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THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS OF SEVILLE:
HOLY WEEK AND THE ROMERÍA OF ROCÍO

Brent Metz
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PREFACE

This project began long before I travelled to Spain. With the guidance of Dr. Smith, I wrote preliminary questionnaires and learned research methods and interviewing techniques in the fall, 1985. He also assisted me in writing a research proposal for the Waldo-Sangren Scholarship, and this award made my trip to Spain possible. In addition, I collected books and other information from Western's Waldo Library and from professors and friends who had previously been in Spain. Although I later modified my questionnaires and changed my conception of religious festivals in Seville, my preparation last fall was critical in orienting myself to the research that I would perform in Spain.

At the outset of my project, I intended to study the cultural significance of religious festivals in Seville, and in Spain, I discovered that Holy Week and the Romería of Rocío were the two most important religious festivals for the people of Seville. I soon realized that the complexities in studying each festival required all my attention. Fortunately, I was in Seville during the celebration of Holy Week and the Romería of Rocío, which took place during the last week of April and the third week of May, respectively. They are the only two religious festivals in which people from all sectors of Seville society participate. Also, in observing events and interviewing participants in the festivals, I took the role of a participant observer and was cautious not to offend the integrity of the human subjects. Furthermore, I used proper precautions in protecting the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants in the festivals.
METHODS AND DIFFICULTIES IN STUDYING HOLY WEEK

I utilized a variety of sources and methods to obtain and analyze information about Holy Week in Seville, Spain. Professor Rodriguez Becerra, an anthropology instructor at the University of Seville, suggested several books pertaining to the brotherhoods, festivals, and religion of Andalusia, particularly of Seville. I also attended an anthropology course taught by Professor Isidoro Moreno which provided background information on the history and geography of Andalusia and included a general explanation of Holy Week in Seville. Furthermore, I discussed the Holy Week celebration and religion in general with numerous citizens of Seville and also talked with floatbearers and penitents. In order to understand exactly how the brotherhoods operated, I interviewed a chaplain and knowledgeable members from twenty-six different brotherhoods. Most importantly, I observed as many processions and visited as many churches as I could during Holy Week.

I encountered numerous limitations during my research, but each weighed lightly due to my varied sources. The most significant limitation was time because I was attending classes during the project and also trying to maintain Spanish friends with whom I practiced my Spanish. Undoubtedly, in the beginning, my limited ability to speak and understand Spanish was a hindrance, and this dictated when I could begin interviewing. However, waiting until I felt I was ready, I communicated with and understood the people I interviewed very well. As a result of my time limitations, I only interviewed members of twenty-six of the fifty-six brotherhoods participating in Holy Week and I found it impossible to pursue interviews with a random sample of people in Seville, although I spoke with many of them and observed numerous spectator
crowds. It was impossible to observe all the processions, because each day many occurred at the same time. Interviews with priests were almost as difficult to arrange because of their irregular hours and apparent unwillingness to give interviews. I was always able to ask my professors or refer to my literary materials if other questions arose. Overall, I feel that I acquired adequate information to describe Holy Week.
1:2 THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF ANDALUSIA

In order to understand the annual religious events in Seville, one must be acquainted with the culture in which they occur. Andalusia, like the other regions of the Iberian Peninsula, is historically and geographically unique. Covering most of southern Spain, Andalusia is bounded by geographic barriers—mountains, desert, and sea. Within the region is a diverse landscape of mountains, desert, flood plain, and coast. The flood plain of the Guadalquivir River is the historical breadbasket of the region and is one of the highest wheat-producing areas in Europe. Since the Roman conquest of the peninsula, Andalusia has practiced the traditional Mediterranean form of agriculture, with the growing of wheat, grapes, and olives. Seville, the largest city in Andalusia, is located on the shores of the Guadalquivir, in the center of the plain. Although it is 85 kilometers inland, its low elevation (20 ft.) has made it an important port throughout history (Moreno 1986).

First by the Romans and later by the Muslims, Andalusia was dominated by outsiders longer than any other peninsular region. The reconquest of Andalusia by the Christians from the Muslims lasted hundreds of years and although Seville was reconquered in 1248, the last Islamic king in Andalusia was not overthrown until 1492. The newly acquired land of the Spanish throne was distributed among the nobility and the Church, and feudal societies formed. This only perpetuated the marked inequality of power and landownership that had existed since pre-Roman times and continued until the early nineteenth century, when the government expropriated much of the feudal lands. This land was sold to people who eventually evolved into an urban bourgeois class. With the final loss of the Spanish colonies in America
in 1898, the feudal landowners were further weakened and finally disappeared as the bourgeois class bought more land and intermarried with the nobility (Moreno 1986).

The Church, which had previously allied itself with the nobility in the face of threatening land reforms, sided with the new urban ruling class for the same reasons. Consequently, the alliance of the Church with the upper class alienated the landless working class. During the Spanish Civil War the alliance between the Catholic Church and the upper class was reaffirmed through fascism. After the war, General Franco, the victorious fascist leader, declared Catholicism the official religion of Spain and strengthened the power and possessions of the Church and ruling class. Because of these social and economic inequalities, Andalusia still suffers from high unemployment and emigration to industrialized areas (Moreno 1986).
1:3 THE RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF ANDALUSIAN CULTURE

The founders of Andalusian civilization brought with them pre-Christian religions dominated by the belief in a Great God Mother. At first being similar to the Phoenician Goddess Astartés, this goddess later acquired the characteristics of the ancient Greek and Roman goddesses. Although it is impossible to demonstrate a direct continuum from the worship of this goddess to the worship of the Virgin Mary, it is possible to see parallels. Both Mary and the early goddess relate to the fecundity of the land, and Christian festival days coincide with pagan celebrations. For example, Virgin sanctuaries are often situated next to a well or spring where there are legends of miraculous fertility. Cults of Mary also are active during the planting and harvesting seasons. For these reasons the role of Mary has often "overflowed the boundaries allowed by the Christian religion while the paternalistic aspects have been associated with death and guilt" (Caston Boyer 1985:136-139).

Although a high percentage of people claim to be Catholics, participation in the official Catholic Church is not very great. Only twenty to twenty-five percent of the population of Andalusia attend mass and church functions regularly, and the urban upper classes constitute the majority of this percentage (Moreno 1986). One factor contributing to the lack of participation in church activities is the fact that the time of Islamic occupation was longer in Andalusia than in any other region of Spain, inhibiting the development of organized Catholicism. A second factor is that the Catholic Church has lost its credibility with the lower social classes because of its role in the history of Andalusian society. A strong sentiment of
anticlericism still exists and many people feel that the Church is supported by
the government and united with the upper class (Caston Boyer 1985:113-21).

In contrast to the low percentage of participation in the official
Catholic Church, large numbers of people participate in public religious
celebrations. Practically all people, even those who are atheists, participate
in the religious festivals because they are also popular celebrations. Many
festivals originated during the Barroque Period of the sixteenth and
seventeenth centuries, which was both a time when Andalusian culture strongly
reflected the eight centuries of Muslim influence and when the Church sought
to strengthen its membership during the threat of the Reformation, appealing
to the senses in melodramatic religious spectacles (Caston Boyer 1985:122-3).
The Barroque Period was characterized by a flowering of religious artwork
which instructed the people about Catholic doctrine through its realism and its
expressive representations. Stemming from centuries of land inequality and the
ever-present epidemics and hunger during this period, the Andalusian obsession
with death has been expressed in barroque art by realistic depictions of the
suffering of Christ and various saints. In contrast, Mary has represented life
and hope, and the conflict between life and death has been manifested during
the festival (Caston Boyer 1985:143-4).

Another fundamental characteristic of religious celebrations and the
Andalusian culture in general is flamenco music. Flamenco began to evolve in
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the caves and dwellings of the
Gypsies, Moors, and other outcasts of Andalusian society. By the eighteenth
century the varying musical aspects of the Gypsies and Moors coalesced to
form flamenco music. The maternal aspects of flamenco reflect the Gypsy
belief in the Great Mother, Debla, and flamenco's fatalism and rhythmic expression are clear examples of Moorish influence. In an analysis of flamenco lyrics it is evident that God is seen as arbitrary and threatening and is rarely called Father. Churches are thought of as temples and separate from the community. The Catholic hierarchy is distrusted, and the Pope represents a mystical person with magical powers. Above all, the Virgin Mary is a consoler and comforter and is linked with nature, occupying the themes of twice as many songs as Christ. Jesus is viewed as the Father and associated with blood and a mysterious masoquism (Caston Boyer 1985:147-50). Overall, flamenco is a consolatory music reflecting the social conditions in Andalusia (Moreno 1986).
1:4 THE BROTHERHOODS OF HOLY WEEK

The festival of Holy Week, which originated during the sixteenth century in the heart of the Baroque Period, is the most representative festival of the people of Seville, Spain. It represents their world view, their sense of beauty, and their modes of feeling and expression, and it defines their own existence. It is a "baroque festival," which is nothing less than "life in explosion" (Vargas Medel 1984:196). As noted, it results from a fusion of death and drama of the Baroque Period (Caston Boyer 1985:144-5) and is a popular celebration, not a religious manifestation of the Church. It has traditionally included drinking and interacting among family, friends, and neighbors (Moreno 1986).

The processions of Holy Week, which are Holy Week for the people of Seville, are organized and sponsored by religious brotherhoods in Seville. Holy Week is the principal activity of the brotherhoods participating and around which everything in the brotherhoods' calendar of activities revolves. Without the brotherhoods, Holy Week would not exist as Seville has known it for almost five hundred years (Moreno 1986:26). In order to comprehend the phenomenon of Holy Week in Seville, it is necessary to become acquainted with the organization within the brotherhoods.

The brotherhoods are male-controlled secular organizations with explicit religious purposes and, because of their religious nature, they are under the authority of the Catholic hierarchy. The brotherhoods have three explicit functions. The first is to promote the celebration of cults in honor of the titular saints of a brotherhood which are represented by realistic wooden images. The cycle of celebration culminates in the procession during Holy
Week at which time the brotherhoods are said to be in penitence. The second function is to attain a spiritual improvement with their associates by means of assistance to the cults and from the devotion to the titular saints. The last function is to give charity to the community (Moreno 1974:16). (Despite the significance of Holy Week, not all brotherhoods take part in the processions due to commitments to other festivals.)

All the brotherhoods that participate in Holy Week have their own religious images that usually include one of Christ and one of the Virgen Mary. These images are lifesize representations which consist of artistically carved and painted wood sculptures, and many are as old as five hundred years. In accordance with the baroque style, the images are very realistic, with the Christs depicted as sorrowful, painful, and bleeding and the Virgins as young, delicate, and crying. The images are "humanized" by the brotherhoods, and the Virgins are dressed according to seasonal Catholic events (Moreno 1974:74). Only women may dress the female statues, and men dress the male figures. The community also humanizes the images by praying and bringing flowers to them at the parish church or brotherhood chapel where they are housed.

While some brotherhoods have origins as early as the thirteenth century, the movement grew during the sixteenth century as a result of the reaction against heresy and the flowering of religious sentiment during the Spanish Golden Century (Moreno 1982:725). Of the 56 brotherhoods participating in Holy Week in 1986, 32 originated in the sixteenth century or earlier (Sector Puente Pellon 1986). During the earlier centuries the brotherhoods could be divided into three groups: trade, ethnicity, and class. The trade brotherhoods
were composed of members of a particular trade, like the trade unions, and excluded all other people. These organizations were popularly known for their charity to the poor and each financed its own hospital. Along with the disappearance of the trades came the disappearance of the trade brotherhoods. Black slaves, Mulattos, and Gypsies formed ethnic brotherhoods to demonstrate racial solidarity and social integration. Brotherhoods constituted the only organizations where slaves could legally unite and many slave owners attempted to disband them. Today, two descendants of these ethnic brotherhoods still exist, the Gypsies and the Blacks. The brotherhoods of class consisted of the nobility and upper classes. Because of the money they possessed and the high regard for tradition they maintained, the class brotherhoods kept the Holy Week celebration alive in the face of intense criticism during the Enlightenment and during the French occupation by Napoleon. At present, the brotherhoods of class can be recognized by their solemnity and affluent decorations in their processions (Moreno 1974:31-44).

As separate trades were often concentrated in marked sectors of the city, many trade brotherhoods later became barrio brotherhoods, representing the community or barrio in which they were located. These barrio brotherhoods continue to work as a cohesive force for their communities, because each is the spirit of its barrio, not only for the images they possess, but, above all, for the human group that they represent. A foundation of common interests and collective identity is required for the creation and maintenance of a barrio brotherhood. On the surface, the barrio brotherhoods seem to be homogeneous by class, but from a community perspective the men with the highest socio-economic positions usually are the administrators of the
brotherhood, reflecting the actual social situation (Moreno 1974:46-9).

Today, the remaining brotherhoods of class are referred to as downtown brotherhoods. They still consist mainly of the upper and upper middle classes (professionals, store owners, government employees, company administrators, etc.) and have the lowest percentage of members from the working class. The downtown locations and memberships of these brotherhoods place them in the center of society, differentiating them from the peripheral barrio brotherhoods. Downtown brotherhoods classify themselves as serious brotherhoods (Moreno 1974:52-3), and they often insinuate or express openly that other types of brotherhoods are religiously incorrect.

The remainder of the brotherhoods include the ethnic brotherhood of the Gypsies, recently founded trade brotherhoods, and a group of ever-changing brotherhoods. The brotherhood of the Gypsies has acquired many characteristics of the barrio brotherhoods but is still an important symbol of identity for the Gypsies. Although the Black brotherhood is still in existence, it has transformed into a barrio brotherhood and no longer has any ethnic significance. Many trade brotherhoods were founded in this century by employees and students of the University of Seville, hotel workers, and bank employees. The brotherhood of the Tobacco Factory is the only existing trade brotherhood founded before this century (Moreno 1985:128-9). Although these trade brotherhoods are based on the membership of workers from particular employers, membership is open to all Catholics. Finally, a group of brotherhoods exists that randomly borrow characteristics from those of the barrio and downtown brotherhoods. The members of these brotherhoods have nothing really in common except for the membership and devotion to their
Regardless of the divisions of the brotherhoods, any Catholic, male or female, may join a brotherhood, although certain factors influence the decision to join a particular brotherhood. The number of members is not limited, and memberships vary from hundreds to thousands of people. When asked why they chose a certain brotherhood, members will usually respond that they joined because of family tradition or because of devotion to the images located in their barrio. Other reasons may be that a member knew a friend in the brotherhood, had a special attraction for a certain image, or liked the conduct of the members of the brotherhood. Women are attracted to brotherhoods for the same reasons as men, but they usually transfer to their husband's brotherhood when they marry. Although it is customary to concentrate one's participation to one brotherhood, people are not limited to only one brotherhood and some belong to four or five brotherhoods.

In order to prepare the members spiritually for the day of processions during Holy Week, each brotherhood follows an annual series of religious cults, or rituals, and activities. Almost every brotherhood holds a five day ceremonial of orations, or cult, to their image of Christ at the beginning of Lent, and a three day cult to their Virgin which may be held at variable times of the year. At the cults the spiritual director of the brotherhood, a member of the Catholic clergy, gives masses and during the final mass the Principal Function is celebrated. At this time glories are sung, the dogma of the brotherhood is read aloud, and the members make public oaths on their knees, confirming their Catholic faith and allegiance to the brotherhood (Moreno 1974:18-9). Three day cults honoring other saints, and social celebrations in
the name of an image or other saint, may also occur. Attendance is not required for the cults and only devout members attend. Other activities include the kissing of the feet of the Christ image and the hands of the Virgin. These occur at different times of the year, when an image is placed at the altar of the church or chapel of the brotherhood so that the public may kiss the image. Many people bring their children to these occasions to touch the image, as if a benign force were conducted from the image to the children.

In addition to annual cults and activities, daily or weekly masses are often held in the churches of the brotherhoods. The brotherhoods are also represented by five or six members in the procession of Corpus Christi. Charity to the poor is an activity that has diminished since the time of the trade brotherhoods, because the state has taken responsibility for this function. However, the brotherhoods have recently been establishing charity boxes for the poor, and some still award scholarships and finance hospitals (Moreno 1974:20).

The internal structures of the brotherhoods vary little. They are very formal in following regulations concerning elections of new members and the expulsion of others (Moreno 1974:20). Each Brotherhood government consists of fifteen to twenty positions, including the big brother, who acts as president, a treasurer, vice-presidents, vice-treasurers, secretaries, accountants, artwork directors, and deputies of affairs like charity, youth, and children. The members of a government usually convene at least once a month and general assemblies are held at special times of the year for elections or initiation of new members. General elections of officials take place every four years, and all male members eighteen years old and over may vote. Only
limited instances occur when women are permitted to vote in a brotherhood, but movements in the barrio brotherhoods signal that women will be able to vote and run for office in the near future. Members from these popular barrio brotherhoods appear rather indifferent to female participation while the conservative downtown brotherhoods consider that governing brotherhoods is a male matter. Besides gender, the only other requirement for running for office is a three to five year previous membership.

The ability to acquire a position in a brotherhood government is very restricted, especially for the position of big brother. Besides a tendency to elect older men who are familiar with the brotherhood, the top administrators, the big brother and treasurer, are almost always highly paid professionals, businessmen, or administrators in the secular world. According to Moreno, the brotherhood government officials have potential power by holding office in a brotherhood because they are in control of images which are very popular with the local community, and sometimes with the world community (Moreno 1974:51). For example, this year an intense dispute took place over a close election for the position of big brother in the Brotherhood of the Macarena, which holds the most popular image in Seville. Moreno continues in 1980 to say that a position in the government is seen as a symbol of success in the conservative business world and a gateway to business alliances. In summary, representation in the brotherhood governments is overwhelmingly in favor of the bourgeois class (Moreno 1980:156-7).

The brotherhoods possess treasures of gold and silver artwork, and the financing of these comes from a variety of sources. The primary sources of income are annual membership dues and fees for the participation in the
procession, totalling twenty to twenty-five dollars per person. Other sources include donations, offerings at cults, raffles, and Christmas lotteries. Donations may take the form of money, flowers for the floats, or voluntary craftsmanship for the artwork of the brotherhood. The city government of Seville also permits the General Council of the Brotherhoods to erect bleachers in the streets of the city and to charge spectators for their use during Holy Week. The resulting profit is distributed among the brotherhoods. With all of these sources, the annual income of each brotherhood amounts to tens of thousands of dollars.

Because the brotherhoods are Catholic organizations, the Church must approve all their exterior functions, and the ecclesiastical authorities have the power to retain brotherhood activities if they think it is necessary (Moreno 1986:117). Although the brotherhood officials claim brotherhoods are strictly religious, they also have important non-religious characteristics. In fact, the ambiguity between the authority of the Church and the autonomy of the brotherhoods has led to conflicts in the past (Moreno 1986:141). The Church views traditional religious celebrations with suspicion, because these are religious matters out of their control (Caston Boyer 1985:172). Holy Week, in particular, has always had opposition from the Church, and as early as 1604 the Church criticized it for being too festive, not strict and solemn like the holiest of holy days should be. Despite attempted prohibitions and restrictions imposed by the Church and the Spanish monarchy, the controls have never endured more than a few years. The people of Seville have always felt that Holy Week is their festival, not to be restricted by the government or manipulated by the Church as an official religious demonstration (Moreno
In 1932 the Church instituted the Federation of Brotherhoods as a reaction against the considered religious attacks of the newly-formed progressive democratic government. This marked the first time that the brotherhoods were under a more or less direct authority of the Church. The stated purpose of the organization was to defend the Catholic Church and the brotherhoods, but the underlying intention was to tighten control over the brotherhoods, especially those whose members were known to drink and behave in less than a strict manner during the procession. Therefore, even after the Spanish Civil War when a national Catholicism campaign was being pressured by the Franco regime, the Church maintained the organization which later acquired the title of the General Council of the Brotherhoods. Immediately following the founding of the General Council, the Church, backed by the downtown brotherhoods, issued a series of decrees regulating the conduct of the brotherhoods during Holy Week. Today, the General Council decides the order of the processions and controls the behavior of the brotherhoods at Holy Week by threatening them with fines and suspension. The General Council rates the conduct of the processions each year and the downtown brotherhoods are always rated higher than those of the barrio whose members are apprehensive about the legitimacy of the General Council (Moreno 1986:49-53). The General Council also controls the money earned by the bleachers erected during Holy Week and has retained this money from certain brotherhoods as a form of punishment for unorderliness (Moreno 1986:86).

The procession is the center of each brotherhood's annual cycle of activities and the period approaching this day is the most feverish time of the
year (Moreno 1986:149). Ordinarily, a brotherhood assembles two floats or thrones: one for the image of Christ or a scene from the Passion, and the other for the image of the Virgin. These floats are designed so that thirty to seventy men can carry them on their shoulders.

The sides of the float of Christ consist of ornate wood carvings fashioned in the baroque style, and many are gilded with gold. Meticulously polished, the golden sides are a dazzling sight in the sunlight. On the platform stand numerous candles and lanterns supported by gold and silver candlesticks of a variety of forms, which are utilized to illuminate the floats at night. The floats representing scenes from the Passion may display many images, even horses. Surrounding the images is a carpet of red carnations and sometimes other red and purple flowers, symbolizing the blood and anguish of Christ.

In contrast to the floats of Christ, the thrones of the Virgin have a standard form and are decorated more intensely. The wooden side panels are silver-plated and are more finely worked than those of the floats of Christ. The Virgin stands at the back of the float and is clothed in an extravagant velvet robe often embroidered with golden thread. On her head she wears an ornate golden crown accompanied by a golden halo or aura. A scale of large candles on silver candlesticks leads up to the Virgin, and white carnations and lilies carpet the float. A velvet canopy, also embroidered in gold, covers the float and is supported by delicately worked silver poles.

The floats are designed to be assembled in a certain number of workdays, and this task is directed by special officials of the brotherhood. The church or chapel of the brotherhood is decorated with the emblems, banners, and the richly embroidered clothing of the brotherhood. In order to organize the
order of the procession and to practice the march, organizational meetings are arranged by the secretaries and deputies. Also, the porters of the floats condition themselves by carrying trial floats through the streets late at night. More members, especially the young men, participate at this time than at any other time of the year (Moreno 1986:150-1).

Today, more youth participate in the brotherhoods than ever before because they offer one of the few opportunities for youth to have definite roles in an organization. Brotherhoods sponsor dances and camping trips for the youth and organize mixed choirs. Young men constitute the majority of the floatbearers, and many have formed independent teams, participating in various processions. They enjoy carrying the floats for a variety of reasons, including a chance to demonstrate their manhood, to impress young women, and simply as an opportunity to feel the weight of the Virgin or Christ to which they are devoted (Moreno 1986:151-3).

The deeper one looks into the brotherhoods, the more one realizes a social function, not only for the youth, but for all members. The brotherhoods provide an acceptable way for people to develop their social relationships by placing them face to face with other members of society. In Andalusia, where most relationships are personal ones, the brotherhoods offer not only primary relationships, but also organized friendships bonded by activities and devotion to religious images (Moreno 1974:22). In fact, the feeling of unity, the devotion towards the images, and the preparation for the procession form the substantive aspects of the brotherhoods (Moreno 1986:149-50). The social function is intensified for the active decision-making group of the brotherhood, which often acquires the characteristics of a male club (Moreno
city, working, attending school, or serving their military obligations, come home for the holidays. Holy Week becomes a time for family and community solidarity.

The Sunday before Holy Week the Pregon takes place, which is the official announcement and mass of Holy Week. Representatives of all the brotherhoods are present. The speeches and sermons praise Holy Week and interpret the meanings of the processions to prepare the brotherhoods spiritually for the event. Minor rites and preliminary functions conclude the occasion (Promociones Culturales Andaluzas 1981:300).

On Palm Sunday morning the streets of Seville are already filled with people, because the churches of the brotherhoods leaving in procession that day are open to the public. The mornings of Holy Week are opportunities for local people and tourists to view the floats closely and to chat with the members of the brotherhoods. The members dress in their best attire and the distinguished members wear gold medals around their necks. Often these churches are bursting with people, especially those of the barrios. Fraternity and the anticipation of the procession are shared by the people in the churches, and many finely dressed youth also congregate here. Some brotherhoods hold a mass at their church, but the participation is relatively low and at their completion, the churches are again resounding in laughter and conversation. The churches open their doors and are one with the street during these mornings. Palm Sunday attracts the most people for these occasions, and many young women stroll the streets and churches displaying their new spring clothing. Other distinct characteristics of Palm Sunday morning are the decorations of palm branches in balconies and doorways of
some houses and small processions of various brotherhoods carrying palm branches and singing.

Spectators ordinarily wait about 45 minutes outside a church before the exit of a procession. Hundreds, and at times thousands, of people gather to watch the exit, and well-known brotherhoods and famous images attract even more spectators. Before the exit, the crowd demonstrates its anticipation in conversation and in the constant positioning of people attempting to secure a better view of the church door.

The processions of the brotherhoods begin during the afternoon of Palm Sunday and conclude on Easter Sunday morning. Each afternoon certain brotherhoods march in procession from their church towards the official route where all processions pass. This route begins downtown and passes through a narrow shopping street and the Plaza de San Francisco, where the city government is located, before entering the Gothic Cathedral of Seville. From the Cathedral the processions wind back to their churches, to which they usually return late at night. Every procession has a rigorous schedule which it must follow because the maze of streets of Seville causes great congestions during Holy Week. These schedules are organized by the General Council which considers the ancient order of the processions (Moreno 1982:726). A theatrical order of floats chronologically representing the Passion does not exist, but the order is arranged according to the ancient traditions of the brotherhoods (Moreno 1986:30).

A man carrying the guiding cross, usually a heavily ornamented artwork of gold, silver, and jewels, is the first member of the brotherhood to leave the church. The standard costume for this man and almost every other member in
the procession consists of a long tunic, a belt tied around the torso, and a conical hood covering the entire head and having holes for the eyes. In fact, except for the variable colors of the outfits, the costumes are identical to those worn by the Ku Klux Klan. Following the guiding cross are two columns of men, or nazarenes, carrying large candles. Leaders of each group of nazarenes carry large banners and are located at intervals between the long columns. Following the nazarenes is a man holding the brotherhood flag and members of the government carrying books and staffs. Acolytes dressed in gold embroidered costumes surround the government and swing incense and transport lanterns supported by long silver poles.

Next, the float of Christ is carefully guided through the church door by members dressed in business suits. The floats are designed to barely fit through the door and the watching crowd is amazingly silent, as the float instructors skillfully direct the floatbearers. Sometimes porters must edge a float out of a church on their knees in order for the float to fit through the door. When the exit is finally completed, the audience erupts in applause as the band, which has been waiting in the street, breaks into the Spanish national anthem or another song of victory. The crowd shares its excitement and eagerly awaits the saetas. Motivated by the sight of a float, a saeta is a wailing, emotional flamenco song often sung from balconies outside the churches. Today, saetas are usually rehearsed by the singers, although some still invent lyrics while they are singing. The lyrics for Christ typically lament his appearance and situation depicted by the float. The audience, which has been silent throughout the saeta, exclaims "oles" at its ending. After the saetas, the porters skillfully march and turn the float rapidly, inciting more
applause. Then the band follows the float, and the procession continues.

Behind the band are two columns of penitents, men who carry crosses made of one by four inch boards and whose hoods droop instead of standing erect. Any member of the procession may be barefoot, but the penitents are characteristically barefoot and to make the journey even more difficult, some tape crosses together, adding more weight. Many men of the procession, porters and penitents especially, torture themselves in hope that God, or more often the Virgin, will comply with a favor such as curing a sick family member. Following the penitents are more officials and lantern bearers signaling the approach of the Virgin float.

When the Virgin exits the church, emotions intensify. As the Virgin enters the view of the people, they compliment her beauty. After the exit of the float, the second band bursts into festive music, which is often more cheerful than that of the band of the Christ float. Generally, more saetas are sung to the Virgin than to Christ and these glorify her beauty and console her in her mental anguish at Christ's death. The most moving saetas, sung with long and loudly held notes, are often reserved for the Virgins and produce an emotional response from the audience. The number of saetas sung at a procession ordinarily corresponds with the popularity of the brotherhood and its images. Like the float of Christ, the porters for the float of the Virgin display their ability by rocking and turning the float, making it appear that the Virgin is dancing to the band's music. The "dancing" of the Virgins is a fundamental attraction of Holy Week. Once these dramatical exhibitions have finished, the second band follows the float of the Virgin, and the procession continues in the direction of the official route.
Observing processions is a time-consuming and sometimes frustrating process, because hundreds of thousands of spectators and long processions block the narrow streets of Seville. In order to observe an entire procession clearly, one must secure a position in the street about a half an hour before its passing. To penetrate the crowds, youths blast through them with their momentum, women pry openings with baby carriages, and others form human chains which slice the masses. After one has chosen a position in the street, the struggle does not end, because a continuous flow of spectators crowds the area and obstructs the view. Sometimes the crowds are so large and compact that one has no control of the direction of his body. Although the tension caused by the large crowds is sometimes very great, physical confrontations are relatively rare.

The passing of a procession is a long event and may last as long as two hours, depending on the number of penitents and the pace of the march. The procession advances in a series of starts and stops, moving at an average distance of 75 yards each progression. During the stops the porters may rock the Virgin float to the accompaniment of the band, and while marching they often sway the floats, once again to create the impression that the images are walking. These dramatic aspects of the procession usually occur within the barrio of the brotherhood.

The processions are orderly when they march through downtown, and floats are not danced or rocked as in the barrios. The official route is lined with chairs and bleachers occupied by elderly people, tourists, and others who are willing to pay two to eight dollars to sit in tranquility. Certainly, the conduct of the procession and the spectators is different during the official
1974:23). They meet often and conclude business matters with a drink and a snack. The entire brotherhood shares fish dinners, private tents at the Seville Fair, and soccer tournaments for their children. Evidently, this social function is stronger than the religious one. Few members say that they entered a brotherhood in order to improve their Catholic faith, and one survey showed that only 14% of the members of the brotherhoods said that the brotherhoods strengthened their faith (Moreno 1986:119).

The parish church is often perturbed at the brotherhoods, when its members engage in animated conversation and eat and drink late at night in the church while preparing for Holy Week. If the tension becomes great enough, as has occurred frequently in the past, the brotherhood will move from the church to a newly built chapel nearby. These chapels are so independent of the Catholic clergy that one poll revealed 97% of the members in the brotherhoods feel that the clergy is not aware of what happens in their brotherhoods. In the same poll, 70% of the members expressed a negative attitude towards the bishops, feeling that the bishops were only concerned with the brotherhoods when they wanted something (Moreno 1986:142-4).
DESCRIPTION OF HOLY WEEK

During the weeks before Holy Week, Seville prepares for the approaching holidays. Holy Week posters are distributed by the city government throughout the city in phone booths, bus stops, and windows of banks and shops. Videotapes of earlier Holy Week festivities are displayed in the windows of television stores which attract small crowds of people. Other stores, from bakeries to bookshops, direct their production and sales to items related to Holy Week, and these are also popular with the crowds. The parks are cleaned and beautified, and much of the construction work which has been underway for months is finally completed. Cafes and restaurants bring tables and chairs out onto the sidewalks for the first time of the year because Holy Week not only signifies the beginning of spring, but the commencement of the nation's biggest industry: tourism. Portable concession stands, offering nuts, candy, and cococut, appear on every street corner, and banners are hung and bleachers assembled in the Plaza de San Francisco, the geographical center of Seville through which all the processions will eventually pass.

Anticipation is sensed throughout the city, and conversation about Holy Week becomes incessant as the Week draws near. Barbershops are filled with customers, and women make special visits to the hairdressers just before Palm Sunday. The most obvious sign of the approaching holidays is the wave of tourists that flood Seville. Most tourists arrive during Palm Sunday weekend; the bus and train stations are especially crowded, and the taxis are continually busy. Furthermore, the streets are packed with cars coming from all over Spain, because the Holy Week celebration in Seville is the most popular in the nation. Besides tourists, many relatives who live outside the
route. Like the churches of the brotherhoods, the Cathedral becomes one with the street, and thousands fill and surround it to see the awesome sight of the processions marching through the Gothic structure.

For the most part, the return from the Cathedral to the church is more spectacular than the first half of the journey, and some processions intentionally follow more estetic routes. Occurring at night, the fluttering of the candles of the nazarenes and of the floats creates a dazzling sight as the procession winds through the dark, narrow streets of Seville. One procession detours through a park of poplar, cypress, and palm trees, and when the street lanterns are turned off, the passing of the procession is haunting. Others cross the bridges over the Guadalquivir River, which is also stirring as the procession is reflected off the river. To enable more people to view the procession, the brotherhoods of the barrio snake through the streets of their barrio instead of proceeding directly to their church.

The entrance of a procession is as emotional as the exit. Crowds of spectators again wait outside the church in anticipation and as the procession approaches, the police, four of whom accompany every procession, clear a corridor through the crowd to the church door. At the arrival of the guiding cross it may be as late as 2:00 or 3:00 a.m., and the participants may have walked for thirteen hours, so they are exhausted and anxious to enter the church. The street lights are usually turned off at the entrance, and the silent crowd, the glowing candles, the incense, the images, and the wailing sound of the saeta combine to form a unique atmosphere that the people have grown to appreciate. The entrance is also the point in the procession when the most dancing and turning of the floats is performed. When the floats enter the
church, the voices of men guiding them are the only sounds heard and at their complete entrance, the bands break into a victorious song once again. Immediately after the entrance, the brotherhood disperses and members go home or to bars with family and/or friends.

The downtown brotherhoods behave in a more solemn manner than the other brotherhoods. For example, the participants wear black tunics and hoods and usually march without bands. The men march in an orderly fashion, and the floats are never rocked like those of the barrio. While many children participate and distribute candy in the processions of the barrio, few children march in the processions of the downtown brotherhoods (Moreno 1988:130). Also, the downtown brotherhoods are stricter in following their schedule, so sometimes they do not stop the procession for the singing of a saeta. Whereas the other brotherhoods are characterized by celebration, the silent marches of the downtown brotherhoods reminds one of funeral processions.

Thursday night constitutes the climax of the Holy Week celebration. Six of the most renowned brotherhoods in Seville, three barrio and three of downtown, form processions. The three downtown brotherhoods are famous for their affluence, solemnity, and religious images, and all were founded before the seventeenth century. These three brotherhoods, The Great Power, Calvary, and The Silence, are the models of the downtown brotherhoods. Similarly, the three brotherhoods of the barrio are the archetypes of the popular brotherhoods and represent a broader population than just their barrio. The Brotherhood of the Virgin of the Macarena owns the most famous and richly adorned image of the Virgin in Seville and represents the city itself. Its procession includes three thousand participants, the most of any brotherhood,
and members dressed as Roman centurions accompany the float of the Virgin. In Triana, a barrio on the other side of the Guadalquivir River, the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Hope also has a well-known Virgin which represents that side of the river, and conducts a procession of one thousand five hundred participants. Finally, the Brotherhood of the Gypsies symbolizes its barrio and all the Gypsies in Seville.

Thursday night the streets of Seville are filled with enormous crowds of people of all ages. Bars and restaurants remain open all night and are bursting with customers until the next morning. The devotion to the brotherhoods and/or their images, combined with the massive, exhausted crowds incite strong emotions in the spectators. The spectators of the barrio brotherhoods are especially emotional, and a rivalry between the followers of the Macarena and of The Hope of Triana is fueled by directed remarks and chants to the Virgins. The chants of "pretty, pretty, pretty," reminding one of a cheer at a sporting event, also can be interpreted as signifying "long live Seville" or "long live Triana" (Moreno 1986). The Brotherhood of the Gypsies attracts a large following of Gypsies, many of whom play guitar and sing while following the procession. After numerous saetas Good Friday morning, the six brotherhoods finally enter their churches, and the emotionally and physically drained crowds go home to bed.

On Saturday the Brotherhood of the Holy Burial organizes an especially interesting procession. This downtown brotherhood, founded by King San Fernando after his conquest of Seville from the Moors in the Thirteenth Century, boasts the King of Spain as its honorary big brother. According to legend, San Fernando saw an apparition of Christ in a glass coffin and founded
the brotherhood as a result. In the past, the brotherhood performed theatrical representations of the Passion from Good Friday until Easter and included various floats and people dressed in costumes. Today, the Holy Burial conforms to the evening procession, although it still has three Gothic floats: 1. Mary Magdalene announcing Christ's resurrection to the disciples, 2. a dejected grim reaper sitting before the cross, and 3. the dead body of Christ lying in a glass coffin. Adding to the spectacle of this famous procession are Roman centurions and medieval funeral music played by a woodwind band.

The final procession, the Sacred Resurrection, leaves on Easter at 5:00 a.m. and returns in the early afternoon. The procession entails a float of Christ dressed in white robes and surrounded by angels, while penitents and bands are absent. Although this procession attracts an average sized crowd in its barrio the Sacred Resurrection, overall, is unpopular in Seville.
1.6 THE FUNCTIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HOLY WEEK

In reviewing Holy Week in Seville, it is evident that this celebration conforms to the functions of the festival outlined by Rodríguez. In Las Fiestas de Andalucía, Rodríguez lists community identity, family integration, economic importance, individual promotion, estheticism, and psychological rest as principal functions of the festival (Rodríguez 1985:29-40). These functions and also reinforcement of social values apply to Holy Week in Seville.

The Andalusians look for their identity or social conscience in the festival (Rodríguez 1985:30). For example, during Holy Week in Seville, the devotion to religious images unites people within a certain barrio, social class, or ethnic group. The images are not mere religious representations, but they are symbols of a social unit (Moreno 1986:29) and living members of the community. The images are different, just as the communities possessing them are different. Each brotherhood claims to have the "most beautiful Virgin and the most expressive Christ" (Moreno 1986:136). The wish to surpass the other brotherhoods in terms of beauty and decoration is the motor that drives all brotherhoods and they are always experimenting in order to enhance the beauty of their procession (Moreno 1986:133-41). Entire communities unite behind the brotherhoods and the images in an affirmation of social solidarity.

At a lower level, families are also bonded during Holy Week. Like other national holidays, Holy Week offers a time for families to reunite, and many who had left Seville come home to participate in the processions because of family tradition. Within the brotherhoods, family solidarity increases during preparation and participation in the procession.

At the individual level, the importance of the brotherhoods creates
venues for personal promotion. Men seek to gain or reinforce their social status by belonging to the governments of the brotherhoods because the acquisition of a position in these is a sign of power and success. Others promote themselves by walking in processions as honorary members of the brotherhoods. In a broader sense, anyone participating in a procession acquires some respect from family and friends.

The economic function of the festival is also fundamental. Tourists occupy every hotel and hostel in the city, and many homeowners rent beds in their homes at very high prices. Taxis and buses are continually busy, and bars, cafes, and concession stands always attract a steady flow of customers. Also, the brotherhoods economically support the artisans of Seville by employing gold- and silversmiths, candlemakers, florists, and wood sculptors to create and renovate the brotherhoods' decorations and artworks. The municipal government financially contributes to Holy Week by assigning police officers to the processions and to busy traffic intersections, and it also advertises the festival using posters.

Also inherent in Holy Week is an esthetic emotion. According to Rodriguez, people search for a certain feeling, usually attained through a religious experience, that inspires the cry of ecstasy like that of the saeta. He continues by saying that this feeling can only be found at the festival, where the combination of music, dance, dress, nature, and other forms of art and beauty are present (Rodriguez 1985:38). Holy Week is Seville's expression of beauty in the Barroque style which is "in harmony with nature; a combination of all means of expression; a sensual exaltation; and a setting of tension of the senses, and all from an anthropocentric view of the world" (Moreno
Holy Week also serves as a resting period in the annual calendar and is a time of community interaction and enjoyment. This festival, as with all other important festivals, is a more important reference point for the people than months or seasons of the year (Rodriguez 1985:35-6). Thursday night has especially been a night of great celebration and although excessive drinking, shouting, and impeding the processions is prohibited today, the bars are still crowded all night. Youth of the opposite sexes also take the opportunity to interact on Thursday night (Rodriguez 1985:124-6). Although the Church would like the streets to be a "great open temple" during Holy Week and solemn brotherhoods continually attempt to affirm that Holy Week is a religious manifestation and nothing more, it is a popular festival of the people and not to be controlled by the Church (Moreno 1986:54-7).

Finally, Holy Week reflects the fundamental aspects of the people of Seville. For example, the older and/or upper class men fill the most prestigious positions in the brotherhoods as they also do in society. Women have comparatively little prestige or power in society, and in the brotherhoods they have no political representation and are prohibited from participating in the processions.

It is impossible to find the fundamental essence of Holy Week in Seville because of the many ironies of the festival, eg. participation of all social classes, seriousness, religiousness, happiness, sadness, but it is definitely a celebration of humanity and not strictly religious. "Holy Week is the great festival of spring" and a ritualization of the triumph of life over death, of spring over winter. At the same time it is a baroque festival and in harmony

Moreno recognizes three levels of significance of Holy Week: 1. The biblical representation of the Passion, 2. The affirmation of the historical oppression in Andalusia, and 3. The victory of life over death. The first level entails the actual religious aspects of the festival in which the Christian religion is modified by Andalusian culture. The resulting form of worship is far from the orthodox conception of the religion, and the images are humanized to the extent that they are conceived as practically living people. In the second level, the people identify themselves with the suffering and unjust treatment of Christ and the sorrow of Mary. When they console Christ and Mary, they are also consoling themselves. The final level, that of life over death, is expressed in a broad sense as spring over winter and more specifically as the life and beauty of Mary in contrast to the death of Christ. While the float of Christ and the behavior of the penitents are solemn, dark, painful, and representative of death, the float of the Virgin, carried jubilantly and decorated in flowers, candles, and works of gold and silver, symbolizes life and the rebirth of nature (Moreno 1986:229-35).
Pentecost occurs 50 days after Easter, and in Andalusia, this holy day is linked with the Romería of Rocío. After Holy Week, the wave of tourism subsides briefly until the internationally renowned April Fair of Seville takes place two weeks later. At the Fair, the functions of the festival are evident again, as they will be a month later during the Romería. Although other pilgrimages and festivals are celebrated by people from Seville throughout the year, the Romería of Rocío overwhelmingly attracts more participants from Seville than any religious festival other than Holy Week.
2:1 METHODS AND DIFFICULTIES IN STUDYING THE ROMERÍA OF ROCÍO

In order to gain an understanding of the Romería of Rocío, I utilized basically the same strategy as for Holy Week. I read two additional books, and Dr. Moreno provided lectures and films in class describing the Romería. Participant observation with the Triana brotherhood and its followers was essential and extremely beneficial to my understanding of the festival, as I ate, slept, walked, chatted, and even participated in the rosary with the people of Triana. I also interviewed government members from the Seville and Triana brotherhoods to become familiar with their operations.

Travelling with the Triana group, I was unable to observe and participate with the Seville party during its peregrination. I attended the departure of the Seville brotherhood and visited its house periodically, but I mainly concentrated in the larger and more popular Triana brotherhood. For this reason, my description of Rocío is from the Triana perspective. Nevertheless, I had to forfeit my participation in Triana's return to Seville because of conflicting exams and classes. I attempted to interview priests before and after Rocío, but my efforts were fruitless except for one priest who was willing to chat but not to participate in an interview. However, the books I read provided adequate information on the general behavior of the processions, and I believe that I obtained a sufficient knowledge on the Church's role and views of the festival.
In the annual cycle of festivals of many towns in Andalusia, many people participate in a fifteen to twenty kilometer pilgrimage, or romería, to a hermitage in the countryside. Almost all hermitages house an image of the Virgin Mary or another female saint, and are located next to a natural landmark like a mountain or a water source that is said to have divine powers (Rodriguez 1985:92-3). Most of the population of the town walks, rides horses, and is pulled in carts by oxen, horses, and tractors to the sacred destination. Dancing, singing, eating and drinking, people pass the night at the hermitage and return to their town the next day. At the romería people appreciate the natural surroundings, and the detachment from the town promotes a liberalization of social regulations, such as those of sexual conduct. Although the romería has a religious justification, for the most part, the participants are more interested in what is human and natural, than with what is supernatural.

The hermitage of Our Lady of Rocías, on the boarder of the vast Andalusian marshlands called Las Marismas, was built by order of King Alfonso the Wise between the years 1270 and 1284, and the image of the Virgin is believed to date to this period also. However, popular legend cites that the Virgin descended from the sky and was discovered by a hunter at the location after being alerted by his barking dog (Burgos 1974:8). In 1653, the image was coronated patroness of the town of Almonte and its name was changed to Our Lady of Rocío, or dew, of the Holy Spirit. An annual romería in her honor was set for Pentecost, the day of the Holy Spirit celebrated 50 days after Easter, and the image later acquired other names, including The White Dove and The
Divine Sheperdess. The titles suggest a correlation with agriculture, and records of the Brotherhood of Almonte tell that lack of pasture lands and animal sickness inspired an increase in devotion to Rocio (Caston Boyer 1985:157-60). While the folkloric music, ceremonies, and customs of the Romería of Rocío have remained practically unaltered since the eighteenth century, the festival has extended its membership to all eight provinces of Andalusia and to other places where large concentrations of Andalusians reside. Today, because of migration from Andalusia, 70 brotherhoods come from as far as Madrid, Barcelona, and the Canary Islands to participate with a total of seventy different communal brotherhoods (Burgos 1974:11-3) in the most important religious event in Andalusia, if not all of Spain (Caston Boyer 1985:157-60). The locations of the brotherhoods mark the points of devotion to Rocio, but the devotion is broader than just the brotherhoods. People name their daughters Rocio, make promises to her, hang pictures of her in their houses, and show their devotion in many other ways throughout Spain (Burgos 1974:13).

In Seville, brotherhoods from the barrio of Triana and from downtown Seville participate in the Romería of Rocío. Founded in the eighteenth century, the Brotherhood of Triana is sixth in antiquity of the Romería, enlists the most participants (3400 adult brothers and sisters and many more followers), and is considered the most festive of all the brotherhoods due to an artistic Gypsy following. Also outstanding is the fact that the Triana brotherhood is linked to the Royal House of Spain and the present Queen, Dona Sofía, once rode with Triana to Rocío. Because of the overwhelming numbers of people from Triana who have participated in the Romería of Rocío,
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this romería has been the most important of Seville since the mid-nineteenth century (Escalera 1984:204). The Brotherhood of Seville is located in the center of downtown Seville and was founded midway through the present century. Enlisting 1500 members, the Seville brotherhood has a scarce enrollment of the lower classes, like the downtown brotherhoods of Holy Week.

The brotherhoods of Rocío in Seville have basically the same organization as the brotherhoods of Holy Week. While in the Triana brotherhood, which corresponds to a barrio brotherhood, people of all social classes within the barrio participate, the Seville brotherhood is more exclusive to the lower classes. Both obtain their funds through ten dollar annual membership fees and from donations, lotteries, and raffles. Also standard is that any male member who is nineteen years or older may vote and run for government offices, and elections are held every three years. Like the barrio brotherhoods of Holy Week, a women's movement within the Triana brotherhood is seeking to include women in government participation. In order to become a member of a government, a man must distinguish himself in the brotherhood, but the aristocracy and upper middle class traditionally form the governments (Burgos 1974:13-4). The Seville brotherhood has only one general meeting each year and that of Triana holds one each month, and both hold weekly government meetings and masses, after which social gatherings are held. The Church in the form of the General Council must approve all functions of the brotherhoods.

The preparation for the Romería entails a long list of activities. The banner of each brotherhood, a richly decorated cloth and pole featuring a miniature representation of the Virgin of Rocío, and its cart, an elaborately
adorned baroque wagon with a canopy, must be polished and maintained along with other treasures of the brotherhood. Flowers and fruit are also bought to decorate this cart. Oxes which pull carts holding some of the provisions for the trip are contracted or cared for if they are owned by the brotherhood, and carts need to be maintained in perfect working condition. Nowadays, tractors are beginning to replace oxen (Burgos 1974:19) and semi-trucks carry most of the provisions to the campsites of the pilgrims. Drummer and flute players are contracted to lead the pilgrims during the journey, and a priest is also hired to give mass every night of the Romería (Editorial Andaluz 1981:51). Weeks before the festival begins, the houses of the brotherhoods at the town of Rocío are cleaned and prepared, and provisions are bought for the thousands of people who will stay there during the weekend of Pentecost (Editorial Andaluz 1981:41).

On the personal level, the members of the brotherhoods have many individual arrangements to attend to, such as food, clothes, and transportation. Women are responsible for the enormous task of buying and preparing the proper amount of food for their families and friends for the eight day festival (Editorial Andaluz 1981:51-4). Expensive flamenco outfits, leather chaps, and boots are sported by the men, and equally expensive flamenco dresses, flowers, and boots are worn by the women. If they are fortunate enough to own horses or have the money to rent them ($300-400 per horse), people will choose this noble method of transportation to and from Rocío. Others own or rent horse-drawn buggies or contract a landrover, both of which are very expensive. For many people, however, especially the poorer people, walking is the only possible way. In addition, some richer people buy
or rent cottages in Rocío, in which they will stay during the Romería, and they also prepare these before the festival.

The city of Seville orients its business to Rocío in a manner similar to that for Holy Week. The city government distributes posters throughout the bus stops and telephone booths, and dispatches police officers to keep order during the parades of the brotherhoods. Religious shops display a variety of artwork, and bookstores present books with Rocío themes. Also, clothing stores decorate their windows with flamenco outfits, dresses, and hats.

Two weeks before the Romería a five day series of cults is held in the church of the Seville brotherhood, and a nine day series is celebrated in that of the Triana brotherhood. Masses, rosaries, sacred oratories, and expositions of the banner constitute the activities which are to prepare the members of each brotherhood for the coming Romería. The brotherhood cults culminate on a Sunday when the Principal Function of the Brotherhood and Pregón are spoken. During each Principal Function, mass and communion are celebrated, and some make prayers and promises for the journey. Next, the banner is paraded through the streets to the sound of fireworks and drum and flute playing. After a short resting period, the Pregón is spoken by a man elected to evoke emotion in the members of the brotherhood by vividly and humorously describing past romerías. The stirring speech prolongs for forty minutes and after it, the people are said to be prepared for the Romería (Editorial Andaluz 1981:41-3).

Before the respective departures of the Seville and Triana brotherhoods on the Wednesday and Thursday mornings preceding Pentecost, the Archbishop of Seville gives masses to the pilgrims. During each mass the Archbishop
instructs the pilgrims to act in a Christian manner and forgives them for the
sins they will commit throughout the coming week. Communion is celebrated and
before the termination of the crowded mass, the drum and flute sound outside,
summoning the pilgrims to march. Thousands anxiously wait for the mass to
finish, and at its completion the big brother carries the banner from the
church and places it on its cart to the cheers of the crowd. Then "vivas" are
shouted, which usually include the cheers "long live the brotherhood, long live
the city, and long live Rocio." The cheers evoke a sense of community and
spiritual solidarity which move everyone to participate. Finally, at the sound
of fireworks, the banner cart begins to lead the long procession to Rocio. The
Brotherhood of Seville winds through downtown and stops at the municipal and
provincial government buildings so that flowers from these can be placed on
the banner cart. In Triana, an increased number of people pack the streets,
and stores empty, as customers and employees watch the passing of the
procession. The banner cart is showered with flower petals thrown by women in
balconies and traditional hymns are sung in front of churches as the banner
cart passes. About one thousand horses and twenty ox-drawn carts decorated
with flowers, crepe paper, and pictures contribute to the spectacle in Triana.
Two Civil Guardsmen on horseback accompany each procession, and numerous
other policemen block traffic to allow the processions to leave Seville.

The first half day of the seventy kilometer journey to Rocio is the
easiest period, because it is characterized by the access to open stores and
restaurants and paved roads of the towns surrounding Seville. At this time,
the celebration is very dynamic, and the drinking of sherry and beer begins
and will continue throughout the week. Near the banner cart, singing and
dancing of flamenco folk songs called sevillanas are constantly performed. The
sevillanas sung during the Romería have lyrics which describe the journey, and
people from Triana sing many sevillanas relating to their barrio and its
devotion to Rocío. The dancing of the sevillanas is very emotional and often
sexually inspiring. Added to this is the incessant joking between the sexes
which is permitted in the freedom of the open road and countryside. For that
matter, many homosexuals, who are persecuted in the city, take advantage of
the liberalization of social regulations and join the procession. At about 2:00
p.m. the pilgrims stop to eat, and for the first time, the mountain of food
brought for the journey is uncovered and shared with passing pilgrims, many of
whom are poor people enduring the journey to receive such handouts.

That afternoon the hardships begin to blend with the celebration of the
pilgrimage. Restrooms become nearby piles of brush, and bumpy dirt roads
create suffocating clouds of dust with the passing of the carts and horses.
Pedestrians, especially the women who make promises to Rocío and walk behind
the banner cart, are covered with dust. Old women and partially handicapped
men experience exhaustion and pains during the trip, and horseback riders
often must contend with a soreness of their own. At the same time, beer and
wine are drunk incessantly, and young pedestrians continually search for the
familiar faces of the people who supply them with these refreshments. Due to
the alcohol intake and the exhaustion, accidents sometimes occur. This year,
two men of the Triana brotherhood fell from their horses and fractured an arm
and a leg, respectively, and a youth was gored by an ox when he darted in
front of the beast. The Civil Guard arranged for the hospitalization of the
injured.
Each evening at dusk, whether the procession has reached its evening campsite or not, a mass at the banner cart is held by the guest priest, and orations are spoken, asking the Virgin to plead for the souls of the pilgrims. Only a small percentage of the thousands of pilgrims attend the masses, and the congregations present, being tired, dusty, and hungry, lack enthusiasm. After mass the procession travels to a predetermined campsite in the wilderness if it has not yet arrived, and more feasts are prepared and distributed by the women of divided groups of pilgrims. Groups consist of five to twenty-five people, who are bonded by family and/or friendship. Next, if the members of a group still have enough energy, a small fire is built and the singing and dancing sometimes continues. Public campfires are also built by some of the pedestrians, and the sevillanas performed at these are more emotional than those at the private fires. The sevillanas at the public fires are performed throughout the night. Although thousands of people fill the campsite, a feeling of openness inspired by the countryside dominates the celebration.

The next day the banner cart departs at sunrise, and the pilgrims wearily follow. By now, except for occasional farmhouses, the pilgrims are travelling in wilderness where the paths become more sandy each kilometer. During the morning the procession crosses the shallow Guadiamar River, which is a traditional landmark and provides an especially beautiful sight, as horses and carts cross the sparkling river. Many travelers make the river a resting point, and thousands of people, including those from other towns on the same route as Triana and Seville, sit and enjoy the beauty of the river crossing. By noon the procession reaches another landmark, the town of Villanrique, which
possesses the second oldest brotherhood of Rocío. Here, with all the other churches passed in the journey, the traditional hymn of Rocío is sung by the Triana brotherhood in front of the church of Villamanrique. The hymn, along with the surroundings in which it is sung, creates an emotion that brings tears to people's eyes. The lunch and siesta period is spent in the national wildlife preserve of Coto Doñana, and during the late afternoon the procession struggles through paths of sand to arrive at the grounds of the Royal Palace of Doñana, which is surrounded by a pine forest. The festivities continue into the night and the pilgrims are in good humor, knowing that they will be in Rocío the following morning.

All the processions camping at the Palace leave early to finish the remaining ten kilometers to Rocío by 12:00 noon on Saturday morning. When a procession reaches the Anjolf, a small wooden bridge over a brook, the people know that they are only one kilometer from the town of Rocío. Vivas are shouted by the big brother, and the crowd responds enthusiastically while pictures are taken of this scenic water crossing. When the processions arrive at Rocío, they file in line according to the ages of the brotherhoods, and because Triana is the sixth oldest, it is the sixth in line, while Seville is twenty-ninth. As each procession approaches the Church of Rocío, bells sound and fireworks explode, and on arrival the pilgrims shout vivas and direct prayers and hymns to the Virgin. One by one each procession passes the church and faces its banner to the image of Rocío as the Brotherhood of Almonte salutes them. (In 1985, Triana arrived late at Rocío, and the Brotherhood of Almonte, the organizer of the event, ordered Triana to wait until all the brotherhoods passed the church first. Triana responded by not
attending a Rocío cult the following August. In 1986, Triana arrived on time and as it waited to pass the church, sevillanas cheering Triana were sung by its pilgrims. When they passed the church, the vivas for Triana were exceptionally loud and emotional.) The salutations of the brotherhoods last until late at night and each brotherhood retires to its residence after presenting itself.

The houses of each brotherhood consists of a rudimentary church where the banner cart is stored, a large courtyard where provisions and animals are kept, and the habitations of the members of the government. Except for the habitations of the government and their private kitchens skirting the courtyard, the entire residence is open to the public. Many people wander through the grounds of the popular brotherhoods located in the center of Rocío, like that of Triana, in order to see their banners, visit old acquaintances, or perhaps to receive a handout. At Rocío, the church of Triana takes the place of the public campfires of the pedestrians in that sevillanas are periodically performed there by groups of socializing young people. Besides the main residence of the brotherhood, some brotherhoods, like that of Triana, have guest residences and kitchens for those who do not enjoy a place to sleep and eat at Rocío. At the guest residence of Triana, many poor people lounge and await dinners as small as a hot dog, fried egg, piece of bread, small glass of chicken broth, and small glass of wine. Although the service is very basic, it is greatly appreciated because it provides a place where the poor people can feel at home in each other's company and where they can always expect a meal. Sevillanas and conversation also occur at the guest house as well as at the church.
On Sunday the people anticipate the procession of Rocío which will occur that night. In the morning, an open air mass is held by the Bishop of Huelva (Editorial Andaluz 1981:132) in front of the Church of Rocío, and all the banners of the 70 brotherhoods are displayed behind the altar. Thousands sing hymns together in a show of common spirit and beliefs. Throughout the day people continue to visit, eat, drink, sing, dance, and sleep if possible. By this time, the small town of Rocío, which normally has a population of 900, is bursting with hundreds of thousands of people waiting to see the exit of the Virgin. Vending stands and restaurants are erected on every available lot and create an atmosphere similar to that of a state fair. Large numbers of policemen and helicopters direct the endless lines of traffic entering and exiting Rocío. The main attraction is the Virgin, who stands in the church behind a tall iron fence, and masses are held here every hour in the afternoon.

In the evening hundreds of people from each brotherhood unite to form a massive rosary, and each person carries a burning candle and chants orations at the summoning of priests utilizing bullhorns. Shooting fireworks explode over the files of worshipers, and the sight of chanting, candle-bearing pilgrims is indescribable. Once inside the church, the peaceful march changes to utter confusion, as the Brotherhood of Almonte rushes everyone past the Virgin because thousands are pushing towards the fence surrounding the image of Rocío. As the banner of the Triana brotherhood followed the Triana candle-bearers past the Virgin this year (1986), deafening shouts of "Triana, Triana, Triana" could be heard over the uproar inside.

Now, the climax of the entire Romería, the procession of the Virgin, is
about to begin. Once the rosary is completed, it is impossible to prevent the
young men from Almonte from jumping the iron fence surrounding the Virgin.
The young men scratch and tear their way over the fence, and many are
injured or overcome by the stifling heat inside the church. Next, the Big
Brother of Almonte detaches the sacred golden arc in front of the image,
signifying that the float is ready to be carried. For the next ten to twelve
hours, the young men from Almonte will openly fight each other to carry the
float of the Virgen to prove their manhood (Moreno 1986) as the mob
surrounding them slowly penetrates through the streets of Rocío. Incredibly
large crowds follow the Virgin, while the brotherhoods wait at their houses for
her to pass.

Sometime during the morning of Pentecost the Virgin of Rocío will pass
by the house of each brotherhood, marking the most dramatic moment of the
Romería for the pilgrims. They wearily wait in silence as the noise and the
crowds draw nearer. Finally, when the image arrives, the brotherhood church
bell is rung, and the banner is carried forward by the big brother to face the
image, as if the real image of Rocío was to give life to its miniature replica.
Vivas are shouted and the traditional hymn is sung, while the image passes.
(This year, on account of the past year's disputes, the men from Almonte
carried the Virgin with her back to the Triana brotherhood. The watching
crowd responded with loud cheers of "Triana, Triana, Triana.") The
Brotherhood of Seville returns to Seville immediately after the appearance of
the image and that of Triana departs Tuesday morning, after resting Monday.

The brotherhoods return home over the same paths they travelled to
Rocío, and the three day final phase is characterized by tranquility. Tired
and unenthusiastic, the pilgrims return in an organized and relaxed manner, as they enjoy the beauty and peacefulness of the Andalusion countryside. The feeling is more familiar during the return, because everyone is more accustomed to life on the road and is more acquainted with their group members. The Brotherhood of Seville arrives Wednesday night and that of Triana reaches its barrio on Thursday night. The arrivals of the brotherhoods attract crowds of spectators, especially in Triana, who come to watch the extremely sleepy pilgrims ride and walk into town.
2:3 THE FUNCTIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ROCÍO

Analyzing the Romería of Rocío as it affects the people of Seville, Rodriguez' listing of community identity, family integration, economic importance, individual promotion, estheticism, and psychological resting period proves to be a useful instrument again. It is also necessary in the case of Rocío to add the function of regional identity.

The faith in the powers of the Virgin of Rocío is unique to Andalusia and unifying for its people. Brotherhoods attend from all eight provincial capitals of Andalusia and Andalusians throughout Spain converge to worship together at Rocío. This century has experienced a booming of participation at Rocío, which perhaps has been part of a reaction against Franco's ignorance of the varying characteristics of the regions of Spain. In 1981, the Andalusians voted to have an autonomous region within the Spanish nation, when the choice was given to them in a referendum. Another factor may be that people have come for divine assistance at Rocío due to the economic distress in Andalusia this century. Whatever the reason, Rocío has come to signify the solidarity of Andalusia.

The pilgrims also realize a community identity during the Romería. Each brotherhood and its followers unite behind their banner, and through the vivas all enthusiastically vow their devotion to their community, brotherhood, and the Virgin of Rocío. In the same manner, the pilgrims express a unity of spirit when they sing hymns together at traditional landmarks. The mere acts of sharing food and drink and travelling the week together solidify the community. In fact, some people gain friends and form lasting alliances during the trip, which is especially visible between the upper and lower classes.
Finally, at Rocío, the pilgrims feel that their actions represent their community in the presence of many other Andalusians.

For many, the Romería provides time for family solidarity and integration. Families spend the entire week together in the company of friends, relatives, and neighbors. Families, like communities, also feel the need to impress other families and members within the community. The mere fact of family participation with the community demonstrates that family solidarity and integration are an undeniable functions of the Romería.

Individual promotion constitutes another function often in evidence at the Romería. The members of the brotherhoods' governments, like those of the brotherhoods of Holy Week, hold prestigious positions that can be manipulated for important personal and business purposes. Also, these distinguished men are highly visible as they wear gold metals at their chest and ride horses. Anyone riding a horse during the Romería sits above the pedestrians, physically and prestigiously, because since the middle of the past century, the horse has been a symbol of the bourgeois class (Escalera, 1986). Besides, by wearing the flamenco outfit or dress, people communicate that they have considerable money, pride, and style. With large numbers of people, like those of the Romería, it is always possible to promote oneself, whether the promotion is dancing, singing, cooking, repairing a cart, demonstrating physical strength, or giving a mass.

Economically, the Romería functions as a period of intensive money exchange. Costumes are very expensive, and transportation is never cheap if one does not walk or have other arrangements. Large amounts of food and beverages must also be accounted for, and all is consumed during a period in
which the pilgrims are not earning money. On the other hand, the people of the lower classes receive free food from generous pilgrims and from the brotherhoods' kitchens. Grocery stores, animal dealers, flower vendors, and clothing stores also benefit from the expenditures of the pilgrims. At Rocio, souvenir vendors and local stores capitalize on the multitudes of people buying Rocio mementos, food, and other provisions.

The esthetic function is evident throughout the celebration. The essential components for the esthetic emotion defined by Rodriguez - music, dance, dress, nature, and other forms of art - are all present at the Romeria and combine to form a unique beauty for which the people have come to look. Despite the cost and the difficulties in obtaining them, ox-drawn carts and horses are still utilized and decorated with flowers by the pilgrims. The drum and flute players are becoming increasingly rare, but the people feel that the Romeria would not be the same without them. Nature is also a very important component that contributes to all forms of beauty present at the Romeria. It enchants such moments as the dancing and singing around open campfires at night, the mass at sunset while burning candles illuminate the silver cart and banner of the Virgin, and the crossings of sparkling rivers by the wagon trains. Like Holy Week, the bright colors and mild weather of the Andalusian spring are integral aspects of the estheticism of the festival. Some would also say that the consumption of alcohol is essential for the special emotion of the Romeria. At Rocio, an obvious esthetic emotion is felt when the image of the Virgin Mary passes the houses of the brotherhoods on her baroque float which has been adorned in precious metals, jewels, and flowers. These beautiful moments throughout the journey are Rocio for many pilgrims.
Psychologically, the Romería serves as a stopping point, a resting period that breaks the monotony of everyday life. This does not insinuate a physical resting point, but a mental one from the average work or school week. Social regulations are also relaxed; this tends to liberalize the actions and emotions of the people. Many believe that they need this time of community interaction, feasting, drinking, and general enjoyment without worrying about expenses or social restrictions.

As for the religious significance of the festival, the theme is dominated by not merely the Virgin Mary, but the Virgin Mary of Rocío. Throughout the Romería people chant orations at mass asking the Virgin to plead to God for their souls. She is the understanding mediator the people feel they need in the presence of an ambivalent and threatening God. Perhaps this conception of the Christian religion reflects the Andalusian family, because the mother has more contact with her children than the often ambivalent father. At the same time, the Virgin of Rocío, like other female deities preceding her in Andalusia, is the goddess of life and nature. She controls the rains, the animals, and the vegetation, and many pray to her in times of agricultural distress. Legends recount numerous miracles the Virgin of Rocío has performed for agriculture and for sick people. Finally, the Virgin of Rocío is the symbol of Andalusia, and Andalusians feel that they are a chosen people because of her.
From this project I have demonstrated that two very different religious festivals of Seville, Holy Week and the Romería of Rocío, have parallel functions and exhibit similar religious philosophies. I have anthropologically researched and described two of the most important events in Seville's calendar and now better understand Seville society. Finally, this project has provided me with invaluable anthropological research and writing experience.
*In addition to the following published sources, I obtained information from Dr. Moreno and Dr. Escalera of the University of Seville.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


