

*Jesús, María and José. The Holy Family in San Pablito (1874-1970)*  
*Jesús, María y José. La Sagrada Familia en San Pablito (1874-1970)*

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**Abstract:** To account for the presence of the names of *Jesús*, *María* and *José*, that is, the Holy Family in the community of San Pablito in Puebla, we will begin by discussing the introduction of these names then, we will address their manifestation in Mexican territory and subsequently shift our focus to their particular presence in San Pablito. Being three very old names due to their origin, and at the same time three of great importance, two aspects that draw our attention are: the first, the persistence of these names over time despite what trends predicted in 1970 about their possible disappearance (Boyd-Bowman 1970: 30); and the second, the disparity between them in their attribution, that is, *José* is by far more common than *Jesús* and the percentage of women named *María* exceeds the percentage of men with the name *José*. We can understand why the names have endured because the Catholic community remains the majority in Mexico, despite the constant growth of other religions. To explain the second phenomenon there are two concepts that allow us to elucidate it which are: *latria* and *dulia*. The corpus for this research is based on the information recorded in the birth books of the Civil Registry of Pahuatlán (municipal capital), during the period from 1874 to 1970, consisting of 3094 names, of which 1212 are, or include, the names: *Jesús*, *María* and/or *José*. The socionomastic perspective (Seide 2016, 2020) adopted allowed us to consider factors that provided meaning to the quantification and comparison of the data. Among others, variants of religious, social, political, and legal order. An example of this is the mandatory registration of births in the 40s and 50s and the consequent sanctions for those who did not comply (Peral 2023), which directly impacted the statistics.

**Keywords** Jesús, María and José; Holy Family; San Pablito, Pahuatlán, Puebla, México; Anthroponymy; 1874-1970.

**Resumen:** Para dar cuenta de la presencia de los nombres de *Jesús*, *María* y *José*, esto es, la Sagrada Familia en la comunidad de San Pablito en Puebla, empezaremos por hablar sobre el ingreso de estos nombres a la antroponimia en América; luego, su manifestación en el territorio mexicano para enfocarnos posteriormente a su presencia en San Pablito. Siendo por su origen tres nombres muy antiguos, y a la vez de gran importancia, dos aspectos que llaman nuestra atención son: el primero, la permanencia de estos nombres a través del tiempo a pesar de lo que pronosticaban las tendencias por 1970 sobre su posible desaparición (Boyd-Bowman 1970: 30); y el segundo, la disparidad entre sí en su atribución, esto es, *José* es por mucho, más frecuente que

*Jesús* y el porcentaje de mujeres con el nombre *María* supera al porcentaje de hombres con el nombre *José*. La permanencia de los nombres podemos entenderla porque la comunidad católica continúa siendo un grupo mayoritario en México, a pesar del crecimiento constante de otros cultos. Para explicar el segundo fenómeno hay dos conceptos que nos lo permiten dilucidar y son: latría y dulía. El corpus para esta investigación se basa en la información consignada en los libros de nacimientos del Registro Civil de Pahuatlán (cabecera municipal), durante el periodo de 1874 a 1970 consistente en 3094 nombres, de los cuales 1212 son, o incluyen, los nombres: *Jesús*, *María* y/o *José*. La perspectiva socionomástica (Seide 2016, 2020) adoptada permitió considerar factores que aportaron sentido a la cuantificación y la comparación de los datos. Entre otros, variantes de orden religioso, social, político y legal. Ejemplo de ello, la obligatoriedad del registro de los nacimientos en los años 40-50 y la consecuente amenaza de aplicar sanciones a quienes la incumplieran (Peral 2023), evento que impactó en la estadística.

**Palabras clave** Jesús, María y José; Sagrada Familia; San Pablito, Pahuatlán, Puebla, México; Antroponimia; 1874-1970.

## Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the importance that, in the period between 1874 and 1970, the names of the *Holy Family* had in the attribution of first names in San Pablito.

In order to achieve this objective, a statistical and comparative methodology was used, with a socionomastic perspective<sup>1</sup>, with which to account for the role played by names such as *Jesús*, *María* and *José* based on the frequency of their choice<sup>2</sup>.

The community. San Pablito is located on the slope of Cerro Brujo, in the municipality of Pahuatlán de Valle in the state of Puebla<sup>3</sup>. Its linguistic affiliation places it in the Oto-Manguéan family: "This variant of Otomi spoken in San Pablito... is included among those named by the *National Catalog of Indigenous Languages* (INALI 2009): 142-159) as Otomí de la Sierra [with the self-designation yuhú ~ hñähñu]; in the Summer Institute of Linguistics, *Ethnologue Catalog*

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<sup>1</sup> For as Seide rightly points out "It is characterizing of socionomastics the analysis of proper names that takes into account the social environment where names are attributed, the social connotations that may be associated with names at a certain historical moment and a certain place, the interrelationships between language and society in a general way and, especially, in what the selections of proper names may reveal or reiterate the values and culture of those who choose them" (Seide 2016: 1164, 2020: 101).

<sup>2</sup> This research is one of the research lines related to the project Anthroponymic System of San Pablito, Pahuatlán, Puebla.

<sup>3</sup> It is located at latitude 20°18'4 "N and longitude 98°9'44 "W, at 1200 meters above sea level.

(Lewis 2009), it appears with others under the designation: Otomi, Eastern Highland, with ISO 639-3" (Peral 2016: 13). The economy of San Pablito is based on the production and sale of amate paper and handicrafts made with ancestral techniques. Its population in 2020 was 3386 inhabitants (INEGI 2020).

The corpus used for this work is the one previously obtained from the Civil Registry of Pahuatlán that forms the main database of the project *Anthroponymic system of San Pablito, Pahuatlán, Puebla*. It gathers a total of 3094 names, corresponding to the same number of birth certificates registered between 1874 and 1970 (1524 male, 1518 female and 52 epicene). Of the total number of names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* together represent 39%, an undoubtedly significant percentage. See Table 1.

<b>Holy Family</b>	<b>Unique names</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>(Jesús, María and José)</i>	1212	39%
Others	1882	60%
Total	3094	100%

Table 1. Proportion of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* in the corpus, San Pablito (1874-1970).

The study period goes from 1874, the year in which the Civil Registry was installed in Pahuatlán, until 1970, since it was in the 70's when 'the migration of people from this community intensified, first to the interior of the country, due to the sale of amate paper and handicrafts, and in the 80s, to the United States, in search of work" (Peral 2020): 58), which leads us to assume that in the following period to be studied, 1971-2021, significant changes will be observed in the anthroponymic system. The sources used for the comparative approximations with the data in our corpus are Boyd-Bowman (1970) Mexico City, which allows us a follow-up and analysis from 1870 (even much earlier) to 1950 and López Franco (2011) Tlalnepantla de Baz, to contrast the decades from 1950 to 1970.

The taste, interest, choice and, therefore, the attribution of a religious name does not have to do only with faith, fashion or euphony. The history associated with the original bearer of the name is sometimes the most important reason and is the focus of this study, for this reason, in addition to attesting to the presence in the anthroponymy of San Pablito of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José*, we also analyze elements related to these characters, such as their origin and the spread of their respective cults, with emphasis on the symbolic and sacred value they have.

### ***The Holy Family***

The names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* are part of the anthroponymy in America when arrived in the XVI century, first in the toponymy, assigning names to the cities that the Spanish conquerors were founding<sup>4</sup> and then adopted by the professed religious orders that took for themselves, as part of their name, or instead of it, the invocations of Christ or the Virgin; To cite a few examples we will name Fray Vicente de Santa María, Dominican (1528), Fray Diego de la Magdalena, Franciscan (1588), Fray Fernando de Jesus Larrea, Franciscan (1750), among others<sup>5</sup>. It should be recalled that it was common in the period to adopt, to get differentiated from others, the name of the city or town from which they came<sup>6</sup>. The same pattern is also applied when instituting new orders, as in the case of the *Augustinian Congregation of the Most Holy Name of Jesus*

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<sup>4</sup> For example, Santa María de Belén in Panama (1503), Santa María de la Guadianilla in Puerto Rico (1515), Santa María de la Victoria in Mexico (1519), San José de la Dormida in Argentina (1585), Jesús de Purén in Chile (1597), to mention a few cities. In addition to invocations of *Jesús* or *María* such as: San Salvador in El Salvador (1525), Nuestra Señora de las Nieves in Colombia (1536) and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción in Venezuela (1549).

The first health institution, founded by Hernán Cortés in 1524 (for the care of Indians and Spaniards), is the hospital named Purísima Concepción y Jesús Nazareno, later Hospital de Jesús Nazareno, but better known as the Hospital de Jesús in the historic center of Mexico City.

<sup>5</sup> Boyd-Bowman states that the name *Jesús* is of late appearance to people until the 19th century (1970: 21-22), in San Pablito it appears in the records until the 20th century. He emphasizes that in the case of the friars (although it was not a baptismal name), they did receive it in the consecration of their ministry as a religious name.

<sup>6</sup> For example, among the Franciscans who arrived in New Spain are the friars Juan de Ribas, Andrés de Córdoba, Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Martín de Valencia, Toribio de Benavente, etc. J. Carlos Vizuete in his *Onomástica y devociones entre los primeros carmelitas descalzos* states "I do not think it is possible to determine when the custom of receiving a new name at the beginning of religious life began. The practice was not uniform; in some orders the new name was limited to the suppression of the secular surname replaced by the place of origin, as was the case in the Order of St. Jerome and the Capuchins, although among the Capuchins the first name was also changed" (2015): 95-96).

(*Congregación Agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús*) (1533). Menéndez Pidal (1965: 9-11) states that the general population imitates the pattern described above, but employing not only the names of the Holy Family, but the entire saints' calendar<sup>7</sup>.

Evangelization, called *spiritual conquest*, impacted and transformed the American onomastics (as diverse as the native languages were in this continent), in such a way that it imposed that a hagionym (that is, a saint's name) precede the names of the peoples, leaving the indigenous name as a secondary name or eliminating it. The original name of San Pablito was *Patlayuca* as we read in the *Memorias de los pueblos que doctrinaban los religiosos de la Orden de San Agustín en la Diócesis de Tlaxcala*: "The second town is called *Patlayuca*, the mouth of the town of *San Pablo*, has a hundred and fifty tributeers, and three hundred and fifty confessors, it is a league away from its county town". (Del Paso y Troncoso, 1905: 273). This same pattern is observed in anthroponymy when imposing on indigenous people, through baptism, a saint's name and their original name as a surname<sup>8</sup>; among others are the cases of Carlos *Ometochtzin*, Hernando *Ixtlixochitl*, Beatriz *Papatzin* and Hernando de Alvarado *Tezozomoc*. The preference for the use of saints' names over other names, as Ana Zabalza points out, has its motivation in the 17th century, from "the decrees of the Council of Trent... [that] names inspired by chivalric novels or classical heroes disappear, to be replaced by the names of saints" (2008: 105)<sup>9</sup>. With what we have reviewed

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<sup>7</sup> Another important source of consultation for religious and scholars of religious onomastics is the Martyrology that gathers information related to the martyrs and saints of the Church, which is not necessarily included in the saints' calendar. Although there are various Martyrologies (the Syriac, the Hieronymanum, and others) the *Roman Martyrology* of 1580 is the official one and the 2004 version is the current one. [Retrieved on March 23, 2024, from *Mercaba Enciclopedia hispano-católica universal* in <https://mercaba.org/Rialp/M/martirologio.htm> where they reproduce the entry "Martirologio" by R. Civil Desveus by courtesy of the *Gran Enciclopedia Rialp*, 1991]. In addition, those interested in the subject can consult the web page of the Vatican's Fides Agency, where the murders of religious are listed by year [available at <http://www.fides.org/spa/martirologio/index.html>].

<sup>8</sup> García Gallarín states that "Charles V ordered in 1535 that the missionaries, and not the encomenderos, were in charge of Christianizing and Castilianizing; evangelization entailed the change of the indigenous name to a hagionym" (2014: 27).

<sup>9</sup> The Council of Trent had three stages (1545-46, 1551-52, and 1562-63) giving way to provincial councils and diocesan synods through which the Tridentine decrees and norms were applied locally, but already in the XVI century the impact of the decrees of Trent is perceived.

so far, we can point out two main motivations for the choice and attribution of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José*: fashion (with the repetition of patterns) and imposition, by the Church (via evangelization) and by the State, with administrative regulations<sup>10</sup>. Of course, once these names reached the settlers of New Spain, the intra-family transmission (where grandparents, uncles and godparents give their names to those baptized) is the pattern that allows them to be perpetuated. Finally, we must point out that the great diffusion throughout the world of the name *María*, as well as *José* and *Jesús*, is due to the fact that they go hand in hand with the presence of Christianity throughout the world; as a consequence, it is not strange to find them in any country, transformed to the morphophonological and syntactic characteristics of each language.

Since this work is not of a historical nature, I will refer to what authors such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1965), Peter Boyd-Bowman (1970), Julio Viejo Fernández (1998), Ana Zabalza Seguín (2008, 2014), Consuelo García Gallarín (2009, 2014), Yolanda Guillermina López Franco (2011), Rocío Sánchez Rubio and Isabel Testón Núñez (2012), José Javier Rodríguez Toro (2019), José Armando San Martín Gómez (2021a, 2021b and 2022), José Armando San Martín Gómez and Ana Zabalza Seguín (2022) and others, point us to the diffusion and development of the cult of the Holy Family; to the Marian cult and the invocations of the Virgin both in the Old World and in the New World, as well as the late recognition and incorporation of the cult of St. Joseph (*San*

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<sup>10</sup> "As it is well known, New Spain was quickly 'pacified' and almost immediately after the conclusion of the conquest, the Castilian administrative apparatus began to be implemented... and the work of evangelization could begin" (Zaballa 2001: 355).

*José*). However, in order to contextualize our data, I will point out some elements that I consider necessary in relation to Jesús<sup>11</sup>, María<sup>12</sup> and José<sup>13</sup> as characters and as cults.

The nature of Jesus was controversial since the first century and continued until late in the fourth century with the postulation and debate of some Christological doctrines. The most outstanding, perhaps, is Arianism, which holds that Jesus is not God, but only the Son of God. Ferguson, in his *History of the Church* comments that at that time "The vast majority of Christians had no clear views on the nature of the Trinity" (2005: 267), so that Arianism was able to prosper. However, at the Councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381), the Arian doctrine was

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<sup>11</sup> The name *Jesús*, as we will see below, has the peculiarity of being the least present in the global onomastics, even in some countries it is, if not legally, then culturally forbidden.

<sup>12</sup> The anthroponymy related to the name *María* and her invocations is based on the mysteries of the Virgin's life, her sufferings, the places of worship, the type of protection requested and even the sanctuaries and some venerated images (Menéndez, 1965: 15). As the number of invocations increased over time, they became part of the popular anthroponymy. In this regard, Menéndez Pidal (1965: 16) tells us that with the diversification of the invocations also came the use of them without the name *María*. Tibón refers that "For many centuries the name of the Virgin Mary (*Virgen María*) was considered too sacred to be used as a given name" (1994: 162) and Iglesias notes that Albert Dauzat (1925) and other etymologists claim that such a taboo existed "in European Christian anthroponymy until the 9th-10th centuries." (Iglesias 2022: 388).

<sup>13</sup> "The oldest mention of the cult of St. Joseph in the West dates back to the year 800, in northern France, where "Joseph sponsus Mariae" is remembered on March 19. The mention of Joseph as Mary's husband will be more and more frequent from the IX to the XIV century. In the 12th century, the Crusaders erected a church in his honor in Nazareth. But it was in the 15th century that the cult of St. Joseph spread under the influence of St. Bernardine of Siena and, above all, of John Gerson (+ 1420), chancellor of Notre Dame in Paris: it was he who fanned the desire for an official feast dedicated to St. Joseph, although there were already some celebrations in Milan and in many places in Germany. From 1480, with the approval of Pope Sixtus IV, the feast began to be celebrated on March 19. Later, in 1621, under Pope Gregory XV, it became obligatory. In 1870, Pius IX declared St. Joseph patron of the universal Church; John XXIII, in 1962, included his name in the Roman canon of the Holy Mass. For his part, Pope Francis added, in May 2021, seven new invocations to the Litany in honor of St. Joseph: Custodian of the Redeemer, Servant of Christ, Minister of salvation, Support in distress, Patron of exiles, Patron of the afflicted, Patron of the poor." Retrieved October 18, 2023, from *Vatican News Portal*. <https://www.vaticannews.va/es/fiestas-liturgicas/san-jose.html>. "According to Menéndez Pidal (2005: 853), Joseph "was unheard of in medieval Spain and even in Europe, except among Jews and Muslims, but it began to spread when in Rome, around 1530, devotion to the exalted sanctity of Joseph as immediate to the Virgin Mary increased". The diffusion, therefore, would have begun prior to 1621, which is when the date of the saint was fixed. The data from the Sevillian baptismal books seem to confirm Menéndez Pidal's opinion: absent from the baptismal records of the Cathedral in the decade from 1515 to 1524 (see Rodríguez Toro 2018: 425-6), the first case in the main temple of the city, documented under the form of *Josepe*, dates from April 14, 1533." (Rodríguez Toro 2019: 239). Regarding the devotion to St. Joseph in the 17th century, Laurentino Ma. Herrán that it was promoted by various religious groups, but also by the parishioners, "it was fostered mainly by the two branches of the Carmelites, who were joined by other religious congregations -Jesuits, Franciscans, Capuchins, Theatines, Cistercians- throughout Europe and America." This diffusion was undoubtedly influenced by popular devotion" (1982: 356). "The first Joseph was the Hebrew patriarch, minister of Pharaoh, who flourished around the 20th century B.C.; but the popularity of the name in the Christian world is due to the husband of the Virgin Mary" (Tibón 1994: 140).

declared heretical. Another current, docetism (less known than the previous one) questioned the nature of Jesus, affirming that it was only apparent and not real<sup>14</sup>. At the Council of Nicaea (325) docetism was also rejected. The Council of Chalcedon (451) put an end to some of these debates by decreeing the dual nature of Jesus: divine and human. Even Jesus' status as the Messiah was not a given. Alister McGrath, referring to the early Jewish Christians says: "Indeed, they seemed to regard Christianity as an affirmation of all aspects of contemporary Judaism, with the addition of an extra belief: that Jesus was the Messiah." (2006:174).

Concerning Joseph, the paradox to be resolved with his cult was that his main attributes were at the same time the main questions he received: to be the father of Jesus, when he had no role in the conception; and the husband of Mary, when it was an unconsummated marriage<sup>15</sup>. For its part, the cult of Mary also had an eventful path, the recognition of the dogma of Virginité is given in the Council of Ephesus (431) and in the Lateran Council (649) it is accepted that virginité was before, during and after the birth of Jesus. It was in the XI and XII centuries when his cult was consolidated. Its devotion arose in the monasteries, which spread it among their parishioners<sup>16</sup>. Among those who promoted both devotion to Mary and debates on the dogmas related to her were St. Bernard of Clairvaux [11th-12th centuries] (the last of the Fathers of the Church), St. Anthony of Padua [12th century] (the Assumption, freedom from sin and the Immaculate Conception) and

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<sup>14</sup> "The main thesis of the teaching Christians was that the real Jesus was only a spirit who appeared to have a body of flesh" (Brown and Griggs 1975: 136). In this regard, Ashwin-Siejkowski notes that "Docetism as a Christian view of the nature of Christ was established early in Christian literature. The idea of the divine *Logos* having a ghost as a body was quite common in the first generation of Christians and, soon after, among some Gnostics" (2010: 103-104).

<sup>15</sup> Recommended bibliography on the subject is Antonio Moreno Almarcegui (2014) *La devoción a san José ¿un nuevo modelo de virilidad? el caso de España. Siglos XV al XVIII en Cauriensia, Vol. IX, 245-285.*

<sup>16</sup> "the Office Parvo of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It seems to have originated among the Benedictines of Montecassino around the 8th century but was not common in the Church until the middle of the 11th century, thanks to the zeal of St. Peter Damiani (+1072) and the exhortation of Pope Urban II at the Synod of Clermont (1095). At first reserved for the Sabbath, as a weekly gift to the Virgin, it gradually became an appendix to the daily office of clerics and a very popular devotion among the laity of all conditions, as attested by the numerous *Books of Hours* that have come down to our days." In *Germinans germinabit*. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://germinansgerminabit.blogspot.com/2013/10/capitulo-44-el-culto-mariano-medieval.html#comments>.



St. Petrus Canisius [16th century] (author of the work *De Maria Virgine Incomparabili et Dei Genitrice Sacrosancta Libri Quinque* as well as sermons, letters and catechisms; promoted confraternities of the Virgin and the Rosary. Petrus Canisius is credited with incorporating the *Ave Maria* into the prayer: *Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners*). This glimpse into the history of these three figures shows us that both they and their respective cults were embroiled in controversy.

The Church of the 16th century brought with it the concern to recover and renew its spiritual tasks. This Catholic (not Protestant) reformist spirit was the response to the Western Schism (1378-1418) that confronted the political and economic interests of the State with the temporal interests of the Church, a conflict that concludes with the Council of Constance (1414-1418) fighting for the renewal of spiritual tasks in the face of medieval ecclesiastical decadence (Belda Plans 2019; Ramírez Méndez 2023). The 16th century, characterized by its reforms in all scientific, cultural and popular fields, did not leave aside the religious one, planting two paths: a new Theology with the Humanism of Erasmus of Rotterdam or with the Lutheran Reformation, or the renewal of the traditional Scholastic Theology with the Faculty of Theology of the University of Salamanca and the Cisnerian University of Alcalá. In the case of Teresa of Jesus (1515-1582), Martínez Millán tells us: "the need to encourage and carry out a religious reform within the Church (as opposed to that of Luther and Calvin) [on the part of Teresa of Jesus] was shared by both the papacy and the Hispanic monarch; now, the problem lay in using this spiritual reform to justify political interests. In this sense, Philip II wanted to subordinate the religious reform to the [sic] interests of his Monarchy" (2015: 445). The influence that we can recognize Teresa of Jesus in anthroponymy is in the affirmation of Canals Vidal when he tells us that from the writings of the nun "the custom, previously nonexistent, of naming children after José and Josefa as an indicator of the universalization of this devotion and patronage" (2007: 90).

A character little mentioned with the Reformation movement is Ignatius of Loyola<sup>17</sup> who, according to Torres-Pardo<sup>18</sup> "Is the genuine representative of the authentic Reformation of the Church and of the consequent Counter-Reformation (as opposed to the pseudo-Reformation of Luther, Calvin, Erasmus and Henry VIII of England), within the imposing framework of the sacrosanct Council of Trent, for whose great assembly he appointed as theologians, at the request of the Pope, three of his most qualified sons" (p. 6.), who were Fabro, Laínez and Salmerón (García Hernán 2018).

This revision and rescue of the spiritual from within the Church and the need to respond to the Protestant attack on the figures and dogmas of Mary and Joseph is what gives rise to all the reflections and arguments that consolidate both cults<sup>19</sup> and, with its dissemination, its impact on onomastics and mainly in anthroponymy.

In Mexico, during the colony and even several centuries later, the names of *Jesús*, *María* and *José* had a great penetration not only in the population of the center of the country, but also, and perhaps even more strongly, in the Mexican province. One of the invocations of *María* with greater diffusion in Mexico is *María de Guadalupe* also called, depending on the authors consulted *Santa María de Guadalupe*, *Virgen María Madre de Dios de Guadalupe* (*Virgin Mary Mother of God of Guadalupe*), but more commonly and colloquially *Virgen de Guadalupe* or *María*

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<sup>17</sup> Iñigo López de Loyola (1491-1556) known as San Ignatius of Loyola was a military man who founded an important religious order following a military scheme that we recognize in its denominations, starting with the name itself, *Society of Jesus*, where instead of soldiers of the king there were Soldiers of Christ commanded by a Superior General. Ignatius of Loyola, like Christopher Columbus, dreamed of leading a crusade to the Holy Land; however, when his intention was nullified due to an injury in combat, he channeled his impetus to a spiritual crusade. Although the Society of Jesus was founded in the Old World, it is recognized that since its arrival in America it has had a great influence in the diffusion of the cult and devotion of the *Name of Jesus*.

<sup>18</sup> P. José Luis Torres-Pardo CR, *Ignatius of Loyola, knight-errant to the divine*. Retrieved August 16, 2023, from <https://cristorey.org/san-ignacio/>.

<sup>19</sup> It should be emphasized that St. Teresa of Jesus was an enthusiastic promoter of the veneration of St. Joseph (having experienced a miraculous healing after having invoked him). Teresa of Jesus founded, in addition to the Order of the Discalced Carmelites, several churches dedicated to St. Joseph.

*Guadalupe* whose cult arises from the declaration of her apparition in Mexico<sup>20</sup>, which, needless to say, has spread throughout America and other continents.

As for the center of the country, Boyd-Bowman, in his study of "First names in Mexico from 1540 to 1950"<sup>21</sup>, tells us that the cult of the Holy Family began in Mexico in 1700, achieving great popularity with the names *María* and *José* to the "extreme, he says, that *of all the girls baptized in 1800, no less than 92% received the name Mary and 34% that of Josepha*<sup>22</sup> -and the boys- 78% were named Joseph and 40% received *María* a secondary name" (1970: 21). With regard to the province López Franco points out that, in Tlalnepantla de Baz, between 1955 and 1970 (one of the periods compared) "the proportion of bearers of a Marian compound is more important than that of bearers of a simple name of *María* " (2011: 159). In his corpus *María* ranks first in frequency among feminine simple nouns (López Franco 2011: 254). This points out both the presence of the name *María*, as well as the marked preference for compound names. In another place of the province, in San Pablito, 129.7 km. from Mexico City (almost at the same distance from Tlalnepantla, but with very different conditions), the proportion is notoriously equal, since for the period 1951-1970 the data are: simple name *María*, 20 bearers and compound and multiple names that include 324. This quick comparison with the name of *María* alone shows us that no matter whether it is Central Mexico or somewhere in the province, the behavior in the attribution is practically the same. The importance of contrasting these three localities lies in the fact that they represent three different ways of life and living conditions, even in terms of their access to the

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<sup>20</sup> The *Nican Nopohua* is a document written in Nahuatl language attributed to Antonio Valeriano (1522-1605) where the story of the four apparitions of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Juan Diego is told, a text on which the cult of this devotion and the construction of the respective sanctuary were based. For those interested in the historiography of this document and to learn about the plot and possible people involved in its creation, the text *Notas sobre la elaboración del Nican Mopohua* by Rodrigo Martínez Baracs in *De la historia económica a la historia social y cultural (From economic history to social and cultural history)* is highly recommended. *Homenaje a Gisela von Wobeser* María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano (Coord.), IIH-UNAM, 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Based on the baptismal registers of the Metropolitan Tabernacle of the Cathedral of Mexico.

<sup>22</sup> The italics are the author's.

media, so it could be expected that their processes would be independent, and this would be reflected in the results. What the study shows us is that the spread of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* was not directly linked to social exchange but to what they had in common, religion. Thus, we can recognize that the religious factor has greater weight in the choice of names. Boyd-Bowman, speaking of the presence of the Marian invocations in the aforementioned study, predicted their possible disappearance by the year 2000: "Still in 1910 we find 155 Marian invocations among the women's names, but in 1930 they are reduced to 118 and in 1952 to only 79. If the trend continues and accelerates like the others we have noted in this study, it can be predicted that by the year 2000 they will have completely disappeared" (1970: 30 footnote). Peral tells us: "Boyd-Bowman's prediction of the possible disappearance of Holy Family names in Mexican anthroponymy is certainly due to the fact that he detected a process tending towards the secularization of names... of a significant taste for Holy Family names reflected mainly between 1675 and 1852, from 1910 onwards..." (2024: 23), which led him to state that "there is a gradual shift from the religious to the secular" (Boyd-Bowman 1970: 35).

### ***Jesús, María and José in San Pablito (1874-1970)***

The previous section allows us to situate these three names in the national territory and to understand in part their roots among Mexicans, which can be exacerbated. Without wishing to discuss theological aspects of the Catholic religion and its dogmas, which is not my area of study, what we must take into account to understand the importance of the name *María* in Mexican anthroponymy is that the roots of the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Mexican province reached such a degree that the Church was forced to be emphatic in the difference, as elements of worship, between the divinity (God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit), the saints, Joseph and Mary. In relation to Mary, the Second Vatican Council (1964) specifies the conditions of her worship in the constitution *Lumen Gentium*; for his part, John Paul II, when speaking of the nature

of Marian worship, based on this Council, does so in the following terms: "The veneration of the faithful for Mary, although superior to the worship of the other saints, is inferior to the worship of adoration given to God, and is essentially different from it" (John Paul II, 1997)<sup>23</sup>.

The following are the results of the analysis of the birth certificates registered in the Civil Registry of Pahuatlán, of natives of San Pablito, in relation to the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José*.

Three categories that we will use in our analysis to classify names, based on their constituent elements, are: simple, compound and multiple<sup>24</sup>.

### ***Jesús*, *María* and *José* as simple names**

As for the frequency of attribution, we found in our corpus that the name *María*, as a simple name, occupies the fourth place with 37 bearers and that of *José* the ninth place with 30 (see table 2 and table 3); contrasting strongly with the name *Jesús*, which occupies the penultimate place (31st) in the list, with only two bearers. The complete list is not shown due to space limitations.

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<sup>23</sup> At the *Third International Mariological Symposium* held in the Jaime Torres Bodet auditorium of the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico, in August 1995, one of the topics of concern of the priest speakers was that in the Mexican province (although not exclusively), greater veneration was given to the Virgin than to Jesus himself. Another issue of concern was the veneration and worship of images, which translated, in his opinion, into idolatry. The degree of appropriation of the images and places of worship by the communities was such that on occasions they prevented the priests themselves from accessing them. This is consistent with William Madsen's study on syncretism in Mexico regarding the relationship of the Nahua and Maya peoples with the images of saints (from the conquest to modern times): "Both folk religions worship images that are considered to possess supernatural powers and are treated as people" (1982: 208).

<sup>24</sup> "Simple names are those formed by one lexical piece, for example, *Cándida*, *Ángela*, *Martín*, etc., compound names are formed by two simple names or with the formula of an invocation of the Virgin; and multiple names are formed by two or more juxtaposed names" (Peral 2022).

<b>Bearers</b>	<b>Name</b>
55	<i>María Guadalupe</i> <sup>25</sup>
50	<i>Manuel</i>
38	<i>Juan</i>
<b>37</b>	<b><i>María</i></b>
35	<i>Enrique and Guadalupe</i>
34	<i>Margarita and María Pascuala</i>
32	<i>José Manuel</i>
31	<i>María Candelaria, María Rosa</i>
<b>30</b>	<b><i>Antonio and José</i></b>
29	<i>José Santos and María Cristina</i>
28	<i>María Juana</i>
27	<i>Esteban and Maria Paula</i>
26	<i>Santos</i>
25	<i>Hermelinda</i>
22	<i>José Esteban, María Hermelinda, María Margarita, Mariano and Paula</i>
21	<i>Candelaria and Maria Concepcion</i>
16	<i>Esperanza, José Juan, José Mariano, María Herlinda and María Sabina</i>
15	<i>María Ángela</i>
14	<i>Calixto, José Antonio and María Luisa</i>
13	<i>José Francisco, Juana, María de los Ángeles, and Martín</i>
12	<i>Concepción, María Maura and Maura</i>
11	<i>Alberto, María Modesta and Sabina</i>
10	<i>Felipe, José Clemente, María Esperanza, Rosa María and Sara</i>

Table 2. San Pablito given names with 55 to ten bearers (1874-1970)<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Although it is obvious, we must point out the fact that even though a simple name participates in the formation of a compound or multiple name, the resulting name is always a different name, as Roldán Sánchez states with respect to the name *Juan* "Juan Antonio would be a different name from Juan" (1998): 275), and Carmen Fernández Juncal and Natividad Hernández "are different mottos José and José Luis and also Luisa and Luisa Fernanda" (2019: 193). Above all, in the sense of not being tempted to consider them as equivalent; even if we know, for example, that the name *Carmen* comes from the shortening of *Maria del Carmen* are two different names.

<sup>26</sup> The complete table is not included due to space limitations.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Bearers</b>
<i>María</i>	4	37
<i>José</i>	9	30
<i>Jesús</i>	31	2

Table 3. Position of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* by frequency in the corpus (1874-1970).

In addition to their use as simple nouns, these nouns also play an important role as formants of compound and multiple nouns.

### ***Jesús*, *María* y *José* as formants**

*María* appears as a simple noun on 37 occasions (see Figure 1) and as a formant in 771 names (see Figure 2), for a total of 808 occurrences. *María* in some compounds has an epicene function as in *Israel María* and *José María*. *José* appears as a simple noun on 30 occasions (see Figure 3), and as a formant in 361 names (see Figure 4), for a total of 391 occurrences<sup>27</sup>. *Jesús* is a name that hardly appears in the corpus, in comparison with *María* and *José*. As a simple name we have it only twice (1947 and 1956), and as a formant in only eleven names (*Felipe de Jesús*, *Jesús Atolín*, *Jesús Lauro*, *Jesús María* (2), *Jesús Tomás*, *Margarita de Jesús* (2), *María de Jesús Consuelo*, *María Teresa de Jesús Sara* and *Mariano Jesús*). The total number of occurrences is thirteen (see Figure 5).

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<sup>27</sup> We are not considering the feminine forms of the name *José*, of which we can mention that *Josefa* appears in 19 occasions (only two as a simple name) and *Josefina* in eight (six as a simple name).

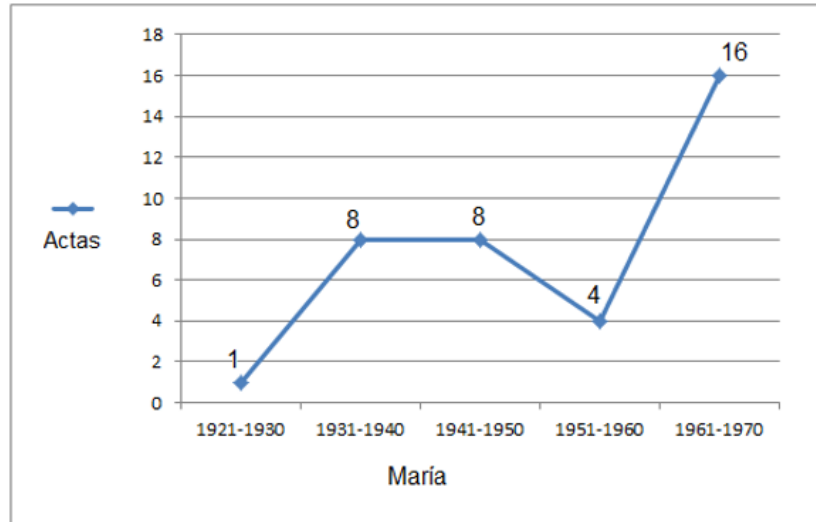


Figure 1. Presence of the simple name *María* in the corpus of San Pablito between 1921 and 1970.

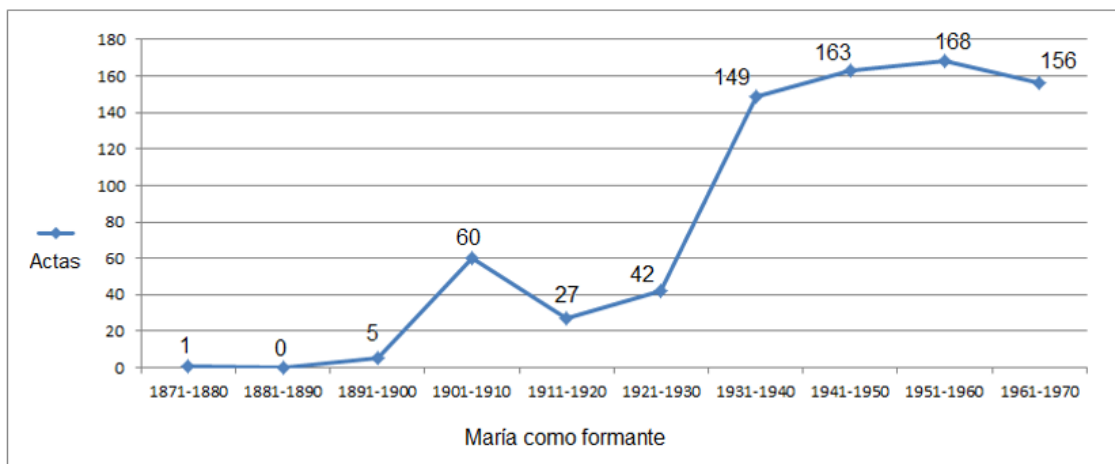


Figure 2. Presence of the name *María* as a formant in the San Pablito corpus between 1874 and 1970.



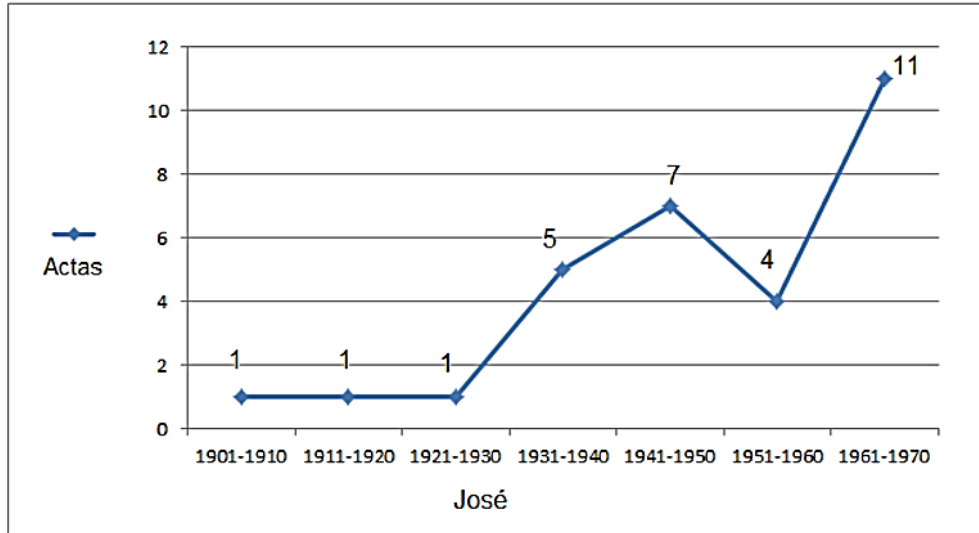


Figure 3. Presence of the simple name *José* in the corpus of San Pablito between 1901 and 1970.

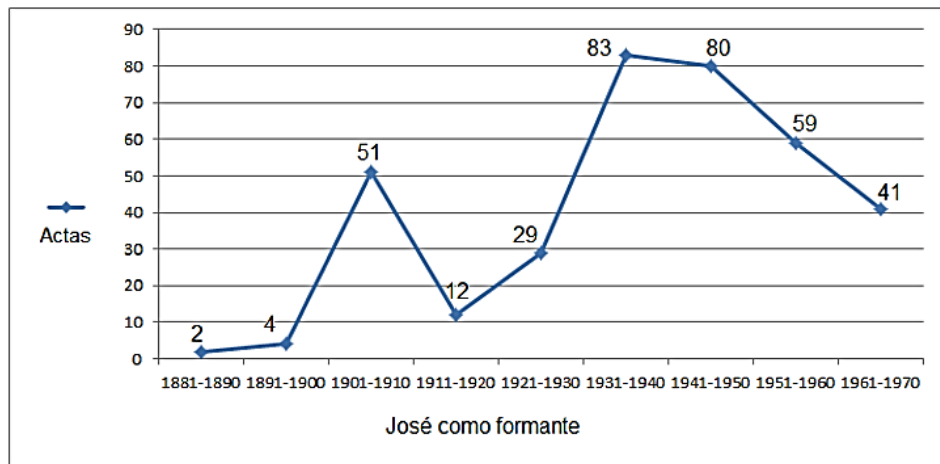


Figure 4. Presence of the name *José* as a formant in the San Pablito corpus between 1881 and 1970.

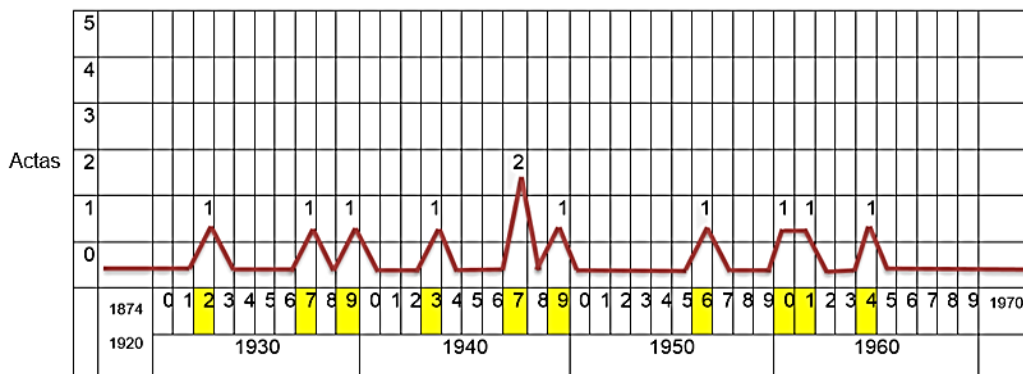


Figure 5. Presence of the name *Jesús* in the corpus between 1874 and 1970.

As a summary of the number of bearers of each of the names of the Holy Family in the period studied, Table 4 is presented, in which we can see, on the one hand, that *Mary* is the one with the greatest presence (in comparison with the other two names) and on the other, that there is a high preference (productivity) of these three names as formants in other names.

Name	Function						Representativeness (Proportion)
	Simple name		Formant		Totals		
<i>Jesús</i>	<b>2</b>	15%	<b>11</b>	85%	<b>13</b>	100%	2%
<i>María</i>	<b>37</b>	5%	<b>771</b>	95%	<b>808</b>	100%	66%
<i>José</i>	<b>30</b>	8%	<b>361</b>	92%	<b>391</b>	100%	32%
	<b>69</b>	6%	<b>1143</b>	94%	<b>1212</b>	100%	100%

Table 4. Information on the number of bearers of each of the names of the Holy Family in San Pablito between 1874 and 1970.

In figures 1 and 2 we can see that, as a simple name, *María* appears in the second decade of 1900, but its greatest boom is at the end of the period. On the other hand, as a formant, it appears from the first record in 1874, but it is not until the beginning of 1900 that we see an important presence and an upturn in the 1930s, which maintains an upward trend with a small decrease at the end of the period. In those of *José* (figures 3 and 4) we can see that, as a simple name, it does not appear before 1900 and its greatest diffusion occurs between the 1930s and 1970s. As a formant we do find it before 1900, but its presence is marked in the first decade of 1900, recovering in the thirties and forties and then declining.

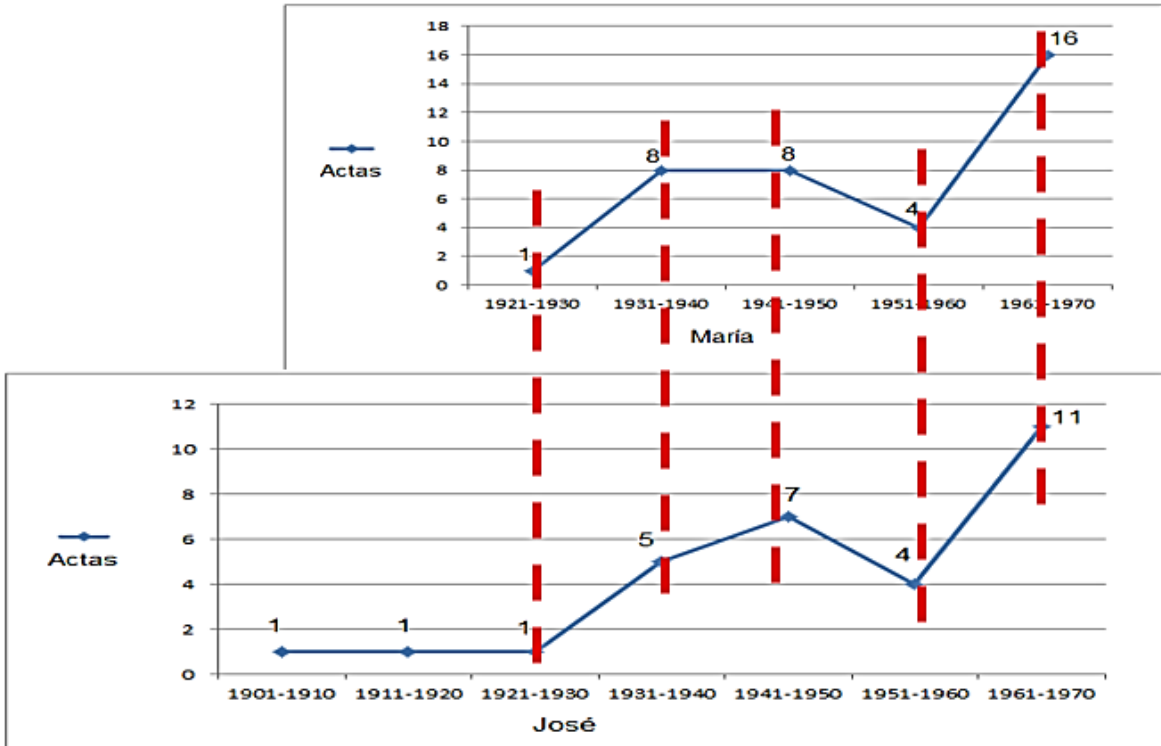


Figure 6. Distribution of the names *María* and *José* throughout time as simple names in San Pablito between 1874 and 1970.

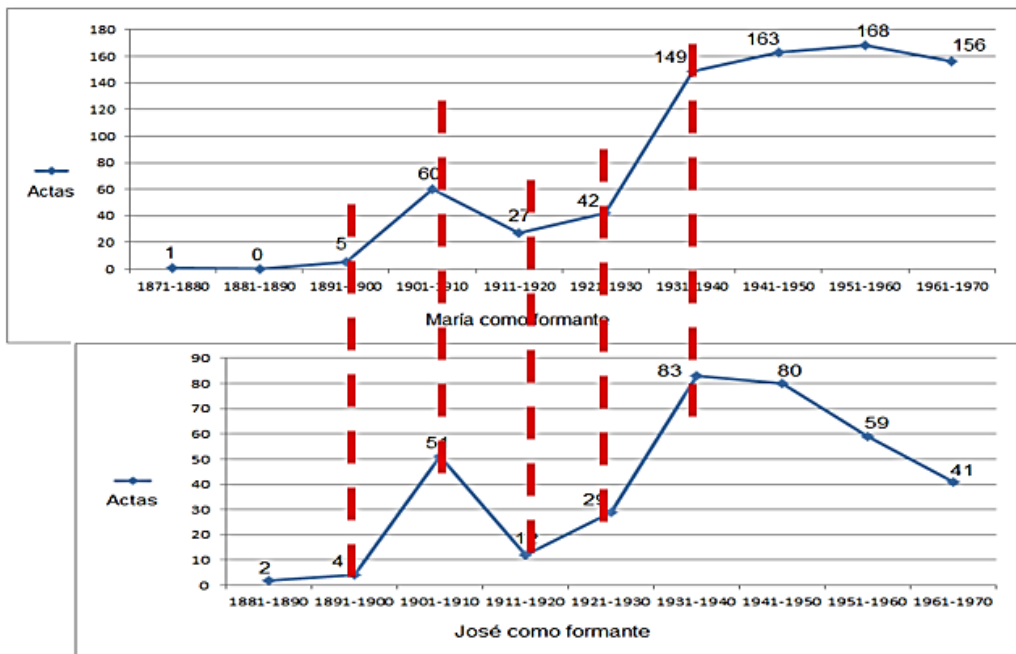


Figure 7. Distribution of the names *María* and *José* through time as formants in other names, in San Pablito between 1874 and 1970.

The upturns shown in the previous graphs are directly due to the increase in the number of people registered in those decades, derived from legal provisions related to the mandatory registration of newborns with the Civil Registry and the penalties implemented by the State for those who did not comply with them: "Persons who, being obliged to declare the birth, do so outside the fixed term, shall be punished with a fine of five to fifty pesos" (Peral 2023: 16), so the indicated increase is not necessarily an indicator of preference or not for these names.

### **The names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* and their position in the names**

The position that the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* occupy in the structure of the compound and multiple names in the corpus<sup>28</sup> tells us of their versatility and importance. *María* as a feminine name appears in 130 compound names in the first position and two in the second position. In multiple names, 47 are in first position, 38 in second position, four in intermediate position [*Ana María Paula*, *Ángela María Cristina*, *Rosa María Pascuala* and *Rosa María Vicenta*] and one in third position [*Sabina Rosita María*]. The name that follows *María* in attributions is *José*, which appears in 105 compound names occupying the first position and in second position only one. In multiple names, it appears in 18 names in first position, and in three names in second position.

On the other hand, the name *Jesús* is the least present in the corpus in comparison with *María* and *José*. In compound nouns, only one appears in second position preceded by the preposition *de*. In multiple names, in first position it appears in three, in second position in two and in intermediate position in one. Table 5 summarizes the quantification, and the names are presented in the appendix.

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<sup>28</sup> The full corpus can be consulted in the article "Los nombres de pila de San Pablito. Frecuencias y tendencias 1874-1970" once it is published.

Position within the name structure						
	<sup>29</sup>	First	Second	Intermediate	Third	Names <sup>30</sup>
<i>María</i>	C	130	2	0	0	222
	M	47	38	4	1	
<i>José</i>	C	105	1	0	0	127
	M	18	3	0	0	
<i>Jesús</i>	C	4	2	0	0	9
	M	0	2	1	0	
Total						358

Table 5. *Jesús*, *María* and *José* and their position as formants in other names, in San Pablito between 1874 and 1970.

Although we identify the names *Jesús*, *José* and *María*, the first two as masculine and the third as feminine, these are epicene names, that is, they can function as both feminine and masculine. We are not consigning in the tables the names of *Jesús*, *José* or *María* as epicenes because as simple names invariably the first two are masculine and the third feminine. It is in some compound nouns when they come to function as epicenes: masculine *José María* y *Jesús María*; feminine *María José* and *María Jesús*. In everyday usage people with these names are more often named by their hypocoristic than by their given names: *José María "Chema"*, *Jesús María "Chuy"*, *María José "Marijose"*, and *María Jesús "Marichuy"*. The hypocoristic *Jose* (as a paroxytone) applies to feminine nouns derived from *José* such as *Joselina*, *Josefina*, *Josefa*, etc. When attributed to the opposite gender, either feminized or masculinized forms of them are used: *Jesusa*, *Josefa* and *Mariano*.

### ***The extended family of Jesus***

Regardless of the fact that scholars in the field still do not agree on the veracity and/or accuracy of the data concerning the reconstruction of the genealogy of Jesus of Nazareth (basically as a biblical

<sup>29</sup> Initials: C Compound names and M Multiple names.

<sup>30</sup> Names, not carriers.

character), when we talk about the extended family of Jesus those who stand out, both for their biblical role and for their presence in the onomastics, are his grandmother St. Anne, his aunt St. Elizabeth and his cousins St. John the Baptist (mainly for being the one who announces and marks the beginning of the evangelical mission of Jesus), James the Greater and St. John the Evangelist, all of them on the maternal side; and on the paternal side, St. Jude Thaddeus and St. James the Less, the latter four of his twelve apostles.

What the corpus tells us about the names *Ana*, *Isabel*, *Juan*, *Santiago* and *Judas* is that, of these, *Juan* is the most popular name with 78 occurrences, and is the most versatile since it appears as a single, compound or multiple name, in both masculine and feminine forms, even in diminutive form<sup>31</sup>. At the other extreme is *Judas*, who has no presence in the corpus.

In addition to their presence as simple names, as compound names we have: *Ana* seven in 1st position; *Isabel* five in 2nd position; *Juan* 76: 52 in 1st position, 22 in 2nd position and two in 3rd position; *Santiago* seven, two in 1st position and five in 2nd position; and *Judas* with no occurrences (does not appear as *Judas*, nor as *Tadeo* or any other combination).

Regarding the permanence of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* over time, we must take into account that the Mexican population, despite its great cultural and religious diversity, is to date mostly Catholic; in the 2020 census, 78.1% of Mexicans declared that they professed the Catholic faith<sup>32</sup>.

One question raised by the results shown in the tables and figures is why the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* do not have the same preference in attribution, if together they form a single figure,

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<sup>31</sup> Some examples are *Juan Diego* (1938), *José Juan* (1883), *Paula Juana* (1903), *José Juanito* ( 1930), *Tobías Roberto Juan* (1939), *María Plácida Juana* (1942), *Juana Pascuala Sara Rosa* (1948), *Juanita* (1967, 68, 70...), *Cristina Juanita* (1961), *Juanita Agustina* (1958), among others.

<sup>32</sup> Of 115,499,876 Mexicans: Catholic religion 90,224,559 (78.1%); Other than Catholic 16,118,762 (14.0%); No religion 9,156,555 (7.9%). INEGI, 2020 Population Census.

the *Holy Family*? To understand this phenomenon, it is undoubtedly necessary to approach the data from the point of view of socionomastics in order to analyze not only the historical trajectory in the transmission of these names, but also to consider the social factors, mainly religious, to understand the motivations that favored their presence or absence (in the attribution), in the different periods studied.

### ***Of latria and dulia***<sup>33</sup>

The presence of the names of the saints in the onomastics has to do, in my opinion, with four important factors, one *canonical*, since the Church establishes that, regardless of nationality: all Catholics, new Catholics (for example, settlers from the New World or the Orient) and converts (for example, Jews) are assigned names taken from the saints' calendar<sup>34</sup>. The other factor, we can call it *sympathetic*<sup>35</sup>, where the names of the saints are perfectly eligible for attribution since what is intended in that act is: 1) that the creature acquires the same virtues of the saint (the name as a conductive agent) and/or 2) that he/she remains under his/her protection. The next, *social* factor has to do with: 1) recognition of the child as part of the membership, 2) compliance with the social expectation<sup>36</sup>, 3) compliance with the precepts of the Catholic Church and, the fourth factor,

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<sup>33</sup> The *Dictionary of the Spanish Language*, 23rd ed. <<https://dle.rae.es>> [30/11/2022] of the Real Academia Española defines latria, dulia and hiperdulia as follows: **Latria**. From late Latin *latria* 'worship', and this from Greek *λατρεία latreía*. 1. f. Rel. Reverence, worship and adoration due to God alone. **Dulia**. From medieval Latin *dulia*, and this from Greek *δουλεία douleía* 'servitude'. 1. m. Rel. worship that is paid to angels and saints.. **Hyperdulia**. From *hyper-* and the Greek *δουλεία douleía* 'servitude'. 1. m. Rel. worship that is paid to the Virgin. This dictionary does not include the term **Protodulia**, which refers to the cult of St. Joseph.

<sup>34</sup> This norm is the one that will be responsible for the extensive diffusion of hagianomastics throughout the world, without ignoring, of course, the participation of other mechanisms of diffusion such as commercial exchange. However, in the latter, diffusion occurs in both directions.

<sup>35</sup> In allusion to the sympathetic magic described by Frazer in 1890 (1944) as the mechanism through which by contact with the "magic element" one acquires its qualities. This means that carrying the name of the saint makes him/her acquire his/her qualities. Although formally the religious world and magic correspond to different spheres "For Frazer... mystical experience had an evolutionary sequence that passed through magic -the simplest stage of religiosity-, religion and science" (Alvar Nuño 2014: 151).

<sup>36</sup> I do not refer to the ritual of baptism, because in it, the name can be any name, including those not related to saints (as it is nowadays). By 'the expected' I mean both the aforementioned provision of the use of the sanctuary and what as a Christian and Catholic one should or should not do. To exemplify the way in which these religious imperatives operate on the will of people in the attribution of names, I narrate the following case: when one of my sisters was born, I remember that weeks before, some names (both male and female) had been proposed, for whatever it would turn out

*transgenerational transmission* in the family<sup>37</sup>. The sympathetic factor is perhaps the most sensitive because of the protective motivation of parents who seek either virtues or supernatural guardians for their children.

To the question: Why do María and José have a greater preference in the election than the other saints, if as biblical characters they also belong to the category of saints? What we can argue to that, is that they are not on equal footing with the saints; their association with a divine being Jesus is what gives them not only a higher status in hierarchy with respect to the saints, but they are also a closer link; they are the intercessors par excellence, more so Mary than Joseph. For his part, Jesus is divinity, he is "the son of God incarnate" and is "God the son". Recall that the name of God, the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) besides being an unpronounceable name since its pronunciation is unknown, no one would dare to give it as a name to his son. It is a taboo name, not because of some ex profeso sanction, but for its own moderation, and this may be the reason that explains the absence of the attribution of *Jesús*, especially as a simple name. If we look for a foundation that could imply a prohibition to the use of the name *Jesús* we can propose the commandment that says: *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not leave him unpunished that taketh the name of the Lord his God in vain (The Holy Bible of the Catholic Family, Ex. 20:7).*

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to be. My astonishment was when I got home from the hospital I was told the name they gave her, which was not one of the names that had been used, besides being very long, *Virginia Dulce María*. The explanation was that the nuns insisted that she take "the sweet name of the Virgin Mary" just because she was born on September 12; so my mother, contrary to her intention, did what the pressure of her Catholic environment expected of her. The funny thing is that years later another of my sisters was also born on September 12th and instead of Marisol, which was the name chosen by the family (after the Spanish actress), she was baptized and registered as Maria Soledad.

<sup>37</sup> There are undoubtedly other factors such as the "parental project" (López Franco 2011), or "by affection to a homonymous referent (name-homage), by custom (name of the saint of the day), by mythification of the initial referent (eponyms), or by the poetic sense of the anthroponym (anthroponymization of abstracts, phytonyms, etc.)" (García Gallarín 2014: 34). It also remains to be determined to what point religious motivation (consciously) accompanied these names, and at what point they became popular and continued to be used for the other reasons mentioned above. The categories that I enunciate are those that allowed me to analyze, understand and explain from their motivation, the phenomena involved in the attribution of these three names in particular.



With respect to *Jesús*, it is noteworthy that the names *José* and *María* are names with a high frequency of attribution, unlike *Jesús*, the third member of the Holy Family, whose presence is almost nil or whose use is definitely forbidden.

In the world, the name *Jesús* has a tradition prior to the character for which it has become famous, and whom everyone has as his first reference. However, several authors, including Fleming, point out that the name *Jesús* is linked to kings and priests of the Old Testament (2013: 33). In his analysis of Hebrew names and the vernacular savior in Anglo-Saxon England, following the works of Beda<sup>38</sup> he states that: "In three different homilies, Bede establishes a method for using Hebrew etymologies to reveal literal connections between seemingly disparate Old and New Testament passages. In each, in relation to the Hebrew words *Messiah* and *Jesus*, Bede uses his knowledge of etymology to locate Old Testament passages that unequivocally name *Jesus*" (2013: 32).

For explanatory purposes only, I will try to illustrate below the four classes that exist in the cult hierarchy. There is only one worship, which is to God (latria) and a gradient of veneration that places Mary (hyperdulia) at the top level, well above the saints, bordering on worship, but not passing into it, at the next level is Joseph (protodulia) as the first of the saints (who many would say is at the top of the list of saints rather than another level) and at the bottom of the hierarchy are the saints and angels (dulia). See figure 8.

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<sup>38</sup> Also known as The Venerable Bede (673 AD - 735 AD), he was an English monk whose studies contributed to the understanding of early British history and the coming of Christianity with works such as *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* and *De Temporum Ratione*. His deep study and knowledge of Hebrew enabled him to find and explain, as Fleming (2013) states, the presence of the name *Jesús* in the Old Testament.

Worship	<i>God</i> <b>latría</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Father</li> <li>• Son(<i>Jesús</i>)</li> <li>• Holy Spirit</li> </ul>
	<i>María</i> <b>hyperdulia</b>	
Veneration	<i>José</i> <b>protodulia</b>	
	Saints <b>dulia</b>	

Figure 8. The four classes in the cult hierarchy are *latría*, *hyperdulia*, *protodulia* and *dulia*.

It is important to note that this same hierarchical gradation that we see in the worship and veneration cults is reflected almost symmetrically in the choice and attribution of names, with the exception of *latría*, see table 6.

	Name	Presence	Occurrences		Percentage	
<b>Worship</b> (theonym)	<i>Jesús</i>	Simple	2	13	2%	Taboo
		Formant	11			
<b>Veneration</b> (hagionyms)	<i>María</i>	Simple	37	808	66%	Protection, intersection, consolation,...
		Formant	771			
	<i>José</i>	Simple	30	391	32%	
		Formant	361			
			1212	100%		

Table 6. Presence of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* in the corpus and their correlation: cult - attribution. San Pablito (1874-1970).

According to the data in this community the use of the name *Jesús* seems to be taboo; it is almost nonexistent in the corpus.

On the other hand, the noun *María* has the greatest presence, especially as the first formant both in compound nouns (including those containing invocations) and in multiple ones by juxtaposition. In the case of the name *José*, it is more frequent than the names of the other saints

(also as first formant), but significantly less frequent than *Mary*; and as far as the names of the saints are concerned, their presence is mostly secondary and they are found as second formants; very few appear as first formant.

One factor that could change the results presented is related to the etymology of the name *Manuel*, since many people know that this name derives from *Emmanuel*, which is another way of naming Jesus. However, only if we could affirm that the general population of San Pablito has this knowledge and that they attributed the name *Manuel* as a synonym for *Jesús*, then, and only then, would our assertion that the name *Jesús* is practically nonexistent not hold up, since the name *Manuel* occupies second place in the preferences, placing it even above the name *María*. *Manuel* has 53 occurrences: three simple (one feminine, one masculine and one diminutive masculine) and 50 compounds (34 in 1st position, thirteen in 2nd position, three in 3rd position).

Finally, the small number of *Pedros* and *Pablos* in the corpus as single, compound or multiple names is striking, taking into account that St. Peter (San Pedro) and St. Paul (San Pablo) are the patron saints of the community. The scarcity of *Santiago*, patron saint of Pahuatlán (municipal capital), is also surprising. See Table 7. What we can say in this regard is that the names of the patron saints of these communities acquire a symbolic charge that ends up making them locally taboo.

Name		<i>Pablo</i>	<i>Pedro</i>	<i>Santiago</i>
Simple		7	5	5
Compound		6	6	7
Multiple	1st formant	3	6	2
	2nd formant	2	5	6
Occurrences		18	22	20

Table 7. Presence of the names *Pablo*, *Pedro*, and *Santiago* in the corpus (1874-1970).

## Conclusions

I do not know if it could be affirmed that the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* (for being characters historically located in the first century) are among the oldest names known, but surely they are the names that have arrived, and have been used, in practically the whole world and that, more than 2000 years later, are still valid in the attribution.

Our study in the community of San Pablito demonstrates the importance of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* among the inhabitants by observing that of the 3094 names that make up the corpus, 39%, almost 40% corresponds to 1212 people who have, or include as part of their name, *Jesús*, *María* and/or *José*.

In terms of their structure, the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* are present as simple nouns and as formants in compound or multiple nouns. Most of them in first position and the least in second. In this regard, *María* y *José* have a strong presence as formants of compound and multiple nouns (mostly *María* rather than *José*), on the other hand, *Jesús* only appears in eleven.

In the not so brief (but necessary) historical journey we made we witnessed how the struggles between the power struggles between the State<sup>39</sup> and the Roman Catholic Church<sup>40</sup> (as well as the controversies regarding their virtues or sanctity) had the effect of promoting and reinforcing the veneration and worship of *Jesus*, *Mary* and *Joseph* and a great impact on anthroponymy.

Regarding the disparity in the attribution of the names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* that our analysis and quantification of the data yielded, we were able to understand and explain it when we

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<sup>39</sup> Of European monarchs: Henry VIII (England), Henry III (France), Philip II (Spain), Charles V (Germany), among others, against the centralism of Rome and the alleged leadership of the Pope over all Christendom and other bishops.

<sup>40</sup> Led by Rome, but fought, as we can see in the text, by various theologians and religious.

resorted to consider some socio-elastic aspects. Thus, from the concepts of latria and dulia we recognized the protective role of the saints, the intercessory role of *María* and *José* and the divine character of the name *Jesús* which makes it, or at some time made it, a taboo name.

Recebido em 28/02/2024

Aceito em 02/07/2024

Publicado em 03/07/2024

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**Annex.** The names *Jesús*, *María* and *José* in the compound and multiple names consigned in the corpus<sup>41</sup>.

### ***Jesús*, *María* and *José* in compound names<sup>42</sup>.**

***Jesús*** In first position there are four [*Jesús Atolín*, *Jesús Lauro*, *Jesús María* and *Jesús Tomás*], in second position two [*Felipe de Jesús* and *Margarita de Jesús*].

***María*** In first position are 130 [preceding the names: *Adelina*, *Agapita*, *Agustina*, *Alejandra*, *Amada*, *Ana*, *Anastacia*, *Ángela*, *Ángeles*, *Anita*, *Antonia*, *Asención*, *Audelia*, *Auxiliadora*, *Balbina*, *Bárbara*, *Basilia*, *Benita*, *Bertha*, *Bibiana*, *Bonifacia*, *Brígida*, *Bruna*, *Calixta*, *Camila*, *Candelaria*, *Carlota*, *Carmen*, *Cástula*, *Catalina*, *Ceveriana*, *Cirenía*, *Ciriaca*, *Clara*, *Concepción*, *Crescencia*, *Cristina*, *de la Luz*, *de las Nieves*, *de los Ángeles*, *del Carmen*, *del Pilar*, *del Refugio*, *Delaida*, *Dolores*, *Elena*, *Eleuteria*, *Elvia*, *Elvira*, *Emma*, *Enriqueta*, *Ernestina*, *Esperanza*, *Ester*, *Eugenia*, *Eulalia*, *Eusebia*, *Eustolia*, *Faviana*, *Felicitas*, *Felipa*, *Fernanda*, *Fidela*, *Florencia*, *Francisca*, *Gerónima*, *Gloria*, *Gregoria*, *Guadalupe*, *Herlinda*, *Hermelinda*, *Hermenegilda*, *Hilaria*, *Ignacia*, *Inocencia*, *Isabel*, *Jacinta*, *Josefa*, *Juana*, *Juanita*, *Julia*, *Juliana*, *Justina*, *Liboria*, *Librada*, *Lidia*, *Lorenza*, *Lucia*, *Luciana*, *Lucila*, *Lucina*, *Lugarda*, *Luisa*, *Macaria*, *Magdalena*, *Marcela*, *Marcelina*, *Márgara*, *Margarita*, *Marta*, *Martina*, *Maura*, *Micaela*, *Minerva*, *Modesta*, *Natalia*, *Pascuala*, *Paula*, *Petra*, *Pilar*, *Pinita*, *Plácida*, *Prisciliana*, *Procopia*, *Refugio*, *Reyna*, *Rogelia*, *Rosa*, *Rosita*, *Rufina*, *Sabina*, *Sara*, *Soledad*, *Teófila*, *Teresa*, *Trinidad*, *Vicenta*, *Victoria*, *Victoriana*, *Virginia*]. In second position are two [*Ana María* and *Rosa María*].

***José*** In first position are 105 [preceding the names *Abelino*, *Abundio*, *Adalberto*, *Agapito*, *Agustín*, *Alberto*, *Albino*, *Alejandro*, *Alejo*, *Alfonso*, *Alvino*, *Ancelmo*, *Andrés*, *Ángel*, *Anselmo*, *Antonio*, *Arnulfo*, *Atilano*, *Bacilio*, *Baldomero*, *Bartolo*, *Benigno*, *Benito*, *Bonifacio*, *Braulio*, *Calixto*, *Cándido*, *Cástulo*, *Cayetano*, *Celso*, *Ciriaco*, *Clemente*, *Cornelio*, *Crescencio*, *del Carmen*, *Dionisio*, *Domingo*, *Ebaristo*, *Emiliano*, *Enrique*, *Esteban*, *Etelberto*, *Eufracio*, *Eusebio*, *Evencio*, *Fausto*, *Federico*, *Felipe*, *Félix*, *Fidencio*, *Florentino*, *Francisco*, *Guadalupe*, *Heliodoro*, *Ignacio*, *Isabel*, *Isidro*, *Jacobo*, *Jenaro*, *Jerónimo*, *Juan*, *Juanito*, *Julio*, *Juvenal*, *Leobardo*, *Lucas*, *Luciano*,

<sup>41</sup> The spelling of the minutes was maintained.

<sup>42</sup> Here they are presented quantified by name, not by number of carriers.



*Luis, Macario, Manuel, Marcelino, Margarito, María, Mariano, Mario, Martín, Martiniano, Mauro, Melecio, Melquiadez, Miguel, Nemesio, Nicolás, Odilón, Pablo, Pánfilo, Pascual, Patricio, Pedro, Porfirio, Rafael, Ruperto, Salomón, Santiago, Santos, Santos, Teófilo, Timoteo, Tomás, Urbano, Valentín, Vicente, Victoriano, Virgilio, Virginio, Zósimo*]. In second position one [*Juan José*].

### ***Jesús, María and José in multiple names.***

***Jesús*** does not appear in first position. In second position are two [*Mariano Jesús* and *María de Jesús Consuelo*]. In intermediate position one [*Maria Teresa de Jesús Sara*]<sup>43</sup>.

***María*** In first position 47 [preceding the names *Amada Emma, Ana Concepción, Ana Pánfila, Andrea Crescencia, Ángela Cristina, Aurelia Elvira, Bárbara Angelita, Benita Eulalia, Concha Cástula, Crescencia Hermelinda, Cristina Ana, Cristina Herlinda, Cristina Pascuala, de Jesús Consuelo, Esperanza Ángela, Felipa Idalia, Francisca Luisa, Gloria Petra, Guadalupe Angela, Guadalupe Bartola, Guadalupe Cristina, Guadalupe Hermelinda, Guadalupe Zita, Herlinda Guadalupe, Hermelinda Concepción, Hermelinda Feliciano, Ignacia de Loyola, Isabel Saturnina, Josefa Esperanza, Josefa Procopia, Julia Guadalupe, Justina Santos, Luisa Agustina, Luisa Josefa, Luz Pascuala, Ma. Amada, Magdalena Cirila, Pascuala Concepción, Pascuala Cristina, Pascuala Margarita, Paula Candelaria, Paula Cristina, Plácida Juana, Rosa Teria, Sabina Inés, Severiana Angelita, Teresa de Jesús Sara*]. In second position 38 [preceding the names *Adriana, Alicia, Angela, Anita, Antonia, Ausencia, Benita, Candelaria, Clara, Concepción, Cristina, Delfina, Desideria, Enriqueta, Esperanza, Fausta, Galaciona, Gentulia, Guadalupe, Hermelinda, Hilaria, Israel, Juana, Librada, Margarita, Marta, Martina, Micaela, Modesta, Pánfila, Pascuala, Paula, Rosita, Rufina, Sabina, Sara, Susana and Ygnacia*]. In intermediate position four [*Ana María Paula, Ángela María Cristina, Rosa María Pascuala* and *Rosa María Vicenta*]. In a third position one [*Sabina Rosita María*].

***José*** In first position 18 [preceding *Alberto Clemente, Antonio Agustín, Calixto Macario, Esteban Pastor, Evaristo Hermelindo, Félix Carlos, Juan Enrique, Juan Librado, Juan Tomás, Lucas Porfirio, Manuel Mariano, María Benigno, Mariano Francisco, Procopio Marcelino, Santos Margarito, Severiano Leobardo, Ventura Manuel* and *Virgilio Esteban*]. In second position three [*Antonio José, Arnulfo José* and *Porfirio José*].

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<sup>43</sup> This same name is repeated when analyzed in the *María* block because both names *Jesús* and *María* are present .