of Cáceres). In fact, in the last quarter of the 15th century, communal property of the residents of Corchuela was held by residents of Cáceres (Clemente Ramos, 2024). Although information on these villages is scarce due to a lack of judicial sources, there is clear evidence of mobility in the jurisdiction of Cáceres, from the villages to the town. We only have two documented people from Cáceres who live in Casar, the most populated village, with a demographic level close to that of the town (of Cáceres) in the first third of the 16th century⁴. This degree of mobility remained steady throughout the 15th century. The smaller number of cases for the first half of the 15th century can easily be explained by the lack of available documentation. In general, villages with bigger populations, and to some degree, the closer ones had more weight in terms of mobility.

⁴ We have documented in this village a Francisco de Cáceres (AFT-CC, c. 18, nº 2-14, a. 1487) and a Jerónimo Holguín, “natural... de Cáceres y morador que al presente soy en el lugar del Casar” (Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cáceres, Hacienda [Clero], c. 62, nº 2-2, f. 1r, a. 1527).

TABLE 4. CÁCERES: VILLAGE-TOWN MOBILITY (15TH CENTURY)

| ORIGIN | KMS | IMMIGRANTS | ORIGIN | KMS | IMMIGRANTS |
|-------------------|------|------------|----------------|------|------------|
| Casar de C. | 10 | 6 | Aliseda | 28,5 | 2 |
| Malpartida de C. | 12,5 | - | Aldea del Cano | 21 | 2 |
| Arroyo de la Luz* | 18,5 | 4 | Zamarilla** | 14 | 6 |
| Sierra de Fuentes | 9 | 3 | Aldehuela** | 6 | 1 |
| Torreorgaz | 15 | 3 | Parrón** | 11,5 | 1 |
| Torrequemada | 17,5 | 3 | Corchuela** | 5 | 1 |

* Old village of Cáceres

** Heredamientos

Regional mobility concentrates in the closest space, with a bigger influence of physiographic factors, such as the Tagus River and the Montes de Toledo (mountain range) in Extremadura. Half of the immigrants come from the southern basin of the Tagus. The northern basin of the Tagus River, or the jurisdictions of councils situated next to the Guadiana each contribute slightly less than one quarter. The southern part of the province of Badajoz plays a marginal role. Over the course of the 15th century, the basin of the Guadiana loses weight in benefit of Alta Extremadura (less than 15% between 1502-1525).

TABLE 5. CÁCERES (15TH CENTURY): REGIONAL IMMIGRATION
(EXCLUDING THE LAND OF CÁCERES)

| PERIOD | TAGUS/SOUTH | TAGUS/NORTH | BADAJOZ, MÉRIDA, MEDELLÍN | REST OF BADAJOZ | TOTAL |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-------|
| 1401-1450 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 16 |
| 1451-1475 | 15 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 26 |
| 1476-1500 | 20 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 33 |
| 1501-1525 | 16 | 16 | 5 | 0 | 37 |
| TOTAL | 56 | 24 | 23 | 9 | 112 |

Immigration from the southern basin of the Tagus River shows an important influx from the jurisdiction of Trujillo, which remains at a steady 50% (approximately) throughout the 15th century. This rate appears to decrease in the first quarter of that century, which is perhaps just statistical randomness. Trujillo's contribution is noteworthy; approximately ¾ of all immigration comes from its jurisdiction, although in 1532 it was only 8,80% of the population. The contribution of the municipality of Montánchez, the only *Santiaguista* (of the Order of Santiago) area of the province of Cáceres is anecdotal. The rest of the areas have very similar contributions. Immigration from the *maestrazgo* of Alcantara came almost exclusively from the municipality of Alcantara, which is next to (the province of) Cáceres. Valencia de Alcantara, on the border with Portugal, has a marginal presence. It is likely that the mobility in this town had a unique profile due to its location on the frontier (*rayana*) zone. In short, we can link the special relationship between Cáceres

and the town of Trujillo, which contributes a third of the immigrants from Cáceres province between 1401 and 1525, with proximity being an important factor.

TABLE 6. CÁCERES (15TH CENTURY): IMMIGRATION FROM THE SOUTHERN BASIN OF THE TAGUS

| PERIOD | ORDEN ALCANT. | GARROVILLAS | MONTÁNCHEZ | TRUJILLO (TOWN) | EASTERN AREA | TOTAL |
|-----------|---------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|-------|
| 1401-1450 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 (3) | 1 | 5 |
| 1451-1475 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 8 (6) | 0 | 15 |
| 1476-1500 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 11 (8) | 2 | 21 |
| 1501-1525 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 (2) | 5 | 16 |
| TOTAL | 13 | 10 | 1 | 25 (19) | 8 | 57 |

Interregional immigration has different patterns to those of the previous phase. This immigration comes mainly from the old kingdom of Leon (Galicia, Asturias and the provinces of Leon, Zamora and Salamanca), Castile (northern plateau) and Castilla la Nueva. Regarding the previous period, Galician emigration loses strength and becomes one more element, compared to the greater weight of Leon⁵. Proximity plays an important role. The weight of Castile prevails, but it is a more extensive and populated region. Overall, there is a clear predominance of northern immigration, which accounts for three out of every four immigrants⁶. However, despite the weight of the Leonese area there was demographic movement towards the east. Castilla la Nueva contributes 17.80% of the immigration. Although important, it plays a secondary role. The contribution of southern regions (Andalucía and Murcia) is limited and does not reach 10%. While the marginal role of Murcia was to be expected because of the absence of economic relations in that region, the demographic links with Andalucía seem considerably less strong than in Baja Extremadura. The provenance of the immigrants of Cáceres remains steady throughout the Modern period, with growing weight of the Rioja region (Blanco Carrasco y Santillana Pérez, 2011: 46, mapa II; Rodríguez Sánchez, 1977: 180-1).

TABLE 7. CACERES: INTERREGIONAL IMMIGRATION (1400-1525)

| PERIOD | GALICIA | ASTURIAS | LEÓN | NORTE-LEÓN | CASTILLA | PAÍS VASCO | CAST. NUEVA | MURCIA | ANDALUCÍA | TOTAL |
|-----------|---------|----------|------|------------|----------|------------|-------------|--------|-----------|-------|
| 1401-1425 | 2 | 0 | 1 | - | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| 1426-1450 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 23 |

⁵ Emigration from Extremadura is a smaller component in modern Galicia, where other closer destinations are favored, or where there are more work opportunities (Pérez García, 2011: 237-8).

⁶ A similar dynamic can be seen in the *maestrazgo* of Alcantara (Clemente Quijada, 2020: 115).

TABLE 7. CACERES: INTERREGIONAL IMMIGRATION (1400-1525)

| PERIOD | GALICIA | ASTURIAS | LEÓN | NORTE-LEÓN | CASTILLA | PAÍS VASCO | CAST. NUEVA | MURCIA | ANDALUCÍA | TOTAL |
|-----------|---------|----------|------|------------|----------|------------|-------------|--------|-----------|-------|
| 1451-1475 | 5 | 2 | 15 | - | 14 | 2 | 11 | 0 | 3 | 52 |
| 1476-1500 | 6 | 3 | 24 | 2 | 47 | 4 | 22 | 2 | 11 | 121 |
| 1501-1525 | 12 | 0 | 34 | 2 | 47 | 9 | 20 | 0 | 9 | 133 |
| TOTAL | 26 | 5 | 80 | 5 | 118 | 17 | 60 | 3 | 23 | 337 |

A more detailed analysis of the places of origin of immigrants shows a significant dispersal, which is compatible with the important weight in some of the communities. We have no information about Galicia, since there is only a general reference to regional origins, and only occasionally to their place of provenance. In the Leonese area, the following stand out: Salamanca (thirteen cases), Leon (fifteen), Toro (ten), Villalobos-Zamora (eleven) and the district of Sanabria (sixteen). There is a bigger weight for the northern zone. This dispersal of the Leonese area can also be seen in Castilla la Nueva. Toledo and the area next to the borders of Toledo and Talavera, which currently belong to the provinces of Extremadura, accounted for about a third of the cases. Also important are the contributions of Cuenca (six cases), Madrid (six cases), Molina (five cases) and Villareal-Ciudad Real (seven cases). Within the high rate of dispersal, proximity seems to be an important factor, unlike in the Leonese region. Southern regions have a limited weight. This is especially notable for Andalucia, given its proximity, and the existence of important cities like Seville⁷

Castilian immigration is concentrated in several areas. Because of its proximity, the region of Avila, contributes important numbers of immigrants, reaching almost a third of the input from all of Castile. Avila supplies the most cases (fourteen), but other towns and villages of the region also contribute. The area of Segovia is less represented, with less than half the cases of the region of Avila; only Sepulveda has a relevant role (6 cases). The other important region is Burgos and its surrounding areas. Burgos (city) contributes eleven cases, half of the immigration from that area. Soria is represented by Osma (fifteen cases), although it is possible that this contribution is due to the fossilization of that surname, which is also the name of a *dehesa*. No other centers of the area appear, including Soria (city). Immigrants from Palencia, Valladolid and other nearby nuclei appear in limited numbers. Perhaps Medina de Campo is a special case. It only has seven cases, but five are from the first quarter of the 16th century, possibly as a result of the increasing importance of its markets during the 15th century. The Cantabria region is represented by the Basque country, a traditional area of emigrants in the Middle Ages. The role of western

⁷ The presence of Andalusia appears to be more important in Medellín, but not in Merida, where immigration comes mainly from the sub-plateau of northern Castile. There is a nominal Leonese presence (Bernal Estévez, 2013: 184-185).

Castile (province of Santander) is marginal. The contribution from the Rioja is also irrelevant (three cases).

In summary, interregional immigration is influenced in some cases by proximity (regions of Avila and Toledo, including the frontier, which is now part of Extremadura). But there were cases that were the opposite, examples of which are the north of Leon (provinces of Zamora and Salamanca), and the region of Burgos. The protagonism of Burgos and Medina del Campo from the first quarter of the 16th century onwards seems to be linked to the commercial and/or financial importance of these centers, which were vital for connecting Castile with international markets⁸. It is remarkable that the people from Medina del Campo were highly qualified (physicist, graduate, bachelor, Jew, goldsmith, abbess/prioress)⁹. The bigger weight of northern Castile, as compared to the smaller and less populated, but closer, Leon, might be associated with the practice of transhumance, an important practice in Extremadura. In general, the most represented Castilian areas are related to this activity, especially in Avila, but also in Segovia, Soria and Burgos¹⁰. On the other hand, Leonese transhumant herders are limited in Extremadura. The economic role of some cities like Burgos, or later, Medina del Campo, should also be considered.

As mentioned previously, immigration from outside the crown of Castile comes mainly from Portugal. Portuguese immigration is both moderate,¹¹ and dispersed. Provenance is evenly spread among the northern regions of Portugal (Braganza, Chaves), the center region (Cadaval, all merchants) and the Alentejo (Silves, Alvito). The area bordering Extremadura contributes moderately (Elvas, [Castelo] Branco and Sabugal). This frontier (*rayana*) zone is demographically depressed¹², which explains its limited contribution. Distance does not seem a factor that influences Portuguese immigration.

⁸ Casado Alonso 2007: 129-138, Caunedo del Potro, 1983: 39-45.

⁹ For example: AFT-CC, c. 1, nº 13, f. 1r (Mose de Medina y Salomón de Medina, Jews, a. 1470); c. 18, nº 48, f. 4r (María de Medina, aves of the convent of San Pablo, a. 1492); o c. 51, nº 2, f. 13r (licenciate Francisco de Medina "fesico", a. 1522).

¹⁰ García Oliva, 2015: 258-9; Pereira Iglesias, 1990: 182. The Leonese transhumant herders are not registered in Caceres. Clemente Quijada, 2020: 241-2422, has documented herders from Salamanca in 1485 in the *partido* of Alcantara. It is symptomatic and determinant that in the assemblies of the Mesta in the first decades of the 16th century, herders from Soria and Segovia had the representation of the *partido* of Leon as there were not enough herders in the region (Diago Hernando, 2004: 1048). Clemente Quijada, 2020: 115, also recorded for La Serena the concurrence between mobility and transhumance.

¹¹ The scarcity of Portuguese immigration in Caceres, Trujillo and Plasencia remains steady in the second half of the 16th century (Le Flem, 1967: 257). The Castilian-Luso border, on the other hand, has significant mobility, but we don't know if it only affected the *rayana* districts or if it had an impact on more distant areas (Bernal Estévez, 1989: 225; Martín Martín, 2007: 159-160). The border city of Badajoz had an important Portuguese immigration in the Modern Era (Blanco Carrasco, 2003: 103).

¹² This situation resulted in the creation of *cotos de homiciados* in the second half of the 14th century, as a measure of defense. Some of them are located on the *raya* (border) of Portugal and Extremadura, such as Penamacor, Penha Garcia, Marvao or Arronches (Baquero Moreno, 2003: 88; Santos Leitão, 2013: 277-279).

The rest of international immigration is divided into those who come from Navarra and the crown of Aragon, on one hand, and extra-peninsular arrivals on the other, approximately each comprising a fourth of the total. The demographic weight of this immigration is limited. It is possible that the latter had professions that were linked to commerce, which explains its importance in Seville and the ports of Cadiz, although that does not figure in our documentation¹³. There is only a record for a Brabant shoemaker¹⁴.

3. IMMIGRATION AND THE LABOR MARKET

Who are the settlers in Caceres? What kind of professional profile did they have? The professions can give us some ideas about the reasons for demographic mobility, and about their contribution to the society of Caceres. Although we should not forget that the professional activities that were recorded do not necessarily coincide with the original professions, the results are consistent with the economic and social profile of Caceres.

TABLE 8. TRADES AND IMMIGRATION IN CÁCERES (1400-1525)

| TRADE/ACTIVITY | REGIONAL | REINO LEÓN | CASTILLA (NORTE) | ZONA SUR | EXTRANJERO | TOTAL | TOTAL GRUTOS |
|---------------------------------------|----------|------------|------------------|----------|------------|-------|--------------|
| Scribe | 4 | 4 | 9*** | 3 | 20 | | 23 |
| Procurator | 1 | 2 | | | 3 | | |
| Mayordomo de concejo (royal official) | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | 2 |
| Licenciate | | | 2 | 1 | 3 | | 11 |
| Bachiller (Bachelor) | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 8 | | |
| Doctor/physician | | | 2 | | 2 | | |
| Apothecary | | | 1*** | 2 | 3 | | 5 |
| Cleric | 2 | 4 | 7 | | 13 | | 22 |
| Frair/nun | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 9 | | |
| Squire | 1 | | 1** | | 2 | | 2 |

¹³ However, extra-peninsular foreigners are not abundant, at least until 1500, in important commercial cities in the interior such as Burgos, Valladolid and Medina del Campo (Bello León, 1994: 38-49). Bello León, 1994: 102, collects debts from residents of Caceres with Genovese merchants, two of them residing in Seville.

¹⁴ AHMCC, c. 16/56, nº 2, f. 3v, a. 1516 (“Enrique de Brevante, çapatero”).

TABLE 8. TRADES AND IMMIGRATION IN CÁCERES (1400-1525)

| TRADE/ACTIVITY | REGIONAL | REINO LEÓN | CASTILLA (NORTE) | ZONA SUR | EXTRANJERO | TOTAL | TOTAL GRUPOS |
|-------------------------|----------|------------|------------------|----------|------------|----------|--------------|
| Servant | 15 | 15* | 15**** | 7 | 3 | 55 | |
| Ama (housekeeper) | 1 | | | | | 1 | 56 |
| Weaver | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | |
| Taylor | 1 | | | 3 | | 3 | |
| Wool worker/cloth maker | | 1 | | | | 1 | 10 |
| Cloth shearer | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | |
| Money changers | | 1* | | 1 | | 2 | |
| Shoemaker | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 4 | |
| Boot maker | | | | 1 | | 1 | 6 |
| Leatherworker | | | 1 | | | 1 | |
| Stone cutter | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 3 | |
| Whitewasher | | | | 1 | | 1 | 5 |
| Painter | | 1 | | | | 1 | |
| Iron worker | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Farrier | | | 1 | | | 1 | 3 |
| Armeror | | | 1 | | | 1 | |
| Potter | | 1 | | | | 1 | |
| Goldbeaters | | | 1 | | | 1 | |
| Silversmith | | | | 1 | | 1 | 5 |
| Barber | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | |
| Merchant | | | | 3 | | 3 | |
| Mesonero (innkeeper) | | | 1 | | | 1 | 6 |
| Muleteer | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | |
| Jew | 2 | | 2 | | 1 | 5 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 37 | 38 | 52 | 24 | 10 | 155***** | 157***** |

* On servant, gamekeeper and moneychanger.

** One squire-servant.

*** One scribe-squire.

**** One servant and later squire.

***** The 4 remaining cases are subtracted.

The trades that immigrants worked in can be divided into several groups. The first comprised those people who had important qualifications and worked in the service sector. These included scribes and notaries, many of whom came from outside, and also procurators, who worked in legal representation. All together they

constitute about a seventh part of the total and mostly comprised scribes (12,26%). The second group was represented by people with university degrees, some licentiates and a higher number of bachelors, reaching 7,10% (bachelor: 5.16%). The third group was made up of people with training in health, (insofar as that field was understood at the time), which with five cases only amounted to 3.23%. If we group this set of qualified individuals together and then add the *mayordomos del consejo* (high ranking royal officials), their weight reaches 25.81%, slightly above one quarter.

The ecclesiastic group is significant. Clerics and friars/nuns have twenty-two cases (14,19%), approximately a seventh. This immigration is not surprising. Clerics are a group that has great mobility, regional and extra-regional, who seek lucrative and stable benefits. Regarding the second group, friars and nuns, there was a proliferation of convents in Cáceres after the mid-15th century (San Francisco, San Pablo, Santa María de Jesús, and Santo Domingo)¹⁵, which took in people who wanted, or were obliged to choose a life of retreat. The available information allows for a detailed analysis of this group, particularly of the women. We should point out that we also find people from Cáceres in convents in other locations.

The sector that we can consider as services, and does not include production, represents an important part of all immigration. Altogether, including squires, it reaches 41.29%. This group has a degree of privilege, compared to the average population, though this is relative, since some scribes lived poorly, as did the residents of some convents. The sector of services was represented by scribes, university graduates and clerics. The scarce representation in the health sector is not surprising.¹⁶

The rest of the immigrants are associated to different activities of production and commerce. The most remarkable feature is the importance of the so-called servants, people without qualifications who are involved in different domestic and production activities. Their weight would have to be associated with the powerful families of the middle nobility of Cáceres, who required the services of this group. This category reached 35.48% of the total (36.13% for the cited category of *ama* / housekeeper), that is, over one third. This means that a very important part of immigration has no specific professional qualification. Undoubtedly, their weight is due to the demand for work in the area.

A second group is comprised of artisans and has twenty-five cases; it only represents 16.13%, slightly less than a sixth, and less than half of the category of servants. Cáceres is not a center with much demand for artisanal work. This data shows how modest this sector is compared to the economic and social power of the local oligarchy. It is not surprising that the different trades are represented in an order that follows their economic weight. The textile sector (eight cases) and leather (six cases), which become quite important in Cáceres, are the most represented, followed

¹⁵ They have not been studied beyond their art. Some interesting information in García Mogollón, 2005.

¹⁶ It is not surprising, and this explains that their work is not registered in the episodes of the plague during the first half of the 16th century (Clemente Ramos, 2023: 327)

by sectors that are always indispensable, such as construction and metallurgy. We consider that the weight of the artisanal sector in general, and of the different trades in particular, complies with their economic weight in Cáceres.

The sector associated with commerce has less weight. We recorded three merchants, one *mesonero* (innkeeper) and two muleteers, resulting in a very modest 3.87%. It is very likely that many of the documented Jews were involved in mercantile activity (five cases), which despite increasing the weight of merchants, this category was still modest.

Altogether, the activities of the immigrant sector follow the local labor market, emphasizing the weight of the service sector (scribes, clerics), the local oligarchy's role of employer (in competition with other minorities of a much lower economic level), and the limited demand for sectors associated with the urban economy. Thus, the activity of the immigrants defines the local economic model.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Immigration in Cáceres between the 13th century and 1525 has two distinctive stages. Until the mid-14th century there was a process of re-population. The input from Galicia and Leon predominated in general. The Castilian component, with a more extensive region and a bigger population, is also important, although inferior in terms of demographic contribution. Southern input is limited, as would be expected, given its smaller population. It (Immigration) is sustained by the area of Castile and La Mancha, while there are no recorded immigrants from Andalucía during this stage. In general lines, the Galician dominance, with a strong Castilian input, follows the patterns established for the Salamanca area, with a Galician dominance that wanes towards the east.

Immigration in the Late Middle Ages appears to be influenced by the urban model of Cáceres, mainly agricultural, and by a demand for unqualified labor (servants). There is a clear predominance of interregional immigration, perhaps due to demographic weakness of the closest areas, and to the local economic model. Foreign immigration, from outside the kingdom of Castile, is limited, even for immigrants of Portuguese origin. There seems to be a feeling of frontier in Cáceres, contrary to the border (*rayana*) areas where there is more fluidity.

Immigration is characterized by a clear recession in the Galician input and the dominance of Castilian regions, especially from the north, but also of Castile and La Mancha. Andalucian influx is quite limited, which differentiates it from some areas of the Guadiana valley. Within the region of Cáceres, proximity is a factor of attraction. Most of the immigration comes from the southern basin of the Tagus River, with an important weight from Trujillo, while the input from the region of the Guadiana valley is marginal.

The professional activity of the immigrants follows the local economic model. The weight of servants, about a third, is very important. Noteworthy in this group is the weight of scribes and clerics, who do not necessarily enjoy a comfortable economic situation. The small demand for artisanal workers, as opposed to the importance

of the textile and leather sectors, is evidenced in a weight that we consider limited (slightly below 1/6).

The predominance of immigration from the north was a constant in Caceres from the 13th century onwards, although the dominance of Leonese and Galician immigration gives way to a bigger inflow of Castilian immigration, especially from the north. However, in the Late Middle Ages there is also immigration from Castile and La Mancha. The input of southern regions is limited. The southern basin of the Tagus River appears to be a predominant place of origin within regional immigration, especially the area of Trujillo, which is close by.

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