

## **Holy Week in Huelva: an urban ritual drama**

José Carlos Mancha Castro

The University of Huelva

Popular rituals and festivals are one of the classic subjects of analysis in social anthropology, having been widely studied within the discipline since its inception because they are considered meaningful social and symbolic manifestations that shed light on how each society *constructs reality*.<sup>1</sup> Anthropologists view rituals as kaleidoscopic social and symbolic spaces in which various polysemic ideas and symbols are expressed, and which act as places of collective memory. For this reason, we also see them as spacetimes instrumentalised by the political powers as a means to legitimise a given unitary and apparently seamless social and ideological model.<sup>2</sup>

Many authors have studied rituals in order to uncover unnoticed reliefs or veiled, insufficiently captured social practices and realities.<sup>3</sup> Using various methodologies and theoretical concepts, they have attempted to decipher and explain the forms, functions, structures, meanings and expressive models of rituals. These different approaches have generated numerous theories about the subject. For example, ritual has been defined as a set of actions with symbolic efficacy,<sup>4</sup> as a social drama,<sup>5</sup> as an exercise in meta-communication,<sup>6</sup> as a game<sup>7</sup> or as a performance,<sup>8</sup> in all cases *constructed* and *performed in community*.

The aim of this paper is to analyse a particular religious ritual in Andalusian culture that is celebrated at the spring equinox: the *Semana Santa* (Holy Week). Specifically, I shall analyse Holy Week in the city of Huelva, exploring one of its deepest meanings, namely that of an urban ritual drama and a social and symbolic space of exhibition in which plural discourses and narratives are expressed and which ritualises the inter-relationships between the participant subjects and social groups and between these and the inhabited space and the dominant civil and ecclesiastical powers that vie for its control. My aim is to conduct an analysis, from a symbolic perspective, of the form, structure and temporality of this ritual system and of some of the functions and meanings of its ceremonial processions<sup>9</sup>.

In order to explore the ritual of Holy Week, we must first recognise that it is a social fact with multiple connotations, as it encompasses various meanings associated with the spheres of religion, identity and ecology. This ritual does not, therefore, have a sole meaning, although the various authorities in the economic-political sphere and the Catholic Church have attempted to interpret it as an exclusively religious phenomenon in order to experiment with different control strategies. Rather, it is a *total social fact*,<sup>10</sup> that is to say, a socio-cultural phenomenon where various dimensions of social life are represented, confused and mixed, including religiosity, political relations and ecological, normative, artistic and economic processes—these latter not being linked exclusively to the market economy.

Holy Week is a complex ritual forming part of what, in the social sciences, is known as “popular religiosity” and, therefore, located on *the fringes of the Church*.<sup>11</sup> Popular religiosity is understood here as a system of collective magical-religious beliefs and practices that focus on iconolatry and iconoduly, through which communities interpret and, above all, experience significance and their cultural identity and collective memory. It is not only an alternative frame to official religiosity, but also a hybridisation of it; a syncretic field in which iconic, ideological, aesthetic, environmental, emotional and absorbing ritual acts are expressed, which overlap with religious beliefs and practices relating dyadically to the transcendental. It is thus contended here that it is a sociocultural phenomenon that ought to be analysed from a holistic perspective. Similarly, it is a socio-symbolic space in which institutional and power imaginaries—chiefly ecclesiastical and economic-political—and popular imaginaries become hybridised and feed back into each other. In this regard, Rina Simón notes that institutional imaginaries publically sanctify and recognise, in a way, popular imaginaries, while the latter lend greater social legitimacy to the former.<sup>12</sup>

This view of Holy Week is not new in Andalusian anthropology. Since the 1970s, various authors have constructed theoretical and methodological frameworks in an attempt to understand and explain it.<sup>13</sup> Moreno Navarro and Agudo Torrico have indicated several levels of meaning in the phenomenon that correspond to the mostly unconscious key elements that make up its hybrid symbolic nature.<sup>14</sup> Thus, Holy Week is a popular religious ritual of a festive nature in which the community and the Christian-Catholic deity enter into a relationship through rites and iconic acts that commemorate the passion and death of Christ and the sorrow of the Virgin Mary, this being the most explicit level of meaning. However, it is also a ritual in which relationships are established and expressed between the community itself, kinship and affinity networks and various social groups, becoming a space for sociability and an important element of identity. In addition, it is an ecological ritual that establishes a connection between humans and nature and ritualises the environmental changes and conditions that occur in their geographical space. It is also an urban dramaturgical festival that ritualises the relationship between the community, public space and the institutions of economic-political and religious power, reflecting instrumentalisations, alliances and social tensions that may exist—or have existed—on the symbolic plane.<sup>15</sup>

Below, I shall examine Holy Week in Huelva from the analytical perspective of an *urban ritual drama*. To this end, it will first be necessary to delve into this theoretical concept coined by Gómez Lara and Jiménez Barrientos<sup>16</sup> following on from the concept of social drama proposed in studies by Douglas and Turner,<sup>17</sup> which highlighted suggestive links between theatre and ritual.<sup>18</sup> Urban ritual drama is a communicative, dramaturgical process that is swathed in symbolism and incorporates the various identities and institutions present in the framework of a given society, which express themselves collectively in public space, recreating the community. This concept emerged from the study of different ritual systems, including “mediaeval play cycles in European cities, modern national festivals in the West, festive periods in the Jewish or Arab calendar and the great urban festivals of Hinduism.”<sup>19</sup> These ceremonial systems present

a ritual structure similar to that of the Holy Weeks celebrated in Andalusia and other countries in the Mediterranean cultural sphere, when these latter are considered as effervescent popular religious festivals celebrated in the urban space rather than mere liturgical rites subject to the exclusive control of the Catholic Church.<sup>20</sup> Thus, building on the proposal formulated by Gómez Lara and Jiménez Barrientos,<sup>21</sup> I shall identify the main characteristics that define and structure an urban ritual drama.

First, it comprises a ritual system that does not consist of a univocal and unilateral discourse, but instead encompasses diverse narratives and meanings. Although there is a basic official narrative that structures the celebration of the festival around a religious event (the commemoration of the passion and death of Christ and the sorrow of his mother, the Virgin Mary), in accordance with the Catholic liturgy, this narrative is hybridised with others that also organise the festive time. These offer multiple, diverse forms of integration in the ritual celebration, which acquires meaning and communicative value in the public space and enables expression of a particular symbolic history of the ceremony and the community that celebrates it. Second, it must be stressed that this is an *invented tradition*<sup>22</sup> in a constant process of revision and thus characterised by improvisation, innovation, imitation and what Frazer called contagious magic.<sup>23</sup> Third, the ecological and economic aspects of the ritual are inherent to the social and geographical-environmental space in which it takes place; in the case of Holy Week, in the city, in spring. It is, therefore, a symbolic recreation of the community expressed in the urban space at the spring equinox. In this respect, reciprocity, lavish consumption and extravagance, shared abundance and symbolic gifts or exchanges, encapsulated in presents, sacrifices and offerings, are not distorting elements, but are instead central and cohesive.

Viewing Holy Week in Huelva—and in any other town in Andalusia—as an urban ritual drama enables us to observe how the city is socially and symbolically recreated and reproduced as a dynamic, dialectical setting in which the component social groups and dominant agencies are represented. This has been a constant feature of festive public rituals in cultural traditions throughout the Mediterranean, whose peoples have historically organised dramatisations with ancestral precedents such as the processions held in Greek and Roman cities or mediaeval public executions.<sup>24</sup> This festive-ritual logic is associated with a culture of display and representation, of using the urban space as a showcase and living theatre, as a place for exhibition and interaction between a series of social groups and institutions that transform it to construct a temporary symbolic framework whose duration is intrinsically linked to that of the festive time.

The start of the festive time opens up a liminal, marginal, temporal space that halts everyday social time, while at the same time transforming the urban space. Thus, a sacred time emerges together with an aesthetic, ephemeral, imagined and desired city, where the community is recreated, public order is disrupted and some of the legal norms that govern the social structure are transgressed in a constant metamorphosis that is daily renewed. As the physical space where the ritual action takes place, the city becomes a key part of the ritual itself, sometimes even its object.<sup>25</sup> This new sacred, dynamic and ephemeral setting, which represents the idealised city, is both witness to and the subject of a total

metamorphosis related to the structural sequencing of the ritual being celebrated: buildings and streets are decorated using perishable decorative and constructive strategies to render them more beautiful in the eyes of the ritual agents, and therefore more useful for the ritual purpose; vehicular traffic is suspended in certain key spaces, which will be invaded by processions; human traffic increases throughout the city, flowing in accordance with the processions; and the people participating in the festival deck themselves out according to the norms that comprise the ritual's internal code. Thus, the city where the ritual drama is staged becomes an integrating framework for the symbolic expression and representation of *communitas*,<sup>26</sup> a space containing history, identity, meaning and processes of social and symbolic relations, in other words, a space that has become a true *place*, in the sense proposed by Augé.<sup>27</sup>

### **Form, structure and temporality of the urban ritual drama of Holy Week in Huelva**

Like all Christian-Catholic Holy Week celebrations, the Huelva celebration originated in the wake of the Counter-Reformation initiated by the Catholic Church in the mid-16th century. However, it only emerged as a modern popular festive ritual, as a great urban ceremony based on the aesthetic, expressive and meaningful model with which it is identified today, between the last quarter of the 19th century and first three decades of the 20th century. Previously, the model of celebration was very different to the one we see today, because although the present festival is enveloped in archaising aesthetic elements, this does not mean that it is in itself archaic. With the exception of a handful of images, the vast majority of the festival's component aesthetic-expressive elements, both material and immaterial, have been produced in the last 150 years. The word "tradition" exerts an important influence on Holy Week, but from an anthropological point of view it is an *invented tradition*,<sup>28</sup> that is, it is a socio-symbolic practice which, although it seems or is claimed to be very old, is in reality of recent creation, having been the subject of profound transformations that can only be understood in the context of modernity, rather than as the persistence of elements and practices considered ancestral or pre-modern.

Today, Holy Week is a popular urban theatrical festival with bourgeois overtones, based on the ideals of romanticism, historicist regionalism and modernism. The small processions typical of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries have thus been replaced by the processions in their current form: having played no part until the end of the 19th century, music has now become a fundamental element of the new expressiveness of the phenomenon; the ritual costumes were devised between the late 19th and early 20th centuries; and only one in five of today's confraternities were founded before the 20th century, having been, furthermore, subject to several re-foundations or revivals in previous historical moments. To the above can be added the new social functions performed by contemporary confraternities, which differ widely from those of yesteryear. Given these ingredients, it is not surprising that Holy Week should be classified as a modern festival, one that has been (re)invented using a few earlier elements merged with mostly new ones which mimic an archaic aesthetic that conceals absolutely contemporary festive-ritual foundations. In other words, this ritual phenomenon cannot be classified as

a fossil that has survived the onslaught of modernity; on the contrary, the ritual has changed in the wake of the transformations that have taken place in the modern society that celebrates it.

In order to understand the aesthetic and expressive models of the Huelva Holy Week festival, it is essential to highlight the role played in them by the renowned aesthetic ideologist of Holy Week in Seville: the embroiderer Juan Manuel Rodríguez Ojeda. Imbued with the principles of the *Arts and Crafts* movement, this artist shaped many of the aesthetic-expressive elements that are now seen as typical of the festival, and his influence is still very much alive. New models of the floats (mainly with a canopy), new ceremonial clothing for the participants and models of attire for the effigies all form part of the artistic legacy bequeathed by Rodríguez Ojeda, synthesised and given expression in his confraternity of the Macarena (Seville).<sup>29</sup> To paraphrase Martínez Velasco, Ojeda “designed nothing less than Holy Week as we see it today.”<sup>30</sup>

As with any ritual and festive process, Holy Week has an internal structure and temporality. It is celebrated at the spring equinox, coinciding with the first full moon of the astronomical season of spring (known as the paschal full moon). Thus the date of Holy Week changes every year, evidencing the ritualisation of a seasonal change that in the Mediterranean cultural sphere is associated with abundance, fertility and the rebirth of life. In contemporary Huelva, this urban ritual drama takes place over nine consecutive days: the eve of the festival, which falls on the Friday of Sorrows and Saturday of Passion, followed by Palm Sunday, Holy Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, Maundy Thursday and the early morning and afternoon of Good Friday. From the 16th century until the late 19th century, processions were only held on Maundy Thursday and the early morning and afternoon of Good Friday. However, far-reaching changes in the morphology and popularity of the festival since the late 19th century and the creation of new confraternities in the 20th century meant that the days of celebration were extended back through the week, with new processions taking place on the last days of Lent, from the Friday of Sorrows to Holy Wednesday, and thus expanding the ceremonial structure and increasing the duration of the festival itself.

Over the course of these days, the confraternities that parade through the streets of Huelva carry floats anarchically depicting representations of various moments in the passion and death of Christ that are narrated in the Gospels. By anarchically, I mean to say that the structure of the dramatic representation of the festival bears neither a linear nor a chronological relationship to the gospel passages. On the contrary, this processional structure depicts these scenes of the deicide in a jumbled, chaotic manner, differing from the sequential storyline of the Gospel narrative. This apparently anarchic structure reflects historical, sociological and symbolic factors associated with each confraternity, since the internal structural logic of the ritual is marked more by the history of the festival itself than by the story or history commemorated.<sup>31</sup> Essentially, the structure is based on the prestige and seniority of each confraternity on the day established for its procession.

Similarly, the order of the confraternities' floats along the official route is not structured by a sequential logic based on the biblical narrative. The most recently founded

confraternities head the processions along the official route, while the oldest ones usually come last, regardless of the Gospel passage represented. It is obligatory for all confraternities participating in the Holy Week processions to follow the official route, which basically becomes a *via triumphalis*,<sup>32</sup> a public space decorated and *privatised* for a few days, where chairs and boxes are installed for spectators to watch—for a fee—the processions pass by. This space occupies the historic commercial centre of the town, which is also the site of the institutional headquarters of the political powers and an important seat of ecclesiastical power. Along the official route, each of the confraternities' floats is required to halt before the boxes occupied by representatives of the three institutions that organise and control the ceremony: the Council of Brotherhoods and Confraternities, the Diocesan Catholic Church and the City Council. Unsurprisingly, the official route has been modified over the course of time to reflect changes in the location of the institutional centres of the economic-political and religious powers.

The first days of Holy Week—from the Friday of Sorrows to Holy Tuesday—are days of great ritual intensity, announcing that the *city's most important festival*, and the one most popular with its residents, has returned after a year of waiting and preparation. However, the climax of the celebration is reached from the middle to the last days of the ritual drama. In Huelva, the moment of peak intensity occurs between Holy Wednesday and the dawn of Good Friday, when the confraternities carry the city's most popular and sacred symbolic effigies: Our Lady of Hope and Our Lady of Victory, which are paraded on Holy Wednesday, and the Nazarene (Christ carrying the cross), which is paraded in the early morning. The processions carrying the Virgins of Hope and Victory are ritual acts of jubilation and joy, in which participants cry words of rejoicing that contrast with the multitude of signs and expressions of sadness and grief that permeate the ritual drama of Holy Week. Meanwhile, the multitudinous procession of the Nazarene symbolises the experience of historical oppression of the people of Huelva, anchored in collective memory. It is in this procession, which shows the good man (Christ) unjustly bearing the cross, that *these people see themselves*, as it symbolises their own experience of collective oppression, which is recreated through the representation of the tragedy of Jesus Christ, an aspect that has been noted previously by authors who have analysed other Holy Week rituals in Andalusia.<sup>33</sup>

In the afternoon of the last day of Holy Week, Good Friday, the two processions that conclude the ritual drama take place: the procession of the Holy Sepulchre and the procession of Our Lady of Solitude. The solemn parade of the Holy Sepulchre brings together the institutional representatives of the city's civil and religious powers, symbolising the official narrative with which the celebration ends. Meanwhile, the disconsolate maternal effigy carried by the Confraternity of Silence in the procession of Our Lady of Solitude is the final event of the festive season, and symbolises sadness that the festivity is drawing to a close. This procession does not ritualise the tragic event of the death of Jesus Christ, but *the death* (the end) of the *Holy Week festival itself*. Thus, expression is given to the two motives for *mourning* the conclusion of the narratives that endow the ritual drama with meaning: on the one hand, sorrow at the death of Christ, and on the other, sadness for the end of the *communitas* and the sacred time of the festivity.

This initiates the phase of *reassimilation* of the ritual participants, who return to everyday social time.

### **The ceremonial processions of Huelva's Holy Week: structure, meanings and functions**

The confraternities are social and ceremonial groups that generate identity. Established in various parishes and confraternity houses around the city, they have become elements of identity embedded in different territorial spaces within the city, whether in—or close to—the historic centre or in less central neighbourhoods. Holy Week, the ritual drama that they organise, is Huelva's most multitudinous festival and while the celebration lasts, many Huelva residents of all ages, social strata and ideologies inundate the city's historical and symbolic centres to parade with their confraternities or to watch the processions. Some travel several kilometres to the city centre, while others, obliged to live outside Huelva, return to their city of origin. They do so in order to symbolically reaffirm their sense of belonging to the community, participating in a festive practice that they consider traditional and symbolically rejecting subalternity, exclusion or forced migration. Consequently, some have interpreted the socio-symbolic theatre of Holy Week as a ritual of symbolic vindication of their *right to the city*, in which numerous people declare their right to enjoy their city, to participate in its symbolic community practices and to express their local or group identity.<sup>34</sup>

This socio-symbolic theatre or urban ritual drama of Holy Week acquires meaning in the dynamic and dialectical setting that is public space. It is in the streets that the confraternities' processions reveal their complex and syncretic ritual structure, made up of multiple symbols of a diverse nature, primarily religious-Catholic, corporate-confraternity, civil and military. The processions are organised as a burial procession divided into two parts: the procession of floats showing Christ, with an effigy of him dead or condemned to death, and the procession of floats showing the Virgin Mary as a mother in mourning; both types are accompanied by hundreds of 'penitents'; subjects robed in ritual costumes consisting of a tunic, either a cape or cloak, a mask and a hood, and carrying ritual elements such as candles, crosses, standards or staffs. On the basis of this processional structure, each of the confraternities "conveys a symbolic system of hierarchy and status that is expressed through the ritual position" of the participant subjects.<sup>35</sup>

The ritual subjects can participate in the procession as penitents (*nazarenos*) accompanying the effigies, or as the bearers (*costaleros*) who carry them. I contend that participation in this ritual drama has a dual significance, and thus that the ritual subjects' motive for participating in processions will be based on one of two perspectives and ways of understanding the ritual event, which may also complement one another. Thus, some give a *penitential meaning* to their participation, transforming the ritual subject into the personification of an *ex-voto* that governs the individual's practice according to the principles of *sympathetic magic*.<sup>36</sup> By *imitating* the sufferings endured by Christ, the individual achieves absolution from sin. This religious meaning is based on the idea of a

symbolic gift offered to the deity under the logic of *do ut des*: I offer you physical penance in exchange for the granting of grace. In other words, a symbolic dyadic contractual relationship—a religious correlation—is established between two asymmetrical forces: a *deity-patron* who grants and a *devotee-client* who benefits from the concession, based on the principles of the theory of *primordial debt*, which, according to Graeber, is at the origin of all humanity's relations with deities.<sup>37</sup>

However, other ritual subjects may endow their participation with a *festive and communicative* significance, viewing the ritual action as a playful, sentimental and supposedly traditional practice composed of internal vernacular codes that the natives themselves do not fully understand. Here, participation assumes an identitarian meaning, in which ritual is seen as a symbolic social fact that binds and unites. This perspective explains why young children may be involved, dressing them as altar boys or girls or penitents in local costumes considered traditional, or why participation may involve remembering—once again piercing the heart—absent relatives for whom Holy Week and the confraternity represented an important element of identity. In this case, the ritual drama can be viewed as an act of commemoration and of immersion in individual and collective memory, which has a strong emotional charge.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, the urban ritual drama of Holy Week has two underlying functions that I believe are fundamental: the socialising function and the egalitarian function. The socialising function is based on seeing the ritual as a *game*, interpreting it from the perspective of symbolic interactionism argued by Goffman.<sup>39</sup> Playing at Holy Week involves establishing a series of enculturation actions in the symbolic universe of the ritual process, consisting of manifestations and symbols which identify the people and social groups that come together to participate in accordance with the codes of a *total* ceremony. Thus, these play at governing and directing the confraternity, at working for it voluntarily, at participating in the communicative codes of the Holy Week ritual and at socialising children and young people in these codes. Such socialisation is evident, for example, in the fact of dressing children as penitents or altar boys or girls who distribute sweets, holy cards of the effigies or wax from the candles. This is a collective system of reciprocity, of *gifts*,<sup>40</sup> with elements of ritual and identity, which only takes place and has meaning *during* the festival. It is a symbolic-festive system of distribution and *extravagance*, which symbolically inverts and negates everyday socialisation in the utilitarian and acquisitive values of the market logic pervading the ideological conception of contemporary capitalist societies.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile, the egalitarian function is based on viewing ritual drama as a liminal event, a generator of *communitas*, as proposed by Turner.<sup>42</sup> During the ritual process, by which I mean the street processions staged by the confraternities, an ephemeral *communitas* is generated in which any social differences that might exist at a structural level between participants disappear. The ritual group becomes an indissoluble, totalising unit, where all the participants in the procession become *one*: the confraternity. This ephemeral ritual egalitarianism can be seen very clearly in the lack of distinction between the penitents: they all dress the same, behave the same and wear the same mask, differing only in the elements they carry or the position they occupy in the procession. The same

can be seen in the bearers, who *all become one* in the task of carrying the float “*tôh por iguâh*” (all equally). The ritual is thus (re)produced, temporarily effacing any structural distinctions of a social, ideological or economic nature that might exist between members and transforming participants into an egalitarian, *symbolic us* that is recreated for a limited time: the duration of the procession.

## Conclusions

As we can see, Holy Week in Huelva is a *total* ceremony, in the sense given by Mauss,<sup>43</sup> which is articulated around different meanings and socio-symbolic functions, in other words around factual discourses and polysemic meanings that are incorporated into the ritual process in different ways. It is a complex socio-cultural phenomenon that is difficult to decipher, experiential, bearing a strong emotional charge, which expresses the collective memory of the participant community and is embedded in a specific local context, intermingling social, political, ecological, economic and religious aspects in a symbolic (self-)representation of the community in celebration.

As with any ritual process in which the power of the symbols that come into play acquire an important capital, Holy Week offers many ways of approaching and forming part of the phenomenon’s symbolic universe. There are many types of behaviour and ways of conceiving the ritual, in addition to narratives and discourses that shape a variety of aesthetic and sensorial models revolving around icons of collective identification that dramatize the temporal and urban space in which the ritual is performed.

This complex symbolic *game* of identities, which has many dimensions and meanings, involves the self-representation of an ideal, desired, evanescent, festive community whose members take to the streets to exhibit themselves as a *communitas*,<sup>44</sup> and who, despite coming from different walks of life, possess a symbolic equality during the ritual act. This symbolic equality is ephemeral and its persistence linked to the duration of the symbolic rules established by the local authorities for the ritual. With the disappearance of the ritual of Holy Week, the oppositional structure that, for a number of days, has replaced the social stratification in which the social groups comprising the local community are normally separated disappears. Namely, the particular socio-symbolic differentiation experienced by the *communitas* gives way yet again to the stratified social differentiation inherent to communities in modern Western societies.

During the performance, facilitated by the start of the festival, a comprehensive ritual exhibition is developed which reconnects—for which reason it is religious—people from very different backgrounds, but who, together, devote themselves to a voluntary and liberating task. The identification of the people and religious groups with the icons of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary reveals a ritual in which the community’s collective memory is expressed, this being understood as a history of oppression which is reinterpreted and dramatized using these religious-Catholic icons. They thus give shape to an urban ritual drama with a complex symbolic language and a diversity of aesthetic and sensorial actions—regarded as vernacular and/or traditional—that establish

relationships of meaning, which build groups and communities and which are expressed as a counterculture bent on resisting the onslaught of modernity.

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<sup>1</sup> Berger & Luckmann 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Moreno Navarro 1999; Domene Verdú 2017.

<sup>3</sup> García 1991.

<sup>4</sup> Bourdieu 1971.

<sup>5</sup> Turner 1970.

<sup>6</sup> Geertz 1973.

<sup>7</sup> Goffman 1961.

<sup>8</sup> Schechner 1994.

<sup>9</sup> This paper is a synthesis of the key ideas presented by the author in Mancha Castro 2020a.

<sup>10</sup> Mauss 1971.

<sup>11</sup> Navarro de la Fuente 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Rina Simón 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Of particular note in this respect are the studies by Moreno Navarro 1999; 2006, Rodríguez Becerra 1985; 2006 and Briones 1997.

<sup>14</sup> Moreno Navarro & Agudo Torrico 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Mancha Castro 2020a. In this respect, I wish to highlight recent ethnohistoriographical studies that have sought to shed light on the symbolic construction of modern political regimes such as Francoism, which used these archaising rituals associated with the sacred to construct a cultural hegemony and base its legitimacy on an aura of sacredness. See Rina Simón 2015; 2016 and Mancha Castro 2018; 2020b.

<sup>16</sup> Gómez Lara & Jiménez Barrientos 1997.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas 1966; Turner 1970.

<sup>18</sup> García 1991.

<sup>19</sup> Gómez Lara & Jiménez Barrientos 1997, 151.

<sup>20</sup> A recent study employing this concept of urban ritual drama has drawn parallels between Holy Week celebrations in Andalusia and Muslim processions in the desert associated with the festivals of Arba'ein and Ashura, mainly observed by the Shiite branch. See Saavedra 2021.

<sup>21</sup> Gómez Lara & Jiménez Barrientos 1997.

<sup>22</sup> Hobsbawm 1983.

<sup>23</sup> Frazer 1994.

<sup>24</sup> Mancha Castro 2020a.

<sup>25</sup> Egizabal 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Turner 1969.

<sup>27</sup> Augé 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Hobsbawm 1983.

<sup>29</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century, Ojeda designed new penitential robes for the confraternities of *Los Judíos* and *Santo Entierro* in Huelva, and he also designed and embroidered four of the five canopied floats that existed in Huelva at the time.

<sup>30</sup> Martínez Velasco 2013, 96.

<sup>31</sup> Mancha Castro 2020a.

<sup>32</sup> Florido del Corral 2005.

<sup>33</sup> Briones 1997; Moreno Navarro 2006.

<sup>34</sup> Moreno Navarro & Agudo Torrico 2012.

<sup>35</sup> Rodríguez Mateos 1998, 259. For more on this complex processional structure, see Mancha Castro 2020a.

<sup>36</sup> Frazer 1994.

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<sup>37</sup> Graeber 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Mancha Castro 2020a.

<sup>39</sup> Goffman 1961.

<sup>40</sup> Mauss 1971.

<sup>41</sup> Mancha Castro 2020a.

<sup>42</sup> Turner 1969.

<sup>43</sup> Mauss 1971.

<sup>44</sup> Turner 1969.