

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: EL ROCÍO: A CASE STUDY OF MUSIC AND RITUAL IN ANDALUCÍA

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Music is central to the processional pilgrimage of El Rocío, which attracts hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Andalusia, Spain, late each spring. The pilgrimage affords a unique view, in microcosm, of the relationships between music and ritual from both ritual-studies and ethnomusicological perspectives. Based on extensive fieldwork and other research, this dissertation explores the nexus of the Catholic ritual system in Andalusia, flamenco, and the specific music of El Rocío: the Sevillanas Rocieras.

That nexus becomes clear through exploration of three particular features of the pilgrimage: (1) the devotional processions that generate a single, focused, collective emotion; (2) the Andalusian musical form called the *palo*; and (3) the informal musical gatherings called *juergas*, which take place nightly along the route. Analysis of structural and morphological relationships between ritual, music, and

emotion yields surprising realizations about how these three elements come together as embodied aesthetics within a *communitas* to generate popular culture.

Another important finding of this work is the necessity of placing, at the center of the inquiry, the religious experience—including the curious Andalusian phenomenon of the “chaotic” emotional procession and its role within the overall pilgrimage and ritual system.

The dissertation concludes with two theoretical positions. The first addresses the process of “emotional structuring” and its role within the musical rituals of El Rocío and, by extension, Andalusia. The second advances a theory of ritual relations with potential application to ritual systems beyond Andalusia. The author presents both positions within an evolutionary framework based on the tenets of biomusicology, neurophenomenology, and Peircean semiotics.

EL ROCÍO: A CASE STUDY OF MUSIC AND RITUAL IN ANDALUCÍA

By

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wonderful parents:

Col. (Ret.) Grady R. Poole and Elsa S. Poole.

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Special acknowledgements and heartfelt thanks to Lenny and Fran Weisberg, whose help and advice throughout this endeavor were invaluable.

I owe a great debt to my mentor, Dr. Carolina Robertson, whose vision, foresight, and guidance were instrumental in my development as an ethnomusicologist. I must also thank Dr. Józef Pacholczyck for the wonderful conversations that expanded my view of the field. To Dr. Jonathan Dueck, who saw me through the last legs with patience and encouragement, thank you very much. Thanks, also, to Dr. Robert Provine and Dr. Judith Freidenberg for reading the first draft and helping me with their insights. The work of Professor Michael Dean Murphy, University of Alabama, was an excellent source for my research, and his generous introductions were a great help toward my research in the town of Almonte.

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I owe the opportunity that made my fieldwork possible to my good fortune in meeting two men from Granada, Spain: (1) José Luis “Pelín” Mariscál Mejías, owner of *La Taberna de Pelín* (“Pelín’s Tavern”) and former elder brother of the Holy Week brotherhood, *Cofradía del Santísimo Cristo del Consuelo y María Santísima del*

Sacromonte (otherwise known as *Los Gitanos* [“The Gypsies”]); and (2) Antonio Sánchez “El Compadre” Ramirez, the elder brother and founder of the Rocío brotherhood of the romería, *Pontificia y Real Hermandad de Gloria del Rocío de Granada*, without whose trust and good will I would never have been allowed to attend the pilgrimage.

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PART I: THE ROMERÍA OF EL ROCÍO: MUSICAL AND RITUAL MORPHOLOGY AS POPULAR CULTURE

Chapter 1: Prelude and Introduction

Prelude: From “Matamoros” to “Don Quijote de la Marisma” to “controlled chaos”

The three vignettes below are examples of what I believe humanity, through ritual systems, has done for centuries around the globe and continues to do into the present. I would like to introduce the phenomenological transformation through emotional states, not its specific cultural context. The three events reveal a progression of emotional adjustments, in the process of my own “emotional tuning,” through nine days of continuous musical procession.

At a fundamental level, these experiences bring into direct relation music, ritual, and phenomenological states—states that result from internalized emotional content generated by musical ritual. The three events summarize my experience of El Rocío and form the basis for the insights developed throughout this dissertation.

Experience 1—The procession of “Matamoros”: emotional tuning to the outward procession

The following comes from my diary on the first day of El Rocío of 2003:

The Mass was much like the many I had attended all my life. Yes, the Cathedral was grand, the music was Andalusian, and the language was Spanish. It was the Mass nonetheless, and beneath the superficial trappings, it was as familiar as my childhood: the same sequence of events, the same spectrum of mental/emotional states among the congregation ranging from boredom to rapt attention amid the sounds of the priests’ liturgy, the choir’s singing, and the children laughing or crying.

After Mass we rode in the *carretas* (literally “carts,” although in this case the term is used for the elaborate mobile living quarters that are pulled by tractors, custom-made exclusively for use on the Rocío) to the stadium ground, and after a brief lunch we took off for the town of Santa Fe.

Eventually we came to a stop where each carreta dropped off its occupants and then continued on. I had no idea what was coming next, even though Sebastián (who was becoming our guide by default) was trying to keep us informed. The reason was that I had no frame of reference for what he was telling me: “Vamos en procesion a llevar al Simpecado siguiendo al Tamborilero a donde la Hermandad de Santa Fe nos va recibir.”

What or who was a Tamborilero? What was a Simpecado, and what were we going to do with the other Brotherhood?

I heard for the first time the sound of the Tamborilero, the three beats of the drum thundering below the melody of the gaita (flute). I had never heard this before, yet I felt as though I had known it all my life. I was in the middle of a Medieval pageant—the banners, the drum and fife, the horses, the crowds cheering. The sudden impact of my own emotional response took me by surprise. Up ahead I could see the procession was approaching a high Medieval wall with a large archway extending over the street that connected to the buildings on either side. As the procession moved down the street toward the arch, I could hear another drum and melody getting closer. The melody was similar but not exactly the same, and it was not being played in any kind of timing with the drum and fife in our procession. The two musics were getting closer and closer to each other, and as I looked up ahead I could vaguely make out, through the archway, that another set of banners and horsemen were coming to meet us on the other side. I could then guess what Sebastián had meant when he said that the Brotherhood of Santa Fe was coming out to receive us. Just as the banners, drummers, and horsemen of both brotherhoods were approaching the archway from either side and coming face to face, a shower of brightly colored rose petals came raining down upon them. The people above the wall had been waiting for this. The cheering exploded, and the music became louder and all the more cacophonous. It was a delirious moment and, as I would come to realize, a very Andalusian, and very Rocío, moment.

Suddenly the word “Matamoros” came into my mind as clear as though someone had whispered in my ear. Then, as I looked up at the Medieval wall and saw a few rose petals drifting in the light breeze, the statement came to my mind: “I remember fighting Moors more clearly than my own childhood.”

I knew from somewhere in my historical studies that *Matamoros* was a term the Spaniards used during the *Reconquista* (Reconquest) of Iberia from the Moors. It was the title of their patron saint, *Santiago* (Saint James), and it translates as “Moorslayer.” Of primary interest, however, is the fact that, as Part I will describe, I had tuned into the outward projection of the procession and not into its inner processional state, the state the practitioners around me were experiencing. It was nonetheless an important first step toward my “emotional tuning.”

Experience 2—The joyous procession and the baptism of “Don Quijote de la Marisma”: tuning to the inner procession

From my diary of the fifth day of El Rocío 2003:

First we could hear the rhythm, clapping, and singing coming from the distance as we approached. We followed Sebastián , who brought us up to a bluff above the river where many of our Hermandad had already gathered. The far bank was covered with people as well, all singing Sevillanas with powerful rhythmic drives. Below us, another Hermandad proceeded down the slope and into the shallow stream they intended to ford. Their Simpecado was also pulled by a team of oxen, and it was similar to ours in that it was a tall cart made of silver, but it was of a different architectural design, and its flowers were large red and white bundles arranged around the inner compartment. Their Tamborilero led it into the river, with his variation of the Tamborilero tune, while a large group of horses with their riders stood in the water along the sides of the stream, waiting for it to pass by.

Meanwhile, those on the far bank never stopped singing, and neither did many of the Brotherhood wading into the water. As impressive as all this was, I still was not prepared for what was ahead of them moving through the river. It was a wagon train—actual covered wagons, each being pulled by a single team of cows. Occasionally even a calf tethered to its mother straggled along. All the wagons in the long train were identical in structure and covered with white canvas decorated with flowers. Everyone on the banks sang. Rose petals drifted downstream from the backs of the oxen. In a moment there was almost complete silence followed by the slow intonation of a sung prayer to the Virgin. Only the horses seemed immune to the solemnity as they continued to splash the water playfully with their hooves and whinny to each other. Suddenly I heard the sound of our own Tamborilero and looked down to

notice that all of our horsemen and ladies were already waiting along the sides of the river below, along with the carriages. Some horse riders were descending alongside the Simpecado.

I had forgotten that I was supposed to be down there with them when I heard Sebastián calling out to me. I went running to the ford and there I was greeted with another pleasant surprise, one that I hadn't hoped for because I didn't want to be disappointed in case it didn't happen. Sara was baptizing Lisa, and I was to be next. It was a lighthearted and fun little ceremony but nonetheless was meaningful and strangely prophetic. I was given some short questions while my head was held to the water. I answered appropriately and afterward I received the name, Don Quijote de la Marisma ("Don Quixote of the Savannas"—the savanna referring to the location where El Rocío lies, in the delta of the Guadalquivir river. The Virgin of the Rocío is often called La Virgen de La Marisma, or "The Virgin of the Savannas").

The name was oddly apropos and even prophetic. I had often identified with Don Quixote as the self-delusional heroic warrior who finally comes to his senses, and so his image was a familiar one in my repertoire of inner images.

Furthermore, by the time we reached the Quema River, I had begun to feel completely different about the processions. Having walked through the streets of various towns and through dusty paths in the forests, listening to the singing of the *Rocieros*, I had ceased to sense anything militant in the processions at all.

The dominant feelings were by far those of joy and a certain mood that combined the celebratory with a feeling of adoration; I could feel it was an adoration of *something*, even if I didn't know exactly what. It had not occurred to me yet that the feeling itself might have been the primary objective of the entire pilgrimage.

Experience 3—The procession of “controlled chaos”: tuning by detuning at the liminal edges

From my diary of the ninth day of El Rocío 2003 and 2004:

The bells clanged incessantly. The singing was drowned out by the shouts of the crowd. The occasional priest, raised above the dense throng sitting on the shoulders of another man, was shouting and gesticulating to the Virgin with a near-hysterical intensity. It was all noise, but it was not incoherent in its totality: At the center of the chaos was a beautiful golden lady floating precariously above the turmoil, and all the chaos was focused upon her.

A couple of big men were commanding people to back off: “Fuera!” (“Out!”). Those of us in the Virgin’s path were caught off guard, and we were all backing up into each other. A young lady was obviously scared, and a slight panic was mounting. At this point my camera was getting knocked about (as was I), and it went briefly out of focus. Then, just as quickly as the panic had started, it abated and the Virgin began moving away.

Shortly afterward the same basic sequence played itself out again, only this time with even more intensity. There was more yelling, and some women were obviously afraid and starting to express it. Some people were knocked over, and I almost went down. However, I had come even closer to the Virgin this time and I could see all the arms that were outstretched and holding onto the barge, and I could see that most of them were those of young men, straining to hold onto Her and packed tightly one against the other. They formed a disturbance around Her, something like the waters agitated by piranhas, or a school of sharks, might make around a boat.

The distinction between devotion and attack was not clear on the surface. I couldn’t help but be reminded of the scene from an old religious musical drama where Jesus is almost overcome by the pressing crowd of beggars and lepers seeking to touch Him and be healed. However, this scene was still categorically different in tone from that depiction, even if in appearance there were similarities. I detected no emotions of either hostility or desperation at all in the maelstrom at the Virgin’s feet. The people were clearly fully participating and fully involved but not out of desperation. If they wanted to be healed, they were going about it in their own way, and (I say the following with some hesitation, but so it seemed to me at the time and still does now, even after considerable reflection) these people were joyful. For all the raucous noise, the moments of near panic, the densely packed sea of sweating humanity, the pushing and shoving, and the struggle going around the Virgin, these people were begging neither to be saved nor to be healed. They were praising Her! They were telling Her how beautiful She was, how much they adored Her.

This was a cacophony of singing ladies and men, priests inspired with poetic frenzy, clanging bells, buckets of rose petals, and a churning mass of sweating, yelling, groaning men in the center, all in praise of a beautiful golden woman floating above them and holding her divine child. These people were anything but miserable and pitiful. They were healthy, joyous, and wild, but not like children becoming hysterical and not like animals becoming enraged. They knew exactly what they were doing. They were chaotic but with precision and perfect timing.

These people, above all, were emotionally structured with consummate art. By that I mean that while the scene presented a spectacle of emotional excess and abandon, the Rocieros remained sufficiently self-possessed to never cross the boundary into actual states of chaos.

Furthermore, this wildly aesthetic drama was intended for no one but themselves and the Virgen del Rocío. It was not a show. There was no audience. The Rocieros carried out a drama between themselves and their Lady. It was their drama. I instinctively felt awkward in the beginning for being there at all. I felt I had no place in that emotional maelstrom and that its internal drama had no place for spectators. Strangely enough, though, after I was jostled about and knocked to the ground and into the dust a few times, I began to feel more comfortable, even more welcome. The above continued through the rest of the night and into the next day till nearly noon. I went home at around 4 a.m. I was exhausted but also euphoric.

Introduction to emotional tuning through musical procession

Two trajectories are revealed by the sequence of events presented in the Prelude that, in turn, constitute two themes to be developed throughout this dissertation. The first trajectory traced an experiential process that I call “emotional tuning.” The single most important realization of my experiences within the processions of El Rocío in particular, and Andalusian ritual in general, is that these rituals are careful and deliberate cultivations of emotional modes and that the ritual procession is the primary vehicle for this cultivation. Emotional tuning constitutes the observable and experienced “what” of this dissertation.

The second trajectory in the Prelude is the tracing of a process that I call “experiential displacement”: a response to the symbolizing process that occurs as rituals evolve into a social function that, in turn, tends to displace experience into symbolic forms. The above sequence is actually the process just described except in reverse. Starting with the Mass, the processions leave for El Rocío as an experiential current moving “into the heart of the world,” to borrow a phrase from Nietzsche ([1886] 1967, 49), wherein displaced experience is reintegrated and in the process modified as part of an ongoing ritual spiral of perpetual change.

Emotional tuning, when seen as an experiential practice underlying a ritual system as a whole, is revealed to be a deliberate practice that becomes inextricably intertwined with the many “varieties of religious experience,” in the words of William James ([1902] 1982). The central nexus of this intertwining is the emotional musical ritual, of which El Rocío is prime example.

An explication of emotional tuning as the work of the musical ritual and the relationship of emotional tuning to the religious experience, as I observed and experienced them in the field, constitute the central work of Parts I and II of this dissertation.

Part I presents the evidence that supports the phenomenon of emotional tuning through the ritual procession and the ritual station. The key role that the musical forms of Andalusia play in the process of emotional tuning—especially in light of their potential to undergo morphological changes in direct relation to ritual structure and ritual states—will be one of the two most central insights of Part I. The second will be the power of the musical procession, and especially the processional

pilgrimage, to generate cultural aesthetics as embodied behavior primarily through the internalization and externalization of emotional forms.

Part II presents the evidence supporting the concept that experiential displacement manifests the semiotic process of experience and representation through its analog in ritual—the myth and ritual relationship that I refer to as the myth-ritual dynamic. The purpose of Part II is to trace the differences in the degree and role that symbolism plays from ritual to ritual within the same ritual system. These differences are direct parallels to the role of experiential displacement, and I will argue that they reveal a semiotic process at work within the Andalusian ritual system.

Part III presents the orientation of the observations in Parts I and II within a ritual studies framework. It also integrates the results of the fieldwork into a theoretical framework whose elements address parallel issues between ethnomusicology and ritual studies as they apply to music and ritual. Finally, Part III integrates both fields into a single theoretical framework that I call the “ritual spiral.”

The theory has two basic aims. The first is to reconcile the currently contradictory theories within ritual studies. The two extremes posit these opposing theories: (a) that ritual is essential while myth is nonessential, or (b) that myth is essential and ritual is superfluous. What is at stake is whether ritual can be understood best through social interpretations that emphasize the importance of discourse, symbol, and meaning (and hence the importance of myth), or whether we must look into the human body, its nervous system, and its behaviors for an understanding of ritual—and from that perspective make the ritual experience itself the focus of investigation. Between those two endpoints, the spectrum of theoretical positions

within the humanities, from positivism to social constructionism, is contained in seed form within the myth-ritual relationship.

The second aim of my ritual theory is to provide a useful theoretical tool with which the field researcher can confront the plethora of ritual practices that led to the plethora of contradictory theories in the first place.

The remainder of this Introduction summarizes the development of the dissertation, chapter by chapter.

Part I overview—The romería of El Rocío: Musical and ritual morphology as popular culture

Chapter 2 begins by describing the differences between the Andalusian romería and other pilgrimages. The most important distinction—that it is a processional pilgrimage that specializes in a particular emotional mode—underlies most of the work of this dissertation. The chapter presents the historical background of the processional pilgrimage of El Rocío, including considerations of the procession as a ritual form in and of itself. This chapter also introduces the key role that pilgrimage liminality, as proposed by Victor and Edith Turner ([1978] 1995, 1–39), plays within the processional pilgrimage and extends that concept beyond its social application to those of the territorial and the emotional. The chapter also introduces the allegorical procession as a literary device and how it may provide clues to the origins and purposes of the ritual procession.

Chapter 3 introduces the reader to the specific configuration of the El Rocío processions as I experienced and observed them—the sounds, the pageantry, the central objects and symbols, and, most important, the “cast of characters.” I reveal

that the processions of El Rocío are fundamentally singing choruses in motion. The central phenomenological feature of the Rocío processions, as previously stated, is that they consistently display a single focused emotion. Establishing the procession as a chorus in motion, and the specialized emotional modality as being its manifested intent, constitutes the first steps toward my concept of “emotional tuning” and may be the most significant realization of this work in terms of ritual studies and ethnomusicological fieldwork.

Furthermore, the processions of El Rocío are also consistent with Turner’s observations concerning his concept of *communitas* and pilgrimage in general (*ibid.*). However I account for the presence of *communitas* in a somewhat different light—as that of a default condition that comes as a result of the pursuit of religious experience. Furthermore, I suggest that the presence of *communitas* functions as an essential component to how the pilgrimage of El Rocío succeeds in generating popular culture as religious culture.

Chapter 4 is an inquiry into the music and history of the figure of the *Tamborilero*, the mysterious drum and flute player who walks ahead of the image or banner of the *Virgen del Rocío*. The historical evidence links him to a possible ritual past somewhat reminiscent of a shaman and/or priest type of role. The tradition, or traditions, seem to have extended throughout Western Europe at one time, and also seems to have crossed all social boundaries from the marginalized wanderer to the leading musical figure at the aristocratic and ecclesiastic courts. Bringing to light the possible significance of the *Tamborilero* may be the second most important aspect of this work in terms of historical ethnomusicology.

Chapter 5 presents the music of the chorus, which is to say, the music of the procession. It treats each of the musical forms of the present-day Rocío from both a historical and an ethnomusicological approach. The most important aspect of this chapter is the examination of a possible path of morphology between music, ritual, and the emotions, which provides a key element toward the development of the musical component to my theory of ritual relations.

By “morphology” I mean something that superficially resembles the study within linguistics of how changes come about within a language (or from language to language) but more truly resembles the biological use of the term as the study of underlying structural changes that organisms undergo in response to experience. I say this because the former usage tracks linguistic structural responses to changes in meaning, whereas the biological changes respond to experience, which in turn lead to new experiences, as a means of adaptation. Whereas it may be argued that a change in linguistics enhances adaptation, the change in language responds to an adaptation that has already taken place while a change in behavior is itself an adaptive agent.

I compare the well-known morphology of the Fandangos musical form to a similar process that I observed within the Sevillanas Rocieras—the primary musical genre of the present-day Rocío.

The observation that pilgrimage music is popular music in Andalusia is briefly considered as a historical legacy that may have been common in the past. I also point out particular examples in the present day that suggest that pilgrimage music may still be playing a significant role in popular music worldwide.

In **Chapter 6** I reveal that although the official or, as I call them, the formal processions are an essential ingredient in the emotional structuring process, they are nonetheless not, at least at el Rocío, where the more fundamental work of musical morphology takes place.

The changes in musical form that I elucidate in Chapters 5 and 6 are musical behavioral responses to ritual practices. However, since the rituals under consideration are largely musical ritual practices to begin with, what these changes in form actually constitute are changes in behavior. I will argue that the morphology of musical forms within Rocío ritual practices expands the emotional “repertoire” and in that process enrich and expand the pilgrimage experience. As I will point out, however, those rituals wherein the most fundamental changes take place at El Rocío have no actual official status in the overall pilgrimage. What is significant about this is that these rituals have no mythological content at all. They are purely musical behavioral practices.

In Chapter 6 I introduce the family of Andalusian forms called *palos* (“sticks,” or “staves”) and their informal ritual exponent the *juerga* (for which the closest English equivalent is the “jam session”). It is at these sites that much of the emotional and musical morphology takes place that is subsequently formalized within the processions. In the concluding chapter of this dissertation, I propose that these practices can be seen as descendants of an early proto-music and proto-ritual activity, characterized purely by musical performance as organized, communal sound making. This activity assumes two basic forms: organized communal movement (procession or pilgrimage) and the station (rest or campsite), which are themselves rooted in

ethological behaviors (ritual activities studied as potentially evolved from, or analogous to, certain animal ritual behaviors).

In **Chapter 7**, I present three short essays. In the first essay, “Juerga University,” I present some preliminary data obtained from recordings I made that relate to communal rhythmic entrainment. By “entrainment” I am considering Björn Merker’s use of the term:

The musical pulse embedded in all measured music is what allows us to tap or clap to a piece of music. Fraisse (1982: 154) pointed out a peculiarity in this behavior, namely, that whereas in most behaviors a response follows a stimulus, here the response is made to coincide with the stimulus...The phenomenon is one of entrainment, and in this context the functional utility of an evenly paced timegiver is immediately apparent: it allows us to predict where the next beat is going to fall and thus synchronize our behavior with that of the pulse...musical pulse is a cardinal device for coordinating the behavior of those individuals (Merker 2000, 316).

Although I am using his stated definition of the word as predictive response to stimulus by an individual or a group, I will also emphasize the observation that these responses can be internalized such that they so as to constitute a behavioral response, like a memory, that can attain to a precise degree, as evidenced by the Andalusian Rocieros.

The second essay, “Palmas,” deals with the subject of musical learning at the Rocío as representative of musical learning throughout Andalusia and constitutes a primary example of how individuality can emerge out of communal practices.

The third essay, “The Intimate Song,” can be considered a metaphor for my developing theory of emotional tuning and emotional morphology within a ritual environment that nonetheless eventually serves as the material for experiential

displacement into Andalusian society at large and beyond through the detached symbol.

Part II overview—The semiotics of emotional chaos

The second trajectory of this thesis consists of identifying the steady movement within a ritual system, from the experiential to the symbolic, that can be seen as a semiotic process of experience and representation as two currents within the same phenomenon: experiential displacement (or the symbolizing process) and experiential reintegration. The process, as displayed in the opening vignettes, can be seen as a continuous rate of exchange within the ratios of symbol to experience as they manifest within each ritual including the Mass. Part II begins with the ritual of the Mass (Chapter 8), proceeding to the musical processional pilgrimage of which the baptism and river crossing were just one example (Chapter 7), and culminates in the final ritual of El Rocío, the procession of the *Salida* (Chapter 9).

In **Chapter 8** I explore the Mass as a ritual of profound symbolic meaning that nonetheless must point outside of itself for the realization of that meaning. In this chapter I introduce my concept of ritual experiential default—what is experienced within a ritual regardless of its symbolic intention.

In **Chapter 9** I follow the symbolic trajectory as it manifests itself within the processional pilgrimage from the moment it leaves the structural boundaries of the Mass and begins its journey into the liminal “forest.” It is in the procession that the semiotic gap between sign and object begins to dramatically close as symbol and

experience begins to converge. The first step in that convergence is the specialized emotional procession—the chorus in motion.

A key element (at least in the Andalusian system) to what I have observed as being an ongoing morphology of emotions, music, and ritual, is the pressing of the emotions into the chaotic. In this case, as presented in the third event, the specific emotional mode of glorification that had characterized the processional pilgrimage of El Rocío up until then, is in a real sense “deconstructed” into a state of virtual chaos both physically and emotionally. Previous observers have noticed these chaotic moments but have paid little attention to them except in passing. Based on the evidence presented in Chapter 9 and the theoretical insights developed from then on in this work, I believe that the element of the chaotic is critical in the continuation and evolution of the Andalusian ritual system as a whole.

Part III overview—Toward a theory of ritual relations

In Part III I integrate the experiences and observations of the fieldwork within the larger context of ritual studies and ethnomusicology, but I limit those ethnomusicological considerations to the specific relationship between music, the emotions, and ritual. It concludes with a theoretical model of ritual relations that I call the “ritual spiral theory.” Part III expands the theoretical approach of Part II toward developing a theory of ritual systems that can be applied cross-culturally and also sets the parameters or how that can be done without encountering the same contradictions that have beset ritual studies from the onset.

One concept that I develop throughout the dissertation is that of congruency. There seems to be a definite, if not quite quantifiable, congruency between the

elements of a ritual system—the ritual, the music, and the phenomenological states—especially as emotional states change together from ritual to ritual and in direct proportional ways. I am proposing that the exchange that determines the rate of proportional change between those elements is a factor of the change in ratio between experience and representation—what I call experiential displacement into symbolization—and its reverse.

Admittedly, the concepts of experience and representation as well as the relationship between ritual activity and emotional states are not quantifiable. I suggest, however, that a ratio of proportional influences *must exist*, even if they are not quantifiable. By acknowledging the general parameters within which they must operate in relation to each other the ritual investigator may make certain predictions about rituals in relation to each other within a system that can be useful in the field. It will be a task of Part III to tentatively formalize this hypothesis of elemental ritual congruency based on the observations made in Parts I and II and to suggest its veracity and usefulness in the conclusion.

Chapter 11 addresses the myth/ritual debate within ritual studies (Bell 1997, 3) and proposes that this relationship is an analog of the process of experience and representation. After a brief comparison of the schools that have arisen within the history of ritual studies, I suggest that what lies at the root of the theoretical contradictions within the field can be seen as a product of two considerations: (1) how the analyst stands philosophically on the issue of experience and representation, and (2) what kind of rituals the analyst chose for study. I go on to suggest that a critical

issue in understanding ritual studies is to consider how the role of the religious experience is either approached or ignored.

Chapter 12 points out that there is an analog within ethnomusicology to the myth/ritual dichotomy of ritual studies that is manifested as the music/language debate. However, my interest is not actually the music/language issue itself but rather to what degree, within a ritual system, music functions in a linguistic capacity as a symbolic vehicle compared to its emotive capacity. In this sense, my focus is actually the relationship between music and ritual as an analog to the myth and ritual dichotomy. What drives the inquiry is the ritual, music, and emotion relationships analyzed in Part I, as ritual structure, musical form, and emotional tuning. To that end, I limit the ethnomusicology to those investigators who deal with the trance and music relationship within the ritual experience. I refer to, among others, Judith Becker's exploration of the relationships between music, trance, and the emotions (2005), to which she applies some of the insights of neurobiologist and psychologist Antonio Damasio (1999).

The work of Nils Wallin introduced the new field of biomusicology, wherein he theorized that the focused emotion—as a neurobiological phenomenon made possible through tonal flow—links music, emotions, and increased human consciousness as evolutionary co-elements (Wallin 1991). Based on their work and the work of others such as Steven Friedson (1996), I propose that the morphology of musical form, as a component of ritual morphology, reflects a morphology of consciousness that at the least is a modification of consciousness when considered as a distinct “mode” of consciousness. Modes of consciousness are not only generated

but also formalized in the ritual procession that consists of an emotional mode and a concomitant musical form.

The procession, in this light, may be seen as a ritual that specializes in a particular emotional mode or mode of consciousness. As a final tentative proposition, I suggest that the musical mode (both melodic and rhythmic), may have evolved from the ritual procession as an abstracted technology detached from its ritual relation, and that furthermore, the ritual procession, as an adaptation of ethological behaviors, may have played an essential role in human cultivation of emotional and phenomenal states.

Chapter 13 introduces my ritual spiral theory of ritual relations. The theory begins by placing the religious experience as being at the heart of what sacred ritual systems processes through the differing ratios of experience and representation. The religious experience is presented as a form of self-knowledge that is arrived at by the activation of the nervous system to its full capacity, a state that achieves a kind of liminality of the self to the self, and draws from some of the basic tenets of neurophenomenology that were presented in Chapter 11. I propose in this chapter that one way to approach the religious experience is to consider it a form of heightened consciousness.

In view of the theoretical relationships linking emotions with consciousness (presented in Chapters 11 and 12) and my own insights (developed in Parts I and II of this work), the neurobiological basis of religious experiences may be considered as varieties of emotional intensification that include, at their most extreme state, an element of the chaotic. The chaotic state, although relatively rare, is nonetheless a key

element in the perpetuation of the ritual system. I contend that the activation of the nervous system as a form of human self-manipulation constitutes the primary goal of sacred ritual systems.

I also contend that the activation of a religious experience is, paradoxically, not the goal of most of the rituals within the system. My semiotic theory of ritual relations addresses this phenomenon: the relative displacement of the religious experience into varying degrees of symbolization. The symbolization process, and the reintegration of the symbolic into experience, is an important aspect of how ritual systems generate culture.

In the concluding chapter, Chapter 14, I propose that the concept of ritual “tuning” of the nervous system presented by biogenetic structuralism (in Chapter 11) and the relationship between consciousness and the emotions, especially in their relationship to music and trance (introduced in Chapter 12), may be considered as variations of a general process of “emotional tuning,” based upon my observations presented in Parts I and II of this work. In this sense I provisionally suggest that the varieties of the religious experience might be considered as intensified emotional states and that these states are, at least in part, the result of centuries of human ritual. Emotional differentiation, or evolution, may be seen as an increase in consciousness, or “modes” of consciousness.

Nils Wallin’s work strongly suggests that the cultivation of these emotional states as a repertoire of emotions may have been a key force behind the increase in human brain capacity (Wallin 1991, xviii–xix, 483–485). Adding to his insights, I suggest that the musical ritual—perhaps the earliest human ritual to emerge out of

ethological behaviors—comprised the early ritual systems, as a repertoire of musical rituals that invoked specific emotional states through internalized musical structures. These communal rituals may have played a key role in the evolution of human culture and the emergence of individual self-consciousness from within the communal ritual practice.

Chapter 2: Background to Processional Pilgrimage

The discovery of the religious procession was for this investigator one of the most important results of the dissertation fieldwork. As the Prelude makes clear, the processions are the single most important feature of El Rocío. Realizing their potency as a ritual was something that struck me immediately upon taking part in my first procession, but researching their historical background has also been illuminating. However, the religious procession is no longer cultivated in Western Europe or in the United States to any significant degree. Furthermore there is little literature that deals with the processions as a form of social ritual activity in itself. What follows is an introduction to El Rocío that emphasizes the processional pilgrimage aspect. It includes some essential historical background, an examination of how processions work from the inside as vehicles for cultural generation as well as for social display, and finally a brief look at the possible ethological roots of the ritual procession and how the procession itself, as a ritual form, may have played some role in human evolution.¹ In every aspect of the survey, from the processions of El Rocío in particular, to their possible theoretical relations to ethology, the musical component proves to be not peripheral but central.

The Andalusian romería: Pilgrimage of specific time, form, and emotional modality

There are a number of important differences between an Andalusian romería, such as El Rocío, and most other Catholic pilgrimages in Western Europe. To begin with, the romería is carried out according to a specific calendar date of significance to the object of pilgrimage, while other pilgrimages—such as those of Fatima, Santiago, Rome, or Jerusalem—may be performed at any time (Coleman 2004; Turner [1978] 1995).

Furthermore, to attend a romería, at least in Andalusia, one must be a member of a recognized organization called a *Hermandad*, or “brotherhood,” whose sole purpose is to perform the pilgrimage. Certain ceremonies along the pilgrimage route are often expressions of the relationships between these organizations. The *Hermandades* are of central importance to the romerías of Andalusia and have themselves been the object of anthropological study (Moreno Navarro 1974, Burgos 1977, and Llorden and Souvirón 1969). The *Hermandades* of the romerías are a counterpart to the *cofradías* (“confraternities”) of the Holy Week processions. What is most important for the reader to understand about the *Hermandades* and *cofradías*, in relation to this thesis, is that they are both lay organizations with a long and important history throughout Andalusia. But these organizations have never been supported by the Church hierarchy or the civil authorities and have, over time, conflicted with both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.² In general, though, both organizations have been approved by the authorities and have formed extremely important social entities in and of themselves for many different reasons (see “1932” and “1956” in App. A;

Trujillo Priego 1995, 283–285; Gónzales Cruz 2002, 17–28; and Moreno Navarro 1974, which deals exclusively with the Hermandades). Most pilgrimages are embarked upon by individuals or small groups that decide on a time to go and then choose the route and how long they intend to take getting there as well as how long they will stay once they arrive at the site.

A third difference between the *romería* and most other pilgrimages is that the Andalusian *romerías* are undertaken as extended processions. They begin the moment the pilgrims finish their commencement Mass and set forth from their city, town, village, or neighborhood, until they return. The entire Hermandad, whether it is a small brotherhood of less than a few hundred, or a large congregation—such as the Hermandad of Huelva, which is composed of several thousand members—sets forth in procession. Obviously, *romerías* are not solitary events or quiet events as are most types of Western pilgrimages. They are elaborate rituals full of music, dance, and ceremony. I have found that the *romería* can last just one day, such as a town's local *romería* celebrating their patron saint, or consume several weeks as do the regional *romerías*, such as those of El Rocío, that attract people from all over Spain and beyond.

The fourth important difference between an Andalusian *romería* and most other pilgrimages is the deliberate cultivation of an emotional cast, or emotional modality, through emotional exteriorization.³ The essence of the Andalusian *romería* is the emotional modality of “*de Gloria*”: Glorification through joyous expression and worship. For this reason, the Hermandades that organize themselves for the various *romerías* are called *de Gloria* (“of glorification”). It is important when considering

the emotional modality of the *romería* to contrast it with the emotional modality of *de Penitencia* (“of penitence” or “penitential”), the prevailing modality of the Andalusian Holy Week processions. In both cases, the primary vehicle for the cultivation of these emotional modalities is the practice of emotional exteriorization within the processional rituals. Both modalities make use of intense musical expressions, baroque imagery, and exhaustive ritual practices (in terms of duration and stamina). Silent, introspective prayer is simply not a ritual component of these particular events, although it may occur as a result of the exteriorized practices (i.e., participation in either processional mode may inspire a person to devote time to meditation and silent retreat, although these are not practices within the processions). The non-*romería* type of pilgrimage has no particular emotional cast and can even be confused with a form of tourism (Eade and Sallnow 2000, xvi–xx). Whether they are penitential in nature, glorifying, mystical, or even rogational (a response to a life crisis), is determined by the individual or group going on the pilgrimage. But the pilgrimage itself will have no emotional cast that is specifically cultivated by everyone on the pilgrimage (Turner [1978] 1995; Coleman and Eade 2004; Eade and Sallnow 2000).

There is a sophistication as to how these emotional modalities are cultivated that has not, in my opinion, been properly understood by anthropologists. The *romerías* not only cultivate and construct emotions—such as “joy”—as an aspect of glorification, but they also *deconstruct* such emotions (as presented in the Prelude and will be further developed in Part II). The *de Gloria* emotional mode is pushed to its limits within the bounds of a “controlled chaos” (a term used by the *Rocieros*

themselves) during the final procession of El Rocío called “*La Salida*” (“the going out” or “coming out”: see Chapter 9). I am proposing that it is this constant pressing against the emotional boundaries—while at the same time cultivating and exteriorizing inner emotional content—that contributes to a process of emotional development that results in the creation of a “mature joy” (e.g., an emotion that never degrades to the “slap happy” or the trivial). It is a glorification that encompasses both aspects of the word “awe” as expressed in its two English variants: *awesome* and *awful*. Their paradoxical relation is an apt parallel to the “controlled chaos” or even chaotic joy of the *romería*.

Likewise with Holy Week, this same penetration and expansion of emotional boundaries takes place. The emotions of sorrow and confessional introspection avoid becoming simply morose and pitiful through highly charged emotional exteriorizations that are deliberately driven toward the chaotic. That chaos is called “sublime savagery” in the town of Priego (Briones Gómez 1999, 99–101), and I have also witnessed similar expressions on a number of occasions during Holy Week processions in both Granada and Seville.⁴ I am tentatively calling this practice *emotional structuring*: a ritual practice that utilizes the generation of highly charged emotions, the exteriorization of these emotions, and their structuring into ritual and musical behaviors. I am also proposing that the objective of these practices is to achieve a kind of *emotional tuning* that translates into behavioral aesthetics among the participants. I will be exploring these concepts further as the work progresses.

The Rocío chorus, or the procession itself, closely resembles the accounts of the Dionysian processions, or “Procession of Satyrs” as Nietzsche called it ([1886]

1967, 56). I refer to Nietzsche because he has been overlooked as student of ritual and especially of the relationship between music, ritual, and human self-guided transformation. His analysis of the Dionysian rites in *The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music* ([1886] 1967) suggests that the half-animal half-human satyrs of the processions are not merely humans moving toward their animal selves, but equally the animal human striving to exceed his limitations.

The similarities between the processions of El Rocío and the Dionysian rites is particularly evident in terms of the physical configuration—that of a singing chorus moving in procession and often led by a single self-accompanying musician (Stolba 1990, 11). There are also the final chaotic acts to consider—although the chaos of the Rocío chorus is clearly not as exaggerated as some accounts of the Dionysian processions (Otto 1965, 103, 120, 189; Daniélou [1984] 1992, 37, 164–165). The Rocieros are seeking not only the highly emotional expression of “glorification” but also something near what Nietzsche referred to as the impulse that seeks to experience the “paradox that lies at the heart of the world” ([1886] 1967, 58). We see echoes of this drive toward the chaotic at the Rocío in phrases such as the “controlled chaos” and “sublime savagery” referred to above. Lynn Matluck Brooks, in *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain’s Golden Age* (1988), points out the same tendencies of the processions in sixteenth-century Seville to become somewhat chaotic, at least in the eyes of the authorities (60–64, 122), and Allen Josephs, in *The White Walls of Spain* (1978, 101–131), relates how historically there are witnesses to this practice by outside observers stretching back centuries.

But we can also *experience* the chaotic in an immediate way, as it is a prominent and integral element within the ritual practices of el Rocío. The emotional tuning (as I am calling it) and its chaotic component within the rituals is much, also as Nietzsche suggested ([1886] 1967, 62–63), a self-directed impulse arising from within the population. The chaotic instances that occur within these processions, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 9, are in no way objectives looked for by the Church hierarchy. The romería processions, like the Holy Week processions, are grass-roots phenomena arising from the population at large. My research indicates that they include proportional members from across the social spectrum and, as Allen Josephs has also pointed out (1978, 17–21), their roots lie deep in the Andalusian cultural past.

Mythological background of the image in relation to the romería

El Rocío is a devotional pilgrimage to a specific image of the Virgin Mary, called *La Virgen del Rocío* (“The Virgin of the Dew”). The image is part of what Victor Turner identified as the “Shepherd’s Cycle” ([1978] 1995, 41–42), a series of legends surrounding the miraculous discovery of statues of the Virgin, centuries after they had been hidden from the Moorish advance in Iberia beginning in 711. The legends usually involved a remote wilderness, a wandering shepherd (or, less often, a hunter), and some kind of supernatural guidance—hence “The Shepherd’s Cycle.” By cycle, it is meant not only that there is a group of myths, or *leyendas* (legends) as they are usually called, but that within each myth there are recurring patterns: (a) a hunter or shepherd finds an image of the Virgin Mary in some remote locality (b) the person

attempts to take the image with them but it proves for one reason or another to be impossible (c) it becomes clear that the site where the image was found is where it needs to stay and where the veneration is to take place. (d) The exact spot and its environs are considered to be sacred.

The *Leyenda* of El Rocío, at least in official written form, was presented in 1758 by the Hermandad of Almonte (see translation in App. A)—the small town in the province of Huelva, the westernmost province in Andalusia (see map in App. B)—who claim the Virgen del Rocío as their patroness (Trujillo Priego 1995, Cantero 1996, Taillefert 1997). By then, however, the pilgrimage was already at least three hundred years old. Although slightly different versions have arisen regarding the legends' details, all versions coincide regarding the story's general features (ibid).

This particular Virgin's celebration has undergone a number of changes—including the event's date, her robes, symbols, and even her name—and there continue to be slight changes even in the present (a complete version of the legend is given in Appendix A, followed by a chronology of the main events up to the present). As it stands today, the celebration of the *Virgen del Rocío* occurs 50 days after Easter on the Monday of Pentecost, according to the Church calendar. The dates can vary from year to year within a two-week span, but the celebration usually lands between the last week of May and the first week of June. The names of the Virgin—*La Blanca Paloma* (“the White Dove”), and *Virgen del Rocío* (“The Virgin of the Dew”) are extremely esoteric and relate Her directly to the Holy Spirit through common metaphors within Catholicism. The profound iconography and symbolism of this particular Virgin are worthy of a study unto itself. However, what becomes apparent

from the view of the participant observer within the rituals is that the esoteric symbols that have accumulated over the centuries serve different purposes at different times (see App. A, Legend and Chronology) but tend to arise in the wake of ritual practice. For instance, there is a decorative salamander on the Virgin's mantle that was probably added in the sixteenth century (Ríos González 1978, 16). There are no ritual practices regarding this salamander. Likewise, there are no references to it in any prayers or lyrics. Nevertheless, if one examines medieval alchemical treatises the symbolism is clear: salamanders refer to the New Testament "tongues of flame" associated with the descent of the Holy Spirit during Pentecost (Roob 1997, 488). The addition may have been for any number of reasons, but what is clear is that in the actual ritual practices of the *romería* today, the symbol of the salamander plays no overt part. And it is just one of a host of symbols that make up the image of the *Virgen del Rocío*, and each one could justify its own commentary.

However, these overt symbols can create the same kind of confusion as the unintentional symbols: the present-day social markers of class, identity, and power that preoccupy so many social anthropologists. But the social symbols are even more easily confused and misinterpreted, as this work will demonstrate in Parts I and II. Yet the examples of the salamander and similar symbols support one underlying theme in this work: We must be careful when assigning meaning to symbols within a ritual before having experienced the ritual. Studying symbols independently from the ritual, to include associated mythologies, can lead to many erroneous conclusions. If one considers that the culmination of the *romería* takes place on *Lunes de Pentecostés* (Monday night of Pentecost), that the Virgin is brought out in a procession called *La*

Salida, and that one of her names is *La Blanca Paloma* (“The White Dove”), the deliberate connection between the *romería*, Mary, and the Holy Spirit becomes obvious. However, if one participates in the ritual, it becomes equally obvious that the *romería*’s central aspects are the emotional adoration of Mary and the total experiential power of the pilgrimage. The Virgin’s doctrinal, or esoteric, interpretations—as reflected in the ever-evolving symbols—are a rather distant second. The Rocío itself is an example of how easily such mistakes can be made, as there are many symbols, like that of the salamander that if focused on as an object through which to interpret the *romería*, would lead one to emphasize archaic ideas that are no longer part of the present day practices. More important, although doctrinal explanations might be significant in other circumstances (such as the writing of a book *about* the Rocío), they are not central to the Rocío in its actual performance. This point will be clarified in Part II, where the rituals themselves are analyzed. The theoretical relationship between myth and ritual, as expressions of the semiotic process of experience and representation is a central issue within ritual studies, and will be explored further in Part III of this work.

The land and its mythology: A paradise at the liminal edges for healing through emotional glorification

The present-day town of El Rocío—where the image is kept in a beautiful hermitage completely renovated between the years 1963–1969 (Trujillo Priego 1995, 363; Taillefert 2002, 43–48)—is located in the savannas that make up the general delta of the Guadalquivir River that empties into the Atlantic Ocean off the western

coast of Andalusia (see maps in App. B). The area is called “*El Coto de la Doñana*” (“The preserve of la Doñana”), a land that has a long history of being a wild, marginal territory (Taillefert 2002, 15–25; Trujillo Priego 1995, 31–34; Muñoz 2003, 23–27), a medieval hunting preserve of kings (Trujillo Priego 1995, 32; Taillefert 2002, 16; Muñoz 2003, 38), and a breeding ground for horses (Muñoz 2003, 23–43). Today, it is a protected national park (Muñoz 2003, 97–100; Trujillo Priego 1995, 59) and object of pilgrimage.

Locals say the name *La Doñana* is a contraction of *Doña Ana* (“Lady Ana”) ascribed to a certain duchess, the wife of a fifteenth-century Duke of Sidona who owned the land and supported the veneration of the Virgin (Taillefert 2002, 26; Trujillo Priego 1995, 35). The duchess apparently died a recluse in a small palace built in the forest (which is along the camino of the *romería*; see “Thursday” in App. B). But the relationship between the name and specifically what lands it was supposed to have applied to have been contested and remains uncertain (Murphy 1997, 169–183).

One river that runs through the savannas had been called *La Madre de las Marismas* (“The Mother of the Savannas”) (Burgos 1974, i). The immediate vicinity of El Rocío was called *Las Rocinas* (“Land of the Nag” or “Nags”) (Taillefert 2002, 21, 51; Trujillo Priego 1995, 33; Reales 2004, 9; et al). And the area itself was also called *Madre de las Marismas* or just *Madre* (“Motherland”) in the fifteenth century, perhaps in reference to the river (Taillefert 2002, 21).

I am not sure that the relationship between a duchess and the name of the land celebrated during El Rocío is particularly relevant. The contraction from Doña Ana to

La Doñana seems insufficient when considering that the land itself is called “La Doñana.” A better translation might be “Land of the Lady” in that the word Doña means “Lady,” and the suffix “ana” can just as easily mean “of,” or “from,” as in the word *Malagueña*, meaning a song, or a woman, from the city of Málaga. The name “La Doñana” can easily mean “The Land of (or belonging to) the Lady,” or “The Land of Lady Ana,” which would still relate to Mary by referring to her mother “Anne” or, in Hebrew, “Hannah” (New Advent, “St. Anne”). This is a much more likely reference especially in view of the fact that the “Immaculate Conception” of Mary is actually about her mother St. Anne (New Advent, “Immaculate Conception”). This official Church doctrine is a recent proclamation issued in 1854 (New Advent, “Doctrine”), but it was nonetheless “unofficially” the practice in Andalusia dating well before 1653, where we find it in one of first official publications acknowledging the relationship between the town of Almonte and the Virgin that would eventually be named the Virgin of El Rocío: “*En el nombre de la Santa Trinidad...y de Gloriosa Virgen Santa María de las Rocinas, Madre de Dios concebida sin pecado original*” (“In the name of the Holy Trinity...and of the Glorious Virgin Mary of the Rocinas, mother of God conceived without original sin.” We first note the obvious statement of what would become two centuries later official Catholic doctrine and, second, the idea of the Holy Trinity, which in many places around the Catholic Mediterranean, takes on a feminine form such as “*Maries sur la Mer*” (“*Maries by the Sea*” in southern France) or “*Triana*” (“*Tri-Ana*,” or “*Three Annes*,” in Seville). The subject of a “Triple Goddess” concept has been covered at length by the late Robert Graves (1975, 383–408). His mythological work has been greatly supported by the historical work of

Allen Josephs. According to Josephs (1983, 121–131), this area had been the site of many earlier pre-Christian venerations, as was the case with many other Marian shrines and pilgrimage sites (Josephs 1983, 123; Turner [1978] 1995; Begg 1985; Calamari 2002).⁵ However, as stated above, if the analyst probes too deeply into historical symbols, they can easily lead one away from the present day “work” of the pilgrimage. Nonetheless, we must also note that many concepts that seem to persist through the centuries do not do so because a story or myth is repeated over and over, but rather because there are rituals beneath the concepts that keep them alive (to be discussed further in Chapters 11–13). The relationships between the many Virgin Mary pilgrimages, the Trinity, and the concept of sacred land, cannot be dismissed. The pilgrimages are rituals that have in fact kept such ideas and relationships intact as El Rocío exemplifies. But that the pilgrimages and other rituals may have pre-Christian elements in them does not make them less Catholic. The pilgrimage of El Rocío is extremely Catholic in every way, and the people feel themselves to be completely Catholic. What we will see is how the *romerías* maintain and continue to generate Catholic culture, not the reverse.

Of interest to this study concerning the locations of the pilgrimage sites of the cycle is to reiterate that they are always in remote places that are often not easily accessible (Josephs 1983, 133; Turner [1978] 1995, 3–8). They tend to be sites at the margins of civilization or the known territories. As related above, the legends of the Shepherd’s Cycle include the discovery of an image of the Virgin. And in each legend, the site of the discovery becomes as important as the image itself. This a constant motif, and an essential aspect of the ensuing practices. The pilgrimages are

generated by the Virgin's insistence that the particular place where the image was found—or where She appeared—and its environs (*aldea* in Spanish), must be the site wherein the acts of veneration are to take place (De la Fuente [1879] in Turner [1978] 1995, 42). This insistence is made clear in different ways within the various legends. But also consistent is the fact that in each legend the precise discovery site is to be considered sacred land.

For example, here is a summation of the main points contained in narration of the Legend of El Rocío, based on the version first published by the Hermandad of Almonte in 1758, under the title “*Regla Directiva Del Rocío* ” and then again in facsimile in 2003. It is translated in full by this author in Appendix A with additional comments from various sources. The following quotes are excerpts from the original text:

1. How God in His providence allowed the conquest of the land by the Saracens in the terrible eighth century (6).
2. As the Spaniards fled the sudden advancement of the Saracens, they hid the relics and statues in the wilds so that they would not be profaned. Over the centuries they were forgotten (6).
3. As the Christians advanced, statues and relics reemerged like “flowers never before so appreciated in this land” (6)
4. Eight of these items are named, including the “Virgin of this Brotherhood Almonte” (6).
5. The Spaniards now enjoyed an “innocent” liberty after the “cleansing” of Andalusia from the tyrannical yoke of the “impure” Saracens (6–7).
6. God then created a “House of Refuge” and a “Mystical Pool” wherein the newly liberated Spaniards could be cleansed of infirmaries of the spirit and the body. He also created an abundant tree in whose shade they could find “respite from the strife and labors of the world” (7).

7. In this “paradise” (then called *Las Rocinas*), was found the miraculous statue of Holy Mary of the Rocinas, the object of their devotion and of which “there is no other as pleasing to Jesus Christ” (7).

As the introduction to the legend makes clear, the environs of what is today El Rocío, is “a land to heal,” a “paradise” wherein the healing of “infirmities of the spirit” can take place. These qualities are ascribed to the land itself, in conjunction to the “miraculous” statue. If to participate in the pilgrimage is to go forth to a place of healing, then clearly the pilgrimage itself has some kind of healing, transformative, and therapeutic objective. That is not to say that “miracle” cures are a prominent component of El Rocío, but nonetheless they are a definite feature (Trujillo Priego 1995, 21–27).

What is, in my opinion, most significant about the territorial liminality of the pilgrimage sites, is how they serve as physical reinforcement to the other liminal boundaries that are penetrated by pilgrimages in general and by the *romerías* in specific and dramatic ways. The emotional aspect of the *romería* is certainly, from the perspective of performance and experience, its most salient characteristic.

The liminal boundaries between emotions can be defined as those areas of high emotional generation wherein panic, violence, fear, ecstasy, joy, and awe (as in both senses as referred to above) begin to break down and look similar. These liminal emotional territories are the focus of the constant structuring and deconstructing of the emotional states, not only at El Rocío but as my research has suggested to me, in Andalusian ritual practice in general. “Paradise” in Andalusia, then, is not necessarily tranquil.

This emotional structuring is a powerful cultural tool that over time creates behavioral aesthetics, through a process of what I am calling “emotional tuning.” Such tuning is itself the ongoing results of the practice I am calling “emotional structuring” (and destructuring). Liminality on various levels then, is a key component of the *romería* that includes: liminality of territory (to physically embark upon a journey to a territorial margin), the liminality of social barriers (*communitas*), and the deliberate penetration and expansion of those liminal boundaries that categorize one’s inner emotional landscape (emotional structuring and tuning). We have then, liminality of the environment, the social, and the physical body.

Territorial liminality and procession as extension of van Gennep’s ritual theories

It is interesting to note that van Gennep bases his liminality and rites of passage theories on the physical liminality of territories. The second chapter in his influential *Rites of Passage* (or “transition” as some translators prefer) is actually entitled “The Territorial Passage” (van Gennep 1960, 15). He notes the rituals that surrounded the marking of territories and the crossing from one territory to another. These boundaries, or *limina*, do more than separate groups of people; they also demarcate the land itself into territories with their own sacred and religious attributes. These observations form the initial starting point for his theories of ritual transitions.

Van Gennep describes the neutral zones as usually consisting of dense forests, marshlands, barren lands, or isolated peaks. But one can see that these kinds of landscapes also feature prominently for the sites of pilgrimage. El Rocío, for

example, is located in a marshland—hence the title *Virgen de las Marismas* (“Virgin of the Marshes” or “Savannas”). Similarly, *Montserrat* and the *Virgen de la Cabeza* are two of the most important pilgrimage sites in Spain, and both are located atop extremely high, rocky, and steep promontories. And the vision of Lourdes, in France, occurred at a cave in the depths of a forest (personal observations).

The militant and religious “march” to the liminal boundaries

Van Gennep also discusses the marking of territories at the liminal edges with different kinds of objects and architectural constructions, such as phallic objects, the heads of dead animals, large stone markers, and portals that are simply abstracted doors (van Gennep 1960, 15–16). But van Gennep does not seem to have considered the possible role of processions as a means for claiming, marking, maintaining, and crossing boundaries even though he does talk about the relationship between words like “marches,” “marks,” and the French title of a *Marquis* as being both names for boundaries and descriptions of how they are arrived at and maintained (ibid., 17–18). The liminal sites between boundaries, the neutral zones, were at times reserved for battlefields (ibid., 16).

These concepts hold a special relevance to pilgrimage in Andalusia. First of all, we see the procession as a formalized structure within which pilgrims may make the transitions across liminal boundaries from the tendency of the Mass to display and reinforce the current social order (see Chapter 8) to the *communitas* of the *romerías* and the anonymity of the *Semana Santa* Processions. But the processions of the *romerías* may have also served to actually *mark* territorial boundaries as being under the patronage of particular deities, in this case marking the territories as being *La*

Tierra de Santa Maria (“The Land of Holy Mary”) on the edge of those territories held by the Moors during the *Reconquista* (“Reconquest”).

Placing images of the Virgin Mary in key spots along the frontier by the Spanish as they advanced against the Muslims was a strategic move that conveyed the marking and claiming of territory (Taillefert 2002, 18–21; Pérez-Embid 2002, 233–234, 323–336). Whether or not the legend is completely accurate regarding King Alfonso ordering construction of a hermitage containing a Virgin somewhere in the vicinity of what is now El Rocío, the practice of strategically placing Virgins to mark territory and protect the taken lands was common—as was the attacking and the ruining of these images by raiding Muslims (Trujillo Priego 1995, 32–36; Taillefert 2002, 2).

The advancing Spaniards did not simply position a church, create an outpost, or station a garrison. A woodcut dating to the sixteenth century depicts a *romería* to the *Virgen de la Cabeza* (the “Virgin of the Promontory”); this *romería* was the largest in Andalusia until the nineteenth century, when El Rocío overtook it. In this woodcut, the processions look remarkably similar to the procession of the *Presentación* of today’s El Rocío. Furthermore, one could easily have mistaken the depiction, which takes a large view from a distance, for a military procession (see Fig. 2-1).

I am suggesting that militant processions may have formed a part of the overall strategy of holding territory once taken or claimed by the Christian monarchs. Processions may have served the dual purpose of religious marking (placing the land under the protection of a Virgin) and affirming the holding of that territory (by

projecting a military presence to its enemies across the liminal edges). The religious and the military can easily become conflated (as my own experiences, related in the Prelude, are an example) especially within theocratic or semitheocratic cultures. A *romería* may also have served to mark which territories had become Christian. To that end, the processions would have had to march along the liminal edges bordering those territories held by the Muslims. As I experienced it on El Rocío, the militant procession and the religious procession are easy to confuse, especially from their superficial appearances. The strategy of accomplishing two seemingly opposing ends, the religious experience and a militant projection is a possible interesting aspect of the flexibility of the ritual procession. A legacy of this dual use is suggested by the choice of drum used in all the processions of Andalusia: the military field drum (see Chapter 4, Figs. 4-5, 4-6, and 4-16).

In other parts of the world, similar practices can still be witnessed. In Northern Ireland, for instance, it is called “parade season” (Kirkland 2002, 12). During this time, processions that are superficially religious and definitely militant (but without open display of weapons) parade or march to the edges of contested neighborhoods, along certain “no man’s land” areas, and oftentimes penetrate provocatively into a contested area (*ibid.*, 13–15).

Likewise, both Hindus and Muslims in India use religious processions to intimidate and affirm territory and presence. Sometimes the processions are used deliberately as strategies of intimidation, but other times they unintentionally cause tension by the mere fact of their organized and substantial presence (van der Veer 1994, 1–17).



**Figure 2-1 Romería of La Virgen de la Cabeza, sixteenth-century lithograph
“The Virgin of the Promontory” (Photo courtesy of Real Cofradía Matrice:
<http://www.virgen-de-la-cabeza.org>)**

Further pursuit of this idea is not within the bounds of this paper, but it is worth mentioning that the flexibility of the procession, and its immediate efficacy in

displaying and structuring a focused intent, seems to have its roots in basic ethology. We can see many parallel similarities between intent and group formation in examples such as the synchronized chorusing and display of certain primates (Mercker 2000, 315), the marking of territory by primates accompanied by vocalizations (Ujhelyi 2000, 119), and the relationship between *intentionality* and music making (Arom 2000, 27), among others. The practice of movement in formation can be found at every level of human organization—from the rituals of the religious experience (as suggested by this work) to the most elaborate displays of the social order as suggested by Brooks (1998), and to the form that is perhaps the most common today, the military procession, or parade.

The iconic physicality of the procession—its immediate potential to generate a phenomenological state, to entrain those within it, and to formalize whatever has been generated emotionally, all within one structured flow—displays an amazing simplicity and economy of form and movement. When the emotional contents of the procession are further focused by music production, all the potentials are magnified. The consonance between the elements of emotional intentionality, ritual structure, and musical structure, mutually intensify one another within the procession.

As a consequence, there is an amplified projection of intention on the part of the procession as a whole to those *outside* its ritual structures (the spectator, whether friend or foe), while at the same time the procession serves to intensify the phenomenological, emotional, state of those *within* the procession. In the example of a military formation, the formation can engender and intensify fear on the part of those confronting it, while simultaneously emboldening and granting a sense of

power to those within the formation. This dual potential may explain why the medieval penitential processions were often called “militant processional pilgrimages” (Groves Vol. 9, 631–632; Cohen 1970, 64). To the participants, the processions were religious and penitential; to observers, they must have appeared militant and potentially threatening.

Inner and outer phenomenology of the procession

The militant procession—occupying territory, marking and penetrating the liminal boundaries of location—constitutes the outer procession, especially as observed by a spectator. The penetration of social liminality through *communitas* is an inner phenomenology of the romería procession, and of pilgrimage in general (Turner [1978] 1995, 1–39), while the emotional tuning within an emotional modality constitutes a “work” of the romería procession when considered from the vantage of the participants themselves, and in the Andalusian procession, is often characterized by the penetration of the inner emotional liminal edges as previously stated. The phenomenon of an inner procession, to the participants, and an outer procession, to the observers, holds true regardless of whether the procession is an actual military procession, a social/civic procession, or a religious procession.

The inner intentions of any procession may be differ or even be at odds with its inherent potential to project an outward intentionality based solely on its very presence as a formalized human body that occupies space and moves in time. The two aspects, the inner phenomenological and the outer projection, are inherent characteristics of the processional ritual. Both characteristics are accessible and

observable to the participant observer in the field, but the inner procession is not always available to the observer or bystander. Bring to light this dual inner and outer aspect of the procession was the intention of the Prelude. My own experience in “tuning” to the inner procession was an essential step for me to have undergone if I was to experience, if not quite understand, the chaotic emotions all around me during the final procession of the Salida. How the work of the inner procession, as practiced at El Rocío, takes place will constitute much of what follows throughout Part I and Part II.

Processional pilgrimage: the social order, the religious experience, and communitas

The concept of “communitas” was first introduced by the anthropologist Victor Turner in the *Ritual Process* (1969, 94), and Turner specifically applied the concept to the pilgrimage phenomenon ([1978] 1995, 13, 250). His observations led him to conclude that within the pilgrimage experience people come together in a condition of temporary equality that is essential to the pilgrimage ritual process (1978, Introduction). Although his ideas of communitas have been challenged by authors such as Sallnow (2000, 197–203), my observations—as a result of my membership in the Hermandad of Granada in particular, and my participation in the romería of El Rocío in general—revealed clearly that a complete cross section of the Andalusian social order attend the romería and that they participate in all the activities as a communitas.

There are two insights, however, that I would add to Turner's observations. The first is that I found the *communitas* of El Rocío to be not only temporary but also not deliberate. I do not believe that the people came together as part of a ritual process that restructures the social order for the purpose of reinforcing that social order at the end of the ritual process. I am convinced that the temporary *communitas* was the result of people coming together from across the social spectrum in search of something they could not find through any other means except a sacred ritual such as El Rocío. The sociohistorical work of William Christian Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (1989) forcefully suggests that religiosity crosses all social boundaries in relatively equal proportions. However, this would also suggest the opposite: that irreligiosity must be equally distributed as well. Christian's historical and sociologically based work is further supported by neurophenomenology, a field of study introduced by Charles Laughlin, Eugene d'Aquili, and John McManus (1990), and further developed by D'Aquili and Newberg (1999).

Neurophenomenology is based on the founding principles of biogenetic structuralism, which was first introduced by Laughlin and d'Aquili in *The Spectrum of Ritual* (1979). This theoretical posture, based in neurobiology and ritual studies, suggests that the human nervous system is predisposed toward both the seeking out of, and the attaining of, religious experiences (Laughlin 1990, 144–156; d'Aquili 1999, 21–47). Furthermore, when displaying the social order is the purpose of the procession, the people within the procession are perfectly capable of making a distinction between a *communitas* and social display. In Brooks we also have many examples of sixteenth-century processions whose purpose was, besides celebrating a

particular ecclesiastical event, the exposition and celebration of the social order. The instructions, as revealed through surviving documents of the time, were explicit as to how the various members and orders of the society were to be presented within the procession (Brooks 1988, 121–126, 165).

I am convinced that those people, for whom attaining deeper degrees of religious experience is important, will come together in pursuit of those experiences and overcome whatever resistance their social identities might offer. To that end, they will go to great lengths to engage in a common endeavor, even if it is only temporary with members of any social strata. El Rocío, as will become evident, is an example of a great expenditure of energy and resources in such a pursuit. However, as it will also become evident, what is gained through generating cultural products is also enormous. I would argue, based on my experiences at El Rocío, and what I believe is at least strongly implied by the literature in general, and specifically those examples I referred to above, that the *communitas* is a default condition that results from the pursuit of religious experiences. These experiences and their collective pursuit have great cultural benefits, and those benefits in relation to El Rocío will be considered as this thesis progresses.

The default *communitas* that occludes the social order in pursuit of religious experiences through rituals such as pilgrimage, acts in contrast to the default experience of the social order that occurs within rituals wherein the deeper religious experiences are deferred or displaced through symbolism. The theories of sociologist E. Durkheim have greatly influenced the social interpretations of religion (see Chapter 11) and account for, among other important concepts, the religious ritual

functioning as an unconscious psychological “projection” of the social order (Durkheim [1912] 1968, 208; Bell 1997, 24). I will argue in Part III that the display of the social order is not a psychological product at all, but merely the predictable real experience of the social order as it gathers for symbolic purposes within rituals that are categorically different from rituals such as pilgrimage. I will develop this concept further in Parts II and III, but suffice to say here that, as regards the Rocío romería, my observations lead me to conclude that the *communitas* described by Turner is a real occurrence. However, it is not deliberate, but rather it is a default experience as a consequence of the pursuit of something else. And furthermore, it is not a characteristic of every kind of ritual (and Turner never claimed it was). Conversely, Durkheim’s unconscious celebration of the social order, I will argue, is simply the default experience of another kind of ritual. Any “projection” of the social order originates primarily from the unconscious of the social analysts who are theoretically predisposed toward making that observation.

I will also argue that whatever transpires within the *communitas* is easily communicated throughout the social order by the very fact that the *communitas*, by definition, is composed of members from across the social spectrum. In this way the *communitas* serves as a vital site for both the creation and spread of cultural products, especially, but not limited to, those products that are aesthetic or phenomenological in nature. Naturally, the emphasis in this study is the cultural creations within the field of music making and its relation to ritual. In particular, this study will examine the cultivation of embodied aesthetics (mentioned above under the general heading of emotional tuning). However, this work will suggest that cultural generation occurs

across a broad array of sociocultural fields well beyond the confines of the ritual practices themselves.

El Rocío, communitas, and the generation of popular culture

Professor Michael Dean Murphy is an American authority on the pilgrimage of El Rocío. His sociological observations have contributed a number of insights to this work. Of the *romería* in general, Murphy says this: “El Rocío has emerged as a sacred site characterized much more by cultural intensification than by the social transcendence that is often attributed to pilgrimage. Indeed, as was recognized long before the process of its explosive growth began about forty years ago, the allure of La *Romería del Rocío* is precisely its brilliant mixture of religious devotion with the festive celebration of a specifically Andalusian cultural and aesthetic style” (Murphy and Faraco 2002, 2).

When Murphy compares “cultural intensification” over “social transcendence,” he is concurring with the opinions of a number of anthropologists (including those I pointed out above) in doubting the reality of Turner’s *communitas* as a real state within El Rocío—or as some anthropologists have gone so far as to say, in any pilgrimage at all.

Comparing my experiences with the *romería* of El Rocío to descriptions of modern pilgrimages in the West (Turner [1978] 1995; Nolan and Nolan 1989) and worldwide (Coleman and Elsner 1995; Barnhill and Gottlieb 2001), I have observed that the cultural generation of pilgrimages has always been a chief aspect of pilgrimages. Also, the solitary “social transcendence” pilgrimage is really another

class of ritual. The solitary pilgrimage is often associated with the wanderings of mystics and the lifestyle of religious hermits and is frequently confused with the religious pilgrimage, but the two represent to distinct classes of ritual.

Murphy observes that nineteenth-century pilgrimages have significantly different characteristics than those of El Rocío. In particular he cites the cultural generative aspects and the local control by the Brotherhoods as distinct attributes of El Rocío (Murphy and Faraco 2000, 2–7). However, the nineteenth-century pilgrimages are late in terms of the history of western Catholicism (Turner [1978] 1995, 18–19), and El Rocío does not really belong to this category of pilgrimage.

In the medieval literature the pilgrimage routes are almost as important as the sites. The routes of the pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostela were particularly well documented and of great social, cultural, and political importance (Turner [1978] 1995, 168–169; Coleman and Elsner 1995, 104–106). Yet the modern-day pilgrimage of Santiago in northern Spain is very different from its counterpart in Andalusia, the *romería*. As Turner relates in his study of Western European and Central American pilgrimages, the nineteenth-century “apparition” sites came at a time of increasing secularization in Western European society ([1978] 1995, 203–230). At that time, Catholicism as culture was, for all intensive purposes, a thing of the past for most of Western Europe. The cultural generative properties of the medieval pilgrimage were simply not going to be accepted by the new secular-dominated society. Large processions through the streets, businesses cropping up along the pilgrimage routes, traffic being stopped by the local authorities in order for the processions to pass through the towns, campsites sponsored by the local brotherhoods and the local

authorities to accommodate the pilgrimages, and hotels and inns along the way specifically devoted to a pilgrimage represent just some of the many cultural and civil relations to which the new spirit of secular “enlightenment” would be adamantly opposed. The new nineteenth-century pilgrimages took on the aspect of the mystical, solitary, journey that in the past was undertaken not by the common man, but by hermits and mystics. The modern pilgrimages are completely devoid of any kind of civil/religious cooperation, or at least any cooperation that could be construed as a public affirmation of the pilgrimage.

Consequently, these new pilgrimages are totally lacking in the festive, processional, and public displays that took place along the routes of the older pilgrimages. By contrast they have become much more private affairs. The pilgrimages are quiet and solitary. If the pilgrims come in groups, they make no public display of their passing, and so as far as the local people along the way are concerned, they might just as easily be tourists. This is completely contrary to the pilgrimages of Andalusia, and especially to El Rocío, where traffic stops as pilgrims pass through a village or town, where public ceremonies are conducted with full cooperation of the authorities at every level, and where television crews follow the processions and transmit them throughout Andalusia and, to a lesser extent, all of Spanish society. The new secular governments of the rest of Western Europe and the United States would simply not tolerate this kind of total social collaboration for a religious event.

The “cultural intensification” that Murphy identifies in the above passage (Murphy and Faraco 2002, 2) was actually, I propose, typical of the medieval

pilgrimages, of which El Rocío is a living legacy. This formulation of pilgrimages as extended processions may have been typical of the medieval pilgrimage, but is conspicuously lacking in the modern European pilgrimages with the exception of the *romerías* of Spain, especially those of Andalusia. This configuration, that of the processional pilgrimage, is still adhered to by many South and Central American pilgrimages—a fact that Turner might not have noticed because he concentrated his attention on the pilgrimage *sites*, rather than the pilgrimage *routes*. The most important pilgrimage of the Americas is by far the Virgin of Guadalupe, in Mexico. This pilgrimage is, as Turner also points out, a continuation of and variation on the same Shepherd's Cycle legends imported to the New World (Turner [1978] 1995, 41–42) to which the Virgen del Rocío belongs to.

In this respect I would like to focus upon the first sentence of Murphy's comment about El Rocío, as it alludes in an important way to Turner's concept of *communitas*: "El Rocío has emerged as a sacred site characterized much more by cultural intensification than by the social transcendence that is often attributed to pilgrimage" (Murphy 2002, 2). The "explosive growth" to which Murphy refers, while undeniably carrying a powerful economic component, is too often made to imply a direct cause and effect between the obvious corollaries: more people, more potential for economic development. But I will argue that when "growth" is understood in cultural terms, not just economic, then the natural economic corollary can be seen as a reaction to powerful, grass roots, cultural generation that does not have economic interests as its driving force, but rather drives economic potential as a consequence of the culture-generating potential coming into being. The risk of

economic factors eventually overtaking a pilgrimage's propensity for generating culture is a problem already experienced in the medieval pilgrimage practices. This problem was explored by Victor Turner ([1978] 1995, 175–200) in regard to Western Christian pilgrimage. Nonetheless, the economic tail does not wag the pilgrimage canine.

As I have already indicated, the *romería* is not the same kind of pilgrimage that most European counterparts represent. However, the aspect of social transcendence, although often occluded by the celebratory aspects of the *romería* (in keeping with its emotional modality of *de Gloria*), is nonetheless a key feature. It is easy to assume *communitas* among small bands of people traveling in relative anonymity, as is the case with the solitary pilgrimages. However, as demonstrated by the social makeup of the Hermandad of Granada and their interrelations (as I observed them on the *romería*), *communitas* also is a vital element of the processional pilgrimage of El Rocío. But as I already stated, I will also argue that *communitas* is not an objective of the *romería*, but rather it is a byproduct of the pursuit of the religious experience. I will argue that the socially transcendent qualities of the religious experience create *communitas* by default, and that this, in turn, is precisely what makes the cultural intensification at El Rocío possible: the fact of *communitas*. The presence of representations of the entire social order, occluded within a *communitas*, is what allows whatever cultural generation that takes place within the *romería* to be quickly disseminated throughout the social order. Furthermore, the intensification of Andalusian culture is not merely the result of the *romería* taking on the characteristics of a huge party, or *fiesta total* (“total party”), as Juan Carlos

González Faraco called it (private conversation). As I will make clear in Parts I and II, the rituals of the *romería* create culture in the form of behavioral aesthetics. But the fact that they are carried out within a temporary *communitas* is what facilitates the rapid spread of these cultural aesthetics into Andalusian culture and society at large.

This is why the *romería* of El Rocío has created popular culture and—most specifically and relevant to this work—popular music on an impressive scale. The *romería* has created culture from the heart of its rituals, and in this way cannot be considered to be merely the passive vehicle of a cultural intensification resulting from its sheer numerical concentration. The *romería* actively creates popular culture, and these cultural products, namely the immensely popular musical genre that is the *Sevillanas Rocieras*, can be directly attributed to ritual practices of the pilgrimages. However, as I will demonstrate in the ensuing chapters, the ritual practices most responsible for the creation of cultural products such as the *Sevillanas Rocieras*, the volumes of poetry and literature about El Rocío, and, most important, the sites wherein embodied aesthetics are generated, are created within the subrituals and supporting activities of the pilgrimage that are not accessible to the spectator. The generation of popular culture is what creates the intensification that in turn attracts more and more people to the *romería*. However, I will continue to point out that in many cultures such as present day Andalusia, religious culture and popular culture often overlap to a high degree, and it is not inconceivable that in some cases they can be, and have been, virtually the same thing.

The point of contention lays in determining what the driving force underneath the *romería* is. I will argue that the driving force is definitely the religious experience.

I will argue further in Part II and Part III that the roots of both, the impulse to seek out healing, and the healing process itself (which, in the case of El Rocío is predominantly the process of emotional tuning), are contained within the religious experiences. But I will also strongly suggest that the primary concept of “healing” that is pursued through the romerías, has much more to do with an experience of well being, and a search for a deeper experience of the self and of reality rather than a therapeutic search for a remedy to any specific illness or deficiency. The romería, as will become apparent, is above all a healthy, vigorous, celebration of life. From that perspective the crossing of boundaries can be seen as an inevitable consequence of the quest for deeper experience. And that quest, in itself, cannot help but lead toward an increased sense of self, and increased sense of awareness, or self-knowledge.

Ethological aspects of procession (structured movement) and music (structured sound)

Nils Wallin’s studies in the field of biomusicology have revealed many interesting relations between music and ritual from an ethological approach (Wallin 1991; Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000). This observation by Maria Ujhelyi is particularly relevant to the present discussion: “The most elementary language-like characteristics, both in structure and function, arise in the context of vocal territorial marking, which among present-day species has attained its most sophisticated form in the solo and duet singing of the lesser apes (gibbons)” (2000, 125).

This observation adds another dimension to the musical procession in its militant aspect, by reinforcing the implications cited above between verbs such as “to

march” and to “to mark” in relation to boundary establishment and identity projection. Many creatures “mark” their territories in ways that not only make known their presence, but that also convey other information—in the form of indicators (iconic indexes) of size and determination (ferocity)—to a potential rival. Sound-making can be seen as a particularly useful tool, especially when contact with a potential rival may seem eminent. Sound and display can combine to become powerful strategies within a variety of uses, including intimidation, reaffirmation of identity, and mating.

Organized, or choreographed, sound is even an inevitable result of any procession due simply to its inherent quality of being in motion. The term “marking time” (or *marching* in time) is also used in dance (for example, in flamenco, the term “*marcar*” refers to the dancer marking the rhythm while the singer sings).⁶ Making music or sound while marching or dancing in formation (as choreographed formalized movement) in rituals of identity, gender display, and of dominion and intimidation, can be understood, as previously mentioned, as being deeply related at basic levels of human behavior rooted in ethology. Nonetheless these behaviors are transformed through human procession and music making to another level of organized activity as is demonstrated at the Rocío and discussed further in Part III.

The procession, in this light, can be seen not as a ritual *type*, but rather as a ritual *form* that may serve many different ritual purposes. The flexibility of the procession, as a latent form of human behavior makes its uses practically inexhaustible. Since the procession embodies an intent and is so closely related to emotion, there can be as many different kinds of processions as there are intentions

and emotions. We will see how the ritual processions of El Rocío can span a large gamut of functions even within the same overall pilgrimage ritual, and even while conforming to the same basic emotional modality of *de Gloria*. Furthermore, at El Rocío, the emotional modality, its phenomenal aspects, and the processions as processional forms, cannot be understood independently of the musical forms that are employed within the ritual processions. The phenomenal aspects of the processions of El Rocío, in regard to the specific *de Gloria* emotional mode as constituted by the interplay between the music and the processions, will continue to be developed as this dissertation progresses.

Wallin also brings up an interesting hypothesis concerning the evolution of human consciousness as being directly linked to the focusing of the emotions and the cultivation of emotional modes, or “repertoire” through a proto-musical process (Wallin 1991, 481–482). This hypothesis will be further explored in Chapter 12, but its implications in reference to an ethological and evolutionary basis for the musical procession are provocative.

The European allegorical mystery processions

The history and literature of cultural events that involve the procession is vast, and stretches back to the dawn of antiquity. Yet the procession as a form of human activity, in and of itself, has been taken for granted. There is no comprehensive work that I know of, that has as its objective the exploration of the role of the procession in human history. We need only to consider this simple question: how pervasive are military parades, coronation processions, wedding processions, religious processions,

civic processions, and funeral processions, just to name a few basic categories of the share the same fundamental principle? I would argue that the procession is ubiquitous precisely because of its ethological roots. It is so close to instinct that we find there are processions for every basic emotion, and every basic tendency from aggression, sexuality, social relations, and death. It follows then that the representations in literature and art is vast.

The allegorical procession in the arts is curious. These artistic and literary representations have as their subject, processions composed of objects that are not found in reality, but whose significance is not whimsical. The allegorical procession is a highly symbolic vehicle for artistic and didactic expressions. Some authors believe that the “*trumps*” of the present day Tarot cards that have come down to us from the late medieval ages are modeled after the allegorical “Triumph” processions, that were themselves modeled after the real military Triumphal processions of antiquity, and the carnival processions of the times (Moakley 1966). This aspect of procession is also too broad a subject to be treated with any depth here. I will only draw attention to two interesting and relevant features within the medieval allegorical processions that seem to have been modeled upon their Greek and Roman literary antecedents (Cauliano 1987, 3–10) that themselves, even as allegories, suggest some basis in actual ritual practices such as those of the Dionysian processions of ancient Greece (Danliélou 1992, 117–118), and perhaps upon more archaic initiatory processional rituals (1992, 184). The four items I would like to briefly draw attention to are: (1) The presence of a central chariot, (2) the single emotional modality paralleled by a musical corollary component, which characterizes the procession as a

singing, sometimes dancing, chorus, and (3) the presence of animals and/or animal-humans.

I will draw examples from a particular work, the *Hyperotomachia Poliphili* (*The Strife of Love in a Dream*) attributed to a monk named Francesco Colona, first published in 1499 (translated by J. Godwin 1999). The book is comprised of a narrative describing a series of allegorical woodcuts most of which are processional in content (see Figs. 2-2 through 2-5).

First, there is always a central “chariot,” cart, or “Triumph” that manifests the purpose and the mode of the procession. Within the chariot is either a seated figure or a visibly displayed object, depending on the procession’s focus. Each procession has only one central theme. Whatever the particular mode, or allegory, of the procession is, for example—“Triumph of Bacchus” or “The Triumph of Love”—that theme is the central focus of the procession that gives it its operational mode, its reason for coming into being in the first place. The central chariot symbolizes that mode.

The second point I would draw the reader’s attention to is that almost every single processional illustration I have looked at, even beyond the work from which these illustrations were taken, clearly features music. The most common instruments are percussion and wind instruments, and the singing chorus is not only common, it is virtually the rule. This should hardly come as a surprise seeing that the presence of music in nearly every present-day procession is also still the rule. Likewise, as already mentioned, the music is a direct corollary, and cocreator of the mode of the procession. The music is not an optional element; at least it does not seem to be optional to the writers of the allegory but essential to the procession’s purpose, and its

symbolic “work.” This single emotional modality and its musical component will constitute a recurrent theme throughout this dissertation that will find its final expression in my concept of music and ritual semiotic congruency, a concept that will be formalized as a tentative proposition in Chapter 13. At its base, the proposition builds from a simple common sense fact that applies only to the ritual procession: we don’t play “sad” music in a “happy” procession, as for example we do not play funeral processional music at a wedding procession.⁷ Each procession is a specialized emotional, or intentional, mode whether a wedding, funeral, carnival, coronation, etc.

The third critical item within the allegorical procession is the presence of some kind of animal, or animal-human, either in the procession, or pulling the central cart. These animals are often either animals of fable (such as the unicorns in Fig. 2-4 and the half-human centaurs and satyrs in Figs. 2-2, 2-5, and 2-6) or nondomesticated animals (such as the tigers and panthers in Figs. 2-2 and 2-5). However, these “wild animals” are never depicted as anything but tame within the processions. Indeed, these wild animals perform their tasks *in formation* within the procession, and there are some illustrations wherein the animals have nothing more than vines attached to them to indicate their control, although at other times they may be fully yoked as is the norm in the domesticated animal. Likewise, these allegorical processions often include the presence of half-human, half-beast creatures, such as centaurs and satyrs, and some times they pull the central cart, while at other times they form the chorus of the procession. What might the animal-man relationships represented in these processions mean, and why are they so commonly represented in the first place?

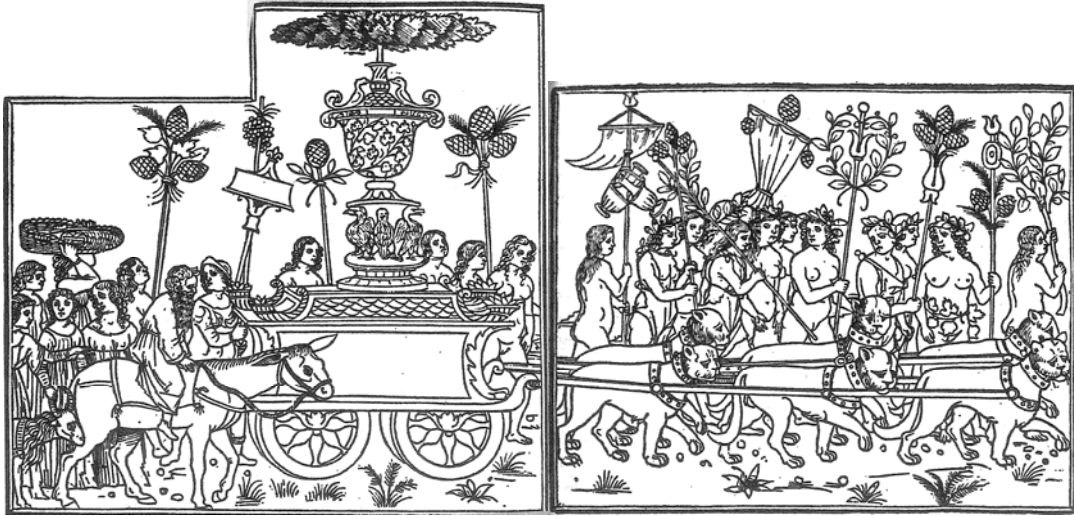


Figure 2-2 Fourth Triumph



Figure 2-3 First Triumph



Figure 2-4 Third Triumph



Figure 2-5 Fifth Triumph



Figure 2-6 “The Triumph of Bacchus,” fresco by Annubrale Carracci, 1599 (from Farness Gallery in *FMR Magazine*, 2003) This is an example of how common a subject the “triumphal procession” was in the arts during the late Medieval and Renaissance periods. Recall that Fig. 2-1 depicts a processional pilgrimage from this same era, just one among many. Brooks (1988) makes clear how common processions were in the cities. Why, however, the consistent presence of the animals—especially nondomesticated animals and human-animals—in the artistic and allegorical representations?

My only point in bringing these curiosities to the reader's attention at this time is to point out another broad category of processional ritual to which the basic processional practice has been put to use: the mystical allegorical procession. But whereas we might simply dismiss them as purely allegorical and products of the imagination, by the end of this dissertation I will have presented enough evidence to suggest that those allegorical representations are pointing to what were once actual practices, and that those practices may have had something profoundly in common with what is still occurring today within *romerías* such as *El Rocío*. Simply, I am suggesting that these processions represent a long tradition of the generation, structuring, identification, and cultivation of emotional modalities (represented by the various animals and half-animals) through the musical procession. In a literal sense they represent the “taming,” “structuring” and “tuning” of the emotional man, the emotional “beast” within a deliberate and conscious ritual process. However, by this I don't mean “domestication” as in to make subservient. On the contrary, these rituals, if *el Rocío* is a current example, amplify the self-consciousness of the individual and cultivate individuality by arousing the inner content of the self and deliberately cultivating it. Furthermore, these allegorical depictions and their historical antecedents (Daniélou 1992, 196–198, 201–208; Otto 1965, 79–85) have direct relations to the religious and the mystical, and by extension the religious experience in some capacity.

What I will also suggest is that the emotional, procession is the closest link to the ethological impulse of display and formation as formalized motion that has somehow over time become the behavior of “procession” as an engrained human

behavior. This basic behavior may take form as anything from a “Macy’s Parade,” to a “Homecoming Parade,” a “Military Parade,” a “Holy Week Procession,” a wedding procession, a funeral procession, etc. In Chapter 12, where I introduce the work of biomusicologist Nils Wallin, I will suggest the relationship between musical structure, emotional structure, and structured movement—or musical form, emotional form, and formal movement, as exemplified in the consciously organized procession—may support Wallin’s work concerning the transition in human evolution from hunter to herdsman that he hypothesizes took place concomitantly with a change in human consciousness that was itself precipitated by the ability to focus emotions through structured sound making (Wallin 1991, xviii, 482–485, 509). Certainly the movement of a herd does not resemble the movement of a procession. However, if we see the procession as itself being a more structured herd movement, more like the formation flight of birds, or the defensive formations of certain herd animals, we can look at the human procession as a formation composed of humans, but with varying purposes inherent within the basic configuration. What we see is not only man having learned to herd animals but also having learned to herd man, or man herding himself—that is, man directing himself as a self-directed evolutionary process employing a kind of cultural “technology” that consists of emotional arousal and emotional focus using structured motion, structured sound, and a central image as a means through which to achieve that focus. Wallin believes that it was the ability to generate a focused emotion that has led to the increased brain capacity in modern humans, and thus to an increase in consciousness. The calls of herdsman feature prominently in his theory (this too will be further discussed in Chapter 12). By

extending his theory to the procession, we might suggest that the cultivation of a particular emotional mode, as musical mode and mode of movement, we structure a particular mode of consciousness, or “mood.” We might say then, that what is being represented in the allegorical procession, is that what was, and to a degree still is, being herded, or manipulated, is the “human beast.” What the allegories are representing is the inner procession that the practitioners either experience or seek to experience, revealed for the viewer of the illustrations through the symbolic projections.

Summary

First, I need to summarize three potential uses of the procession that I have found to have been historically significant: Processions to manifest the social identity, processions to manifest a militant potential, and processions of a religious nature whose exact purpose seems to be obscure, although I am proposing that they are a legacy of an ongoing process of human self-directed evolution. What I have revealed about the processions of El Rocío up to this point is that they are capable of functioning in all three capacities, and continue to overlap all three.

Second, it is the inner emotional mood, or mode, that needs to be considered when trying to establish any kind of intentionality on the part of the ritual practitioners. Clearly, there are many outward signs indicating that the El Rocío processions are at the least festive, possibly religious and/or social, and—at least as they reveal when close up—not particularly militant. But this really does not tell an onlooker/analyst much at all. For El Rocío is not an allegorical processional

pilgrimage, but an actual processional pilgrimage. Exploring the inner “work” of the processions of El Rocío and the subsequent cultural products that are a result of those practices will constitute the main focus of this inquiry as presented in the Introduction.

The third consideration of this chapter was to present the fact that procession is a powerful ritual tool with which to approach and penetrate boundaries. What has been presented thus far is that there are three liminal thresholds to be considered in regard to the processional pilgrimage that is El Rocío. These are: (1) the territorial, (2) the social, and (3) emotional. These thresholds may be further abstracted to: space, identity, and consciousness, respectively. The pressing of boundaries is the foundational concept that supports, I believe, Wallin’s theories relating emotional focus to brain capacity (1991, xvi–xx). As boundaries are pressed at all levels, there must be a concomitant pressing of the structures comprising the central nervous system. This will be further explored in Part III.

The fourth concept that is crucial for establishing how the work of the procession becomes transmitted into a society in which all the members no longer participate in those processions is the fact of *communitas* and its relationship to popular culture. The spread of those behavioral aesthetics into the general society at large as popular culture is greatly facilitated by the inherent *communitas* of the religious processional pilgrimage, as will be argued in the ensuing chapters.

Finally, it may not be simply metaphorical that so many titles for religious and social leaderships involve references to shepherding. One of the titles of the Virgen del Rocío is that of “*Divina Pastora*” (“Divine Shepherdess”). Every seven years she

is dressed up as a Shepherdess and taken, in a ritual procession called a “*Translada*” (Transport) to the village of Almonte where resides for that year (Taillefert 1996) That event is also referred to as the “*Roci Chico*,” (“Small Rocío”) (Trujillo Priego 1995, 287; Espina 2004, 74). and is important to the Rocieros.

Likewise, it is interesting to note that the cycle of legends that reflects the entire romería system, as cited previously, is called the “Shepherds Cycle,” and the flute of the Tamborilero, the “shepherd’s flute” (to be covered in Chapter 4). There are many other possible coincidences, or possible clues, to a theoretical link between the procession as a ritual form, and possible proto-ritualistic behaviors related to shepherding practices that will suggested through the work of authors such as Nils Wallin further in this thesis.

Chapter 3: The Essential Elements of Processional Choruses of El Rocío

“What do you think of all this?” asked the man standing on the side of the dusty Raya. He handed me a beer from the cooler at his feet with one hand and gestured widely with the other hand toward the moving tide of man, beasts, wagons, and machines. “It’s marvelous,” I answered. It’s “controlled chaos,” he said loudly.

The Sound

If a person were to stand on a street corner in Andalusia and watch a Rocío procession approaching in the distance, that person would first hear the sound of a high-pitched flute over a steady drumbeat. As the procession approached, it would become apparent that a single person was playing both the flute and drum. The spectator would also hear the bells of the two oxen pulling a large elaborate silver cart decorated with flowers and guided by a man shouting and tapping the animals with a wooden pole. The cart towers over the heads of the people as it rolls along on its wooden spoke wheels, each over eight feet in diameter. Behind the silver cart there would be heard the voices of a mixed chorus clapping out a beat and singing songs that had no musical relation to what the man with the flute and drum was playing. Yet all three, the music of the drummer, the bells of the oxen, and the singing chorus, can be heard clearly one against the other, and strangely all the sounds combine to create a *joyous noise*.

Besides the sound of the flute and drum, the rhythmic clapping, and the singing chorus that is the procession, one would often hear, among the many

Hermandades, the sounds of horses: their clacking through the streets of the towns and their loud whinnying. *Cascabells* (similar in sound to sleigh bells) adorn the mules, or the cows that pull the wagon trains of certain Hermandades. Since the season is late Spring, some of the cows come with their calves tethered to them. In the case of Granada however, the traveling *carretas* are made like elaborately decorated mobile homes, built with flower covered balconies and pulled by tractors. The tractors are noisy as well, although in a different way.

All of these things—banners, elaborate carts pulled by teams of oxen, wagon trains pulled by cows or mules, horse-drawn carriages, men, women, children on horseback, people singing and clapping rhythm, loud tractors, drums and flutes—may be seen and heard winding their way through any town in Andalusia during the time of the *romería* of El Rocío. It is a cacophony, but a happy, joyous cacophony.

If the observer followed a procession until it arrived at a ceremonial stop in the town, he or she would also definitely hear a sung prayer called the *Salve Maria*, followed by a litany of shouted call and responses that go something like this:

Solo: “Viva la Virgen del Rocío!” (“Life” or “Long life to the Virgin of El Rocío!”)

Everyone: “Viva!”

Solo: “Viva esa Blanca Paloma!” (“Long live that White Dove!—another of the many titles of the Virgin)

Everyone: “Viva!”

Solo: “Viva el Tamborilero!” (“Long live the flute and drum player,” “...the ox handler,” “. . . the head of the Brotherhood,” “...the wagon maker,” and so on)

Everyone, after each item is called out: “Viva!” “Viva!” “Viva!” and so on.

More than likely, if this person was in fact an Andalusian, he or she would have already been familiar with most of the songs of the procession because many had been popular hits over the past years, and quite possibly they might even know the particular “Salve Maria” of that particular Hermandad. One of these musical prayers had become a popular song as well, and many of the others well also well known. In fact, the person, if an average Andalusian, in all likelihood would have already been familiar with the entire procession—the music, the prayers, the different characters, and the processional objects—even if that person had never actually attended the Rocío. The reason for this is that the music of El Rocío has become so popular that practically everyone in Andalusia is familiar with most of the songs (HS. Vol. 4, i–x). They have also become familiar with the content of the processions and the ritual of the romería through the lyrics of the songs printed with the recordings, or having seen the songs performed on television, heard them over the radio, or having read about them in magazines, and books. I have never met anyone from Andalusia who was *not* familiar with El Rocío. In Andalusia the pilgrimage of El Rocío is not only a religious pilgrimage, it is also an important part of popular culture. (Cantero 2002, 17–19; Murphy 2000, 1–3, 10–11; 2002, 64–66; Gil Buiza 1991, Vol. 4, Introduction).

The people in procession

The Hermandad and its officers

The central feature of the romería of El Rocío, as the Introduction states, is that it is a processional pilgrimage. The processions consist of groups of people who

have organized themselves into *Hermandades* (or Brotherhoods), hailing from distinct geographical locations for the expressed purpose of carrying out the *romería*. These *Hermandades* are the organizing force behind the pilgrimage. Every procession is a procession of an *Hermandad*, either on its the way to El Rocío, on its way back, or in an official procession within the town of El Rocío itself.

When there is a formal procession—that is, a procession with a ceremonial objective—all the members fall into a formation like the one that this chapter will describe. Along the *camino*, or “way,” the formation is looser and tends to stretch out into smaller groups, and in the process becoming a bit less cohesive. It is in only in the most formal of the processions, such as at the *presentación* (see “Saturday” in App. B) that the officers dress up in more formal attire, usually the Andalusian “traje corto” (short suit), and carry the staffs of the Brotherhoods.

These staffs, however, are not indicative of any official positions; in fact, they are not even indicative of the particular *Hermandad*. There are only two kinds of staffs, besides the single staff of the crucifixion that the Brotherhoods carry: (1) the staffs with the emblem of the Virgen del Rocío at the top, and (2) the ones that consist of a nonfunctioning *farol* (lantern). The latter are designed after those of the past centuries that night watchmen used as they made their rounds along the walls of a city or that they carried through the streets of a town, village, or city for the same purpose. In light of the discussion in the previous chapter the significance of these staffs as they might pertain to the concepts of vigilance and protection of borders should be apparent.

The officers may be male or female, even though the organization is called a “Brotherhood.” Officers are elected from among the members, and each *Hermandad* has its own regulations as to the details of the process. Of chief importance—to be accepted into the larger association of Brotherhoods dedicated to the Virgen del Rocío and be allowed to take part in the rituals—is that each *Hermandad* meet the requirements set out by the *Hermandad Matrice* (“original,” or “founding” Brotherhood): the Brotherhood from Almonte, the town where El Rocío takes place. The highest position of authority within each *Hermandad* is the *Hermano Mayor* (“Elder Brother”). The *Hermandad* of Granada has had only been one *Hermano Mayor*, the founding father of the brotherhood, Francisco Sanchez Ramirez, known affectionately as “El Compadre.”⁸

Other positions are established for the purpose of executing the pilgrimage, among them the “Alcalde de Carretas” (“wagon mayor” or “wagon foreman”), whose responsibility is analogous to a wagon-train leader in our own “Old West” of the nineteenth century.⁹ In fact, for those Brotherhoods that go by wagon train, that’s pretty much exactly the case (see Fig. 3-1). The logistics of this endeavor are formidable, and they are his or her responsibility. It is their task to move an entire company of nearly five hundred people across most of Andalusia (and Granada is only a medium-size *Hermandad*). It requires an extraordinary amount of work and preparation, not to mention (and this is also critical) attention to aesthetics that will contribute to the emotional modality of “de Gloria.”

In the case of Granada, the carretas are like mobile homes pulled by tractors. They are all uniquely designed, decorated, and named. On the maiden voyage they

are given “baptisms,” just as the neophytes of the pilgrimage are baptized (but with different ceremonies). It should be noted here that the apparent hierarchical structure of the Hermandad actually functions as an egalitarian community. There are no privileges of class or wealth within the Hermandad. All positions are open to anyone, voluntary, and elected. There are no powers of enforcement, and all activities are conducted by consensus. The officers have no real power; they have responsibilities and the respect and authority that come with taking on those responsibilities, and as I observed, these responsibilities are taken with extreme seriousness.

My participation, observation, and research confirms that the entire social spectrum of Granada is represented in more or less equal proportions within the Hermandad. As they move in procession, they form a veritable moving *comunitas*.¹⁰



Figure 3-1 Sevilla Sur wagon train begins to cross the Quema River. This wagon train of the Hermandad of Sevilla Sur (South Seville) consisted of about 20 wagons pulled by teams of oxen. Other wagon trains employed cows, and some had teams of up to six mules. (Photo by W. Gerard Poole)



Figure 3-2 The Simpecado of Granada moves along the Raya. Amid the convergence of Hermandades, the road becomes congested with tractor-pulled carretas, some automobiles, and many horses, wagons, and carriages. In the foreground, the *Alcalde de Carreta* (“wagon foreman”) of Granada 2004 rides upon a beautiful Andalusian horse before the Simpecado.

The chariot and banner of the Lady

The heart of all the processions of the *romería* is the *Simpecado*. The *Simpecado* is an elaborate banner representing the *Virgen del Rocío*. Each of the 101 *Hermandades* has its own specially designed banner. They are mostly in the shape of a downward-pointing double pointed pennant, or some variation of it, hung from a crossbar (see Fig. 3-3). The pennant is carried in two ways. The first is when it is attached to an approximately 8-foot pole and carried by an individual near or at the head of a procession. Usually a number of other members are walking to each side of the person carrying the banner, and the rest walk (or ride horses) behind in a formation that is not usually organized into tight columns and rows, but can be, depending on the occasion and the particular *Hermandad*.

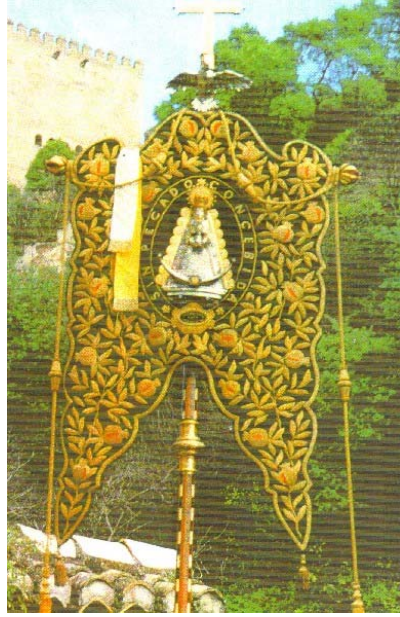


Figure 3-3 The Simpecado banner of Granada
The Vatican awarded the white and yellow ribbons after *El Compadre* and a contingency of the Hermandad went to Rome, where Pope John Paul II granted a brief audience. (Photo courtesy of Hermandad del Rocío of Granada)

“Simpecado” is shorthand for the motto “*Concebida sin Pecado*” (“Conceived without Sin”), which relates to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary that declares that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was born without original sin (New Advent, “Immaculate Conception”). In the center of the banner, there is usually an embroidered miniature of the image of the Virgen del Rocío, the object of the pilgrimage. The motto “Concebida Sin Pecado” is usually stitched into the banner around the emblem of the Virgin. Above the banner and crossbar there is usually a small cross, often above a small dove. Because 101 Hermandades currently participate in the romería, there are that many banners. Although they are all more or less the same shape and size, there are many variations in color and designs.

The banner is usually housed in its *carreta* (or “cart”), where it is mounted upon a much shorter pole. This is the second way the banner may be carried in

procession; in fact, it is the most common. The *carretas* of the *Simpecado* are structurally related to the type of vehicle epitomized by the chariot, rather than the wagon, in that they have only one axle and two wheels.

The *carreta* of the *Simpecado* of each *Hermandad* is elaborate. The design and décor often entail regional symbols and décor. The *Hermandad* of Granada, for instance, takes pride in its Moorish heritage and has employed Arabic motifs and architectural arches in its *carreta* (see Fig. 3-4). Each *carreta* is pulled by two oxen, led by a *boyero* (“oxman” or “ox handler”) who carries a long pole to encourage them (Fig. 3-6). The team of oxen is decorated with headdresses and ringing bells. Many, but not all, of the *carretas* will have a set of yellow streamers issuing from the small dove above the banner attached to each ox’s headdress. The entire *carreta* and its oxen are referred to as the *Simpecado*, and its place within the *Rocío* processions is analogous to the triumphs in the allegorical processions of the previous chapter.



Figure 3-4 The *Simpecado* and oxen in “formal attire” in procession
In this case, it is the procession of the *Hermandad* through the streets of its native Granada on the first day of the *romería*. The *boyero* (“oxman”), in the foreground, is also dressed up in the Andalusian “*traje corto*” (short suit).



**Figure 3-5 Simpecado cart moves through La Doñana (“Land of the Lady”)
La Doñana is a forest and natural preserve with a history of being a wild, marginal territory, a medieval hunting preserve of kings, and a breeding ground for horses. Today it is the *Parque Nacional de Doñana*, one of Europe’s most important wetland reserves as well as an object of pilgrimage. (Photo by W. Gerard Poole)**



**Figure 3-6 The Simpecado of Granada, led by the boyero along *La Raya*
La Raya is the sandy streak through the forest of La Doñana that functions both as a road and as a fire break. The attire between a formal procession and the camino can be dramatic even for the oxen.**

Those with *promesas*

It is a common practice to make a promise (or pledge) to the Virgin, a saint, or the Christ during *romerías* and other processional practices in Andalusia. Francisco Aguilera (1978, 58–59) notes that during Holy Week, carrying the images as *costaleros* (those who are beneath the images and carry them sometimes for miles) is an important and common way for men to fulfill a promise. But there are countless ways in which a promise can be made and carried out outside of a fixed ritual setting, as I witnessed among my family in Cuba and in my travels throughout Andalusia. Making pledges is a common practice within Catholic culture. In the case of El Rocío, the most common promise is to walk behind the *Simpecado*, holding on to it (a bar is in place for this purpose; see Figs. 3-7 and 3-8) the entire way to El Rocío (stopping to eat and sleep, of course). My understanding is that for the great majority of cases, going on the pilgrimage with a *promesa* is rarely an actual act of rogation or supplication, that is, the person is not looking for any particular outcome (e.g., curing an illness, curing a loved one, or solving an important life crisis). They tend to be devotional acts of faith, testimonies to a devotional relationship

However, there are occasions when the healing and the miraculous do become the central issue. The 1995 work by José Trujillo Priego, *En Honor de la Blanca Paloma*, recounts how carrying the Virgin in the *Salida* supposedly cured him of cancer (21–27). The passing of children over the heads of the dense crowds in order for them to touch and receive a blessing from the Virgin is another example of the nebulous region between the purely devotional, the rogational, and the miraculous that has always played a role in the history of El Rocío. Processions to end droughts,

famine, natural disasters, and in times of war, have all taken place in the history of El Rocío (Taillefert 1996; Flores Cala 2005; and App. A).

However, as will be discussed in a similar vein regarding the miracle of the transubstantiation within the Mass, neither the Church nor the Rocieros recognize any structural relations between the devotional rituals of the promesas and any predicted result. The Virgin Mary cannot be induced through ritual to heal nor change events. The practitioners are perfectly aware of this, and they don't expect anything else. It is not a question of cause and effect but of devotion and grace.

Work and self-reliance are, in a seemingly incongruous way, the virtues on display. If the spiritual, for some reason, does not choose to cooperate in a particular situation, the Andalusian is hardly at a loss for what to do. The effort and fortitude that are integral to the acts of the promise are in their own right acts of devotion, and they constitute their own reward. These practices are done in public so that it is a matter of public notice, but at the same time they are private acts of faith that bring them closer to Mary (what the promise is about is not publicly proclaimed, although it may be revealed to certain people for whatever reason). What has been promised must be fulfilled, and the promesas are fulfilled as private acts requiring sacrifice, yet in the view of the public. In a curious way, what seems to be an act of dependence upon the will of the Virgin is actually a testimony to the character and will of the person performing the act.

In a subtle but important way, this kind of social activity is transferred and formalized into general behavior, as *formalidad*. Consequently one's word is extremely important, perhaps even "sacred," and one's ability to go through with their

promise is a matter of public record. In the end, it is actually self-reliance that is fostered rather than a slovenly dependence on outside power. Faith, as self-reliance, and mutual support, become carefully balanced. To understand that balance, one must participate in the totality of the rituals, even if, as I was to discover, the practices are extended to the investigator.

For instance, I was sung to, I was told to learn how to dance and given a lesson, I was the recipient of a great deal of generosity on the part of many of the Rocieros, and I was also being pointed in the right directions to understand better what I was experiencing. But I was also held completely accountable for my every act with little leeway allowed for the fact that I was a foreigner. Formalidad was expected of me immediately as a behavioral aesthetic norm.

These practices seem to support not only a community of mutual support at every level—emotional, physical, and financial—but they also reinforce another important aspect: independence. The self-reliance of the individual and the mutual interdependency of the pilgrims are equally stressed. The Rocío is an example of carefully orchestrated, communal self-organization that relies nonetheless upon a highly cultivated sense of individuality.

This relationship between communal interaction and individual expression is completely apparent when one observes the musical relationships. Each individual, is expected to sing and dance the traditional forms well, but not only that—they are also expected to do so with a personal flair and *gracia* that is their own—their own contribution to the tradition. This relationship between the person performing his or her personal act of faith to the Virgen of El Rocío, as well as the public performance

of those acts, has a number of interesting consequences and can be seen reflected in the musical practices.

First of all, these acts of faith provide another example of how personal relationships are forged between the individual and the spiritual object. For many Rocieros, it is a more desirable way to become closer to Mary than through prayer alone. Singing, dancing, and making promises are all ritual variants of glorification, and in a real sense, variations of prayer.

Second, the grander, more ostentatious, and celebratory aspects of the Rocío rituals tend to mask the deeply individual relationships between the Rociero and the Virgin that lie at the core of, and are operating within, those same ostentatious rituals. Furthermore it is these same individual and intimate relationships that actually drive the rituals. As will become evident in the ensuing chapters, these individual relationships reveal themselves to be much more important to the overall power of the Rocío than is apparent when the Rocío is viewed from the spectator's vantage. These important and pivotal relationships would have been difficult, if not impossible, to notice without an intimate participation within the romería rituals.

It is also relevant to note that the Andalusians consider it a serious fault to fail to keep one's word, no matter how seemingly insignificant the situation. As an aspect of formalidad, this is a serious matter, and I encountered it many times throughout my travels in Andalusia. The promesas, then, are another aspect of formalidad that translates directly as social behavior. Keeping one's word to the Virgin translates into keeping one's word to oneself and to others. The self-reliance that initiates the promesa and carries it through is a respected trait among Rocieros and Andalusians in

general. However, just as assistance from the Virgin is sought but not demanded, so is mutual cooperation among the Rocieros a strong bonding force within formalized relations that is rarely asked for but that, when offered, is offered without interest. I found the subject of mutual cooperation among the Rocieros to be the third most prominent subject of the lyrics of the Sevillanas Rocieros, after love of the Virgin and love of the Rocío itself.

We begin to see from the outset, in the phenomenon of the *promesa*, an emerging relationship between the individual and the communal that is carried out within a ritual setting and wherein the “spiritual” (however the reader chooses to define the term) plays a central role. In the processions of glorification, the individual is acknowledged but not the specific promise. In the penitential processions of Holy Week, however, the individual identity is masked so that he or she is not glorified through their own penitential acts (promises) of self-mortification. Hence we see the hooded figures of the Holy Week processions called the “*Nazarenos*” (“those from Nazareth,” or those in imitation of the one from Nazareth). An important aspect of ritual practices in Andalusia is the relationship between the individual and the communal, wherein the individual is brought to light within a communal ritual such as in the Rocío “glorification” rituals or, conversely, masked within a communal ritual (by the hood and robes of the “penitential” rituals).



Figure 3-7 People with *promesas* begin the procession in Granada. They are holding onto the back of the Simpecado.



Figure 3-8 Those with *promesas* walk through the dust of La Raya. Sometimes the people with *promesas* are joined on the camino by others who will walk alongside, touching a wheel. (Photo by W. Gerard Poole)

Extroversion and introversion: Two faces of processional pilgrimage, an example of inner phenomenology, and outer projection of the ritual procession

Unlike the more introspective, solitary pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostela, the actual *camino* (“walk”) sections of the pilgrimage of El Rocío are rarely used as a means of meditation or “prayer in motion” by the Rocieros. They are more likely to be talking, laughing, or singing. If the reader looks through any of the footage of the camino where people have been walking (or riding) for hours, it is obvious that silent meditation is not the order. Deep introspection is not the order.

Beer, or *manzanilla* (a dry sherry), is handed out to the pilgrims generously (water, too). Everyone is in good spirits, and many of the ladies, even though walking through the sand of *la Raya* on a hot summer day, are nonetheless dressed beautifully in the latest Rocío fashions, often with the traditional flower at the top of the head (see Fig. 3-9). I would not go so far as to say that there is no deep introspection or meditation, but I do feel confident in saying that there is not much, and I neither witnessed nor experienced much of that kind of expression. Again, this is not a sign of a lack of religiosity (as will become apparent); rather, it is a religiosity from another direction. It is “de Gloria” rather than “de penitencia.” It avoids introversion and artfully cultivates extroversion, sadness recedes and joy proceeds.

Where, then, is the “religiosity” of the camino if the prayers, for the most part, do not play a significant role and introspection plays an even less significant role? The ritual religiosity is to be found exactly where one would expect it once the nature of El Rocío is understood: in the song, in the dance, and in the processions. It is also found in the liminal edges of time and space: late at night on the camino between the

formal rituals and the walk itself, deep within the real and the metaphorical “forest” (both aspects will be treated in Chapters 4–6).

Two particular prayers are continuously used. The first is the sung “Salve Maria,” the devotional prayer to Mary (as related above) that is a prominent feature of the processions and the camino and is sung by the entire Hermandad at virtually every stop. The second (it took me a while to realize that this, too, was a prayer in its own right) is the litany of “Viva!” that always follows the sung prayer of the Salve Maria.

Prayer, on the Rocío, is primarily a communal act. Even a solitarily sung prayer to the Virgin is done in public or semipublic spaces. These moments of song will be treated in the ensuing chapters, and it suffices to say here that when the procession stops for a ritual purpose (such as crossing a river), an individual may sing a song to the Virgin as an spontaneous act following the group-sung *Salve*.



Figure 3-9 Three sisters along the camino in fashionable Rocío dress
The Andalusian tradition of placing flowers on the very top of the head is, to this author’s knowledge, found elsewhere only among Hindu cultures. (Photo by W. Gerard Poole)

Her drum and pipe player: The Lady's herald

The Tamborilero in procession

In front of the Simpecado carreta, the two oxen, and the boyero, walks the Tamborilero. The Tamborilero is the man who plays both a flute and a drum at the same time and leads the processions. The presence of a Tamborilero is not optional. There is always at least one Tamborilero, sometimes more but usually just one. The formal processions do not move without him leading the way announcing with his tune and beat the coming of the Simpecado of *La Reina de Andalusia* (“The Queen of Andalusia”), *La Blanca Paloma* (“The White Dove”), *La Virgen del Rocío* (“The Virgin of the Dew”).



Figure 3-10 Rociero Tamborilero, dressed in formal “traje corto”
He is playing the traditional Rocío flute and drum of the province of Huelva, c. 1955.
(Photo courtesy of Juanma Sánchez)



Figure 3-11 Tamborilero playing for a Simpecado in the Quema River (Photo c. 1965, courtesy of Juanma Sánchez)

The word *Tamborilero* means literally “drummer,” and in this case it takes the masculine form. The Tamborilero plays the “pipa de tres agujetas” (“three-holed pipe”) with his left hand while some kind of drum hangs from the same left arm. In Andalusia today, all Tamborileros, regardless of which romería they are playing for, use a drum modeled after the European military field drum as shown in Figs. 2-10 and 2-12. The Tamborilero sounds out the rhythm patterns on the drum with his right hand while playing the three-holed flute with his left.

The Tamborilero is not an optional feature of the Rocío, any more than the Simpecado banner and carreta are. The Tamborilero does not merely accompany the procession; he *leads* it. The Tamborilero functions as a sonic banner that marks the arrival of “Our Lady,” and by doing so signals not only the fact that Her procession is in progress, but also, as suggested in Chapter 2, Her dominion and protection over the

land. This is not a fanciful interpretation on my part. For the people of Almonte, she is the patron saint and protectress of the land. The Almonteños of the past brought Her out in special processions called “*Transladas*” (Transferences) during times of extreme need, and now they do so as a tradition every seven years (Taillefert 1996; Flores Cala 2005)¹¹. Furthermore, she has attained to the title of “La Reina de Andalusia” (“The Queen of Andalusia”) throughout Andalusia (Murphy; Trujillo Priego; Flores; Taillefert, et al.) and she is considered by many, if not most, Andalusians to be their protector as well. Certainly the Rocieros from all over Andalusia see her as such. Likewise, the land of La Doñana is considered sacred, and at the time of this writing a serious controversy is underway concerning the building of a highway linking Sevilla to beaches near Almonte on the Atlantic coast. The highway will not only cut through La Doñana; it will also cut directly through the path of the Almonte procession to El Rocío (conversations in Almonte with Juan Carlos González Faraco, Ph.D., University of Huelva).

The Tamborilero is the living legacy of an ancient tradition that will be treated in Chapter 4. What is important to note at this point is that his relationship to the procession is an intimate relationship that has extended, at one time or another, to all ritual processions throughout Andalusia and the Iberian Peninsula, and perhaps throughout Western Europe in general. His relationship to procession is also a relationship with land in a dual capacity: land as a mystical place of healing and transformation (the “forest”), and land as the very ground of possession and sociocultural identity. One immediate aspect of this dual role, somewhere between the religious and the militant, can be seen in the way his music is utilized within the

procession itself. Although his music is regarded as beautiful music in its own right, nonetheless, as stated above, his music functions predominantly as a “sonic banner: or herald, that signifies something else, something outside the musical content. It is for this reason that in some ways the music of the Tamborilero is not treated so much as music, as much as a sound-signal. This is why the Andalusians will sing and clap rhythm even though the Tamborilero is close by and clearly audible. His music represents something important, indispensable, but not exactly music in and of itself. Exploring the Tamborilero’s rich legacy will be the subject of Chapter 4.

The Coro Rociero: Chorus in motion and the singing community

Sometime in the 1970s there arose from out of the processional practices of the romería of El Rocío, specific entities called “Coro Rocieros” (Rocío Choruses) that began to perform outside of the Rocío processions (Gil Buiza 1991, 4: 64–72). However, there was always a “Coro Rociero” (Rocío Chorus) in the romería procession, whether or not it was consciously or officially recognized. It was simply a natural outgrowth of the processional pilgrimage. If people are in procession and singing, there is a chorus, whether it is called that or not, for there is no such thing as a Rocío procession that doesn’t sing on the way to El Rocío.

This “chorus in motion” is an essential element to the ritual power of a romería. The singing, the camino, and the processions are not sets of potential elements within an abstract ritual formula. The singing, as El Rocío has evolved, is essential to the pilgrimage because, to a large extent, it is not a component of the romería; it *is* the romería. Singing, like the presence of the Tamborilero, is not an

optional. It is, as this dissertation will make clear, one of the key elements that creates the ritual state.

An extremely important role of the choruses in motion, or singing processions, of El Rocío is that they manifest the pilgrimage state, as defined by Victor Turner, of *communitas* (Turner [1978] 1995, 1–40; 1995, 97, 141–145). There are no chorus directors, no parts to be sung, and no order of songs. Anyone can lead the singing by simply starting a song. The musical *communitas* of the procession also continues into all other musical aspects of the *romería* (see Chapters 5 and 6).

What becomes clear to an observer along the camino is that the *Coro Rociero* evolved at the Rocío as part of the experience itself: the simple act of people singing songs together to enhance and amplify the ritual experience. All written documentation and photographs from the last century demonstrate that singing and walking (or riding) are two constants of the *romería* (Burgos 1974; Flores Cala 2005). Yet there is no way to know whether there is any official “*Coro Rociero*” is singing within an *Hermandad* within a Rocío procession because as already stated, the processions of people singing on the Rocío constitute the processions. The chorus and the procession are the same thing: The procession *is* a chorus.

We must also conclude that the pilgrims of the *romería*, all of them and in every capacity, and the processional chorus are actually the same entity: the *Hermandades*, as a whole, functioning ritually as choruses. This fact is of interest when one considers the *romería* of El Rocío from the perspective of the Nietzschean dialectic between the Dionysian and Apollonian, espoused in his famous *The Birth of Tragedy* ([1886] 1967). From the Nietzschean perspective, the Rocío processional

chorus can be understood as the act itself—an act as a pursuit of experience that constitutes the Dionysian impulse, to which any subsequent representations outside the ritual boundaries must be considered as incomplete reflections that in turn, constitute the Apollonian-reflected corollary (Nietzsche [1886] 1967, 33, 41, 73).

The chorus is a chorus of experience. They are not singing about something else, something outside of their own activities. They are singing about themselves and what they are doing in the moment: they are on the pilgrimage to El Rocío. The processional chorus is what constitutes the essential difference between the *romería* and any other kind of pilgrimage.

The quote that opened this chapter, uttered by an anonymous person standing on the side of the route and handing out beer, is a good indication of how well the Andalusians understand themselves, and it reveals a deep understanding of the nature of the theatrical and the ritual that is surprising.

The role of the processional chorus, making their way into “the forest” to encounter “the paradox that lies at the heart of existence” (Nietzsche [1886] 1967, 55) will be revealed to the reader, as this work progresses, to be a sophisticated and deliberate ritual act on the part of the *Rocieros* as well as one that I have found to be common to Andalusian ritual in general. The entire *Hermanidad*, then, can be seen as a ritual chorus that moves toward deeper experience.

The chorus as a “break-away” musical practice contributing significantly to cultural generation in Andalusia

The emergence of the Coro Rociero as a discrete break-away entity from the ritual system to become its own sociocultural product, came into being as a result of a number of factors, foremost being their rise in popularity among the population at large.

The popularity of the choruses accompanied the rise of the Sevillanas Rocieras to popularity (Gil Buiza 1991, Introduction, 3–25). At first the choruses appeared as musical support to the Sevillanas recording artists, either groups such as Los Amigos de Ginés (“The Friends from Ginés”) or individuals such as the singer/pianist/composer/poet Manuel Pareja Obregón.

The high level of artistry achieved by these semiprofessional choruses is apparent in Soundtrack 6 and Soundtrack 7. The chorus of *Triana*, the one featured on Track 6, is one of the most prestigious Rocío choruses, just as the barrio of Triana is a famous musical site for all of Andalusia in its own right. However, it can also be argued that it was the choruses themselves that actually catapulted the rise of the Sevillanas Rocieras due to the fact that all the famous singers, whether soloists or groups, were themselves Rocieros and members of Hermandades, and so, by default, members of choruses to begin with rather than the other way around (personal research on backgrounds of Sevillanas singers).

Either way, the genre of the Sevillanas Rocieras and its performers—whether the choruses, the musical groups, or the soloists—all evolved simultaneously within the *romería* itself; they were all products of the same ritual practices. However, as

cultural products, the choruses took on lives of their own outside of the rituals, just as the singers and singing groups did. The choruses (as well as the soloists and groups) began to perform at weddings, baptisms, fairs, and so on which can still be observed today.¹² In the process they became increasingly professional (much the same route that flamenco artists take).

The choruses also evolved their own unique performance sites. First, places called “Sala Rocieras” (Gil Buiza 1991, 4: 58) began to spring up all over Andalusia and other parts of Spain. These clubs were dedicated to the performance of the emerging Sevillanas Rocieras genre. Initially these gatherings took place at the houses of the Hermandades (when they existed) or at designated bars or discothèques. Eventually places appeared that were specifically dedicated to the Sevillanas Rocieras. (Again, there is a precedent within the flamenco community in the “Peñas Flamencas”—places for gatherings specifically dedicated to the performance and cultivation of flamenco). In addition, a network of independent concert sites came into being. In most cases the choruses were still billed in association with the Hermandad through which they originated—the “Coro Rociero of the Hermandad of Triana” for instance. Ultimately these networks of Sala Rocieras and concerts culminated in regional and national competitions that can be seen on television in Andalusia.

The Coro Rociero has common elements with both the choruses of the Mass, and the choruses of the many local romerías, especially those of the province of Huelva. However, the Coro Rociero is distinct from either in some important ways. For instance, the choruses of the Catholic Church, at least in the past few centuries,

are usually mixed, as are the Rociero choruses. However, the Church had eliminated dance from the Mass throughout most of its territories. (The last vestige of dance within the Mass was, curiously, in Sevilla itself with the famous dance of *Los Seis* (“The Six”), performed by six boys once a year in the Cathedral of Sevilla (Brooks 1988, 122). The Rocieros of El Rocío, as the diary reveals, dance at all the major events but not while the procession is in motion. They dance at the processional stops—whether the stops are ritual stops or the result of simply being tied up in traffic, as occurred in Coria (see Tuesday, the Third Day, in the Diary, App. B).

The choruses from the province of Huelva sing and dance the Fandangos musical genre (see Chapter 5), which are gender-specific. Men dance martial dances to male saints and to the sun, whereas women perform the dances to Mary—that is, dances and processions of fecundity, healing, and protection. When the two genders dance together, it is always in groups, in communal line dances with the men in one line and the ladies in another. However, these are not as common as the separate dances (Merchante 1999, 169–191; author’s observations).

Male group dances throughout Andalusia are still dedicated to male saints, and they remain clearly martial, as epitomized by the many sword dances (Merchante 1999, 191; Brooks 1988, 190). Likewise, the female dances, as Merchante identifies, are carried out by specially trained choruses of “virgins” (Merchante 1999, 189, 170). Furthermore, on the cover of the work by Francisco Aguilera (1990) we see a photo of a local procession in the Almonaster region of Huelva wherein a small chorus of women with tambourines is actually leading the procession while the Tamborilero is seen walking right *behind* them, although he is still in his pivotal position—directly

before the banner of the procession. Although this is not the case with the processions of El Rocío, it is interesting to note that certain processions are led by a designated female chorus trained to sing and dance for particular rituals just as male dancers dance martial dances for male saints. As already mentioned, a famous dance survives that dates to the Renaissance, called the dance of “Los Seis” that young boys dance at a special procession within the Cathedral of Sevilla (Brooks 1988, 122).

From this perspective, emotional and functional modalities that were expressed as gender specific choral dances seem to have been a part of Andalusian culture for at least five centuries. The male saints, primarily but not exclusively Santiago (Saint James), was the Christian equivalent of a “War God,” as all the martial activities of the *Reconquista* (Reconquest) were carried out under the banner of this male saint, hence his title, “*Matamoros*” (“Moorslayer”).

The chorus-to-chorus, gender-to-gender dance, and the gender particular dances, are important features of the fandangos music and ritual culture. However, neither is a feature of Rocío musical culture. The more romantic, one-to-one dance relationship, and with it the one-to-one singing relationship that are so characteristic of the Sevillanas Rociero culture will be further explored in Chapter 5, but both the Fandangos and the Rociero choruses have as their primary function, the singing and dancing within the processions. However, both have been recruited, since Vatican II, to sing (though not dance) as part of the Mass. Hence, there are *Fandango Masses*, *Misas de Romeros* (Pilgrim Masses), *Misas Rocieros* (Masses for the Rocío), and even the *Misa flamenco* (flamenco Mass). We can see from this that what is produced

within the romería as popular culture spreads not only into the social superstructure, but back into the rest of the ritual system itself as well.



Figure 3-12 Traditional women's chorus in Huelva, Spain, c. 1965–1975 (Photo courtesy of Juanma Sánchez) Is this the continuation of a pre-Christian Europe and/or pre-Christian/Islamic Andalusian feminine tradition?¹³

Regardless of whether the Rocío Chorus was modeled after the Mass chorus, the fandangos processional chorus, or a combination of the two, the present-day Rociero Chorus cannot be understood except as a product of the romería of El Rocío and its intimate one-to-one relationship between the worshipper and deity within a “de Gloria” emotional modality.

The Coro Rociero is also characterized by a more individualistic approach to worship and personal relations. The relationship between the individual and the chorus, as community, is characteristic of El Rocío overall: The Rocío choruses are

not gender-specific. Likewise, the Sevillanas dance is the only traditional dance in Andalusia meant to be danced in mixed-gender pairs. The relationships between ritual structures (of which the chorus is the essential component) and their musical corollaries will be further developed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Summary of Chapter 3

The initial impression of the processional pilgrimage as a kind of ordered chaos is only the first superficial manifestation of a deep operational truth that will become more apparent as this work progresses: the processions are manifestations of a high degree of skill, foresight, dedication, motivation, and the artful cultivation of the individual, coming together as part of a communal endeavor.

In its totality the *romería* pilgrimage can be seen as one extensive chorus in motion, a chorus in *formalized* motion—a musical procession heralded by a player of the drum and flute, the *Tamborilero*, and at the heart of which is the *Simpecado* of the Virgin. The chariot, or cart, of the *Simpecado*, provides the thematic, and with it the emotional, focus of the processions of *El Rocío*. Taken as a whole, the configuration of the processions of *El Rocío*, seem to be specific instances of those allegorical processions described in Chapter 2: (1) The presence of a central chariot, or Triumph, as a focus of the processional mode, the *Simpecado*; (2) the single emotional modality paralleled by a musical corollary component as a singing chorus and the presence of instruments, almost always wind and percussion, the *Hermandad* as chorus singing the *Sevillanas Rocieras* in the emotional mode of “*de Gloria*,” and the presence of the drum and flute in the *Tamborilero*; and (3) the presence of animals and/or animal-

humans, the oxen pulling the Simpecado, and the horse riders. The conspicuous difference of course, is that there are no fabled creatures, or wild animals in the Rocío chorus. However, since the illustrations are clearly allegorical, we cannot know for sure whether or not the fabled creatures and the wild animals are actually in the Rocío chorus or not unless we know what those images represent.

The musical and emotional focus of the singing procession remains its key feature. It is in the procession that the relationships between music, ritual, and the cultivation of a specific emotional modality, that being the modality of “de Gloria,” are first manifested on the Rocío , and continue to be manifested as the core set of relationships throughout the entire romería. The generation and structuring of a specific emotional cast will continue to be a central focus of attention throughout this work. In that light, the investigation of the romería of El Rocío is to a large degree an investigation of the processional chorus.

As a singing *communitas* reflecting the social spectrum of Andalusia, the Brotherhoods that originate as self-organized social entities to conduct the romería become important networks in Andalusian society for transmission of cultural aesthetics and values. This transmission of aesthetics (created by the pilgrimage itself, a point that will be developed in the ensuing chapters of this work) into the sociocultural body at large is greatly accelerated through the presence of the *communitas*, a *communitas* first manifested in the processional chorus. Furthermore, the aesthetics of the romería are further promulgated into the rest of Andalusian society through spin-off cultural products such as the Coro Rociero, as well as by the creation and dissemination of song, dance, poetry, images, films, and so on.

Chapter 4: The Music of the Tamborilero

The discovery of the Tamborilero has been, for this author, one of the most intriguing results of the field research. Due the scarcity of literature on the subject, the Internet has proven to be an important resource on two fronts. The first is the contemporary front. For the researcher the internet has made possible, contact with the living tradition as represented by *aficionados* (dedicated students of a particular subject or discipline; see Chapter 6 for further discussion of the aficionado) and living Tamborileros that might otherwise have required months, if not years, of fieldwork search. The Web sites of Luis Payno, Juanma Sánchez, and Chris Brady, in particular, have proven invaluable not only for their enormous personal contributions but also as focal points for other interested aficionados to contribute what they have learned.

Second, there is the historical front. Since so little has been written on the subject of the Tamborilero, and most of it is out of print, those few people with access to these works, such as Payno and Sánchez, have been able to share with other researchers the contents of these works and in the process have become invaluable historical secondary sources in themselves, while at the same time they function as primary sources for the present-day traditions by the fact they are exponents of the greater historical traditions as particular living practitioners. For we cannot say that there is one Tamborilero tradition, but as this chapter will begin to elucidate, there seem to be many traditions that nonetheless share extremely provocative commonalities across geography and the span of centuries.

The Lady's herald

At the Rocío the Tamborilero plays three tunes: *El Camino* (“The Walk” or “The Way”) for the processions and along the pilgrimage paths; *El Romerito* (“The Little Pilgrim”) for the same purposes but not nearly as much; and *Al Alba* (“At Dawn,” “Going at Dawn,” or “Toward the Dawn”) for revelry in the mornings along the route to El Rocío. By far the most famous of the Tamborilero tunes of El Rocío is “El Camino.” The Tamborileros play this tune in the Rocío processions, and it is perhaps the best-known Tamborilero tune in all of Andalusia. Since the tune has slight variants each time it is played, I have created, in Fig. 4-1, a variation that will sound standard to anyone who has already heard the tune.

Three melodic sections always occur in the same sequence, and they are noted on the transcription by bracketed letters. The important element to keep in mind is that this tune corresponds to the category of *sin fin* (“endless”) melodies as described by the Tamborilero community.¹⁴ These melodies can be spun along in endless variations because they lack strong finalizing cadences.

They are often attributed, paradoxically, to either Arabic or northern Iberian influence and are considered to be atypical of Andalusian melodies (Sánchez 2006). One clue in support of the Arabic origin may lie in the word “arabesque,” used by Europeans to denote the endless spinning of interlocking motifs in architectural décor (A.C.D. dictionary) or in literature, the spinning of interlocking stories as “stories within stories” or “dreams within dreams,” as illustrated in the classic *1001 Arabian Nights* (Burton [1821] 2001). Merchante (1999, 56) holds the oft-repeated notion ascribing Arabic origins to certain Medieval Andalusian melodies, a tendency began

by Ribera in his famous and controversial analysis of the “*Cantigas de Santa Maria*”¹⁵ (1922), and his work theorizing the influence of Arabian music in Western music (1927). Nonetheless, subsequent scholarship has shown that by far, most of the Medieval tunes of the *Cantigas* are of Western European origin as they utilize modes that are not, and were not, used among the Moors (Cunningham 2000). The Camino tune definitely falls into that category, as does the second tune “Al Alaba” further discussed later in this chapter.

The mode of these two tunes is in keeping with the dominant modalities of the *Cantigas*, that of the Dorian and the Mixolydian, which, as Cunningham pointed out (2000, Introduction), is rare (if nonexistent) in the *Nauba* traditions of North Africa—traditions that represent the Medieval Moorish musical traditions that originated in Andalusia and would have been approximately contemporary with that of the *Cantigas* (Ribera 1922 and 1927; Proché 1995; D’Langer). As of now, I have not made direct identifications of present-day Tamborilero tunes with any of those of the *Cantigas*, yet the presence of the depiction of two Tamborileros in the miniatures of the *Cantigas* (see Fig. 4-7) indicates that they had some relationship to that body of work, although to what degree is uncertain. However, that the Tamborileros are linked to processional pilgrimage, of which the present day *romerías* are all Marian, and the fact the *Cantigas* are all dedicated to Marianism, suggest that there might have been a deeper connection than the presence of the single miniature reveals.

The “endless” characteristic of the two present-day tunes was probably a deliberate musical device to allow the Tamborilero to start and close the procession at any given moment according to the requirements of the ritual.

Commentaries on “El Camino”

El Camino

Tamborilero tune

Transcription: W. Gerard Poole



Note: The third accent on the 5th beat, though it is much lighter than the ones on 1 and 2, is nonetheless extremely important to the feel of the rhythm, and to melodic phrasing.

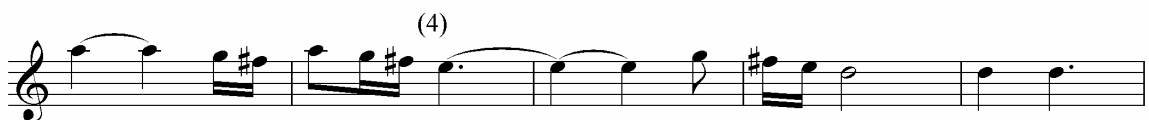
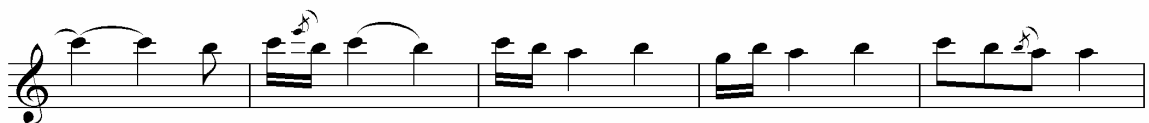
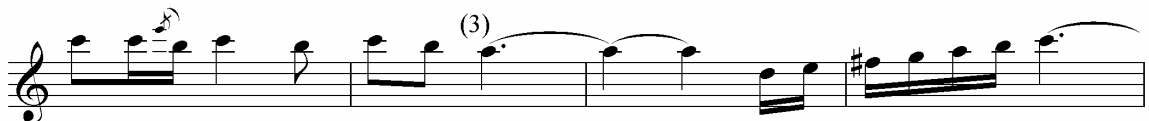


Figure 4-1 Transcription of Tamborilero tune “El Camino”
(Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)

One curious characteristic of this tune is the 5/8 measure consisting of a duple followed immediately by a triple count: 12 123 (or, 12 345), with the accents on the 1 and 3 count. The accents within a meter is what the Andalusians call *compás*. Although combinations of triple and duple meters are common in Spain, and especially in Andalusian flamenco, they usually consist of two groups of three and three groups of two with differing accents delineating the specific rhythmic pattern, or *compás*. These combinations of triple and duple meters are usually found within a 12-count measure such as in the *Soleares* form in flamenco (123 123 12 12 12) or the *Seguiriyas* (12 12 123 123 12). However, the asymmetrical 5/8 meter of “El Camino” is referred to as a “*cojo*,” or “lame,” meter in Spain, and is one of several that the *Tamborileros* use across the peninsula (Sanchez www 2006).

Although the two strong accents for “El Camino” are on 1 and 3, a third accent, a lighter one on the fifth count, signals the melodic phrasing. This gives the initial impression that the count starts on this third accent—actually the last beat, not the first. A phrasing pattern that does not correspond directly with the rhythmic pattern is a common phenomenon in Andalusian music, especially in flamenco.

When I began to experiment with this rhythm pattern, I thought it was an odd meter to play in while walking. After walking awhile, I clapped the *compás* and sang improvisations of the tune, but I realized that the continuous displacement of the downbeat against my footsteps created its own counterrhythm that seemed to act as a counterbalance. The feel was constantly moving (as I felt it) from side to side, crisscrossing my forward steps. The effect was an interesting rhythmic corollary to the “endless” spinning effect of the melody.

The tune is in what is commonly referred to as the Dorian mode (in that recent jazz musicians have ascribed these Greek names to ascending melodic scales beginning on particular scale degrees of the major scale), which is the mode of the Rociero flute (discussed in more detail in the next section). Four basic events must occur. At (1a), the entrance at the 5th of the mode is always the case. What happens between (1a) and (1b), although always following along the same basic melodic contour, can be longer or shorter depending on how many ornaments the Tamborilero makes around the 5th degree before resolving to the tonic “d.” The second event is the movement up to the high “c,” the 7th degree of the mode. It can be scale-wise or skip a few tones on the way, depending on the player’s technical speed and style. For instance, I’ve heard the same player approach the note either way in the same performance. The advances to the 7th degree and its ornamentation, followed by temporary cadences at the 5th degree (event 3) and its ornamentation, can continue without set limitations. The ornamentations at the 7th are usually the most prolonged. After usually two advances to the 7th and its cadence at the 5th, there will be another ornamented section around the 5th, usually about half as long as the ornamentation at the 7th, followed by an even shorter section ornamenting the 2nd degree (event 4) until the final resolution at the tonic. From there the Tamborilero may make further advances to the 7th degree and continue the descending cycle to the final tonic whenever the procession stops. I have rarely heard them return directly to the 5th (event 1a). The sequence after the initial beginning at (1a) will then cycle between (1b) and the resolution of (4).

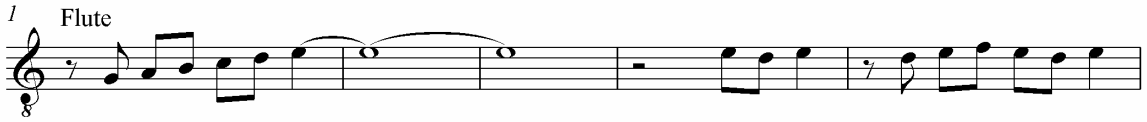
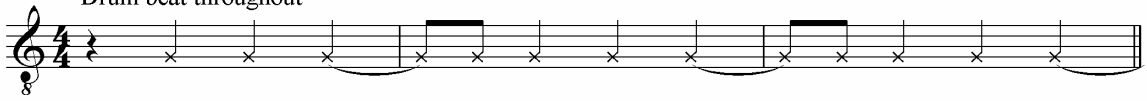
Commentaries on the “Al Alba” or “La Diurna”

The tune of “Al Alba” (see Fig. 4-2, below) displays the same “endless” quality as “The Camino.” It does this by extending certain motifs indefinitely, motifs that could easily be brought to a strong close due to the fact that the melody is clearly in the diatonic key tonality. The “endless” motif in this case is based on the second half of the central melodic theme. Measures 4–14 introduce first half of the recognizable melody. Measures 14–20 introduce the second half of the recognizable melody. (The orchestrated versions I have heard place a major chord under this part of the melody and use the third step in the scale rather than the fourth, creating a V/V that is not suggested in the pure flute melody.) Measures 20–26 extend second half as a motif indefinitely. Measures 26–32 repeat the second half of the melody. Measures 30–45 further develop the motif extensions. Measures 45–50 reintroduce the second half of melody again. There is a brief introduction of a third, independent, melodic variation (Measures 47–58). From there on, the typical return to the basic melody in reverse order—the second melodic half (59–77), then the first to the end (79–95). It is in the motifs variations that the Tamborilero may take the greatest liberties and spin the motifs as he sees fit as long as he comes back to the basic tune, first the second half, then the first for the ending.

Figure 4-2 Transcription of “Al Alba” by Tamborilero Juanma Sánchez
Recently, following conversations with well-known Tamborilero Antonio de Huelva, he decided to revise his variation, and I am awaiting this revision. The controversial element is mentioned in the text below.

Al Alba

Drum beat throughout



The image displays three staves of musical notation in treble clef, 8/8 time. The first staff, labeled 84, contains measures 84-88. The second staff, labeled 89, contains measures 89-91. The third staff, labeled 92, contains measures 92-95. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth, quarter, and half notes, along with rests and phrasing slurs.

Starting in Measure 35, and again in Measure 75, one can see how these sections might be prolonged indefinitely with many variations, as is usually the case in any particular performance. When the procession needs to end, the final ending phrase (Measures 90–95) is easily jumped to from anywhere in the tune, as variations of the basic two phrase motifs constitutes much of the tune to begin with.

The “Romerito” (“Little Pilgrim”) tune

After consulting via the Internet with two well-known Tamborileros—Juanma Sánchez and Antonio de Huelva—it has come to light that the tune called “Romerito” is actually a melodic fragment from another processional tune from the province of Huelva that has been incorporated into “Al Alba.” Measures 47 to 58 are the fragments of that tune and as such it is not really a separate processional tune of El Rocío although some sources claim that it is (Martinez 1989, 2). I never heard the

tune played on its own along the Rocío and so I thought maybe the Tamborilero of Granada simply chose not to play it. However, that was not the case and this was cleared up by the two above Tamborileros. Furthermore this solution makes sense. The three parts that are revealed in the Camino tune, are then reflected in the Alba: First melodic half, second melodic half, followed by the spinning of motif variations and back to beginning in reverse order, if there is time, or directly if necessary.

What is of interest about this controversy to the ethnomusicologist is the role of the aficionado in the person of Juanma Sánchez, and of the professional, in the role of Antonio de Huelva, in collaborating to ensure standards within the tradition without the need of any official institutional agency. It also shows how the tradition is still alive and well.

The three-holed (or -toned) “shepherd’s” flute

“*Chiflo, Chifla, Gaita, Pito, Txistu, Silbo, Chirula*” are various names for the family of three-holed flutes given by the instrument maker Luis A. Payno on his Web site featuring the history and making of period instruments. The Rociero flute is often called the *Gaita Rociera*, also known as the *Pito Rociero* (“Rocío Whistle”):

“The taborer’s pipe is a whistle; it happens to be made of wood, but its musical structure is precisely that of the penny whistle, except in one important particular, that it has but three holes in place of six. As I have said, the pipe has but three holes (stopped by the index, middle finger and thumb); these give four fundamental tones, which however do not occur in the working scale of the instrument” (Darwin 1914).



Figure 4-3 The “Three-Holed Flute,” or “Shepherd’s Flute”
(Photo courtesy of Luis Payno, <http://www.es-aqui.com/payno/arti/flauta3.htm>)

The four fundamental tones are also not used in the Gaita Rociero of today (Payno; Sánchez 2006; personal correspondence with Juanma Sánchez, and personal observations). However, fundamental pitches have only recently become standardized, and although the instrument and its variants were obviously meant to be played by soloists, the modern Gaita Rociero has begun to be played occasionally as an ensemble within some processions. Sometimes there may be up to eight or more Tamborileros playing in unison. The Hermandad of Almonte uses a number of them when they come in procession to take the Virgin out of the Hermitage (see Itinerary, Sunday 2003, App. B). Likewise, the Tamborilero Mass that I witnessed (see Itinerary, Saturday 2004, App. B) wherein at least thirty were playing together.

The ordinary working scale of the Rocío flute corresponds to the 12 or 13 uppermost notes of a seven-octave piano. The galoubet's scale begins on a B-flat one-third below the taborer's pipe. Below is Sir Francis Darwin's illustration of the tones of the three-holed flute (minus the first four fundamentals D, E, F#, G).

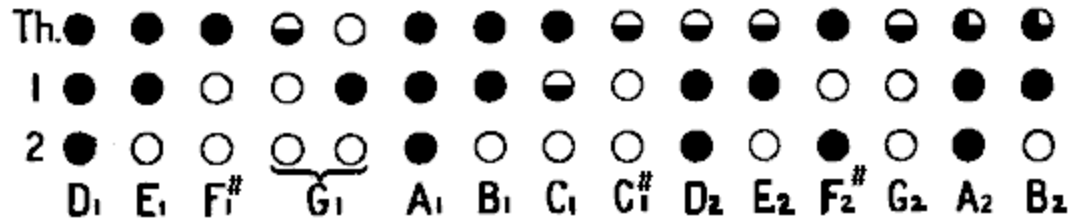


Figure 4-4 Finger patterns for the three-holed flute, illustrated by Francis Darwin. The fingerings are given for the keys D and G. I have not attempted to play in other keys. For each note the upper circle represents the thumbhole; 1 and 2 are for the first and second fingers, respectively. The black circles are supposed to be closed; the white are open. Holes that are half open are represented by circles half white, half black. In the case of A₂ and B₂ the circles are three-quarter black; this means that a minute crack is left open. It is important to remember that each pipe has its individuality. For instance, in one of my instruments G must have the thumb hole completely open, and the alternate fingering (with the index hole closed) is quite out of tune (Darwin 1914).

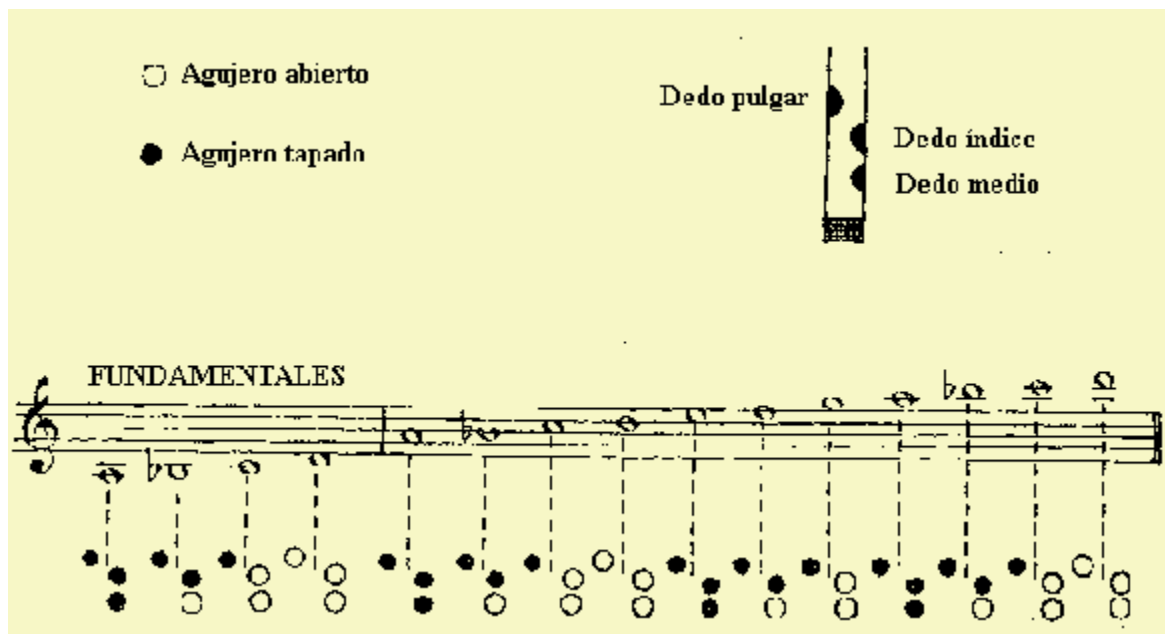


Figure 4-5 Finger patterns for three-holed flute, given by Luis Payno (Courtesy of Luis Payno, <http://www.es-aqui.com/payno/arti/flauta3.htm>)

It would seem that there was a discrepancy with the dimensions of Darwin's flute that manifested itself in the fundamental relationship between the all-closed and the all-open position that should have resulted in a perfect fourth in the first functioning octave. However, the open position seemed to not be yielding a perfect octave without some adjustment (see the two alternate fingerings for G1 in Fig. 4-4, compared to the fingering of the D1 in Fig. 4-5. There also seems to have been a flaw in the second overblown octave of the fundamental D1 that also required compensation to achieve a perfect octave at D2. Nonetheless, Darwin was able to overblow a minor 6th, C1 above the second degree, E1 resulting in a tri-tone above the third degree, and an extra half-step within the octave. Furthermore, he shows a minor 6th, B2, above the first octave whereas Payno suggests the utilitarian range to extend only to the perfect 4th in the second octave. Darwin, then, claims to have achieved fourteen tones, including the extra chromatic C1, while Payno suggests there are only eleven usable tones.

According to Payno's tone-step to flute chart below (Fig. 4-4), Darwin was in fact playing an English flute. Darwin mentions in the article that the French Galuobet begins at Bb, which would coincide with Payno's chart:

GAITAS CHARRA Y EXTREMEÑA Y CHIFLA LEONESA	TXISTU, SILBOTE, TXIRULA, CHIFLO ARAGONES Y PITO ROCIERO	TABOR PIPE INGLESA Y FLAUTAS EUROPEAS RENACENTISTAS	GALOUBET FRANCES
STT	TST	TTS	TTT

Figure 4-6 Regional versions of the three-holed flutes by scale step
(Courtesy of Luis Payno, <http://www.es-aqui.com/payno/arti/flauta3.htm>)

Carlos Martinez, in *El Tamborilero: Método de Flauta Rociera* (1989) (“Method for the Rocío Flute”), suggests that the Rocío flute has twenty usable tones. However, he assumes that not only are the first four fundamentals usable (when all the other authorities claim they are not) but that an additional register of overtones can also be used. On the Rocío, I never heard any Tamborilero play beyond the range of an octave and a fourth, and none of the many recordings I have heard captures anything else, either. If it were possible, surely the Tamborilero for Granada on the 2003 trip would have been able to do it, for he was by far one of the most accomplished players I had heard. He played for many of the Sevillanas dances, not just the processional tune in the processions. This required him to play pieces that were not traditional to the flute, most of them being modern, including some that were just a few years old. In personal correspondence with Juanma Sánchez and the well known Tamborilero Antonio de Huelva, the recent addition of the upper octave to the flutes capacity has been affirmed.

The drum from the North

It may be that in Spain the Tamborilero is a descendant of a close relationship between the military procession and the religious (Chico 1999, 22–25). Sir Francis Darwin (son of the famous Charles Darwin) gave an interesting paper to the “Society of Morris Dancers” at Oxford, England, on February 12, 1914, on the “Pipe and Tabor,” as the instruments are called there: “The military drum and fife band is spoken of as ‘the drums’; there is no such person as a fifer, he is described as a drummer” (Darwin 1914).

An interesting remark made by Merchante in his *La Historia Antológica del Fandango de Huelva* refers to the “mountain Tamborileros,” or “*serranos*,” as having their own sound. (Merchante 1999, 186). The drum of the Andalusian Tamborilero is a military field drum and was originally used by the mountain Tamborileros of Huelva who had, in turn, brought it from northern Spain (*ibid.*, 186). This is the prototype of the Tamborileros of the Rocío, in that they use a military drum rather than the smaller drum of the Medieval drum and tabor (compare Figs. 4-7 through 4-15, below). Merchante goes on to argue that the dances, the flute and tabor, and the use of castanets might feature so prominently in both the north and the south of Spain because they accompanied the advance of the Spaniards as they slowly carried out the Reconquest (*ibid.*, 187).



Figure 4-7 Military-type field drum from northwestern Spain
(Photo courtesy of Juanma Sánchez, <http://www.Tamborileros.com/tamboril.htm>)



Figure 4-8 Woodcut of military fife-and-drum player, seventeenth century
In this example, the flute is much longer than those used today, and the drum might be attached to the waist rather than hanging from the left arm.

Merchante also refers to *zonas marginales*, or “marginalized zones,” in talking about this particular Tamborilero from the highlands of Huelva (ibid., 186). He mentions a document dating from 1269 that says, “*Venían a Andévalo pastores castellanos*” (“There came to Andévalo [a town in Huelva] shepherds from Castile [a region in Northern Spain].”) One cannot help but wonder why a shepherd would carry around a military drum?

Historical background of the Tamborilero traditions

Figs. 4-8 through 4-13 show variations in the way the two instrument combinations have been put together for playing purposes through the centuries. These illustrations suggest that in each case we are looking at the same basic flute,

but with different accompanying instruments. However, there are also variations within the flute, as shown in Figs. 4-9 and 4-10. The essential continuity lies in the combination of the two otherwise separate instruments, and the manner in which they are played together. In the case of the Tamborilero, the drone and rhythm function are carried by the drum, albeit as a compromise in favor of the rhythm (the drums I heard at the Rocío were always tuned to approximate the fundamental).

The Tamborilero as dweller of the social margins while also being the sonic banner and guide of processions and of the processional pilgrimage

“In the middle ages the tabor and pipe were a good deal associated with the performances of strollers and mountebanks. On the other hand, they did not always take this rôle. There is a beautiful carved figure playing the pipe and tabor in the Angel Choir of Lincoln Cathedral, dating from 1270” (Darwin 1914).

Historia de Guaza by Francisco Herreros Estebanez (in Fernández 1997), suggests a “calling” function of Tamborileros in Northern Spain, where they will pass twice through the streets of a village to summon the people to a religious function. True, these references are of the north, but the instruments are also from the north, and it was the northerners that carried the *Reconquista* south to Andalusia (Durant 1950, Vol. 4, 697) Today, on the Rocío, the Tamborilero calls the Hermandad to revelry each morning.

It is interesting to keep in mind that an important part of the staffs of office carried by the officers of the Hermandades of El Rocío are nonfunctional *faroles* (lanterns carried in the past by night watchmen). Why would these staffs symbolize defense and watchfulness? It may have something to do with the fact that the

pilgrimage sites of Andalusia, as previously discussed in Chapter 2, were once territorial edges wherein Spanish kings such as Alfonso X would set up “fortress shrines” to the Virgin in order to delineate reconquered territory bordering the Moorish territory. In this way we can see the creation of “no-man’s lands” between the opposing cultures. The role of watchmen, and those who sound the alarm in case of invasion, may have a link to the roles the Hermandades once played in maintaining a vigilance against the Moorish invaders (and, before that, with anyone else the village or town was at war with).

These practices—claiming territory in the name of a protective deity and proclaiming territories sacred—are obviously not elements of the New Testament and must be attributed to practices of Western Europe that predate the arrival of Christianity. This suggests to me that the Tamborilero seems to be a vestige of pre-Christian traditions. A direct historical link between the Tamborileros of Iberia and the Morris Dancers of the British Isles is starting to emerge. Fig. 4-17 depicts a tabor and pipe player and a Morris dancer from seventeenth-century England. The Morris dances are said to predate Christianity in Western Europe. They are associated with not only the blessing and sanctification of the land and its fruits, which call to mind fertility traditions, but also the protection and, by extension, the claiming of land.

The first page of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Vol. 8* shows a photo of a man playing a three-holed flute with the left hand while holding what looks like a drumstick with the right hand and striking a stringed drone instrument. The man is not playing a drum; he’s playing what Carlos A. Porro Fernández, in his “Antigua presencia de la flauta de tres agujeros en Castilla” (Porro Fernández 1994,

8) relates as being a latter invention, as an alternative to the older drum and flute combination, from seventeenth-century Castile, called the *Salterio*, *bordón*, *bordón perucusiva*, *bordón de cuerdas*, or even the “*ttun ttun*” (Fig. 4-10). It consists of a long resonating chamber over which a series of drone strings are stretched, tuned to octaves and fifths and struck with a drum stick.

I have noticed, both at the Rocío and in listening to recordings, that the Tamborileros tend to “tune” their drums rather low and to an approximation of the lowest fundamental of the flute. It is pronounced in some cases, and the snare adds texture to the semi-drone effect. According to Garland, the tradition of the solitary, self-accompanying player of the Shepherds flute, or “three-holed flute,” seems to have been pervasive throughout Western Europe and, furthermore, linked with various ritual traditions such as the Bardic, Morris, or Mummers dance traditions of the English isles (Brady 2006; Groves Vol 14, 762–764; Garland 1998–2002, 8: 2–4).

There are two flute and tabor players depicted with the miniature to *Cantiga* (song) 120 the miniatures of the “*Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” a thirteenth-century collection of devotional Marian songs (see Anglé 1943 for a complete analysis of all 400 *Cantigas* and Cunningham 2000 for an analysis of the “*Loor*,” or praise, songs that comprise every tenth song). Whether the Medieval artist simply failed to depict the hand positioning correctly or whether a different kind of flute is being played in the same pipe-and-tabor combination is not clear. Certainly the hand positioning does not seem to be correct for any type of flute, three-holed or otherwise, and the flute seems to be much shorter. Likewise the manner in which the drum is being suspended seems odd. It may be that the strap around the neck is kept taut by pushing the drum

forward with the flute hand while resisting it with the neck, which does not appear to be practical but is feasible nonetheless. The shaman-type figure in Fig. 4-15 seems to be holding the drum by a similar method (note that the deer has a human face within the fur of the chest and perhaps human hind legs?).

The *Ars Musicales* of Egidio de Samora 1260 (Payno) refers to the balance in volume that must be kept in mind when playing the two instruments together, and on the facade of the church of San Esteban Salamanca there is an angel playing the flute and tambor dating from the sixteenth century (Sanchez). Higinio Anglés, in his *La musica en la corte de Juan Carlos V, 1539*, refers to a *tambourino*, as they were called there. However, according to Anglés, they were associated with, and sometimes were, the masters of dance (Anglés 1944, 46). E. Garci Chico makes references to them in the processions of “*Las Danzas del Corpus*,” where he finds that, in 1631, “Habria de ser una danza de zapateado y toqueado de ocho personas y su tamboril y flauta.” (“There was performed a dance with eight people and their flute and tabor.”) (Garci Chico “Papeletas de Historia y Arte,” 1951 in Brooks 1988, 16) In this case, we see the “flute and tabor” accompanying dance *within* a procession. Lynn Matluck Brooks, in *Dances and Processions of Seville in Spain’s Golden* (1988), refers to the fact the processions have dances, both in the processions and when they stop (161, 175, 186).

That the Tamborileros were associated with religious processions is still in evidence today all over Spain, including the Semana Santa processions, where the marching bands have only recently replaced them (Chica 1999, 30–33). In the romerías of Andalusia such as El Rocío, however, they remain traditional fixtures,

leading the processions and playing for the dances. On the Rocío we encounter dance only at the stops, not within the actual processions. The Tamborilero always leads the procession but does not always play for the dance at the stops. However, the Tamborileros who do play for the dancers at the stops tend to be the more accomplished players.

I referred to Merchante having claimed that the large, military-type field drum was brought to Huelva by the Tamborileros from Castile (next to, and once united to, Aragón) who settled in the mountainous areas (Merchante 1999, 186) of Huelva. Nonetheless, the mode that Payno attributes to León and Extremadura (the province directly adjacent to and north of Huelva) is what is commonly called (among flamenco and Jazz musicians) the “Phrygian” scale, a scale that begins on E, is called by flamencos the “Andalusian cadence which is characterized by a tetrachord cadence that descends TTS to the tonic (usually E). However, this nomenclature is confusing. Since the Greek modes were described in the descent, rather than the ascent (Stolba 1990; 62–63; Groves Vol. 14, 663–664), naming modes by their Tone Semitone sequence can be misleading.

However, the Andalusian cadence is more characterized by its descending A-minor, G-Major, F-Major, E-Major progression. As a mode there is no functioning chord, but within the Andalusian cadence, when seen as a key, the final chord is Major, which also causes the scale to be seen as A-harmonic minor with a tonal center around the fifth step (E), accentuated by the half-step relation to F, that in terms of functioning harmony might be seen as a substitute V/V relationship. Like the Greek modes, the Andalusian cadence is characterized by a descent to the tonic,

rather than an ascent from the tonic, however, it is not always clear whether the tonic is A, or E. Many songs never go to the A-minor chord at all. The Andalusian scale uses a raised or natural third “g” depending on the harmonic context, and depending on that context one can look at the Andalusian cadence as either a mode, or a key. This ambiguity has roots in the late Renaissance and Baroque periods when the key system of functional harmony was first being formulated, wherein both the modal and the functional harmony systems coexisted (Stolba 1990, 283). It is not known when the many *romería* Processional tunes of Huelva, including those of El Rocío, were composed. However, as I will further demonstrate in Chapter 5, the guitar, being a tempered instrument, often clashes with Andalusian melodies and for that reason is not played with some of the older song forms. Some *Tamborilero* tunes can go well with guitar accompaniment using the Andalusian cadence and the major/minor chords, but others do not.

This scale/mode, that of the TTS formula of the Andalusian cadence (descending), is the basic mode of the *fandangos*, the musical family of songs that originated in Huelva (Merchante 1999, 15–17) the province in Andalusia where the Rocío takes place. But the *Gaita* (or *pito*) *Rociero* shows the tone, semitone, tone pattern of either the Dorian mode or the Aolian (again, employing the common usage nomenclatures, not the Church mode nomenclatures, for ascending modes within the basic major key). The tonality of the *Gaita Rociero* does not actually lend itself to the *fandangos* family at all, which may explain why the *Tamborileros* are used only for ceremonial processions and do not have much of a role in Andalusian music outside

of that role. I have never heard any of the three-holed flutes used in flamenco for instance.

En Huelva, durante la Romería del Rocío, proliferan las gaitas rocieras, agudas , de tubo muy fino, acompañadas de grandes tambores, abren las procesiones y siguen las fiestas y romerías. Suelen tener la boquilla protegida por una pieza de cuerno. Lo curioso es que no se las ve el resto del año, aunque cada vez más, van tomando la posición de instrumento principal dentro del folclore de esa zona de Andalucía. (Payno)

(In Huelva [the province wherein El Rocío is held; see App. B], during the romería of El Rocío, the gaita rociera is popular, [they are] of high pitch, thin tube, accompanied by large drums, [they] open the processions and follow the celebrations [understood to be those of local patron saints and Virgins] and romerías [other romerías, not just El Rocío]. They tend to have the mouthpiece protected by a piece made of animal horn. What is curious is that the rest of they year they are not heard, although more and more they are taking the position of principal instrument within the folklore of this part of Andalusia) (my translation).

This reference to how the flutes are not heard anywhere except at the romerías and fiestas is interesting because from what I have observed and from what I have heard on CD collections, these flutes are used only in processions, What Payno doesn't quite say by using the vague word "folklore" is that the Tamborilero plays only for religious processions. Furthermore, he has become an icon for all "folk" or religious processions outside those processions directly sponsored by the Church hierarchy. We know that the Tamborilero, as already mentioned above, was once the procession leader of all the Holy Week processions until he was replaced by the large military-type bands in the late nineteenth century (Chica 1999: 30–33).



Figure 4-9 Miniature of “pipe and tabor” players, thirteenth century
(From the collection of Marian devotional songs, the “*Cantigas de Santa Maria*” of Alfonso X)



Figure 4-10 Three-holed flute and the seventeenth-century *bordón*
The *bordón* is a drone instrument from the Basque region.



Figure 4-11 Angel Tamborilero, sixteenth century
Detail of a painting by Pedro de Berruguete



Figure 4-12 Detail of "La Boda" ("The Marriage"), fourteenth century
By Nicolo de Bologna, Italy



Figure 4-13 King playing flute and bell, thirteenth century
The combination shown here, on the east façade of the Cathedral of León, is still used (although not played by the same person) to accompany the Sevillanas Correleras in the province of Seville.



Figure 4-14 Detail from Luttrell Psalter, British Museum, sixteenth century
A war illustration?

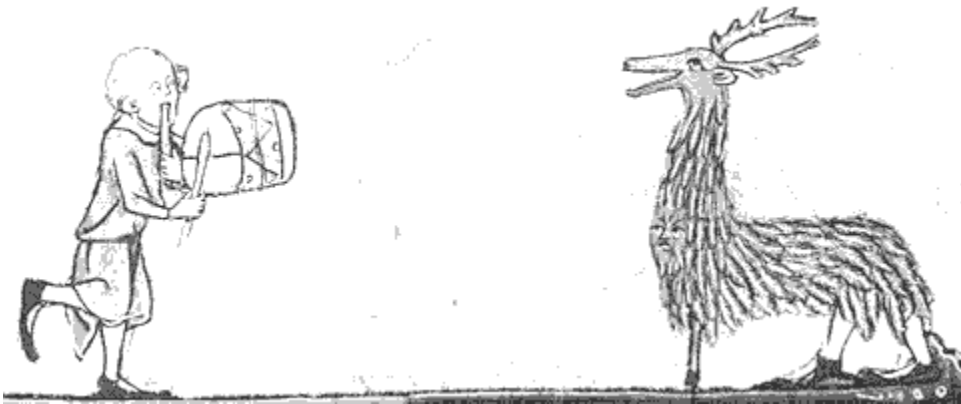


Figure 4-15 Shamanistic drawing, *The Romance of Alexander*, fourteenth century
Note that a human face appears in the breast of the animal, and the hind legs are human legs.



Figure 4-16 Animal trainer, *The Romance of Alexander*, fourteenth century



Figure 4-17 Woodcut of pipe-and-drum player with Morris Dancer, c.1600
From William Kemp's *Nine Daies Wonder*, published in London, 1600.¹⁶

Fig. 4-13 is interesting in that it depicts a king playing flute and bell. The bell is significant on many different levels: an instrument used to control domestic herd animals, a calling instrument of the Catholic Church, and a warning device for many social uses. The bell is used as a percussive instrument in the Sevillanas Correleleras, a folk music of the area of Sevilla. These relationships—alarm, call, lead, and herd—are all various historical functions of the Tamborilero, as this work will reveal. Furthermore, as Figs. 4-15 and 4-17 reveal, the association with pre-Christian ritual is unmistakable although to what extent is still not clear. The figures also reveal a span of social strata functions between the courts, the military, the religious, and the “folk.” What emerges from this brief historical survey is that the Tamborilero tradition was at one time pervasive throughout the social strata of the Medieval ages, with roots that may point to much earlier traditions. But somewhere between the late Medieval and the present era the traditions became limited only to rural and “folkloric” practices, that in Iberia, are closely linked to the religious.

The present-day Tamborilero

It has been already discussed, that the Tamborilero traditions were all but extinct throughout Spain by the twentieth century except for those linked with the romerías of Andalusia. Likewise, as Jorge de la Chica (199, 23–24) relates, the Tamborileros used to be the musical accompaniment even for the Holy Week processions of Andalusia up until the late nineteenth century, when they were replaced by the marching bands modeled after military bands—often, as is the case even today, being bands from various military academies. In the rest of Western Europe, the traditions have all but disappeared.



Figure 4-18 Modern Rociero Tamborilero, dressed informally
The medallion indicates that he belongs to an Hermandad. (Photo courtesy of Juanma Sánchez)



Figure 4-19 Modern Rocío drum, used by the ladies of *La Curra* (“The Urchin”)
As is apparent, the drum is quite large, and it often served as a coffee table when not in use for song. (Photo by Lisa Rossini Johnson)

Only recently have the present-day Mummers Dancers, or Morris Dancers, of the British Isles realized that the original musician for these dances was in fact the “pipe and tabor” player that Darwin referred to. This is attested to by the recent communication between the Spanish Tamborileros and the Tamborileros and the English Morris Dance groups (Sánchez 2006 and Brady [Darwin 1914]), although as late as 1912 there was still to be found a pipe and tabor player in England: “When George Butterworth combed the area for Morris Dancers [oxfordshire] in 1912 he found only one pipe and tabor, in the possession of an elderly man of Bicster who was able to play the Maid of the Mill, and *Shepherd’s Hey* on it” (Grove Vol 14, 762).

It was during the 1970s that a renaissance of the Tamborilero traditions occurred throughout Spain. Neither Payno nor Merchante attribute this resurgence to El Rocío directly, but certainly, given the high esteem the Tamborilero holds within El Rocío (a statue is dedicated to him in the town of El Rocío across from the

Hermitage) and the rise to prominence of the romería during that time, there must have been some influence.

The two major schools for the Tamborilero in Andalusia are in the towns of Villamanrique and, as one might expect, Almonte. Villamanrique seems to be the most prestigious and even the oldest (Payno).¹⁷ A third important school functions within the Rocío itself. This school was founded by the famous singer/poet/composer of Sevillanas Rocieras, Manuel Pareja Obregón, himself from Sevilla. Obregón was a classically trained pianist and composer. In the 1970s Obregón created the school in a house that he bought in the center of the town of El Rocío and that now operates as a small hotel run by his granddaughter—named, aptly, Rocío (I visited the hotel in 2005). Although at this time there is not enough evidence to prove this, it seems to me that one of Obregón’s objectives in starting a school for Tamborileros may have been to standardize the pitches and intervals. I say this because, to my knowledge, only at the Rocío do we find large groups of Tamborileros, all hailing from different parts of Spain (even the Canary Islands), playing together. This innovation, of course, in view of the history recounted above, goes completely contrary to their traditional role as self-accompanying, roaming soloists.

Since Obregón was a pianist, he may have even introduced tempered tuning to the Tamborileros (this, too, will require further investigation) so that they could play along with him at his school (there is still a baby grand in the large reception room of the hotel). Witness the fact that on the final Sunday of the romería we have the “Mass of the Tamborileros,” wherein up to thirty or more Tamborileros play together. Personally, I found the event to be a bit dreadful. The chorus of Tamborileros did not

enhance the Mass or vice versa. They played the same tune at every allotted time to accentuate the important events and nothing more. It reminded me of the “Rocket Mass” I attended on the camino (See Chapter 8). I suspect that the novelty of so many Tamborileros playing together may have only recently been made possible due to the standardization of tuning achieved during the renaissance of the ’70s. Obregón may well have been a key promoter of the move toward standardization.

Obregón also cowrote a *Misa de Romeros* (“Mass of the Pilgrims”), wherein he used one of the three Tamborilero tunes of the romería of El Rocío: “El Alba,” the second tune treated earlier in this chapter, for a prayer to Mary called the *Salve Maria*. This tune became a huge success as a popular song throughout Andalusia, and throughout Spain in general. By far this is the most commonly sung prayer at El Rocío and it will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The Tamborilero tradition, then, is that of, if not actually the processional leader, then at the least the required sonic “herald” for the Virgin. In this way the Tamborilero has been ensconced within the ritual system of Andalusia (and presumably throughout Western Europe at one time) at the ground level: Holy Week, pilgrimages, weddings, saints days, and so on. Whether he was ever the “Master of Ceremonies” at one time or place is not clear at this point, but for whatever reason, he has been seemingly indispensable for centuries. As such, his music may well have been an important element within the popular music of the past, just as is the case today in Andalusia with the “El Romerito” and the “El Camino” tunes as described above. He presents us with the first example of romería ritual music becoming popular music. He also presents us with an enigma from the past: why is he, like the

chorus, found so often in relation to herd animals, and fabled, or wild animals, in some kind of domestic relation to music and/or procession?

Conclusions for Chapter 4

The first obvious observation concerning the Tamborilero is that his function within El Rocío is that of a musical herald to the Simpecado cart and banner, which is to say, to the Virgin herself, and to the romería. Again, it should be emphasized that his presence is neither peripheral, nor decorative, but central. Furthermore, this central role within the processional ritual is clearly centuries old. The material presented in this chapter suggests that in relationship to the processional chorus, we do not find a moment of his entering into the chorus, but rather we find that wherever we find the chorus, there we find him, in one guise or another. This fact seems to be reflected in the nature of his processional tunes. The “without end” structure of the tunes is functionally well suited to leading a moving procession that may stop at any moment. Likewise, his adaptation to the Sevillanas Rocieras allows him to also function as the “dance master” at the processional stops. What is also clear from the historical evidence is that he has always had other functions as well, and these have involved him, at one time or another, with every possible strata of the socioeconomic spectrum, including that of the marginalized wanderer. That his music seems to have been a part of popular culture, in light of what has proceeded, seems conclusive, as well as his ritual and ceremonial functions that link popular culture with religious culture in a way that can still be witnessed today, at least in Andalusia.

The presence of the “shepherds” flute, or whistle, has interesting connotations in the context of his relationship to the musical chorus, and the presence of a military field drum clearly indicates a dual purpose, at the least, of a function in the past that bridged the religious and the militant. The staffs, bells, and other paraphernalia of the *Hermadades* that suggest vigilance and awakening, in conjunction with the role of the *Tamborilero* as one who signals ritual operations such as the coming of the virgin and of awakening the pilgrims in the morning, is also provocative. There are also some interesting aspects to these functions when seen in the light of Wallin’s work. The mental/emotional state of vigilance and alarm as emotional modalities involving hunting and shepherding, features prominently in his theory of emergent consciousness, and will be treated briefly in Chapter 12.

The curious combinatorial playing of the flute and drum seems to be historically a common variation on the theme of the solo, self accompanying musician, perhaps poet/bard, and if we stretch the imagination, we might suppose that there is possibly some relation to a shamanistic, priest-like function in his past as well as some of the illustrations in this chapter clearly suggest. The reputation of the *Tamborilero* as one who dwells, not only in the territorial margins, but in the social margins as well, is also suggestive of a role, or series of roles, that seems to display a certain historical consistency, even if not a clear one, that is in itself, according to Eliade, typical of the shaman’s social status cross-culturally (Eliade 1964, 508–511).

Certainly it is curious, if nothing else, to consider the fact the shepherd/hunter—who, according to the legend of the “shepherd’s cycle,” is said to have discovered the miraculous image that became the *Virgen del Rocío*—is reputed

to have originated from either the town of Almonte or the town of Villamanrique (as discussed in Chapter 2)—where the two oldest Hermandades of the romería originated and homes to the two oldest and most prestigious schools of Tamborileros. What might be the tradition, or traditions, of which the Tamborilero is a legacy? A thorough inquiry into that question is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and for the moment arguably a little too speculative, nonetheless, there are some additional interesting clues that have arisen in the wake of this inquiry into the music and ritual of El Rocío that will be mentioned when relative, and that seem to ground the speculative areas of the question into more concrete ground.

Chapter 5: The Music of the Chorus

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, there seems to have been a long history of the singing, dancing, processional chorus, and as revealed in Chapter 4, its relationship to the single musician accompanist. Likewise, there seems to have been a long history of the specialized musical procession—processions with a single emotional mode at their core that appear to be, if present-day Andalusia is an example, consciously cultivated.

This chapter will treat the music of the processional choruses of El Rocío from two approaches. The main approach will be from a performative and ritual perspective that focuses on the role the music plays within the pilgrimage. I am suggesting that the musical forms of Andalusia, and their morphology within the ritual process find their ultimate manifestation in behavioral aesthetics—aesthetics that, I will argue, are created within the ritual process, a process that is in many ways inseparable from the musical practices. Attempting to understand the role of the chorus and its relation to El Rocío has also pointed toward a process of musical and ritual behaviors that contribute to the emergence of individuality from within a communal endeavor. Individuality and behavioral aesthetics seem to be intimately related.

The second approach, and it is secondary, is the historical. I have provided only as much historical materials concerning the chorus, as I judged relevant to the present practice at El Rocío. However, the historical legacy of the singing

processional chorus, not only in Andalusia but also cross-culturally, would be in itself a rich subject for further ethnomusicological and historical musicological work.

The Salve Maria

We begin with the *Salve Maria*, a prayer inspired by the words of the Archangel Gabriel at the Annunciation. The “Hail Mary,” (as it is known in English) is a prayer that contains elements from other Biblical scenes, including Elizabeth’s greeting to Mary: “Blessed is the fruit of thy womb.” (N.A.C.E. www 2006.). The prayer is also called the “Angelic Salutation,” or on the Rocío, as can be noted in the itinerary (see App. B): “*Rezo del Angelus*” (Prayer of the Angel).

After the first year, when I began to write about El Rocío, I would look over the itinerary published by the Hermandad in their magazine “*Granada Rociero*,” and I was always puzzled by the “Rezo Angelus” entries because I could not recall a prayer having been recited regularly on the camino. The reason I never heard anyone praying was because no one did—at least not as I understood the word “prayer” to mean. But of course when I realized that the prayer of the Angelus *was* the “Salve,” I realized that not only had I heard the prayer every day, I had been “praying” it all along with the chorus.

But the reason I didn’t recognize the sung prayer even by the words is because there are a number of different “Salve Marias,” sometimes called “*Salve Rocieras*,” or even just “*Salves*,” for short, and each Hermandad chooses one, or creates its own, and then sings it exclusively. The following Salve was coauthored by the famous writer of Sevillanas and Sevillanas Rocieras, Manuel Pareja Obregón, and was part of

a *Misa Rociera* (Mass of the Rocío pilgrims). The Salve became popular throughout Andalusia and could be heard over the radio or most anywhere. I have chosen to transcribe this Salve because it is by far the most well known of all the Salves and is sung by many Hermandades.

“Dios te salve Señora” “God Save You Lady” (Hail to you Lady)

I (verse)

Dios te Salve María
del rocío Señora.
Luna, Sol, Norte y Guía
y Pastora celestial.

God save you Mary (Hail Mary)
Lady of the Rocío
Moon, Sun and Guide (North Star)
Celestial Shepherdess

estribillo (refrain)

Olé, olé, olé,
Al rocío yo quiero volver
a cantarle a la Virgen con fe
con un Olé, olé, olé, olé,

To the Rocío I want to return
To sing with faith to the Virgin
With an Olé

Dios te Salve María
todo el pueblo te adora
y repite a porfía
Como tu no hay otra igual.

Hail Mary
The people adore you
and repeat without end
Like you there is no other

estribillo (refrain)

III

Dios te Salve María
manantial de dulzura.
A tus pies noche y día
te venimos a rezar.

Hail Mary
Sweet dawn
At your feet night and day
We come to you to pray

estribillo (refrain)

R. de León, M. Clavero, y M. Pareja Obregón y G. Valle

Figure 5-1 Transcription of “Dios te salve Señora”
R. de León, M. Clavero, y M. Pareja Obregón y G. Valle (Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)

65 **estribillo** C G C G C G C

O - lé, o - lé, o - lé. O - lé, o - lé, o - lé. O - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o

75 G C

lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé. O - lé, o - lé, o - lé. Al ro

84 G⁷ F C C

ci - o yo quier - o vol - ver, a cant - ar - le a la Vir - gen con fé. Con un o - lé, o -

93 G C G C G C

o - lé. O - lé, o - lé, o - lé. O - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o -

101 G C

lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé, o - lé. O - lé, o - lé, o - lé.

Obviously the opening melody is extremely naïve and contrived sounding.

What is of interest is the second melody—that of the refrain, which is the “Olé y Olé” section, the last beat of Measure 65 to Measure 107. It is, of course, the second phrase motif of the “Al Alba” melody (Fig. 4-2, Measures 1–15).

The composer Manuel Pareja Obregón “lifted” the motif and turned it into a effective musical phrase for the refrain of the prayer. How much he actually lifted from the original Tamborilero tune is difficult to tell. Whereas in the version given in Fig. 4-2, the resemblance is obvious, I have heard a number of versions in which the resemblance is faint. Whether or not some Tamborileros change the tune a bit to either further identify with the popular version, or deliberately vary it so as to avoid identification with it, I can’t say. However it is interesting to note that although this song is a prayer, it became a popular song throughout Andalusia during the 1970s and it still is, as of the writing of this paper, a well-known song in that region.

The Sevillanas Rocieras

By far these are the songs most commonly sung on the Rocío and during the 1970s and through much of the ’80s they were also the dominant popular music of Andalusia. One song, “*El Amigo*” (“The Friend”) by the group “Los Amigos de Ginés” became an international success throughout the Spanish speaking countries of the world (Gil Buiza 1991, 4: 65).

Historical background

Various sources attribute the present-day Sevillanas to the seventeenth-century *seguidillas*. The *seguidilla* used to be “...*el cante rociero por excelencia*” (“The song par excellence of the Rocío”) as recently as the first half of this century (Trujillo Priego 1995, 339). “Typical of many popular dance forms, the name

‘seguidilla’ can identify a dance, a type of verse, and a song form” (Brooks 1988, 201).

The *seguidilla* (pronounced seh-gee-dee-ya) was a sung dance whose basic model was not from Andalusia. The seguidilla was originally from northern Spain and had been transformed in the Cádiz-Sevilla region into something more Andalusian. The physicality of the northern Jota (the regional dance of the North) is not meant to be sensuous or hypnotic; to the contrary, it is martial and somewhat acrobatic. This martial quality was a characteristic of the northern dances and was often mentioned in chronicles of procession dances, even in Andalusia (Brook 1988, 194–196). It was the blending of the more acrobatic and martial northern dances, as exemplified by the Jota, with the more lyrical and sensual dance of Andalusia, as exemplified by the fandanguillos, that gave the seguidillas, and then the present-day Sevillanas, their elegant, stately, yet sensuous form. What is especially interesting, in terms of the basic themes of this thesis, is that the first references of the dance/song are to its presence in processions.

As far back as 1625, we hear of the “*coplas Seguidillas*” being of the Corpus Christi processions of Sevilla as interludes. These “interludes” seem analogous to the stops that I experienced in the processions of El Rocío. Both Brooks (1988, 162) suggests that of all the popular dances of Andalusia, it is the Féria Sevillanas—the Sevillanas from the actual city of Sevilla (as opposed to Sevillanas variations from the rest of the province of Sevilla)—that absorbed the strongest influences from the court versions of Andalusian dance. This seems logical when one considers the

central administrative role, including the pronounced and extravagant role in ritual production, that the city of Sevilla played during the Golden Era of Spain.

Sevillanas dance structure

(The following was reproduced, and adapted from the original with permission from the author: Simón el Rubio.)

Definitions

Paso: The type of step used (see below)

Repetición: How many times to execute that step

Descripción: Description of the step. I have followed normal Spanish usage for the descriptions. Thus the basic or standard sevillana step that you all learn first is the *paso de sevillana*.

Description of various kinds of paso

- 1= paso de sevillana / standard sevillana step
- 2= pasada / standard passing step
- 3= esquinas / corners
- 4= vuelta izquierda / a single turn to the left
- 5= cierre / close
- 6= pasos arrastraos / brush steps (think of ice skating)
- 7= pasos cruzados / crossing steps (actually “pas de basque”: “Basque step”)
- 8= vuelta izquierda punteando con pie derecho / turn to left then point right foot (toward your partner)
- 9= vuelta derecha punteando con pie izquierdo / turn to right then point left foot (toward your partner)
- 10= zapateado / footwork (the heavy stuff in the third sevillana)
- 11= pasada, tiempo de espera / passing step and marking time (depending on your choreography)
- 12= vuelta izquierda y paso montado pie derecho / left turn and elevate right foot (depending on your choreography)
- 13= vuelta derecha y paso montado pie izquierdo / right turn and elevate left foot (depending on your choreography)
- 14= careos / type of passing step used at end of fourth sevillana

Figure 5-2 Sevillanas dance chart

Primera Sevillana

1	5	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana
2	1	pasada	3	4	esquinas	2	4	pasadas
			2	1	pasada	4	1	vuelta izquierda
						5		cierre

Segunda Sevillana

1	1	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana
6	3	pasos arrastraos	7	6	pasos cruzados	7	8	pasos cruzados (círculo)
4	1	vuelta izquierda	4	1	vuelta izquierda	4	1	vuelta izquierda
2	1	pasada	2	1	pasada	5		cierre

Tercera Sevillana

1	1	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana
8	1	vuelta izquierda punteando con pie derecho	10	3	zapateado	11	1	pasada tiempo de espera
9	1	vuelta derecha punteando con pie izquierdo	4	1	vuelta izquierda	11	1	pasada tiempo de espera
2	1	pasada	2	1	pasada	4	1	vuelta izquierda
						5		cierre

Cuarta Sevillana

1	1	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana	1	1	paso de sevillana
12	1	vuelta izquierda paso montado con pie derecho	14	1	careo	14	4	careos
13	1	vuelta derecha paso montado con pie izquierdo	7	1	pasos cruzados	4	1	vuelta izquierda
2	1	pasada	14	1	careo			
			4	1	vuelta izquierda			
			2	1	pasada	5		cierre

Although this chart is well done, Rubio left out an item. Each of the four Sevillanas is begun with a six-measure (if using 3/8 rather than 6/8) melodic introduction by either the singer or the lead melodic instrument. During this introduction the dancers may stand still or they may respond to the singer/instrument in some way depending on the phrasing of the melody being introduced.

The Sevillanas are actually far more difficult than they look when watching others dance. The sections require memorized steps that can be fairly complicated and that also must be sufficiently internalized that the dancer can accommodate the dance of the partner. Since each section has its own dance patterns, both dancers must always remain cognizant of which copla they are in, even if the coplas are being strung together, one after the other, indefinitely. For the singer this is not a problem as she can choose any verse at any time. But the dancers must keep track of the order of

the coplas or else they will get their turns and passes crossed. Most important, the stops between coplas that end in frozen postures are precise and must be performed in concert by both dancers. However, in the small intimate groups of friends and family, the four formal sets of Sevillanas are not always adhered to. Often times each copla of the singer will stand alone as a new Sevillanas and the dancers will perform a simplified dance movement that nonetheless conforms to the basic metered structures. The third copla, the one with the zapateado (a brief stamping footwork section), is the most often left out.

Although Rubio gives an excellent, concise description of the different pasos, he does not indicate how many measures each paso takes to complete and so it is easy to conclude after adding up the number of repetitions that the four Sevillanas are of unequal length; they are not. Each Sevillanas is exactly the same length—a total of 40 measures of $3/8$ (or 20 of $6/8$):

Introduction: 6
First Tercio: 12
Second Tercio: 12
Third Tercio: 10

The 10th measure is not actually completed in the third tercio. The dramatic *cerre*, or “closure,” on the first beat of this final measure leaves a two-beat silence. The closing on the 10th beat of a 12-count measure, wherein the last two beats are considered either rests or phrase endings, or the final ending of the piece, is common in the flamenco compound rhythms. In the 12-count measures of $2 \times 3 + 3 \times 2$, the 10th beat is the final termination beat or the beat upon which the melodic phrasing tends to pivot. In the Sevillanas we see the same pattern but applied to the tenth *measure* (rather than a 10th count) out of the otherwise 12-measure phrase.

There is also the question of the *compás*. The *compás* is neither the meter nor the count but rather the rhythmic accents that give the form its special character. This is especially important when delineating between forms that share the same meter and count. In the case of the Sevillanas, there are two important accented patterns. The first is the driving accent that underlies the entire Sevillanas:

Pattern A

> >> > >>
123 123 123 123...

The accents are provided by the palmas or the tambor if there is one. The above is the basic accent of the introductory segments and the transitions between tercios and between coplas.

However during the different *pasadas*, and also the *cruzadas*, sections where the dancers are in more prolonged close proximity, the accents shift slightly but decidedly to this:

Pattern B

> > >
123 123 123

The eyes and body tension as integral aesthetics

The heavy accent upon the first beat comes at a time when two dancers are looking into each other's eyes. The sudden, steadier drive creates a tension that is then relieved by the transition steps, wherein the beat reverts to the A-pattern accent and the next copla is begun. These same tertiary beats with the strong initial accent are also clapped out during intense moments of interaction with the Virgin during the

Salida, or even with the Simpecado within the formal processions at moments of high emotional exaltation. But in the third tercio, instead of relieving the tension at the end of the *paso Sevillanas*, the two dancers come to an abrupt end face-to-face looking into each other's eyes (depending on their interaction) or, in some more choreographed versions, the dance will end an intimate posture between the two dancers: sometimes a kind of caress, at other times almost a challenge.

The practice is not an affectation of some dancers; it is an important aspect of the dance itself. The role of the eyes is usually taught in *Sevillanas* classes but is rarely mentioned when analyzing the steps and the forms. Furthermore, Carretero claims that the *paseo* of the *seguidillas* (which is the present *paso* of the *Sevillanas*) is the "most ancient and least altered" of Spanish dance movements" (1980, 108). The eye contact that is so important to this part of the dance is just as old, and it speaks volumes as to the interior nature of Andalusian dance.

The *pellisco*

The *pellisco* (literally the "pinch") is a sudden and brief physical movement that serves to store tension and quickly release it into the dance. One can see this most pronouncedly in the first moment of every *copla* as the dance is about to resume. However, it is a movement that happens to greater or lesser degrees throughout the dance and can be pronounced in the more dramatic flamenco dances.

The *pellisco* is simply a miniature moment, visible, of the constant struggle between tension and release that characterizes the internal driving force within *Sevillanas* to one degree and flamenco to a greater degree. These movements indicate

a minute sensitivity to tension and release in regard to rhythm, emotions, and movement.

If one observes the dancers of Sevillanas, it becomes apparent that these brief, even if at times subtle, movements actually reveal a great deal about the internalized aesthetics of Andalusian dance. The *pellisco* is just one manifestation of this playing with the dynamics of the body, a sudden drawing and release of physical tension from within. It is an analog to the drawing and releasing (exteriorization) of emotional tension that is so characteristic of the song.

Sevillanas and technical proficiency

As I watched “El Sevillano” dance, it became apparent how virtuosic the Sevillanas dance can become if a dancer has the command of the dance and wants to explore its possibilities. The levels of elaboration and complexity that can be worked into the basic Sevillanas form can be surprising. However, and this is a common observation in flamenco as well, increased complexity and technique is not at all an indication of better or worse performance. The overall aesthetic is what is most important, and this can be achieved with little complexity. The footage I took of the Rocieros dancing and singing at the rengue after the crossing of the Quema river is an excellent example, both of the role the eyes play and of how aesthetic the dance can be in its simplest variations.

The deity, the group, and the individual in the Sevillanas dance

Dancing to the image, like singing to the image, is transferred to dancing and singing to each other. The same can be said for the practice of the *promesas*. There is dance to celebrate the Virgin, dance to celebrate the Rocío, and dance to celebrate each other. The dance contains all three themes, and this is especially true due to the pairing, or coupling, aspect of the Sevillanas dance. This, in fact, is the single most distinguishing characteristic between the Sevillanas and all the other dances of Andalusia; it is specifically a couple's dance. Even its closest relative, the family of *fandanguillos* dances, are performed as group dances that are often segregated by gender (more on this below).

As has already been described by Merchante (1999, 16–21) the family of dances that has arisen throughout Andalusia associated with the *fandangos*, i.e., the *Granainas* dance from the province of Granada, are all basically similar. The single most important characteristic that I have noted is that the dances of Andalusia, outside of flamenco, tend to be group dances. Males can dance them, often as war and/or sun dances, or by females as dances to the Virgin (Merchante 1999, 58). If they are danced by both genders, they are not so much personal dances as general display dances: displays of virility, beauty, grace, and so forth, but in a communal setting.

The Sevillanas, as already mentioned, is much a one-to-one dance that is not necessarily erotic but is always somewhat intimate whether it is danced by son and mother, sister and brother, father and mother, or between young lovers. I believe this aspect of the dance contributed greatly to the development of the Sevillanas Rocieras

as a musical genre. As we will see in the development of the song, the movement toward individual expression becomes manifested in particular structural changes.

Summary of characteristics

The reader may have already noted three basic elements to this dance:

(1) The dance has an intellectual element, no matter how physically internalized the dance has become, that must, to some degree, continue to function in order to perform the dance. That, combined with the stop/go structure of dance in relation to the four coplas, is not conducive to the kind of repetition required for trance induction, at least not any kind that has been observed until now.

(2) The dance is very much a couple's dance. That, and the element of eye contact inherent in it, encourages a courtship element, a potential for the romantic or the erotic that can be either downplayed or accentuated by the dancers but cannot be completely ignored. However, the erotic can also be subsumed within a generalized intimacy, such that family members, people of different ages, and even elements of the sacred can all be accommodated according to circumstances and differing emotional modalities and degrees of formality. The Sevillanas can be formal or intimate, emotional or neutral, and every degree between.

(3) The dance, although structurally well defined, leaves room for individual improvisation, including a one-to-one interaction between the dancers or a more personal display of ability and style.

These basic elements of the dance are complex enough to require a high degree of self-consciousness and mental/emotional presence. The dance demands

intellectual attention and physical coordination, while at the same time it can serve to stimulate emotional and personal interaction. It is both formally structured for easy group synchronization and flexible enough to encourage individual idiosyncrasies.

Based on these rather obvious observations, the Sevillanas, while contributing to emotional structuring and the embodiment of the behavioral structures of *formalidad*, do not promote trance induction. Furthermore, the inherent characteristics actually act to block such a movement. This is analogous with the practices of the rituals of El Rocío in general, wherein trance induction is simply not a feature, with the possible exception of the Salida (to be covered in Chapter 10), and there the Sevillanas dance has no role.

Paso, paseo, salida as reflection of intimate relation between ritual and dance in Andalusia on a symbolic level

The word *paso* means step, as in dance step, or pass, as in passageway (as El Paso, Texas, refers to a gateway or passage into Texas from Mexico). *Paso* can also refer to movement. I have already mentioned how important the *paso* sections are within the Sevillanas dance. It is instructive to note, however, how intimately these terms interrelate with Andalusian ritual in general.

During Holy Week, the images carried in their palanquins are referred to as *pasos*. A *cofradía* may have one or two *pasos*—that is two *pasos* consisting of one Virgin and one Christ, or only the Virgin, or only the Christ. The *pasos*, referring to the images, are made to “dance” by the young men carrying them from below (the *costaleros*). They do this by moving slightly from side to side as they move forward

to create a rhythmic flow that is then marked by a swishing and clinking sound as the chain mail and fabric sway in rhythm. Sometimes the *costaleros* actually make the *paso* perform dance steps forward and back by executing backward steps and forward lunges, all in time to the marching band. Backward steps have been used in both court and processional dances in Andalusia and elsewhere in Europe (Brooks 1988, 199–203).

The word *salida* is also indicative. The word is used in the same way we use the word “exit” in English, but it means “coming out” or “going out,” so it can refer to an image leaving the place wherein it is housed, or it can also refer to a dancer entering the stage to begin her dance, or leaving the stage (or just the circle) to end the dance. There are many dances of the province of Huelva (where El Rocío is located) where, as already mentioned above, the *fandanguillos* are danced by male dancers in honor of a male saint such as St. John the Baptist. These dances tend to be somewhat martial in nature and closely related to pre-Christian Solstice rituals. The dances are often performed on hilltops wherein the dancers may better face the sunrise, or *salida*, of the sun (Merchante 1999, 80–81, 191). The dances tend to be group display dances, very communal.

In Gypsy Andalusian culture, the *Salida* dance may take on a much more important and intimate relation. When a young girl comes of age, part of her initiation is to be presented to her family and friends through dance. This *Salida* is an important and emotional moment for everyone present. Another use of the word *salida* that is relevant concerns the *romería* itself. When the *Hermandad*, in full formal procession, begins its pilgrimage, this too is called a *salida*. These word relations, while in

themselves might not necessarily reveal any real connecting significance, when taken in conjunction with what can be experienced on a daily basis, simply support what is already self-evident: that Andalusian culture is infused with dance and song practices that are grounded in sacred ritual.

The sung dance

The lyrics of the Sevillanas are divided into sections called *coplas*. These terse verses, composed of three to four octasyllabic lines, constitute the basic lyrical meter used for almost all Andalusian song regardless of the musical form or meter.

(Naturally there are many exceptions to the octasyllabic verse line, but in general their application is consistent.) Each Sevillanas consists of four (or sometimes only three) coplas and each copla begins with two verses that introduce the melodic theme of the copla as well as the subject matter. But to confuse the issue, sometimes each copla is called a Sevillanas, as does Mr. Rubio when describing the dance coplas.

This may suggest that the dance terminology is slightly different, but it may also be due to the fact that often times a singer may chose a copla from a different Sevillanas (as in a complete four copla song Sevillanas) in which case the first two measures will introduce completely different melodies for each copla of the resulting four copla “Sevillanas.” The thematic statement itself is only three measures, followed by three measures of pure rhythm. If there is a guitar, the strum used for Sevillanas will be used to fill out the final three measures of the introductions. If, between coplas, the singer or the instrumentalist is not ready to introduce the next theme (next copla), there may be a continuation of the rhythmic pattern until the theme is introduced.

However, as stated above in the section concerning the dance, regardless of what may be occurring in the melody and harmony, the dance sequences remain fixed for each tercio within each copla, and for each of the four coplas within each complete Sevillanas. (Notice that the term “salida” is not used for the entrance of either the singer or the guitarist. It is strictly a term used in reference to the dance. A singer “coming in” to start his singing does not constitute a salida, and neither is the presentation of thematic material by the guitarist referred to as a salida.)

The harmonic sequences and the melodies are secondary to the rhythmic relationship between the dance and verses. The dance and verses must fit exactly, and this can be done with no melodic considerations at all, as in the case of the very old “Sevillanas Correleras,” a type of Sevillanas that are shouted rhythmically without melody (Gil Buiza 1991, 1: 167). The verses that constitute the three tercios within each Sevillanas copla are not structurally different from tercio to tercio except, of course, that the words change. There are no structural changes within the poetic meter of the three tercios within each copla that are analogous to the changes in the dance steps that characterize the danced coplas. However, the third tercio of many Sevillanas often introduces a counter melody that emphasizes the stop in the tenth measure, but more often the third tercio will simply direct the melody a bit more upward on the last melodic line. All of the early Sevillanas songs that I have encountered, as evident in Soundtracks 4 and 5, do not display this variation which suggests that it is a recent innovation. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for the singer to sing a copla from an entirely different Sevillanas for each of the four (or three) coplas. In this case the melodies completely change from copla to copla. Once again,

this seems to have been a recent innovation as well due to the fact that the early Sevillanas, if all three or four coplas are sung, they are uniform in melodic content, and the complete set is usually sung.

What follows is a schematic breakdown of the lyrical structure in relation to the danced meter, first in order to make clear poetic structure as related to the dance structures. The basic musical transcription is given afterward in Fig. 5-3. On the CD recording that accompanies this dissertation, this particular Sevillanas copla serves as the second copla in a three-copla Sevillanas (CD Soundtrack 5). It's poetic meter adheres to the octosyllabic formula so that if the reader simply pronounces the words phonetically while listening to the recording, and/or maintaining the $\frac{3}{4}$ count internally, one can see how the words are made to fit the meter, and at the same time see that there can be a great deal of flexibility involved in making that decision. For this reason the chorus singers have to rehearse a fair amount in order for everyone to sing the Sevillanas lyrics in the same way. It is also probable that for this same reason, before the advent of the Coro Rociero, many of the early Sevillanas that this investigator has come across were sung by soloists, as are the first two on the recording. This copla does not have a counter melody for the third tercio and so all three tercios sung to the same melody.

La Vuelta del Camino ("Loran los Pinos del Coto")

The song below is about the return trip at the end of the Rocío ("The Return" and "The Pines of the Reservation [forest of la Doñana] Cry," lyrics and music by Alfredo Santiago and J. A. Hurtado, 1970).

LLORAN LOS PINOS DEL COTO
DESPIDIENDO A LAS CARRETA

[Four measures of melodic statement]

[Two measures of rhythm or
instrumental and rhythmic preparation]

DESPIDIENDO A LAS CARRETAS
LLORAN LOS PINOS DEL COTO
DESPIDIENDO A LAS CARRETAS
QUE YA SE VAN POCO A POCO
POR EL CAMINO DE VUELTA

1-2 [first two measures of 3/8]

3-4

5-6

7-8

9-10 [melody stops on first beat of 10]

11-12 [instrumental or rhythmic
clapping]

[Second Tercio]

SÓLO SE QUEDA '1 PALACIO,
SÓLO SE QUEDA '1 PALACIO
SOLA LA RAYA Y EL QUEMA
LOS CARRILES CON LOS SURCOS
QUE DEJARON LAS CARRETAS.

[same measure to phrasing relationship
as in first tercio]

[Third Tercio]

TODO SE VA TERMINANDO
TODO SE VA TERMINANDO
COMO UN SUEÑO QUE SE ALEJA
PERO LA BLANCA PALOMA
EN MI CORAZON SE QUEDA

[same as above]

[On the first beat of the tenth measure of
the fourth copla of the third tercio, the
music, melody, rhythm, and dance,
suddenly stop. This marks the end of a
Sevillanas Copla]

Fig. 5-3, below, is a transcription of the same Sevillanas with the melody and chord chart. I transcribed the piece in 6/8 because it is easier to notate that way (the bars become too intrusive in 3/8). Some Sevillanas definitely feel more like 3/8 and others, if they are more relaxed and languid feel better as 6/8.

Sevillanas II: Lloran los Pinos del coto

25  F E F E
Llor - an los pi-nos del co - to des pi - dien - do a las car-ret-a.____ Des-pi

29  E C G C C⁷ G⁷
dien-do a las car-ret - as, _ llo-ran los pi - nos del co to, des - pi-dien-do a las car-ret - as, Que ya se

32  F E F E
van_ po-co a po-co por el cam-in - o de vuel - ta.____ Só-lo

35  E C G C C⁷ G⁷
se qued a'l pal-a - cio, _ só-lo se qued a el cam-in-o _ sol - la ra ya y el que - ma, Los car ril

38  F E F E
les_ con los sur - cos que de - jar-on las car-ret - as.____ To-do

41  E C G C
se va ter-min- an - do, ____ To-do se va term-in - an - do ____ co-mo un sue-ño

43  C⁷ G⁷ F E
que se al - eja, Pe-ro la Blanc-a pal o - ma en mi cor-a - zon se-que - da.

Figure 5-3 “La Vuelta del Camino” (“Loran los Pinos del Coto”)
Lyrics and music by Alfredo Santiago and J. A. Hurtado, 1970 (CD Soundtrack 5,
second Sevillanas) (Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)

The harmonic base of Sevillanas: A hybrid musical form of great tonal flexibility

Foreword notes

The transcriptions I have made in this section, as throughout this work, are basic outlines of rhythm, melody, and harmony. They serve only to reveal the basic contours of the melody and the harmonic underpinnings where relevant. The purposes of the transcriptions are to elucidate specific musical concerns and in that light is how they should be considered. Each transcription is accompanied by a soundtrack. Furthermore, it would be beneficial for the reader to listen to the three recordings found in Soundtracks 6–9 that are of the Fandangos family of Andalusian musical forms. Although that family will not be treated formally until further in the chapter, they will be referred to occasionally in this section and the significance of those references will be made clearer by the recordings.

The song forms in Andalusia are called “*palos*” (“sticks,” as in “branches” or as in “kind” or “type” even as in the connotation of support structure as “pole”), of which there are many and they constitute the Andalusian traditional music system that in its totality does not have a specific name (For a discussion on the problems with classification of the forms, see Molina 1963¹⁸, 15–44. For an excellent description—albeit perhaps not perfect given the problems raised by Molina—of the forms and their genealogy see Pohren 1990, 101–162).

The Sevillanas Rocieras began as a blending of the melodically more emotionally evocative and arrhythmic *Fandango de Huelva*, another Andalusian musical form from the province of Huelva (see App. B), with the lighter-danced form

of the “*Feria Sevillanas*” (“fair,” “festival” Sevillanas), a popular Sevillanas that is performed at the annual fair in the city of *Sevilla*¹⁹ (see App. B for location relative to El Rocío and the *Encyclopedia de Sevillanas* (4: 23), for relationship to the city of Seville). The Sevillanas are much more diatonic in their modality than most of the Andalusian forms, and so they are, in general, based more deeply in the tonalities of functional harmony and the I/V (or i/V) harmonic relation. If a particular Sevillanas is to be sung in the Andalusian mode, then the opening chords (if there is accompaniment) will use just the two chords, V and VI, to set the tonality (if the guitarist knows beforehand what the singer is going to sing) as a substitute V/i relationship in terms of functional harmony. It is the descending Phrygian half-step cadence that locks in the Andalusian modal sound. If the song is not to be sung in the Andalusian mode and many, if not most are not, then the opening chords will either be a V/I or V/i opening sequence. The V/i opening chord relation usually suggests a harmonic minor tonality that is not committed to the Andalusian variation of the Phrygian descending mode, and that will sound much like many European songs in a harmonic minor key. Of course, in recent years the opening introductory sections have become elaborate in some cases but these elaborations are limited almost exclusively to the recordings. At the Rocío I only heard the traditional two chord openings even in songs whose recorded versions opened with a more elaborate introduction.

As a consequence of the prevailing major/minor tonality in the Sevillanas, they have become more melodically committed to the intervals of the tempered tuning scale—something much of the earlier Andalusian song, especially the earliest

forms of the flamenco *cante jondo*, and the variations of the processional *saeta*, still resist. Although ethnomusicologists have not to my knowledge brought this point out, nonetheless, it may be surmised that that the singers in the past were aware of the conflicting tonalities inherent between the modality of the older songs and the new modality represented by the guitar. For the past century, until recently, those older forms were not sung with guitar accompaniment, and the singers adamantly and deliberately resisted the intrusion of the guitar into these songs (Molina 1963, 140–141; Pohren, 1962, 154; Gómez 2001; Soundtracks 1–9; Arrebola 1995, 5–7; et al.).

The diatonic commitment of the Sevillanas may itself further suggest a stronger court influence upon the Sevillanas, through the Seguidillas dating from the seventeenth century, and may have influenced their harmonic structures early in their development (Carretero 1980, 43; *Encyclopedia de Sevillanas* 1: 25). Regardless, the diatonic commitment opens up more harmonic possibilities that allow the Sevillanas to span the harmonic “gama-ut” (so to speak) from the *correleras*, which are shouted out to a powerful rhythmic Sevillanas, and consequently have no harmonic or melodic qualities at all, to those harmonically simpler Sevillanas based in I/V or i/V harmonies, to those Sevillanas that follow the Andalusian mode, and finally to the piano- and orchestra-based Sevillanas that take full advantage of the diatonic functional harmony, such those written by Manuel Pareja Obregón and others. (Soundtracks 4–9 under “Progression of Sevillanas” in the accompanying CD and Figs. 5-4 through 5-9, below). As the chord charts in the transcriptions below demonstrates, a key structural feature of the transformation of the Sevillanas Rocieras is based in its inherent diatonic harmonic potentials. The first chord chart (Fig. 5-4) is

of an early type of Sevillanas recorded in 1916 of the famous singer “Nina de Los Peines” (1890–1969), which I transcribed from the Sevillanas anthology, *Sevillanas Históricas Vol. II* (EFE 2002). Note that the Phrygian half-step chord relation occurs only in the body of the song at three points including the very center, while the beginning and end are V/I tonalities. In the next Sevillanas (Fig. 5-5), from the same anthology, the F Major to E Major chord movement dominates the entire song. In “Lloran los Pinos” (Fig. 5-3)—as already noted, a Sevillanas Rocieras—the half-step movement brackets the song at the beginning and end, yet most of the body of the song is actually in a clear V/I tonality. The fact that that the diatonic major cadences can occur at the beginning and end of the melodies rather than only in the middle as is the case with the close relative to the Sevillanas; the Fandangos de Huelva (which will be treated further in this chapter), or that the diatonic cadences can comprise the only functional cadences, will prove to be one of the two most significant differences between the two forms, and will provide the evolutionary trajectory that the Sevillanas will take as it is developed at El Rocío into a devotional Andalusian song form. The second important distinction, which may be considered to be a consequence of the first, is that the Sevillanas has no commitment to a specific melodic contour. The melody may take any shape at all as long as it conforms to the meter of the dance as described above in the dance chart in Fig. 5-2, above.

**Figure 5-4 Transcription of “Ronda Mi Calle”
Sung by Niño Escacena on *Historia de Las Sevillanas Vol. II* (CD Soundtrack 1)
(Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)**

Track 2

♩=210

6

10

15

20

22

Track 1

Niña de Los Peines

♩=225

Musical staff with treble clef and 6/8 time signature. Chords C, G, C, G, etc. are written above the staff. The staff contains two measures with whole rests.

Musical staff with treble clef and 6/8 time signature. Notes and chords C, G7, C, G, C7, E are written above the staff. The staff contains six measures of music.

Musical staff with treble clef and 6/8 time signature. Notes and chords F, G, C, G7, C, G7 are written above the staff. The staff contains six measures of music.

Musical staff with treble clef and 6/8 time signature. Notes and chords C7, E, F, G, C are written above the staff. The staff contains six measures of music.

Musical staff with treble clef and 6/8 time signature. Notes and chords G7, C, G7, C7, E, F are written above the staff. The staff contains six measures of music.

Musical staff with treble clef and 6/8 time signature. Notes and chords G, C, G7, C, G7, C are written above the staff. The staff contains six measures of music.

Figure 5-5 Transcription of “En el Suelo Que Pisa la Sevillana”
Sung by Niña de la Lafalfa on *Historia de Las Sevillanas Vol. II*. (CD Soundtrack 2)
(Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)

Track 3

The image shows a musical score for 'Nació En La Cava' in 6/8 time. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 200. The score is written on a single treble clef staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The piece begins with a C major chord. The melody consists of eighth notes, with some measures containing beamed eighth notes. Chord changes are indicated above the staff: C, G, C, G, C, etc. in the first line; G, C, G C, C7, F in the second line; G7, C, A7, Dm, G7, C, G C in the third line; C7, F, G7, C, A7, Dm, G7, C, G C in the fourth line; C7, F in the fifth line; and G7, C, A7, Dm, G7, C in the sixth line. The score ends with a double bar line.

Figure 5-6 Transcription of “Nació En La Cava”

Rocío Chorus of Nuestra Señora del Rocío de Triana. *Pareja Obregón: Tributo* RCA 74321 35802 2. (Of the three Sevillanas on CD Soundtrack 3 [including “Cigüeñas del Palacio” and “La Luna Tiene a Gala”], only this one is transcribed; the harmonic structures are similar.) (Transcriptions in Figs. 5-6, 5-7, and 5-8 by W. Gerard Poole)

Figure 5-7 Transcription of “Entre Sevilla Y Triana” and “Sevillanas de La Reina”
Jarcha, *Manuel Pareja Obregón: Tributo*, RCA 74321 35802 2. (CD Soundtrack 4)

Figure 5-8 Transcriptions of “Solano De Las Marismas,” “Lloran Los Pinos del Coto,”
and “El Ultimo Adiós”

Three Sevillanas tercios from three separate Sevillanas by various artists on *Una Noche del Camino* CD 2 track 10. DDD CDP 4/600. (CD Soundtrack 5)

Track 4

♩=190

1 5 9 13 17 21

G⁷ C G⁷ C G⁷ C F

G⁷ C G⁷ C C G⁷ C F

G G⁷ C G⁷ C

C G⁷ C F G G⁷

C G⁷ C C G⁷ C F

G G⁷ C

24 Am B E7 Am F B E Am C F G C Am B E7

32 Am E7 Am E7 Am

37 B Dm Am E7 Am

41 E7 Am B Dm Am

45 E7 Am E7 Am

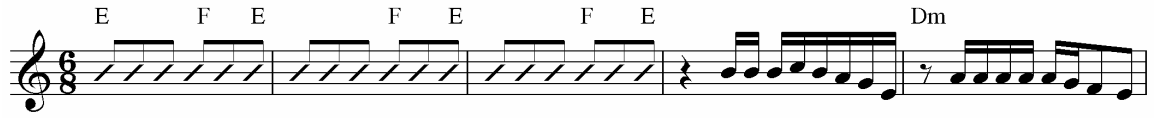
49 B Dm Am E7 Am

Track 5

♩=150

Sevillanas I

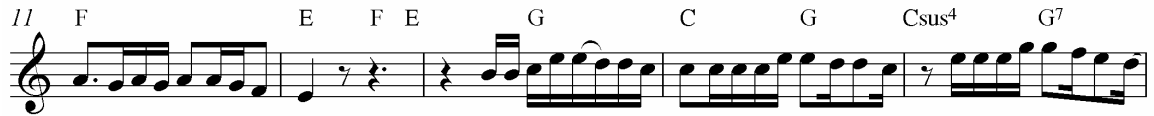
E F E F E F E Dm



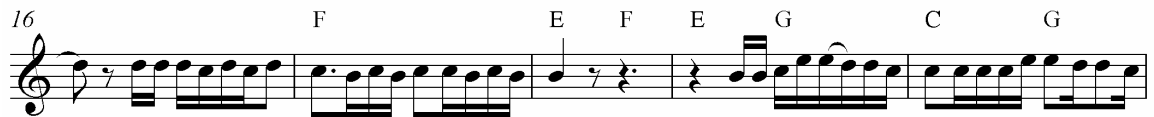
6 E F E G C G Csus⁴ G⁷



11 F E F E G C G Csus⁴ G⁷




16 F E F E G C G



21 Csus⁴ G⁷ F E



Sevillanas II: Lloran los Pinos del coto

25 

Llor - an los pi-nos del co - to des pi-dien - do a las car-ret-a. — Des-pi

29 

dien-do a las car-ret as, llo-ran los pi - nos del co to, des-pi-dien-do a las car-ret - as, — Que ya se

32 

van_ po-co a po-co por el cam-in - o de vuel - ta. — Só-lo

35 

se qued a'l pal a - cio, só lo se qued a el cam-in-o — sol-la ra ya y el que ma, Los car ril

38 

les_ con los sur - cos que de - jar-on las car-ret - as. — To-do

41 

se va ter-min an - do, To-do se va term-in-an do — co-mo un sue-ño que se al- eja, — Pe-ro la

44 

Blanc - a pal o - ma en mi cor - a - zon se-que - da. —

47 E F E F E F E F E

52 Dm⁷ F E F E Am E⁷ Am D

57 G F E F E Am E⁷

62 Am D G F E F E

67 Am E Am D G F E

The image shows five staves of musical notation for the piece "La Flor del Romero". Each staff begins with a measure number and chord symbols above the notes. The notation includes treble clefs, stems, beams, and various note values (quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes). The first staff (47) has a simple melody with chords E, F, E, F, E, F, E, F, E. The second staff (52) introduces more complex chords: Dm⁷, F, E, F, E, Am, E⁷, Am, D. The third staff (57) continues with G, F, E, F, E, Am, E⁷. The fourth staff (62) has Am, D, G, F, E, F, E. The fifth staff (67) has Am, E, Am, D, G, F, E. The notation is a transcription of a guitar or piano accompaniment.

Figure 5-9 Transcription of “La Flor del Romero”
 Sung by José Manuel Soto on *Manuel Pareja Obregón: Tributo*, RCA 74321 35802 2.
 (CD Soundtrack 6)

The most conspicuous transformation within the Sevillanas—their increased harmonic complexity—is evident by just listening to Soundtracks 1–6 and their abstract reflections in the transcriptions (Figs. 5-4 through 5-9). That particular path to complexity was possible, as mentioned above, because the Sevillanas had available to it the option of developing the diatonic harmonic system and was also not restricted by any structural requirements as to its melodic contour (again, these two aspects can be seen as mutually inclusive). As is made clear in the two opening Sevillanas (Fig.

5-4 [Soundtrack 1] and Fig. 5-5 [Soundtrack 2]), these two early Sevillanas demonstrate that this particular form, although similar to its relative the Fandangos, was also different in these critical aspects.

By the time we arrive to the last Sevillanas, we can see that although the Andalusian cadence can always be fit in wherever the composer wishes, other harmonic possibilities are also completely available and even within the same piece, a potential that composers like Obregón take full advantage of (Fig. 5-9, Soundtrack 6). The modulation passages found in Measures 30–36 in Fig. 5-9, although basically elaborations on the Andalusian cadence, is simply not a possibility in the Fandangos without undermining its modal tonality and its melodic contour—the two characteristics that anchor its identity as a particular musical form. If one looks closely at the three Sevillanas Rocieras on Track 5 (Fig. 5-8), it is clear that they are all bracketed by the same Phrygian descending cadence and that they develop their interiors within variations of the V/I harmonies following much the same structural formula that, as we will see further in this chapter, that takes place within the Fandangos. However, on Track 4 (Fig. 5-7), it is the opposite: these two Sevillanas coplas are bracketed firmly within the diatonic harmonic relations and yet they are free to move in and out of the more modal tonalities, whether the harmonic minor, the Phrygian descending Andalusian mode, or the major mode. What keeps the Sevillanas from sounding like Fandangos even when utilizing the same modal commitment (as in Track 4) is that the melody can take any contour at all. There is no “Sevillanas melody” or even any signature motif that would identify the genre. Any

Sevillanas can assume any melodic contour and any mode whatsoever so long as it fits within the rhythmic and metrical structures of the dance.

Nonetheless it would be a mistake to consider the Sevillanas a more “sophisticated” or complex musical form than the Fandangos based on its harmonic development. As the recordings make clear and the next section of analysis will develop, whereas the Fandangos maintains its modal tonality and melodic contour, it develops to a complex degree the solo melodic interpretation and the interaction between the guitar and the vocals in ways that the Sevillanas cannot follow without losing its formalized identity—at least at this time. The Sevillanas would lose a great deal if it completely broke off from its dance aspect. That is not to say, however, that a completely arrhythmic version might not evolve in the future. I have witnessed several musical occasions that suggest this might well happen and I discuss them in Chapter 6.

In its present form the Sevillanas Rocieras maintains the rhythmic and melodic structure of the Sevillanas but it is slowed down to a near-“*libre*” (arrhythmic) potential, depending on the singer and the particular circumstance of the song’s performance. By absorbing the intense arrhythmic melodic delivery of the Fandangos within the loosened rhythmic structures of the old Sevillanas de Feria, the new hybrid song became expressive yet flexible. The rhythm of any Sevillanas Rocieras can be reemphasized within a danced setting or deemphasized within a more intimate setting. In this manner the Sevillanas Rocieras can be performed at many different degrees of rhythm and melodic expression according to the setting and the particular singer’s inclination and moment of inspiration. In the intimate private and

informal ritual settings that will be described in Chapters 6 and 7, they lean much closer to the Fandangos Grande, in their emotional evocation, while in the more festive settings, the same song could be sung up-tempo by an entire chorus, accompanied by tambor and palmas and danced to by a room full of Rocieros.

A similar trajectory seems to have been taken by the Fandanguillos almost a century earlier that eventually led to new genre: the Fandangos, or *Fandangos Grandes* (“Greater Fandangos”). In the book and its accompanying 12-CD anthology called *Historia Antológica de los Fandangos de Huelva* (Merchante 1999), there is presented the entire spectrum ranging from the choral, communal danced singing of the *Fandanguillos* (“Little Fandangos”), to the nearly arrhythmic *Fandangos Personales* (“Personal Fandangos”), that are more personal and sung exclusively by soloists. However, an important characteristic of this type of Fandangos is that although the rhythm can be elastic, and even at times dropped out while the guitar accompanist plays an out-of-rhythm variation (as is the case in Soundtrack 9), nonetheless the singer will always return to the rhythmic cadence, no matter how slow that tempo is. Those Sevillanas Rocieras at the furthest end of the spectrum (Soundtracks 4–6) are closer in emotional intensity, but still very different from the Fandangos Grandes. But what exactly are the Fandangos de Huelva?

*Interlude: The Fandangos de Huelva and the Fandanguillos:
Possible example of a cycle of ritual and musical transformation*

It is with the Fandangos de Huelva and its relationship, first, to the many romerías of the province of Huelva and, second, to the Sevillanas Rocieras that we begin to uncover some parallel musical transformations that might suggest an ongoing pattern within Andalusian music of which the Sevillanas Rocieras is simply its latest, or perhaps only one of its latest, manifestations.

First we must discuss briefly the *Fandanguillos*. To begin with, what is most important to this work is that the Fandanguillos, although there are many secular varieties, are fundamentally the music of the ritual processions of Huelva²⁰. The many varieties of Fandanguillos are mainly designated by region or village (Merchante 1999, 15–17), and what I have come to realize by following his work and through my own investigations, is that the vast majority of the Fandanguillos are the choral songs of the many regional processions. The genre is considered by some to be related to the *Jota*, a musical genre from northern Spain that functions similarly as being mostly processional music in those regions as well (Ribera 1928). However I agree with Merchante (1999, 15–17) in considering that most of the Fandangos family, especially in their modal structures, seems indigenous to Andalusia, due to the fact that those few Fandanguillos with a more notable “northern” sound, that is the ones with a more major tonality, are the ones that sound closest to the Jota family, and are conspicuous for their marked contrast in mode to the Andalusian mode. Nonetheless, in either case the musical figure of the Tamborilero leads the processions of both Huelva and the northern provinces as they do throughout Spain which suggests a

melding of traditions into a common form that is still flexible enough to reveal regional differences across not only large geographical distances but perhaps distances in time as well.²¹

The Fandanguillos is actually only a term of diminution that distinguishes between two variations of the same original form, the *Fandangos Grandes*, which is today a flamenco form (Pohren 1990, 118–121; Molina 1963, 279–284), and the older, Fandanguillos. Both originated in the province of Huelva where El Rocío is located (App. B). In the province of Huelva they continue to use the word *Fandangos* to cover both the original fandangos and the “Fandangos Grandes.” At the end of the eighteenth century, the fandanguillos became popular throughout Andalusia and many variants of it emerged (Merchante 1999, Introduction; Pohren 1990, 120; Manfredi 1955, Chapter 3). However, it is the latter form—what is called outside of Huelva as the Fandanguillos—from which the fandangos, or Fandangos Grande, evolved and assumed the general name of Fandangos de Huelva. The Fandanguillos is also the general class of Andalusian music to which the Sevillanas is closely related to (Carretero 1980, 23–28).

The Fandanguillos has the same four-copla song and dance relationship as well as the same tertiary rhythm as that of the Sevillanas. Each copla also has its own dance choreography, as do the Sevillanas, and when danced for festivals, both forms are danced at the same basic tempo. The arrangement of the verses and their octosyllabic structure is also the same.

The differences are the following: To begin with, the fandanguillos does not stop and start again at the end of each copla. The music and the dance continue

seamlessly although there is an equivalent interlude section. Rhythmically the two are subtly reversed. While the emphasis of the Sevillanas is on the first beat, even when the guitar and bell (if used) roll through it into the following two beats, the fandanguillos places rhythmic accentuation on the second two beats, although the first beat is strong, and does not have the subtle rhythmic differentiation between the first and second sets of measures that inclines most analysts to see the Sevillanas as being in 6/8 rather than 3/8.

. >> .>> .>>
123 123 123

Fandanguillos melodic structure

All the Fandanguillos, like the Sevillanas, are based upon an opening musical motif that presents the basic mode (if there is accompaniment; otherwise the mode is introduced by the singer as he or she sings). In the case of the Fandanguillos, however, there is a crucial difference. The opening motif, shown in Fig. 5-10 below, is the same for all the Fandanguillos of a particular variation, and all the variations follow a thematic pattern that outlines the Andalusian modal cadence. The Andalusian cadence, like the Greek modes, descends rather than ascends as the present diatonic scales do (Stolba 1990, 16) and it does so in the form of a tetra-chord rather than a full scale.

Fandangos Harmonic Motif

The Andalusian Ddescending cadence

The figure displays three musical staves. The top staff shows two alternative harmonic sequences for the Andalusian Ddescending cadence. The first sequence consists of four chords: Am, GM, FM, and EM. The second sequence, indicated by 'OR', consists of three chords: EM, FM, and EM. The middle staff shows a melodic line in 3/4 time, starting with a 3-measure rest, followed by a series of eighth notes and quarter notes, ending with a double bar line. The bottom staff shows a rhythmic accompaniment consisting of a series of eighth notes, with a 3-measure rest at the beginning and a double bar line at the end, followed by the word 'etc'.

Figure 5-10 Fandangos harmonic motif: the Andalusian cadence

As stated, there are many regional variations of the Fandanguillos, but unlike the Sevillanas, part of that variation is a signature melodic contour within the above sequence. Whereas each regional Fandangos has a particular melodic contour, the variations are limited by the underlying modal sequence and can be varied only within a narrow set of limitations if they are to retain their regional identity. For instance, the melody of the Fandanguillos from the town of Alosno has a signature opening that functions similar to the Sevillans thematic introduction except that in the case of the Fandanguillos of Alosno, the introductory motif is always the same.

Another important difference between the Fandangos (especially the Fandangos Personales and the Fandangos Grandes), and the Sevillanas—which, to my mind, further indicates their antiquity—is that in the Fandangos the voice leads the harmonic changes, which are actually modal cadences or changes in mode. The singer dictates a change in mode by inflections that alter the intervals by means of a single tone. That tone can often sound out of tune when first heard by someone unaccustomed to hearing this kind of inter modal modulation.

The Fandangos also places more of an emphasis on intervallic and melismatic manipulations of the melodies, which can also be acute and which the guitar, being a diatonic instrument, cannot always follow. This is because the melody, as already mentioned, is constrained to a set modal theme within the Andalusian mode. In this way, only sudden inflections in and out of minor and major sounding modalities are possible because the modal theme acts almost alike an underlying ostinato. Although the melodic contours in the center of the different versions of Fandangos always move between clear V/I cadences, either in the relative major or the parallel harmonic minor, they nonetheless must begin and end within the strong downward half-step movement of the Andalusian cadence (see Fig. 5-10).

Fig. 5-12 is that of a processional Fandangos (or Fandanguillos). It is a basic schematic sketch to follow the first section of the recording (Soundtrack 8). Notice that there is a Tamborilero, but as we saw in the Rocío processions, he is playing a different melody while keeping the strong three-count meter along with the tambourines of the female chorus.

This processional song has no guitar accompaniment (as does the preceding processional Fandanguillos on Soundtrack 7). The flute part has the same “endless” spin as the processional tunes of the Rocío Tamborileros. It also outlines the Andalusian cadence (am/GM/FM/EM). However, the flute in Fandanguillos on CD Soundtrack 7 plays an interesting variation of the melody of the chorus in that it alternates between a parallel major modal sound, requiring the use of A major on the guitar, and then moves to the Andalusian cadence for the ending phrases requiring the guitar to return to A minor and then to F Major and E Major.

Fig. 5-12 Transcription of a processional Fandangos, or Fandanguillos (CD Soundtrack 8) (Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)

Processional Fandangos (Almonaster)

♩=165

Drums

tenor drum

snare-like drum

etc

Flute

6

10

13

Voice

16 G C

The next transcription is that of a soloist singing Fandangos with guitar accompaniment. We can see how the guitar has great leeway before the singer sings and in between. It is common for the guitarist to play Moorish-sounding interludes that sometimes completely stray from the fandangos melody but are nonetheless much in keeping with the Andalusian cadence. Notice also that these instrumental interludes are arrhythmic and have no set time to stop. When the guitarist returns, however, he always strums the fandangos motif so that the singer can come in. At that time the rhythm reasserts itself.

Figure 5-13 Transcription of Fandangos Solo (Personales)
 Sung in the *Valiente* (“Valient”) style by Juan Manuel de Soto. *Alosno: Vol. II* in
Historia Antológica del Fandango de Huelva CDPM-HAFF-12. (CD Soundtrack 9)
 (Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)

Fandangos Solo

♩=70-90

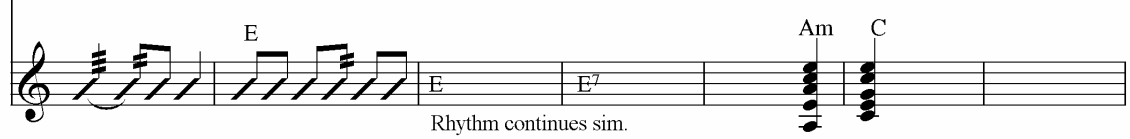
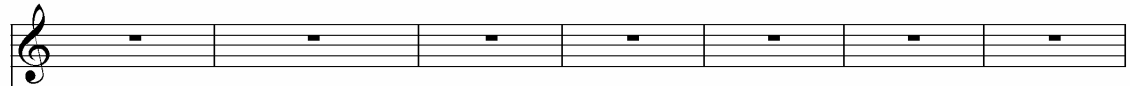
Voice



Guitar

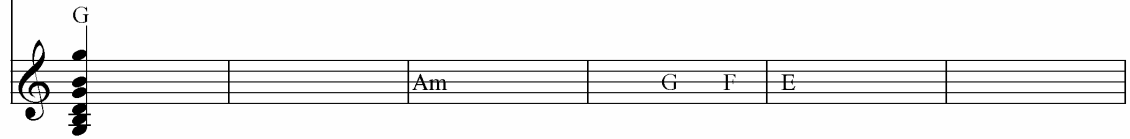



6



Rhythm continues sim.

13



19



Fandangos Solo (Continued)

25

Musical notation for measures 25-29. The top staff is a treble clef with a melody of eighth and quarter notes, some with slurs. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a single chord 'F' in the second measure.

30

Musical notation for measures 30-36. The top staff is a treble clef with a melody of eighth and quarter notes, some with slurs. The bottom staff is a bass clef with chords 'C' and 'G' in the second and sixth measures respectively.

37

Musical notation for measures 37-43. The top staff is a treble clef with a melody of eighth and quarter notes, some with slurs. The bottom staff is a bass clef with chords 'G7', 'C', 'F', and 'E' in the first, third, fifth, and sixth measures respectively.

44

$\text{♩} = 160$

Musical notation for measures 44-50. The top staff is a treble clef with rests. The bottom staff is a treble clef with a melody of eighth and quarter notes, including triplets and a trill. Chords 'Am', 'G', 'F', and 'E' are indicated above the notes.

Gypsy position, it means that the fandango is Andalusian and cannot be flamenco *cante jondo* because *cante jondo* is Gypsy (for this position, see Molino 1979, 24–34; Pohren 1962, 39–47; and Infante 1980, Chapter 1). Everyone agrees, however, that the Fandangos Grande evolved from the Fandanguillos²² by being slowed down and stretched out until it dropped its rhythmic structure and became a “libre” form of great emotional potential and one that requires considerable skill to sing. A loose analogy might be the way Medieval church composers took a Gregorian chant or other melody and elongated the value of each tone to form the structural basis for a longer polyphonic composition. The composer then filled in the intervening spaces with more complicated melismas or contrapuntal voices.

In the Fandangos, the melodic outline of the Fandanguillos is retained, but the tonal cadences are spread out, allowing the singer to be expressive and improvisational as he chooses his way along the predetermined outline. The guitarist, if there is one, follows and waits for the singer to give him the cadence tone upon which he will clearly mark with the appropriate chord and add his own improvisational ornamentation. The two, however, are not at all equal, and it cannot be considered a duo or a two-part form. The Fandangos is completely dominated by the singer, to whom the optional guitarist plays a strictly supporting, ornamental role.

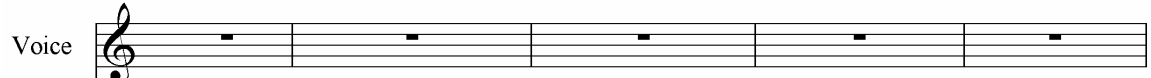
The transcription below of a Fandangos Grandes is based on a recording by Alfredo Arrebola, with whom I have studied flamenco in Granada. Again, I am only sketching, in basic terms, the melodic contour and cadences to demonstrate its relationship to the other Fandangos within the Fandangos family.

Figure 5-14 Transcription of Fandangos Grandes
Alfredo Arrebola, *Homenaje flamenco Al Poeta José Sánchez Rodríguez (1875–1940)*, AMC Records Cd-032-M. (CD Soundtrack 10) (Transcription by W. Gerard Poole)


Fandangos Grandes

Rubato (timing is indicative only)

Voice

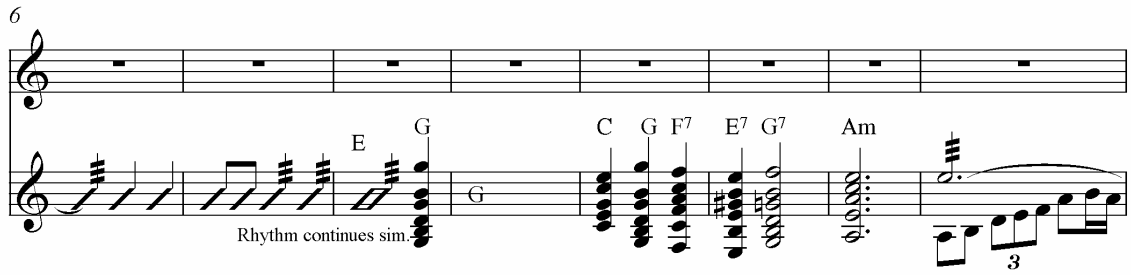


Guitar



Chords: E, Emj7, E, F

6

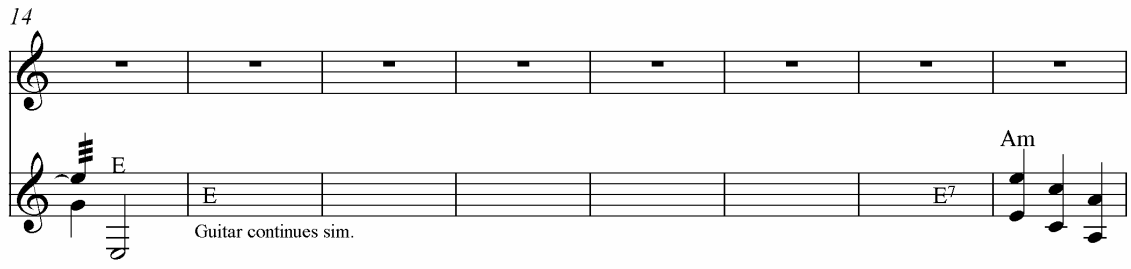


Chords: E, G, C, G, F7, E7, G7, Am

Rhythm continues sim.

3

14



Chords: E, Am, E7

Guitar continues sim.

22



Chords: F, E

3

28



Chords: E7

6

Fandangos Grandes (Continued)

35

F

41

Am G#m Am G#m

3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

47

Am E7 Am

6

Guitar

52

Ben Sul-ta - na de mi en- can - to

E7

59

a mor - - - - par-a ti - - - - pos-e - - - - o - - - -

C

3

Fandangos Grandes (Continued)

66

Ben Sul-tan-a de mi en-can - to

71

C G7

77

F E G7

83

C C

89

Em G7 F G F

95

The image shows a musical score for Fandangos Grandes (Continued). It consists of two staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a whole note and a repeat sign. The bottom staff is a treble clef with a whole note and a repeat sign. The bottom staff contains the following chords: F7, Am, G, F, E.

Analysis of a “transformation”

If we observe the key cadences in all three varieties of the Fandangos, we can easily see that they follow the same underlying melodic contour. In the transcriptions, the relationships between the cadences of the three songs become obvious.

Transcription Modal Analysis

[Numbers in parentheses are measure numbers]

Processional Fandanguillos

G (16) C (19) F (23) **G (25)/C (27)** **G (31) C (35)** F (37) E (38) [Tamb.Tune]

Fandangos Personales (Solo)

E (22) C (23) F (27) **C (31)** **G (35)** **C (39)** F (41) E (43) [Am/G/F/E]

Fandangos Grandes

E (52) C (59) F (66) **G7 (81)** **C (84)** **G (91)** F(94) E (95) [Am/G/F/E]

Figure 5-15 Fandangos comparative chord chart

The first important observation concerning the harmonic characteristics of the Fandangos is to note the beginning and ending chords as mentioned earlier in this

section; the musical form is locked within a bracket of half-step descending Andalusian cadences. The processional seems to begin on a V/I but actually the Tamborilero tune outlining the Andalusian cadence is what introduces the melody. The major V/I relations that characterize the center of the form must nonetheless resolve into this pronounced modal cadence that in the end is the strongest harmonic characteristic. We saw in Figs. 5-4 and 5-5 that the Sevillanas has a choice: It can begin and end with the Andalusian, Phrygian-sounding cadence, as in Fig. 5-5, or it can begin and end with the diatonic V/I cadence. This difference has been crucial to the morphology of both forms.

It is also important to note that in the Processional Fandanguillos (Soundtrack 10), and the one above in particular, the guitar would not serve well as an accompanying instrument. The am/G/F/E progression, or its variation, E/F, does not work well due to the presence of the thirds within the chords, likewise in Measures 36–38, although the melody clearly moves through the Andalusian cadence, the chords would have to move too quick through F and G to really add anything to the musicality of the song.

The three have these differences:

(1) The musical distance, in terms of time spent between the cadence points increases as we move from the processional fandanguillos (the original prototype) to fandangos to Fandangos Grandes. What takes up these extended musical segments are not variations of the melodic contour, nor departures from the melodic contour, but rather they are mellismatic extensions of the contours that do not occur in the

Fandanguillos, but that become increasingly complex and extended from Fandangos Personales to Fandangos Grandes.

(2) The rhythm, that is, a fixed 3/4 time at a predictable tempo of approximately: dotted quarter note equals 58 BPM for the processional Fandanguillos, becomes slower, and less marked to 42 BPM in the Fandangos Personales (with completely arrhythmic interludes by the guitarist), and then the rhythm disappears altogether in the Fandangos Grande.

(3) The guitar is completely superfluous in the Fandanguillos, which as processional music only needs to employ the Tamborilero and are as often as not sung a capella to the rhythmic clapping as is the case in the example chosen above. When the guitar is used in the Fandanguillos (as in Soundtrack 7), the rhythmically strummed chords outline the melodic contour that underlies most of the songs (as discussed previously), while rhythmically imitating the rolling 3/4 patterns of the castanets over the more staccato patterns of the clapping (*palmas*). The guitar then moves through the Andalusian cadence (either variation) during the Tamborilero segues to each copla. In the Fandangos Medias (or Solo) the guitar takes on a more prominent role in “answering” the vocal melodic cadences between verses. As the example of Soundtrack 9 demonstrates, however, these instrumental interludes can completely stray from the melodic contour and seem to have no relevance to them at all other than being in the same basic mode. For this reason the guitarist, upon completing his interlude, returns to the rhythmic strumming of the Andalusian cadence. However, just as often the guitar interludes will play something more in

keeping with the accompaniment to the vocal sections; there are no hard rules about this one way or the other.

The rhythm and tempo, still adhered to by the singer, even if slower and extended, is completely interrupted by the guitar interludes that have no rhythmic structure at all. In the Fandangos Grandes (Fig. 5-14, Soundtrack 10), the guitar takes a similar role; however, the interludes are usually more attuned to what the singer is singing, and they may come between the lines of the extended coplas (verses) as well, not just at the end of copla. Nonetheless, the guitarist is careful to follow the cadence of the singer and give the appropriate supporting chord. The guitarist is directly interacting with the singer in the Fandangos Grande, and only indirectly in the Fandangos Personales, and not at all in the Fandanguillos.

(4) The number of coplas performed: Fandanguillos as a dance/poem is performed as three to four coplas (Gil Buiza 1991, 1: 18; Merchante 1999, 140). The Fandangos Personales, on the other hand, will rarely be more than three, often less. The Fandangos Grande is sometimes performed as only two coplas, and those two coplas, due to their being extended through the mellismatic segments that characterize the form, may take as long as all four coplas of a danced processional Fandanguillos.

The fact that the guitar may move to a particular chord at these cadence points, however, should not be construed as constituting a “chord progression” in the sense of what is now understood to be “functional harmony”; rather, a chord progression may be abstracted from the song as a guide for the guitarist. This point becomes obvious in the “Arabian”-sounding interludes of the Fandangos Medias (Fig. 5-13, Measures 12–22, Soundtrack 9) have no relation whatsoever to any chord

progression and seem to be consciously imitating the playing style of the Arabian *Ud*: a stringed, fretless, modal and melodic instrument.

Chord progressions never actually took root within the Fandangos family. Rather than seeing the melodic cadences as a chord progression that implies functional harmony—something that is not actually a feature of the Fandangos—we might look to the transition from Gregorian monody chant to early polyphony that began in twelfth-century Aquitaine and northern Iberia, called “organum” (Stolba 1990, 75) as a closer parallel transformation process.

Composers of the period would choose an old early-Medieval chant and use its melodic counter to furnish the underlying harmonic movement by assigning them long time values. These long notes would be held by the lower voices while the upper voices, or a soloist, moved between them in melismatic fashion, careful not to clash with each other and to remain consonant with the underlying bass note of the chant being held (75–76). Although the held notes (called *cantus firmus*, and later the “tenor”) provided a harmonic base that functioned as a kind of movable drone beneath the developing polyphony. This is similar to how the guitar is actually functioning except that rather than dictate the notes of the tenor, he waits until the singer clearly comes to rest upon them after which he reinforces the tonal center with the appropriate chord. In the Fandangos Personales the arrival to the tonal centers are much more obvious because the meter is still in place and to a large extent the tonal changes still function like an underlying slow melody. But in the Fandangos Grandes the guitarist has to play close attention to the singer in order to know when the singer is in fact coming to rest on one of the tones of the underlying melody. Furthermore

the singer can come back in at will, as there is no rhythmic imperative. The guitarist has to fill the time but keep aware as to the singer's next entrance. There is also the ambiguity according to particular Fandangos style and singer as to how the V/I sections will actually play out.

Another important point is that the guitarist, when playing behind the singer of the Fandangos Grande, has to be careful not to impose the strict diatonic tempered tonality of the guitar upon the singer. The melismas of the singer are often outside of the tempered tuning system, and this is deliberate. This may be one reason that the oldest songs of flamenco, those of the *Tonás* family and the processional *Saeta* are traditionally sung without guitar accompaniment (Arrebola 1995, 87; Pohren 1999, 138; Molina 1963, 255; et al.).

Four considerations regarding the transformational process: morphology of a musical form

The first consideration is that the transformation seems to indicate a definite movement toward deeper personal, emotional expression. Individuality and deep emotions are the two obvious characteristics; the Fandanguillos is choral, and the Fandangos is solo. The next obvious characteristic is the movement away from a clearly marked rhythm toward a complete absence of rhythm. What might this indicate about the relationship between the collective and the individual in terms of rhythm and melody? It is premature to make any definite pronouncements about what, if any, relationship there may be between rhythm and melody in terms of any relationship between individuation and the collective; however, I will address this possibility again in Chapters 6 and 7.

The second consideration is that the transformational process, the morphology, may be an essential characteristic of the musical form, a characteristic that can lead to “breakaway” forms that nonetheless remain within the same “body,” much as branches remain attached to the same trunk. The Fandanguillos was never a fixed song but a song “form”—or, as they call it in Andalusia, *palo* that always had many different variations. What I would like to draw attention to is to the inherent flexibility of the musical form that—unlike a fixed song or other fixed pieces of music—can be both a vehicle for transformation and at the same time a stable entity over time. The Fandanguillos did not turn into the Fandangos and then cease to exist. On the contrary, the Fandanguillos—both as isolated song and as processional song—continues to flourish. The Fandanguillos gave birth to the Fandangos (both versions), forms that then embarked upon their own separate life with their own transformations while the Fandanguillos continued its life.

The third consideration, I will argue, is that along with the musical morphology there is a correlating phenomenal element that is also an essential aspect of that morphology. If we provisionally hypothesize that there is a phenomenal element to the musical “form” as an embodied aesthetic, then what has proliferated is not only musical structure, but behavioral structures and aesthetics as well. What I mean by the term “embodied aesthetics” will be explored further in Chapter 6. However, at base I am simply referring to forms of behavior that are expressed as aesthetics and that are usually nonarticulated by the society at large but that are nonetheless evident to an observer and important to that society. However, these aesthetics are not determined by rules, but on the contrary, as behavioral norms they

change with performance and that is precisely what I will try to bring to the readers attention in Chapter 6. Furthermore, I will argue that these aesthetics are cultivated to a large extent within the ritual practices as being essential elements and consequences of the rituals. This is of particular interest to the ethnomusicologist because the rituals of El Rocío (and most rituals of Andalusia) not only tend to emphasize the musical element to a high degree, some rituals are essentially musical rituals in their totality, i.e., the singing processions described in this chapter and the *juerga*, which will be the subject of Chapter 6.

The fourth consideration is that the musical forms of Andalusia, and their transformations, become popular music despite the fact they are deeply rooted in religious rituals such as the processions. The Fandangos de Huelva spread throughout Andalusia in the late eighteenth century and resulted in a number of variations that were significant enough to become their own forms: the *Malagueñas* from Málaga, the *Tarantas*²³ from Murcia, and the *Granainas* from Granada are the main subforms (Merchante 1999, Introduction; Molina 1963, 279–310; Pohren 1999, 118, 125, 151). Likewise the Sevillanas Rocieras continue to be immensely popular music throughout Andalusia. This may suggest a much more common musical phenomenon that ethnomusicologists have not yet fully appreciated: that of the processional pilgrimage, or other religious processional music, becoming popular music and giving rise to new musical genres and forms.

Return to Sevillanas Rocieras: Transformation and popular music

My objective at this point, regarding the Sevillanas Rocieras, is simply to draw attention to the following: (a) that in the case of the Rocío and the Sevillanas Rocieras, a similar transformation from the collective to the individual happened as that transformation that took place with the Fandanguillos. (b) I believe the morphology of the Sevillanas Rocieras happened as an integral part of a ritual process (as will be further treated in Chapters 6 and 7). Although I suspect that a similar process occurred within the fandanguillos as a result of other romerías of Huelva, I have no way at this time of developing that theory. However, in the case of the Sevillanas Rocieras, we have all three potentials being actively realized in a manner that is still observable to the ethnographer: (1) A similar transformation as that of the Fandangos, from the rhythmical toward the arrhythmic (or less rhythmically demarcated), but following its own structural path along harmonic lines rather than melodic; (2) an ongoing transformation of the Sevillanas that can still be witnessed as occurring within the ritual site as a corollary to ritual activity; and (3) a powerful example of a pilgrimage site having a broad cultural impact, especially through the generation of popular music.

When one compares the CD tracks of the Sevillanas progression (on Tracks 1–6) with the Fandanguillos to Fandangos Grande progression (on Tracks 7–10), the parallels are obvious: increasing personal emotiveness, increasing demands on the singer, and a corresponding decrease in tempo and lengthening of the overall song (although in the case of tempo, the Sevillanas much less so at this time in its morphology).

However the differences are also evident: The Sevillanas are already a solo song by the time they were recorded. The Sevillanas enters the Rocío as a solo sung musical song, that is sung to a dancing chorus, and becomes choral singing in the processions, then becomes elaborate choral song, and then transforms into a new solo, personal song.

But the most striking difference is in the musical transformations as outlined in the simple chord charts of Figs. 5-4 through 5-9. Whereas the Fandangos remains within the confines of its modal contour, bracketed harmonically by the Phrygian descending mode, and delves deeper and deeper into that emotional modality through melodic intensification, slower rhythm and elongated ornamented melody, the Sevillanas develops increasingly complex diatonic harmonies while slowing the rhythmic pulse toward a more personal, intimate expression, yet not quite at this phase in its morphology, completely deconstructing the rhythmic pattern.

What I am suggesting is that we may be witnessing a similar process of musical change occurring in the Sevillanas as that which occurred within the Fandangos. The same range extending from the communal and festive to the more personal and deeply emotional that characterizes the present-day Fandangos family has now become characteristic of the Sevillanas family. However the transformation has taken on a somewhat different trajectory due to the inherent structural differences in the harmonic base between the early Sevillanas and the early Fandangos (or Fandanguillos), as discussed in the Interlude above.

It is important to note that whereas any possible direct relationship between the Fandanguillos, the romerías of Huelva, and the Fandangos Grandes, is only

inferred at this point, the relationship between the ritual practices of El Rocío, as described so far, and as will continue be developed, is direct: The Sevillanas Rocieras are a product of El Rocío, and the differences between them and their predecessors, the Sevillanas de Féria, can be seen, as I will present in Chapter 6, to have a direct corollary to the ritual practices of El Rocío. The relationship cannot possibly be arbitrary and has to be understood as a direct cause-and-effect relationship in the form of an interactive corollary: The rituals affect the music, and the music, in turn, affects the rituals. This intimate interrelation will be further developed in Chapters 6 and 7. As Chapter 6 will reveal, however, these rituals were not the official formal rituals that might have been more familiar to the public. The rituals wherein the transformation from the communal processional to the individual and intimate, happened as one might expect, at rituals that were correspondingly more intimate and personal deep within the liminal adages of the romería and its moving, emotional *communitas*.

That is congruent with the fact that the Sevillanas Rocieras became not only its own genre but also completely changed how the public regarded the Sevillanas form (H.S, Vol 4, Introduction). After looking at hundreds of popular Sevillanas lyrics and looking into the biographical information of the authors and performers from the past 30 years, I have found that more than 70 percent of all Sevillanas songs are now Sevillanas Rocieras, and up to 80 percent of the performers of all types of Sevillanas are Rocieros. The Rocieros have completely dominated the Sevillanas market and for a time dominated much of the popular music market in general, at least in Andalusia (Gil Buiza 1991, 3: 8–12)

The Sevillanas Rocieras not only became extremely popular throughout Spain, they also reached a certain degree of international fame through songs such as “El Amigo” (“The Friend”) by the group “Los Amigos de Gines” (“The Friends from Gines”). The members of this singing group are not only all members of the Hermandad of Gines, they also have all been elder brothers at one time or another (personal correspondence). However, once their song left Spain, most people had no idea that it was a product of the Rocío. I had been familiar with the song for years before becoming aware of its origins. Not only that, I knew the song well, but I did not know the Rocío existed at all: something common among foreign flamenco musicians.

The relationship between pilgrimage, processions, and popular music is a relationship that scholarship has not looked at carefully. In the Spain of today, there are at least three musical forms that reflect this relationship: the Sevillanas Rocieras, the Fandangos, and the Saeta. Each of these musical forms has had enormous influences upon not only Andalusian musical culture, but also Andalusian culture in general, well beyond the parameters of the ritual activities (Merchante 1999; Molina 254–256, 279–309; Gómez 2001; T-14; Gil Buiza, Vol.4). However, in neither of these examples have the authorities explored the relationship between the procession as ritual, and the music as ritual music. Even in regard to the Saeta, where the relationship is so obvious, the fact that the song is only sung at the Holy Week processions is acknowledged in passing. There has been no study, however, exploring the evolution of the Saeta as being a direct response to the evolution of the ritual and visa versa. Likewise, even though Merchante’s book constantly goes back and forth

relating the Fandangos to the processional music of the many towns and villages, and spends a good deal of time talking about the various choruses, he does not actually delve into the obvious music/ritual relationship. He leaves the reader with the impression that the particular forms are the versions particular to certain areas and villages, and that they are sung at the processions. But he does not suggest that the songs are direct responses to the processions, and that the fandanguillos, like the Saeta, may have originated as processional music.

It is beyond the scope of this work to attempt a catalogue of where processional music still creates popular music, but just to mention a few examples outside of Spain: There is the relationship between the Brazilian *samba* to the Carnival processions (Shaw 1999); E. McAlister's *Rara!* (2002) is dedicated to an important sociopolitical popular musical practice in Haiti that is nothing but processional music. I have also done a preliminary study of the popular *rumba*, which has made an immense impact on the popular world music market via the group "Gipsy Kings." The members of this group are the descendants of Spanish Gypsies who live in the French town of Maries-Sur-la-Mere, wherein the Gypsy pilgrimage to their patron saint *Sara la Kali* ("Sara the Dark One") with its processions and juergas take place. At this point, many of the same musical structural changes I have drawn attention to regarding the Sevillanas and the Fandangos seem to be reflected in the differences between the old *Rumba Catalán* (rumba from Catalonia, Spain) and the newer rumba called both the *Rumba Lenta* (slow rumba) and the *Rumba Moderna* (my observations). The above only scratches the surface; the subject of music and procession is as vast the subjects of procession and pilgrimage. My point, however, is

that these musical processions generate popular music that extends well beyond the ritual practices, and that the music is itself a product of those processional practices.

Much historical evidence suggests that these modern-day instances are not at all new. In the Catholic world alone, we can point to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of the thirteenth century (already mentioned regarding the Tamborilero); the fourteenth-century pilgrimage songs contained in the *Llibre Vermell* of Montserrat (Wighart 1994, 1); and the *Geisslerlieder* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' penitential pilgrimage processions (Groves 9: 631). In each case, pilgrimage music became popular music. On the current world stage are the Qawwali traditions of Islamic Pakistan, the pilgrimage songs of the Islamic Hajj, the Hindu pilgrimage traditions of India, and the music of the Gypsy pilgrimage to Maries-sur-la-Mer, to name a few.

The last issue that arises from having looked at the musical transformation within this chapter is that the discussion that began with the subject of the singing chorus ended with the tracing of a morphology that led to individual expression, from chorus to solo singer. Chapters 6 and 7 will look deeper into those ritual components of the *romería* of El Rocío, within both the formal and informal rituals, that serve as the fertile ground promoting the emergence of individuality from within a collective enterprise. That relationship—the morphology of the musical form as a component to ritual and the emergent individual—will in turn be compared in Chapter 12 to the theories of Nils Wallin (1991) that link the emergence of consciousness in early humans to an interactive corollary between focused, intensified emotion as tonal flow, and the concept of an emotional “repertoire” as having served to broaden and expand self-awareness (Wallin 1991).

Chapter 6: The Juerga

“Aquí no hay espectadores, solo participantes.” (“Here [at the Rocío], there are no spectators, only participants.”)

—A woman at a family gathering as she handed me the drum

“The Rocío is a veritable factory of production and demonstration for the Sevillanas that are specifically Rocieras and a veritable school to learn to dance them with style and grace” (Murphy 2002, 65).

Attempting to understand the role of the chorus and its musical practices at El Rocío has also, in its wake, revealed a process of musical and ritual behaviors that contribute toward the emerging of individuality from within a communal endeavor. One of the most striking observations that tend to impress itself upon visitors to Spain, and especially Andalusia, is the individuality and expressiveness of its people. This observation, as I have already made sufficient references to, has been made over and over again by many different sources over the centuries. I would suggest that what lies behind these behavioral manifestations is a consistent cultivation of what I am calling “aesthetic embodiment,” that is to be found within the ritual system and its byproducts such as flamenco. Certainly this practice of cultivating individual expression through music and ritual cannot be unique to Andalusia, but on the other hand it is undoubtedly cultivated there to a high degree. What is important about this observation is that it begins to bring into focus a deep relationship between behavior and ritual practice that in turn will provide an important supportive element toward a general theory of ritual phenomenology.

The *juerga* continues that process begun within the procession or perhaps it is the reverse: Who's to say which came first in the stationary procession—the station or the procession? We might even, albeit cautiously, suggest a further analogy: When do the nomad and the herdsman sing most—moving across the terrain or around the campfire at night?

Preliminary remarks about the juerga and formalidad

An Andalusian *juerga* can be related to the American “jam session,” but only loosely. They both constitute informal meetings where music making is the central purpose. In the American version, the musicians may or may not play the same music and have gathered for experimentation, or they do play the same repertoire and have come together to recreate and improvise upon the standard songs or patterns. There, any similarities with the Andalusian *juerga* end.

The *juerga* is also an informal musical gathering between the formal and informal rituals. The *juerga*, first of all, is not a gathering of musicians *per se* but a gathering of the community wherein music making is the objective. The difference is that the community itself is musical, and in that light it is not necessarily a gathering specifically of “musicians.” The second important difference is that the *juerga* is not a special event but rather a normal event that occurs often within the lives of the community.

Another important difference is that the *juerga* is more fluid than a jam session. A jam session becomes a performance only among skilled musicians and is a learning and recreational event among the less-skilled. The jam session makes a clear

distinction between those who are there to perform and those who are there to observe. The observers, if present, are not part of the jam session. And a jam session that takes place on a stage occurs because the musicians spent a great deal of solitary time rehearsing their individual skills. The solitary learning process that will be discussed later in this chapter is a requirement of the American jam session, but it is not a feature at all of the Andalusian juerga.

The juerga is a recreational gathering, a learning site, and a performance site all at the same time. There is no audience at a juerga. Children take part at an early age, and it is here that their musical education takes place. The juerga is not the domain solely of the professional musicians or *artistas* (“artists”), as they are usually referred to, but rather it is the domain of the community at large. A juerga can happen in the streets of a neighborhood, at a public ceremony such as a wedding, at a fair, or in a family living room; it is still juerga, and any of them can be of equal caliber. As a model through which to mark the continuum that exists between the family unit and the community at large in relation to the musical practices of El Rocío, I am proposing that there are three tiers of juerga: (1) family and individuals; (2) family and friends; and (3) community, to which I will refer in this context, that of El Rocío, as the level of the Hermandad.

The difference between a staged juerga—one that would appear on a stage at a fair, for instance, in Andalusia—and a juerga in someone’s living room is only quantitative, not qualitative. The performers at the fair are expected to be of a minimum high caliber, and they may or may not be paid—but then again, a high-caliber juerga is just as likely to happen in an Andalusian living room. And many

high-quality performers never leave the home setting at all. From a living room in Andalusia to the stage is not a great leap and, furthermore, is not always a leap forward. The “staged juerga” is simply a continuation of the same process that began in the living room. This process can be seen at the Rocío clearly, as this chapter will reveal. At the heart of many traditional juergas is still the family or the extended family, including friends and special guests.

Whereas the circumstances of the creation of the music of the Tamborilero may have been lost in time—or at least they are not a feature of El Rocío—the development of the Sevillanas Rocieras, as already covered in Chapter 5, is completely the recent work of the Rocío as we know it today. Its circumstances are still observable, and the circumstance under which other new pilgrimage music may come into being is also available to the participant observer. Furthermore, one can observe the performative aesthetics being modified in the process of transmission, and one can also observe when new performative aesthetics are being introduced into the pilgrimage as will be demonstrated.

The Rocío, as revealed in the previous chapters, is a generating site for new music (i.e., the Sevillanas Rocieras). With that musical creation, as this chapter will develop, there is also a concomitant creation of aesthetics as formalized, and embodied, musical behavior. We can also observe the ongoing process of behavioral aesthetics being formulated under the cloak of a temporary *communitas* from which those behavioral aesthetics can then be disseminated into Andalusian culture at large. For the Andalusians, El Rocío is a generating source of cultural aesthetics in many sociocultural areas, not just music (Murphy 2002, 64–66, 93–95). And for the

anthropologist El Rocío is a living laboratory wherein the process of cultural generation can be observed.

I will argue that the processions themselves are not where new musical aesthetics are developed. By the time music is presented at the procession, it has been assessed and developed elsewhere through a process I call “aesthetic resonance,” a process that takes into account the emotional structuring that leads to emotional tuning, itself an integral part of the overall process of Andalusian musical generation. Those sites for musical development are the juergas. It is at the juergas that musical generation takes place and, with it, aesthetic generation.

I have abstracted the musical enculturation process into five stages:

1. Learning and transmission
2. Performance
3. Innovation and modification
4. Formalization
5. Off-site discursive critique

These categories may be further abstracted to just three basic elements: transmission, modification, and formalization. The main point that I will be presenting is that they all, with the exception of the off-site critique, happen virtually simultaneously in performance. I introduce the concept of “aesthetic resonance” solely to give a name to what can be observed through active participation and reflection.

Aesthetic resonance is the result of peak moments within the performances that make impressions among the participants. These impressions may contain

elements of change or modification, or they may reaffirm aesthetics that are already dominant. Either way, these emotionally charged moments are essential to the ongoing process of musical enculturation and evolution.

Furthermore, aesthetic resonance occurs when the process of musical creation not only creates musical entrainment among the participants (which is a given for the performance to take place at all) but where entrainment culminates in “tuning”—an *aesthetic tuning*, a tuning that, as will be demonstrated below, involves emotional exteriorization and/or prolonged rhythmic intensification.²⁴ As already mentioned in the introduction, this emotional tuning takes place as the result of a process of emotional exteriorization and concomitant structuring into a specific musical form within an emotional modality characterized by what the Rocieros refer to as devotional glorification—“de Gloria,” as described in Chapter 2. The exploration of this emotional tuning as it occurs through a process of exteriorization and structuring is the first step toward an exploration of a relationship between ritual practices and embodied aesthetics. Phenomenology, in this case, can be understood best in terms of aesthetic manifestations through performative behaviors that have at their base a powerful emotional component.

I have also divided the performative sites into three categories that I am calling “social tiers” but that are not always in reality such discrete elements. **The first tier** is the family unit, as is commonly understood in Western society. **The second tier** consists of family groupings of between three and four families and their friends. **The third tier** I call the communal tier, which, in the case of the pilgrimage, consists of the Hermandad itself when the entire Hermandad, or most of it, gathers as

a community. Although these three categories, with the exception of the family, are not necessarily rigid categories, I think they nonetheless reflect the reality accurately enough and will serve for the purposes of analysis as long as the reader keeps in mind that these performative units are fluid instances that flow easily from one configuration into the next. What may have started as a family juerga attracts friends and guests to become a family grouping, and what may have started out as a family grouping may slowly become a communal juerga.

One key aspect lies in the relationship of the juerga to the pilgrimage itself. If one looks back over the itinerary, it becomes apparent that the word “juerga” does not appear anywhere on it. There are no official juergas on the pilgrimage. They do not constitute a formal ritual of any kind. Yet, as I discovered and as anyone who has ever been on the camino will testify, the juergas constitute many of the pilgrimage’s central events. No one officially announces a “juerga at X time and place Y,” any more than anyone announces “We will sing song X at time Y” in a procession. The idea is a little absurd in the romería context because people are singing virtually all the time, and anyone can introduce a song at any moment, and a small juerga can commence just about anywhere as well.

The juergas constitute key sites, as I will demonstrate, of musical enculturation, but they occur deep within the liminal spaces between formal and informal rituals, which are themselves contained within an overall ritual—that of the romería. It has already been pointed out that the romería as a whole presses liminal boundaries of the social, the emotional, and even potentially the territorial, and within the romería the juergas press aesthetic boundaries. Juergas are one of the most

important aspects of the entire *romería* perhaps precisely because of the liminal space in which they operate. Much, if not most, of the music heard in the processions was created and/or introduced at the *juergas* as will be revealed below. The magic (the music) of El Rocio is in a real sense brewed within the liminal spaces along the way to, and deep within, the forest of La Doñana—the Lady’s Forest—by a *communitas* at the social margins. In these liminal spaces, the moving chorus encounters and cultivates emotional categories and boundaries creating embodied aesthetics that, in turn, exhaust the limits of language and find expression as paradox, e.g., in terms such as “sublime savagery,” “Happily I sing my sorrows,” “controlled chaos,” and find their final culmination at the procession of the *Salida* (Chapter 10).

But before going into the *Juerga* itself, there is one more concept that needs to be considered. The word *formalidad* in Andalusia is an important word. However, I have found that in the hands of sociologists its meaning is reduced to the formal interactions of class relations and what we might call etiquette. An example of this limited view, given by F.E. Aguilera in *Santa Eulalia’s People* (1978)—his sociological ethnography of Amonaster, a town in Huelva—proposes this: “... of paramount value for all adults, is... *formalidad*, one of whose basic tenets is the total proscription of all expression of overt hostility” (13). He then goes on to suggest that this behavioral rule, in conjunction with the religious rituals, is what maintains the townspeople’s view of themselves—a view he finds paradoxical. He cannot understand how the townspeople believe themselves to live within an egalitarian community although, at the same time, they are perfectly aware of the disparities

between the socioeconomic classes. Aguilera equates human equality with economic equality, a typical construct of the sociologist.

I propose that *formalidad* can be best understood as embodied aesthetics. These embodied aesthetics are created at a foundational level of the sociocultural bed. At that level, everyone in the community becomes equal—but equal in ways that can be more important (and are more important to the Andalusians) than economic equality. I further propose that the specific locations for these sites wherein the self is created at a deep level are within the crucible of the religious *communitas*. By this I do not mean religion in the sense of the superstructure of religious doctrines and beliefs. I mean the cultural ground out of which those beliefs at one time originated and at which they are continually renewed and even challenged. The *romerías* are one such class of sites.

As this chapter will explore, there is a process within the liminal spaces of the *romería* within which the individual can come to a form of self-knowledge that is far more valuable and more deeply human than what his/her passport or bank account might indicate. This self-knowledge comes in the form of embodied aesthetics. And these aesthetics reach well beyond the simple social rule “thou shalt not display overt aggression”—a rule that would never hold without the force of the embodied aesthetic that gave rise to it. Clearly, as the region’s civil war of only two generations ago demonstrates, Andalusians are perfectly capable rising up violently against oppression when they feel the call. It is ironic that although Aguilera spends so much time in his book writing about religious ritual, he gives the impression that he never took part in any of them. He makes no mention of the music, even though the front

cover displays a procession with a “virgin chorus” singing and playing tambourines with a Tamborilero right behind them. Coincidentally, the processional Fandangillos I transcribed in the previous chapter (Fig. 5-12) is the music for Santa Eulalia of Almonaster, where Aguilera spent two consecutive years (Aguilera 1978, v).

Juerga at the first tier: The level of the family and the individual

Musical transmission

Within the *carreta* (described in Chapter 3) of the Caballero family was a microcosm of the Rocío at the level of the family unit. There were no spectators. My presence among them was inconsequential. The singing and dancing was obviously what the family did on Rocío, and it was an important part of why they went year after year. Not until the following visit did I get up the nerve to film the Caballeros in these settings. In fact, it took two years before I realized that, in this first leg of the Rocío pilgrimage, I had already experienced what was perhaps best about the Rocío: the family singing songs to each other and dancing with each other. No CDs, no headphones, no television—they sang and danced for, and with, each other. One brother singing to another, a daughter to her mother, the mother dancing with her son—this went on until we arrived in the town of Santa Fe, a short ride outside of Granada. It is still those experiences that have left the strongest impressions with me, yet to the Caballeros these were normal family relations, and I saw them recur over and over.

Something else was going on right in front of me that also took some time before it became obvious to me. Within the Ajolí (the name of the *carreta* I traveled

in), I also had my first encounter with musical education at a basic level, and only in retrospect have I been able to grasp its significance. The families that I came to know, as I was to discover, had learned how to sing in precisely the kinds of circumstances I was witnessing on that first day. In fact, this is how I managed to learn the few Rociero Sevillanas songs I learned on the pilgrimage and how I learned to play the Rociero Sevillanas beat on the *tambor* (or *tamboril* as they also call the drum on the Rocío). I had entered into the same learning institution in which my hosts had learned.

As I was to find out soon enough, I was expected to start learning right away; it was not a choice any more than not helping with the camp chores. Just because I was a guest or a foreigner did not mean I was to sit by in idleness during musical performances. I quickly learned that musical performance was not a diversion; it was at the heart of the “work” of the pilgrimage. Musical performance translates into an important aspect of Rocío behavior. I was expected to learn the songs and learn to dance, or at least learn to play *palmas* (correct rhythmic clapping). Eventually, as the quote at the opening of this chapter indicates, I would be handed the drum. By my second Rocío I was being asked why I hadn’t learned to dance yet. It’s a musical environment of sink or swim.

Since most of the families I encountered traveled with children that were at least in their teens, witnessing childhood musical transmission was not nearly as common. However, on one Rocío, I witnessed a young lady singing and playing the drum to a toddler in their *carreta*. She sang directly to the child as though the child were an adult. There were no “baby songs” or lullabies; the girl sang the same songs

and in the same way she would sing to anyone else. I don't think this observation was unusual, as I have witnessed this often among flamenco families and there is abundant literature concerning Gypsy practices in Andalusia (Quintana 1960; Pohren 1988, 1992; Yoors 1974; Albayzín 1991; Molino 1979; et al.).

There is no genre (except for the occasional specific lullaby) of "children's music" among the Andalusians that I have ever come across²⁵. There are not as many toddlers among the Rocieros because of the nature of the pilgrimage; however, there are many children in the pre-teen categories, and these children participate wholly in all the same activities as the adults. There are no "child-care" facilities at the Aldea and no designated babysitters along the camino. Children learn music the same way adults do: privately within the family and then by participation in the juergas.

That moment of the young lady singing to the child was simply one moment in a process that is observable throughout the Rocío and among, as well as between, any age group. One such clear interchange, almost a prototype of exchanges I was to witness many times thereafter, took place within the carreta Ajolí between Sebastián, a man in his seventies who was a veteran Rociero of thirty Rocíos, and Carolina, a woman in her twenties and the daughter of Pepe and Isa Caballero. They sat next to each other for at least an hour exchanging songs (see Figs. 6-1, 6-2, and 6-3). It did not resemble a lesson, for neither one was officially "teaching" the other; it resembled more a private, intimate concert with no particular audience. They sat next to each other and sang songs to one another.



Figure 6-1 Carolina and Sebastián pass the time by singing in the carreta. Along the camino inside “La Curra,” they sang Sevillanas Rocieras to each other.



Figure 6-2 Their exchanges became suddenly direct.



Figure 6-3 A moment of introspection or a blink?

Besides the obvious pleasure they took in the practice, they were also going over songs and keeping them in memory. Carolina might have sung a favorite song that she has firmly in her memory; Sebastián might like the song as well but perhaps not quite so much that his memory of it is as accurate, and vice versa. In this way memories are refreshed and the songs are also “rehearsed,” although certainly the process does not at all look or feel like (to an observer) a rehearsal. The practice resembles play far more than what one often associates with the work aspect of a musical rehearsal.

Another interesting aspect to this kind of interchange is that there is no attempt to standardize the interpretation. Carolina does not sing like Sebastián. They are not trying to harmonize together, nor are they attempting to arrive at a final version of a song. The form is already known, and the particular song within the form is already known. Each singer is singing their own interpretation that follows the song’s form and melody but, in the moment, achieves an intimate personal expression that is also a slight modification.

I say this because most of the songs they sang to each other on that particular day I have since heard in the original recorded versions and other recorded variations. The differences between the versions I heard in the carreta and the recorded versions ranged from slight to substantial. This was especially true of the tempo. Carolina usually sang much more intimate and expressive interpretations of the songs that usually resulted in a slower tempo, while the recorded versions are almost always recorded at a dance tempo. Furthermore, the dance versions are, as will be treated further on, what one usually hears when a large group of people are singing and

dancing, such as at the communal juergas. The same song sung intimately in the carreta will be slowed down and stretched out so that the rhythmic structures are more relaxed and allow for a kind of musical “breathing” that cannot occur if a group of people are dancing to it.

Another key aspect to the majority of the intimate musical exchanges that I witnessed throughout the Rocío was the role, or lack of role, of the guitar. The Rocío exemplified an item that is common knowledge in Andalusia but tends to be reversed whenever Andalusian music is exported: The guitar is quite secondary to the *cante* (or “singing”). By far, the majority of song and dance that I witnessed took place with just voice and *palmas* (precise rhythmic clapping). If there was one musical instrument that was the most prevalent other than the voice and hands, it would have to be the Rocío drum (the same drum used by the Tamborilero). Many carretas would have a drum within reach that anyone could pick up and play the Sevillanas rhythm pattern when people began to sing. The drum in Fig. 4-14 belonged to the carreta “La Curra.”

However, having said the above, I must mention the fact that there was one guitarist/singer who belonged to the Hermandad of Granada who played a prominent role in the processions and the larger juergas. Juan Crespo was a musician with the Hermandad who sang and played the guitar for long stretches on end, even in the dusty trail of the *Raya* (see Figs. 2-6, 2-8, and 2-9) while others sang along. He could also accompany any other singer when that person took the lead. His ear was flawless. He could hear someone singing the first few tones and immediately find the key. His son was also a promising singer, and his wife, too, sang well (Fig. 6-1).

There were many such families. In fact, one could say that nearly every family on the Rocío was a musical family to one degree or another in that they performed among themselves and not just at designated times or places. As one walked through the campsites, such music making was a common sight (or sound). At El Rocío, I was privileged to witness the ongoing process of musical transmission at its most fundamental level.

The difference between the Caballero and Crespo families was simply of one of degree. While Carolina had a beautiful voice and may have aspired to sing professionally (she was certainly one of the best singers of the Hermandad), the rest of the family seemed content to just sing and dance for the pleasure of it. The Crespos were a family of semiprofessional musicians. Clearly this was a family cultivation, as both the son and the father were well-known singers, as was the wife to a lesser degree.

The point I am making through this comparison is that musicality was a feature of every Rociero family, and this will become apparent as the investigation continues. The differences are only of degree of cultivation. In either case—for those with further musical aspirations and those with less—the basic schooling begins the same way: with the family and the juerga.



Figure 6-4 The Crespo family at a stop in the procession in Granada
At this point, they are about to leave Granada on the first day of El Rocío 2003. (Photo by W. Gerard Poole)

Emotional exteriorization and structuring within the “de Gloria” modality

“Nosotros exteriorizamos nuestras emociones.” (“We exteriorize our emotions.”)

—An anonymous woman during a late-night discussion I overheard concerning Andalusian music

The “self-performance” characteristic of the Andalusians was brought first to my attention as a literary comment by Allen Josephs (1983, 67) although I had been witnessing it all along for years. Self-performance can be seen to have its roots, as exemplified at El Rocío, not just on the scale of the large public event such as the elaborate (even baroque) processions of Holy Week, and the processions of the many *romerías*, but beginning at the most intimate scale at the level of the nuclear family.

The exteriorization of the emotions and the aesthetic practice of breaking into song and dance spontaneously at any opportunity can be seen in the living room (or *carreta*, in this case) of many Andalusian families.

When I found myself sitting in the *carreta* with the Caballero family, listening to the singing, I had no way of contextualizing the lyrics of the songs. I was responding, and in the process becoming attuned, to the general mood generated by the family members. The mood was not just festive, it was joyous—the same joy I was to experience as the prevalent emotional cast of the formal processions (see Part II). The adjective *joyous* is as near as I can come to explaining how an event with food, drink, and music—that, in English, we would likely call a “party”—could look so similar to a party superficially but actually be so different. The families were celebrating something meaningful and important to them, but at the same time, it did not require any reflection or announcements to mark its importance. The joy of being on the road, on the camino to El Rocío, was palpable. This “joy” was the most conspicuous emotional feature of the camino and was especially pronounced on that first day. They begin to express the “de Gloria” modality of the pilgrimage immediately upon leaving the cathedral, as an emotional river pouring out into the countryside.

Each family performed, first and foremost, for no one but themselves. The obvious question is why? The obvious answer must be that it provides a source of immense gratification, a gratification resulting from the generation of powerful emotional states within a receptive and supportive environment. Everything hinges on the emotional state and the fact that it is achieved through behaviors such as singing,

dancing, praying, and, yes, drinking. These behaviors are formally structured within a context of religious, devotional ritual practices and the cultural formalization of interpersonal behaviors.

The Sevillanas steps are known and adhered to. The songs are well known and sung correctly. In this sense, there is none of the sloppy emotionality or sloppy musical execution to which informal “performances” fueled by alcohol might degenerate to, and that so often do in many societies. People arm-in-arm, singing out of key, and stumbling through a dance, or through the streets, is simply something I have never observed at the Rocío, and it is extremely rare to see anywhere in Andalusian society. Everyone is expected to dance and sing well; there are no excuses for forgetting the words, singing out of tune, or not dancing with a minimal amount of personal style. This adherence to standards of execution remained a consistent and conspicuous characteristic of the Rocieros that manifested itself over and over again, and those standards began at the family level. The ability of almost all the Rocieros to sing and dance well, as I was to realize with time, was one of the most fundamental characteristics of the entire romería.

There were many instances of what an outsider might consider to be moments of virtuosity. Carolina, for example, once suddenly started dancing and singing a song that was a cross between a typical Sevillanas Rociera and an a *Zambra*—an old dance and song from Granada that is attributed to Moorish and Gypsy origins (Albaycín 1991, 6). She was clearly dancing a Sevillanas, in that she maintained the structural integrity of the dance (which is not at all simple, as Chapter 4 revealed). But she

danced it with the aesthetic of Middle Eastern dance—with more fluid, rolling movements than the angular movements of Andalusian dance.

Elvira, one of the ladies of “La Curra” who always had a glass of whiskey in one hand and a cigarette in another, sang an intimate devotional song whose theme was a metaphor between the drinking of wine, romantic love for another person, and devotional love for the Virgin—a theme typical of medieval troubadour songs (E. Asensio, in E. Place 1959). Although she did not have a great voice by Andalusian standards, she nonetheless sang the song perfectly (as she had many others that night) and with a soft emotional expression that was neither a sentimental nor gratuitous display. Her expression was balanced to the intimacy of the small gathering, and correct in its metrical and melodic structure. More important, she sang with her own *gracia* (“grace”) and style, which was much appreciated by her friends and fellow Rocieros.

The most conspicuous elements linking the many spontaneous performances I witnessed were that the execution was usually flawless and the emotional exteriorization was the main focus, even above the lyrical content. When these two elements are seen together, the underlying musical process of Rocío musical culture comes to light: emotional generation by means of the informal ritual setting and its pervasive emotional mode (the joy of being on the Rocío as an expression “de Gloria” devotion), followed by emotional exteriorization. The emotions are not constrained to self-internalization but shared openly and projected outward to the community—those outward exteriorizations are concomitantly structured through a specific

internalized musical form. The result is an inextricable relationship between musical form and emotional mode as structured behavior.

As the previous chapter revealed, the structures of the Sevillanas Rocieras are not simple. The rhythm is exact, and although there is room for improvisation, the improvisation cannot take place unless the structures have been first thoroughly internalized. What begins to unfold is a process of emotional generation within a specific modality—in this case the joyful “de Gloria” emotional mode—directly into an internalized, specific musical structural pattern that is simultaneously projected outward to those present. The process does not happen in steps but rather is one seamless flow of expression and performance. The result is a continuous, day after day and night after night, performance of *externalized and embodied structured joy*, that becomes a formalized behavior.

A musical innovation in the late hours

*ME GUSTA CANTARTE*²⁶

(I like to sing to you)

CUANDO TODOS DUERMEN

(When everyone is sleeping)

CUANDO TODOS DUERMEN

(When everyone is sleeping)

CUANDO LA LUNA DE PLATA

(When the silver moon)

Y ENTRE LAS SOMBRAS SE PIERDE

(Is lost in the shadows)

CUANDO LA LUNA DE PLATA

(When the silver moon)

Y ENTRE LAS SOMBRAS SE PIERDE

(Is lost in the shadows)

A surprising result of this study was the discovery of sites of musical creativity that, without a deep level of participant observation, could not have come to

light. The first was the immense amount of musical activity that takes place within the carretas, either in motion along the road or stationary at camp, as the above exchanges between Carolina and Sebastián exemplified. The second was the late-night gatherings of small groups of people before the Simpecado. These events could consist on occasion of just one solitary person singing to the Virgin but more often consisted of anywhere from 3 to 15 people. These gatherings were poignant moments for the Rocieros. They happened spontaneously throughout the night with no set time, order, or official announcement. They could be festive and even include dancing, but I found these occasions to be rare and, when they occurred, they were always earlier in the evening. Late at night, those who approached the Virgin came to her to share something intimate and personal. For this reason, the gatherings were more often toward the smaller numbers (three to four) and rarely included dancing. I witnessed and recorded a number of such gatherings, and the common denominator was always the same: the Sevillanas sung before the Simpecado were conspicuously slower than their original recorded versions (see Fig. 7-2).

I am suggesting that this site, the singing to the Virgin late at night on the camino, constitutes one of the focal points in the evolution of the Sevillanas Rocieros. It is important to identify the site at this time and to note that the creative process is taking place within the most liminal edges of the general liminal state that is the pilgrimage as a whole. These small gatherings are not part of any official ritual, and yet they constitute a definite, important, ritual act for the Rocieros—a ritual they themselves have developed over time that is as familiar to them as the processions are familiar to those who know the Rocío only from a spectator view.

What I want to make clear is that singing to the Virgin late at night on the camino is a well-established tradition among the Rocieros even though, like the juerga, it does not appear on any itinerary. A great deal of the emotional content of the present-day Rocío is a product of these intimate moments where the individual is either alone or in the company of close friends and/or family before the Virgin. From this vantage point, the context of many Rocío lyrics makes much more sense (such as the one quoted above).

The Rocío—best known for its loud, flamboyant, festive processions—has this hidden depth from which much of its emotional tone actually derives. Hence the Sevillanas Rociera has a much more intimate quality than its predecessors such as the Sevillanas de Feria. The innovation that is the Sevillanas Rocieras makes more sense when understood as a product of these intimate moments along the camino rather than as a product of the processions alone. In the processions the emotional and musical modes that were processed within the liminal spaces of the romería by individuals and small groups, eventually find their way into the processions as communal formalization.

Another site that exemplifies the intimate relationship between ritual and music and between pilgrim and Virgin can be found at the Hermitage itself. The Hermitage during the Rocío is a loud and congested space. Yet many pilgrims upon arriving at the Aldea nonetheless make a point of going to see her immediately and often one can hear a lone individual within the crowd breaking into song for her. I attempted to record some of these moments, but the song was always lost in the noise since I was never close enough to the source to capture it clearly on my camcorder.

What I found interesting about this “intimate” site, however, was the noise itself. There was so much noise, and so many people that in its own way the site provided a background that functioned similarly to the silence and isolation of the Simpecado at night. Privacy and anonymity were actually made easy by the sheer volume of people and noise. The solitary voices rising up out of the crowd in song were as alone and as “intimately” with the Virgin as in the solitary silence of the late-night camino. The exchanges, despite the incongruity of the circumstances, were still intimate, one-to-one devotional moments between an individual and the Virgin. The instances that I heard at the Hermitage, like the singing to the Simpecado, were all of the Sevillanas Rocieras, or occasionally a Salve Maria. Singing to the Virgin is of course, nothing new, but singing the Sevillanas is (as discussed in Chapter 5) not only relatively new, but as I continue to suggest, the genre itself is still coming into being and changing as a corollary to ritual practices such as these.

I also witnessed another occurrence that suggests to me that the Sevillanas Rocieras continues to evolve. It happened on the Thursday during the 2003 procession, just before the Simpecado of Granada crossed the bridge over the Ajolí River. Carolina suddenly broke out into a beautiful Sevillanas to the Virgin. In the middle of her song, she was overcome with emotion and could not continue. Her friend, a young lady who also sings well, completed the song for her, after which there was a loud chorus of “Olé!” from the members of the Hermandad, and the procession continued on its way.

I did not witness a repeat of this processional interruption again the next year, but I did witness a similar event upon the arrival of the Simpecado to the house of the

Hermandad. Obviously this is still a rare practice. However, it does have precedence in the austere processions of Holy Week. The *saeta* is a deep, emotional song that is usually dedicated to either the Virgin Mary or Christ during the Holy Week processions. The mood is far darker than the Sevillanas Rocieras, which is natural because it is of the penitential modality, having originated as a processional song of Holy Week. However, in its present practice it is a demanding form that is out of the reach of most singers. Even at the Holy Week processions, these songs are so difficult that they are often (though not always) sung by professional singers, many of whom are Gypsies and most of which are professional flamenco singers (Arrebola 1995, 103–115; Sbarbi 1998).

I had the pleasure of hearing Carolina sing many times to the Simpecado at night, and the way she sang at the procession was clearly, in my mind at least, a continuation of that devotional practice into the processional scenario. The intensity of her song was reminiscent of the intensity required of a *saeta*. It is also not accidental that her friend, the one who took up the song and completed it for her, is the same young lady who a few nights later rent the evening atmosphere of a birthday party with a powerful delivery of a Sevillanas Rocieras that completely, if only momentarily, changed the mood of the party. In both instances, if one wasn't familiar enough with the Sevillanas repertoire, the songs might not have been recognized as a Sevillanas at all but could easily have been confused with one of the deeper Andalusian forms.

Another example of this creative potential within the Rocío camino took place when the Compadre asked my friend Lisa to sing for the Simpecado after one of the

oxen had fallen ill, necessitating that members of the Hermandad help the remaining ox pull the carreta through the sand. The entire ordeal caused the Simpecado to arrive late into camp that evening. Lisa sang an Ave Maria by J.S. Bach. It was quite a contrast to hear her voice in the night forest when one considers the completely different singing aesthetic of the classical operatic style compared to the often raspy, even rough, voice of the Andalusian singing style. Nonetheless it was greatly appreciated, and the Compadre asked her to sing again on the last day of the pilgrimage for an initiation ceremony of another Hermandad that Granada was sponsoring into the Rocío.

Again, these are examples of the semi-liminal stages within El Rocío that are open for innovation and experimentation. It is at these sites, along the camino and at the Aldea, that El Rocío reveals its cultural generating power, the results of which are not seen or felt until much later—in the processions, at the Mass as *Misa Rociera* (Rocío Mass), or when they appear within the general aesthetics of Andalusian society as popular music. The Sevillanas Rocieras is itself the most important innovation arising from the Rocío of the last 30 years, and it has had an immense influence over Andalusian society (Gil Buiza 1991, Vol. 4 , Introduction; Murphy 2000 and 2001). I am convinced that this innovation, at least in great part, originated as musical exchanges around the Simpecado late at night, in the carretas along the camino by small intimate groups of Rocieros—even if just two of them—and often just between one individual and the Virgin. Furthermore based upon what I observed innovations are still in the making.

Afición, the devotional scholars, and formalization

“*Cada Rocío es diferente.*” (“Every Rocío is different.”)
—Told to me by one of the ladies of “La Curra”

The ladies of “La Curra,” like most Rocieras, could all sing and dance well and spent a great deal of their time when traveling in the *carreta* doing just that along with the many friends that were always dropping in. The musical practice I witnessed at the family level was continued here among friends, for the ladies of “La Curra” (and Pepe) were all unrelated by blood but considered each other “*familia*” (family) on the Rocío. Since the average age of this group was considerably older than the ages among the Caballero family, the repertoire often included popular music that extended back into the 1930s and 1940s. Along with the music and singing, Sebastián, a frequent visitor, was fond of giving impromptu historical lectures about older musical forms such as the Spanish *copla* and famous singers such as Maria Flores. These lectures would include the historical and the sociopolitical background (reminding me of the loss of Cuba to *los Americanos* on several occasions).

These were some of the most informative and pleasant hours I enjoyed during the Rocío. We would sing several songs, and sometimes one of the ladies would dedicate a song to me, as Pilar did when she sang and danced an old rumba called “*Cuba, Cuba.*” At that time I was still unaware of the role Sevillanas played within the overall Rocío, but nonetheless I could tell that some of what was being performed in “La Curra” was historical. Because of that, the music and informal discussions were of great interest to me. The scope and detail of their historical knowledge was impressive, and (as I was to continue to witness throughout the Rocío) such

knowledge was commonplace especially among long-standing Rocieros such as Sebastián , Concha, Pilar, Charro, the “Compadre,” and many others.

It is also important to note that none of these people was a trained academics. The ability to absorb history experientially through song, dance, and participation—and the intellectual retention of facts and dates learned through conversation as well as private study—were common traits that would fall along particular lines of interest. That is, the Rocío itself is a living historical library. At any conversation or performance, the historical is consciously presented by people who are perfectly aware, often in detail, of the history of the Rocío and, by extension, of their culture in general.

As my later studies of the Rocío would confirm, most of the best books written about the Rocío were written by people whom we would call “amateurs” but in Andalusia are called *aficionados*. These words are actually not congruent at all because culturally they do not have accurate parallels. One similarity, however, might be found in the American Civil War “buff.” I say this because although in American society we have many enthusiasts following many different fields of interest, rarely, with the exception of the historical enthusiasts, do these pursuits engage all levels of sociocultural investigation.

The crucial difference is that these individual and group pursuits rarely have any cultural impact outside of their own sphere of interest. This is not true of the Andalusian *aficionado*. The aficionados take an active and important role in the shaping of Andalusian culture. We must also keep in mind that not only is the aficionado also a performer at one degree or another, but also that each performer is

an aficionado who has attained a degree of cultural knowledge. *Afición*, then, can also be seen as devotion—devotion to a particular subject. “History” in this situation is far more an embodied performance than a learned discourse. The performance and pursuit of ritual generates its own history which to a large extent is the history of the culture, or rather its “history” is an after the fact abstraction.

Just as each Rociero practices devotion to the Virgin through musical expression as being an act of devotion in itself, similarly, the cultivation of that devotion, as *afición*, is also a devotional act. The difference is that *afición* can take as its object almost anything at all: horses or bulls (both common *afición*), history, and so on. An excellent example can be seen in the tradition of the Tamborilero, the subject of Chapter 4. Almost all knowledge about this tradition is the work of either families of Tamborileros who preserved the tradition through their direct performative involvement, or the work of aficionados who collected information as they learned the tradition through direct involvement in the rituals. The Tamborilero Juanma Sánchez, whose research I have referred to in this dissertation, is such an aficionado, although by profession he is actually a professor of physics (personal correspondence).

I will shift to flamenco briefly here, to give another example of a situation in Andalusian society where the word “aficionado” holds great importance—as a way of illustrating not only the concept itself but also how many elements of Andalusian society are often interwoven within the population at large through ritual practices and their derivatives. In flamenco, the aficionado is an essential element in the informal flamenco performance (the *juerga*), and an important element in the critique

of the professional performance (the *tablao*), and an important contributor to the overall development of flamenco (as historian, commentator, audience, patron, and so on). The flamenco aficionado is not just an enthusiast; he or she offers the crucial element of self-regulation that ensures that the art form not only survives, but also that its changes do not outstrip its integrity, its internal cohesion.

The flamenco aficionado is nearly always a performer as well, albeit not an *artista* (artist) or a *figura* (“figure”—someone who has an audience). The culture of *afición* maintains and formalizes flamenco aesthetics, not passively and after the fact but in the moment as full participants in flamenco culture. They are not simply re-creating the past or conserving flamenco as it was; they are also an essential element in the future of flamenco, its continuing evolution. The aficionado is all of the following: ongoing critic, ongoing support network, and ongoing participant. The flamenco performers, the *artistas*, rely on the presence of aficionados at the *juergas* for their knowledgeable participation and at the formal presentations for their support and sponsorship (see “Rito y Geografía” series for an excellent example of this relationship between *afición* and cultural continuity).

I saw the same correlation within the Rocío environment. Music, lore, and literature were produced by aficionados—highly knowledgeable Rocieros who, although not what we would call professional, or university academics, were nonetheless considered authoritative by other Rocieros due to their extensive knowledge. Like the aficionados of flamenco, however, these individuals are not just considered authoritative by the Rocieros; they are also primary informants for outside investigators on any subject of Andalusian culture. I can honestly say that the history

I heard debated and discussed around fires late at night on the Rocío would prove to be as accurate, within the limits of the individual's personal scope of interest, as what I would find later in the published books by scholars. Not surprisingly, as I already mentioned, most of the books and articles that have been written on El Rocío are in fact written by people much like the ones in whose company I found myself.²⁷

The role of the aficionado is not peripheral to the Rocío any more than the aficionado of flamenco is peripheral. He or she is an integral part of this “self-performance” that seems to fascinate so many observers of Andalusia. The Rociero is an aficionado of the Rocío, and that implies not just that he or she participates and is knowledgeable about the Rocío but, most important, that he or she contributes to the process of Rocío *creation*. The Rocío leadership, like its outstanding singers, is only distinct from the other Rocieros by degree of participation level or artistic development. But otherwise they are simply Rocieros. Who should know more about the Rocío than the people who create and re-create it all their lives?

As a result of these informal gatherings, I was beginning to understand that there was a great store of knowledge generated by the performance of the pilgrimage each year that, in turn, served as useful knowledge for the continuing performance of the Rocío in the future. As the lady I quoted at the head of this section made a point to tell me, “Every Rocío is different.” When that observation is combined with “Here there are no spectators, only participants,” the relationship between self-performance and self-knowledge is revealed to be systematic. The sites for innovation and the sites for critique ensure that there is a constant process of change and evolution within the Rocío. What is being revealed within the informal elements of the pilgrimage is that

they constitute the important sites for the exchange of information, and the formulation of plans for follow-up activities both within the pilgrimage and outside the actual Rocío pilgrimage. The information exchanged within these sites increase the individual's ability to appreciate the Rocío at a deeper level, and in turn critique it, while at the same time reflect the fact that they are actively engaged in its creation as performance. The ratio between history as a reflective discourse, and history as an embodied performance, is for the Rocío, and I believe by extension for much of Andalusian culture, far more weighted toward the performative. Recall that the aficionado, unlike the academic "historian" is a full participator in what he/she is pursuing as an object of further devotional practice. Far from being a static, periodic performance of doctrine and ritual, the Rocío is a living ritual that is continuously reinventing itself at every turn. And again, like many other aspects of the Rocío, this process begins at the level of the family.

There were many conversations around the dinner table with the Caballeros that related the day's important events: what went well, what didn't go so well, what could be improved, how might something be done better. Topics included the timing and order of the carretas, when the fuel truck arrives at the campsite, why someone's horse might have fallen ill, why the ox fell ill the year of 2003 (see App. B, Fifth Day Wednesday, 20:00), who sang especially well at the last juerga, and so forth.

Formalidad at the family level

The word "formality" (as previously mentioned) is actually an incomplete translation for all that the Andalusian term encompasses. An aspect of what

formalidad can mean is contained in the phrase *forma de ser* (literally “form of being”). It refers to a person’s entire demeanor, their uniqueness, their inner qualities. It refers to a way of being in the world that is not related to one’s occupation, one’s labor, one’s titles or entitlements, but rather to a cultivated self that grants them their own personal style, their own mark upon the world. If we consider “form of being” as closely related to “mode of being” we can begin to understand how the musical ritual practices has a profound effect upon individual consciousness, or self-knowledge.

When we observe the family’s interaction through song and dance we can see that here is where this “forma de ser” begins to take its first shape—not by learning outward forms so much (although that’s a part) but by developing an inner emotion and aesthetic that becomes their truest internalized self. How they dance, how they sing, in what particular way, with what particular style, is the beginnings of what we call “personality.” Personality automatically gives rise to “types” in common parlance. “Type,” however, is not what “forma de ser” refers to at all. The Andalusians have many untranslatable words such as *salero*, *guasa*, and *gracia*. Even the word *arte* is used to give more detail to this “forma de ser,” and yet none of those words has a meaning that can be pinned down. They take on their meaning, like a sudden praise, as a function of their experience; the appreciation by one person of another person is what brings out these utterances of praise. The expressions don’t come because the person has suddenly fulfilled a categorical, or archetypal, persona but because that person has suddenly created their own category on the spot. That person has just revealed an inner art, an inner “way of being” that is recognized and

appreciated within the generalized context of formalidad, but implicit is that the person has given formalidad his or her own personal expression. In this way, each person has the capacity to change what the content of formalidad is, even if to a small degree when the entire community is taken into consideration. However, having said that, it should be noted that the majority of musical forms that comprise Andalusian music, have come down to us by way of individual modifications that were the result of specific innovators (Pohren's *Lives and Legends* [1988] is a particularly concise and thorough compilation of these facts).

Formalidad then, is not just formalized behavior; it is also the process of bringing behavior into form. By the time we arrive at anything like etiquette or protocol, we are far from the cultural bed that gave rise to those behaviors referred to as "formalities." Formalidad is embodied aesthetics. It is this Andalusian aesthetic that bloomed so vividly before my eyes at my first encounter with the Caballero family but which they probably took in stride as being nothing more than simple family interaction—which, in fact, it was. It was behavior, but a behavior in which music and ritual play an enormous role in creating, structuring, and maintaining.

Second tier: The level of the family and friends grouping

Transmission

Since, in general, families tended to form bonds with each other—usually in groupings of three to four families—they often, or at least where feasible, parked their carretas near one another at camp. Regardless of the physical location, however, the members could be seen often visiting each other's carretas—sometimes for meals

or at other times for recreation, which would inevitably include music and dancing. The Caballeros (whose carreta was called the “Ajolí”), the Gómez family (“Improvisá”), and the ladies of “La Curra” formed one such informal subgroup.

This does not mean that all the camp juergas consisted exclusively of juergas with such family groupings at the center, but it was my experience that most did. These family groups become apparent at celebrations such as birthdays and at the “baptisms” of carretas on their maiden romería. (I witnessed two such carreta baptisms, including that of the carreta I traveled in, the Ajolí, and I attended a number of birthday parties.) As I have described, in the center of these gatherings were always the family groups. By far, the family groups and the extended families and friends groups had the best juergas I witnessed on the Rocío.

“El Sevillano” at La Tinaja: Musical performance, transmission, and competency

The juerga that spilled into the wide, sandy street one night in La Tinaja in 2004 was instigated by a fellow named simply “El Sevillano” (the man from Seville) and supported by members of the Coro Rociero of Granada and the singer Juan Crespo. It was a festive juerga, driven primarily by the Sevillanas, although it began with a series of extended rumbas. In the street, the dancers had to establish their dance space with their partners and arrange themselves into rows while the horses and carriages went up and down the streets behind and at times around them. In the course of the juerga the dancers expanded from one row to four rows, extending almost to the other side of the street. Nonetheless, the order and form entailed in the dance was maintained throughout. The scene was elegant, beautiful, and, at the same time,

extremely festive. But it never approached the realm of delirium or abandonment. Each dancer remained self-contained and in full control regardless of his or her technical ability.

At the end of that night, El Sevillano displayed an extraordinary level of dance technique that would have impressed any flamenco dancer (my guess is that he was, in fact, a flamenco dancer as well). Was El Sevillano showing off? Yes, of course he was. But when someone shows off in this kind of musical environment, he or she had better be good because the Andalusians are unsparing in their merciless criticism of the pretentious or undeserving (as I witnessed on a number of occasions).

So why was he given so much space and such a free rein to “perform himself”? The answer is simple and twofold: (1) He was not just good, he was exceptional; and (2) they could learn from him. As in flamenco, the *juerga* is not just a place to perform; it is a place to learn. In fact, it is *the* key site for learning. It is at the *juerga* that one learns not only specific techniques and new concepts but how to contribute to a performance with one’s own supportive techniques. How to clap *correctly* the complicated counter-rhythms, how to give good *jaleo* (supportive shouts and sounds that help contour the musical direction and accentuate peak moments), and how to establish oneself within the hierarchy of artistic authority—all this is learned at the *juergas*.

Notice that these are not paid performances, yet it is here that even the best professionals still find their greatest joy and inspiration (as I gather was the case with El Sevillano). This is the primary site wherein both the *aficionado* (the knowledgeable listener) and the professional are created. The fact that such a site

might be at a religious pilgrimage is not at all incongruous in Andalusia. It bears an instructive analogy to the African American soul singers, who often began their singing careers in the gospel choirs of the Deep South. What follows is an excerpt from Robert Darden's *People Get Ready*, a book on the early development of Gospel:

And with the changing music came a new style of performance, a style that emphasized movement and improvisation, a style that demanded emotional involvement and personalized expression. Dorsey's model singers—those who initially presented the songs and then coached the young choruses—all came straight out of the sanctified church. Sallie Martin, Mahalia Jackson and Willie Mae Ford Smith all believed in letting the Holy Ghost have Its way; each of them made this belief performatively obvious in her singing. The new choruses, under these vocalists' careful tutelage, thus learned more than just new tunes. They also received training in the freedom and faith of singing in the Spirit. (Darden 2004, 15)

Once the early morning hours had arrived, however, those still present (almost everyone) were served a hot broth. Then they sang the final round of devotional Rociero Sevillanas, followed by a final Salve Maria. It is instructive to point out that if someone were to have attended the juerga only up to the late evening, before this final closing of the fiesta, how easily they might have left with the impression that it was a completely secular “party.” In some ways it was, but in more important ways, it was much more than that: It is a site where cultural aesthetics are created, learned, and perpetuated as part of a larger cultural system.

Lentisquilla, Carreta Tinaja, 2003: Early musical competency and emotional structuring

In a previous section of this chapter, “Musical innovation in the late hours,” I mentioned one of Carolina's friends whose powerful voice ripped through a joyous occasion with an emotional song. The song occurred during a musical gathering I

attended at the Lentisquilla compound on the Saturday evening of 2003. The juerga, which was also a birthday party for the daughter of the family who owned the carreta, was characterized in the beginning by exceptionally festive singing and dancing to the guitar accompaniment of one of the tractor drivers and a friend of his who also happened to be a good singer. Sevillanas and rumbas dominated the early part of the evening, which included some extremely humorous impromptu skits (apparently taken from a TV variety/comedy show).

Amid the gaiety, a powerful voice charged with emotional intensity suddenly rang out. The voice belonged to the young lady, Carolina's friend, Ana, who often sang at gatherings. What I would like to draw attention to, however, is the emotional intensity with which the young lady (probably no older than 22) suddenly interrupted what had been, up until that point, a rather festive, light, and humorous event. When she finished her delivery, she dedicated it to the birthday girl and then walked away smiling and obviously cheerful. Likewise, the juerga continued along its previous trajectory (after a chorus of "Olé!") as if nothing had happened. Neither the singer nor those present at the gathering were fazed by the sudden emotional outburst. She walked away with a smile on her face, and they continued with the juerga.

Again, nothing was superficial or insincere about this outburst. It is simply an example of how well, even at an early age, the Andalusian ritual and performance system begins to structure a command of the emotions among its practitioners. This is hardly indoctrination; it is just the opposite—maturation and sophistication. This emotional awareness through exteriorization constitutes a powerful form of self-knowledge. It becomes an accessible, internalized "*forma de ser.*"

The second house of Charro 2003: Emotional structuring and formalidad

Another of my most memorable experiences of El Rocío took place in a house I call simply “the house of Charro.” Charro, one of the ladies of “La Curra,” was another of those special individuals who, like Sara, went out of her way to befriend Lisa and me. The house that Charro took us to wasn’t actually her own house but, rather, the house of a close relative. It became apparent to Lisa and me that Charro could have stayed in the houses of a number of her relatives if she had chosen to, but she liked staying with her “sisters” of “La Curra” in the compound of the Lentisquilla.

This juerga was extremely emotional. There was an energy in the air that often characterizes Andalusian musical gatherings. What marked the essential difference between this juerga and the larger juergas I will describe in the next section was not so much the numbers (maybe 20 people attended), but the intimacy despite the numbers. I think the intimacy was due to the fact that the gathering consisted of close family and friends.

In Andalusia, as I’ve already pointed out, the best parties and the best music are to be found among gatherings of families and their friends rather than among strangers sharing a common interest (again, this is the ground of *afición*). When one considers that musical knowledge is transmitted primarily at the level of the family—which was revealed in the *carretas* and reinforced through my observations of the more accomplished families—then the relationship between family gatherings and musical quality begins to reveal itself. I am not speaking only of musical competence. I am speaking equally of true musical knowledge, of music as culture. What became

obvious to me was that in those moments of deep musical sensitivity and attunement, musical competency was only one underlying component.

At the Charro juerga, the dancing was elegant and full of *gracia* but by no means was it virtuosic, while the rhythmic clapping and the singing were powerful and definitely driving the juerga. However, at several points in the juerga there were lulls when everyone focused upon a single singer. Two such moments were of particular interest.

The first involved a man whom I believe was a shepherd. He had a cane with which to stamp the rhythm out upon the floor as he sang (a common practice in the older generation), and he wore the workman's cap that is still common throughout Europe. The shepherd had singled out two young ladies to sing to. The ladies kept their eyes directly on him, and their expression revealed a near-rapture to his rough-throated song. The key is that he was singing *directly* to them, and they were responding *directly* to him. Whatever the precise lyrics, it was the phenomenology of this exchange that constituted the "ritual" moment, a moment that could look like a party but is in fact an ongoing process of emotional structuring that continues throughout the pilgrimage—person-to-person and person-to-Virgin. The usual chorus of "Olé" followed the intense exchange from those present.

This was the same juerga where an elderly woman dedicated a song to someone who had been invited to attend and who had come with a video camera (myself). She let it be known that she wanted to dedicate a song to him and walked right up in order to sing directly to him (she had to look up as she sang as he was considerably taller than her). Should we suppose that the elderly lady had no eye

toward the man filming her and its potential implications when she chose to dedicate the song to him? Are we to suppose that there was no “art” to the seductive song of the shepherd, nor any “playing along” by the ladies in response? Of course there was. But does this mean they were insincere? No, not at all.

Here I need to pause once again and correct a perception that leads to so many misinterpretations about Andalusian “self-performance”: The performer is *self-aware*, not self-conscious. The musical and ritual emotionality is not an indication of naiveté or emotional subterfuge; on the contrary, it is a result of their cultural and emotional sophistication. This emotional awareness is a kind of intelligence that escapes what we would consider “intelligence” in the purely intellectual sense. (See Cytowic 1995 for an appraisal of the implications of *emotional intelligence*.) The emotionality of the Andalusians is “played” with because they *can* play with it, much the same way an intellectually bent person might enjoy working a crossword puzzle. The ritual and artistic practices that underlie much of the emotional structuring of the individuals—and that, in turn, support the unwritten aesthetics of *formalidad*—give Andalusians a certain awareness of their own emotional interior that allows them to exteriorize deep, intense emotions without becoming overwhelmed by them. Because they are “in control” of their emotions does not mean they are either insincere or that they are acting, much less that they are suppressing them; it is simply a way of *being in the world* that includes a high degree of emotional awareness and a flexibility for behavioral performance that is a natural consequence of that awareness.

The intimate *juerga* provides a “stage” wherein deeper levels of emotional exploration may take place as part of a musically supportive environment. However,

as the intense Andalusian rituals such as the Salida of the Rocío and many of the Semana Santa rituals demonstrate, the evocation of emotions can go far, even as far as bordering upon the chaotic and the hysterical. Nonetheless, my experience has made clear to me that the Andalusians, as a culture, know exactly what they are doing and never cross over that edge.

Formalidad constitutes not so much unspoken “rules” intended to govern behavior as something far more effective: embodied aesthetics. These internalized aesthetics begin with the deliberate exteriorization and structuring of the emotions through musical ritual practices that begin at an early age and continue throughout a lifetime.

As the ritual theorist Charles Laughlin suggests, rituals can bring about “emotional settings” that subsequently can become stable within the individuals. (See Laughlin’s online tutorial under “ergotropic-trophotropic tuning” and “emotional settings” for a model of how ritual might affect the neurobiology of emotion.) Becker and Damasio, however, also emphasize the powerful role that the emotions play—not only in achieving the trance state but also in the construction what Damasio calls the “core self”: “Emotions and core consciousness tend to go together, in the literal sense, by being present together or absent together” (Damasio 1999, 100; and for further discussion see Chapter 12). The emotions seem to play a critical role in determining the quality of our consciousness. In this light, rituals that focus upon the emotions cannot help but have an important impact upon how we experience the world phenomenologically.

Third tier: The level of the Hermandad

At the Rocío, the houses of the Hermandades are the community centers. There is really no other venue, outside the formal rituals themselves, for community functions at a level beyond the family and family groupings level. At these gatherings the accomplished solo singers tend not to sing as much as they do at the more intimate gatherings. However one can see that soloists, or “artists,” are simply not essential in a culture wherein, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, practically everyone has a proficient level of musical competency. These large gatherings tend to be festive and the music is often very good, especially if many members of the chorus are present. (However, it must be kept in mind that these choruses are composed of average people, few of whom might have any professional aspirations.)

These juergas are not at all, in my opinion, better than the family group juergas, or even the family juergas; rather, there is simply a different energy to them. They were more enjoyable in some ways and less so in other ways. What seems apparent to me, when contrasting communal events with smaller events, is that innovation does not take place at the communal juerga. I certainly never witnessed any. At the communal juergas, singers perform songs that are already well established and in the final stages of critique. If anything, the communal juergas represent the final performative level before any new music—whether a different style or just a new song—makes its entry into a formal procession.

Interlude: The Rumba at El Rocío

The first communal juerga I witnessed took place on the first evening at the campsite in the town of Santa Fe in 2003. This juerga was an exception in that it included most of the Hermandad, so it was a community-level juerga, but it was not held at the house of the Hermandad in the town of El Rocío. I didn't know it then, but the singing was so exceptionally powerful because the juerga was started by the Coro Rociero of Granada and the Coro Rociero of Santa Fe singing together. The dancing was exceptional as well. The more youthful members and their guests dominated this juerga. At this juerga I first realized that the Rumba, a musical form that I would not have associated with El Rocío, was going to be a feature of this religious romería.

Over time, however, it became apparent that the Rumba was still rarely performed compared with the Sevillanas—and furthermore, with one exception, performed exclusively at the juergas. The implications of the aesthetics of the rumba at a religious pilgrimage like El Rocío are not slight. Below is a summation of the Rumba that accurately characterizes the kinds of activities and the aesthetics that have developed in conjunction with its practice:

Dismissed as an illegitimate genre, barely worthy of accompanying a wedding or even a drinking binge, and a distant and unwanted cousin of flamenco. Promiscuous music, defying all attempts to classify it. The hybrid, eternally restless and changing nature of the Catalan rumba has meant that it's been looked upon with suspicion ever since its birth. Artists from the more orthodox school of cantaores have always expressed their skepticism. Even ethnography studies in Spain's northwestern region fail to provide us with a firm handle on which to hang this phenomenon, though without a doubt its origins lie within a well-defined section of Cataluña's cultural heritage: the gypsy population.

(d'Averc 2003, http://www.flamenco-world.com/magazine/about/rumba_catalana/rumba.htm)

Father Pedro dances the Rumba at the house of the Hermandad of Granada

On Friday, May 28, 2004, there was a particularly raucous daytime juerga at the house of the Hermandad. The television crew from Granada had accompanied us on the Rocio that year, and several informal ceremonies were conducted involving Father Pedro, the Hermandad, and El Compadre. One of the highlights of the juerga was when Father Pedro was induced to dance with some of the ladies. Why he chose the Rumba I don't know, but perhaps he simply had never learned the complicated choreography of the Sevillanas.

The Rumba, being a freer form and having with no fixed steps, allowed Father Pedro to simply display his natural *arte*—which he did, and with surprising *gracia*. He was really quite good. Naturally the young, handsome, dancing priest was a “hit” at the juerga, and he continued to ingratiate himself to the Hermandad thereafter—as an excellent speaker at the Mass sermons and especially through his enthusiasm at the final Salida of the Virgin (see App. B, Monday, 2004).

Return to the Rumba

The Rumba does not have the strict start/stop structural form of divisions into coplas, each with choreographed dance steps that characterize the structure of the Sevillanas. As such, it is easier to dance to. Many Rumbas may be strung together or improvised so that the stopping point may be delayed as long as the performers care to. This “open-ended” characteristic allows the participants to push the music further toward the ecstatic state as long as the energy maintains it.

The level of energy and the mood developed by the string of continuous Rumbas is quite different from that of a string of Sevillanas. The entire aesthetic changes because of the less-structured dance and the unobstructed drive toward delirium. It must be emphasized, however, that the Rumbas performed at El Rocío, are not in general devotional, although a few do contain lyrics about the Rocío. Nonetheless the Misa Rociera written by Manuel Pareja Obregón, contains a Rumba, so the Rumba as a form has integrated itself completely into Andalusian Catholicism despite its questionable reputation. However, my comments at the end of Chapter 5 regarding the relationship between the Rumba and the pilgrimage of Maries Sur La Mere suggests that the Rumba has much closer ties to Catholic pilgrimage than its reputation might indicate.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that although the Rumba has a place within the Rocío juergas, it is still not nearly as common as the Sevillanas, and the reason for that is that its formal structures are to an important extent not compatible with the formalidad, the embodied aesthetics, of the present Rocío. More important, Rumbas are not performed at the *rengues* (the rest and refreshment stops along the camino) or at the processional stations that I attended. The Rumba is performed and danced almost exclusively at night at the camino. (The incident with Father Pedro was unique and more than likely the result, as I indicated, of the fact that he did not know how to dance Sevillanas.) The single exception was the one rumba I ever heard sung in a formal procession, called "*Con Granada*" ("With Granada"). With the exception of this small "regional pride" Rumba, I never heard a rumba performed anywhere except at juergas.

What this suggests to me is that the Rumba has gained sufficient acceptance within the evening juergas to have found at least a small place within the processions. The innovative move represented by the introduction of a Rumba into the procession of Granada is actually a current throughout the Rocío in general. For instance, the Rumba mentioned above did not make its entrance into the processions with the Hermandad of Granada. The original lyrics are “*Con Triana*,” and were sung, obviously, by the Hermandad of Triana (a famous barrio in Sevilla that was at one time renowned for its Gypsies and its flamenco, though neither are particularly prevalent today). I heard that Rumba sung by the Hermandad of Triana at the procession of the Presentación in 2003 (see App. B, Saturday).

The purpose in this Interlude dealing with the Rumba is to draw attention to a current example within El Rocío of the direct relationship between the three elements: music, ritual, and emotions in a still-potential stage that can be tracked for future study. As I have already mentioned, even the visual aspects of a Rumba juerga and a Sevillanas juerga are vastly different. It would be interesting to speculate about how the aesthetics of the Rocío might, or might not, change if the rumba were to become the dominant musical form—whether the Rumba would change the Rocío, or the Rocío would change the Rumba. I hope to have presented a strong enough argument by the end of this dissertation to convince the reader that not only would there be an aesthetic and phenomenological change in the Rocío if the Rumba, in its present structural form, were to become the dominant musical form of the pilgrimage, but that there would *have to be* such a change. What I am arguing for is that the relationship between music structure, ritual structure, and emotional structure, are so

interrelated that any change in one produces a change in the other. The critical object of importance is the musical form itself, especially in its Andalusian variation, the *palo*. Through the morphology of the Fandangos I presented potential past example of the ritual, music, emotion relationship, and as a recent example I explored the Sevillanas Rocieras (both in Chapter 5). I am suggesting that a potential future example might be found in the Rumba, at least in its relationship to El Rocío, especially in view of what I have already covered regarding the Rumba and pilgrimage discussed at the end of Chapter 5. The general relationship between the musical forms and the ritual system of Andalusia, and the particular relationship between a musical form and specific ritual, is what I believe to be one of the most important keys that underlie the ritual system itself and its power to generate modes of being as forms of self-knowledge.

Back to the juergas of El Rocío: Peak moments of performance, failure factor, and aesthetic resonance

How does one know when a particular performance by an individual was good and when a particular juerga goes exceptionally well? There is never a “Master of Ceremonies” to announce and guide the proceedings, there is no audience from which to register an applause volume or length, and there are no curtain bows, nor any awards given. What makes for a good performance and how does it become known at a juerga?

Like many concepts that elude definitions and categorical assignments, the excellent juerga cannot be described. Yet, nonetheless, as the saying goes, “You

know it when you see it”—or, more accurately, “when you experience it.” There is a certain energy, a “magic” in the air that everyone feels and that is transmitted throughout the participants like a current. A singer or dancer who might be familiar to the group sings with particular grace, *salero* (“earthy sensuousness” that is still tasteful), *arte* (“artfulness”), and occasionally the word more associated with flamenco can be used: *duende* (“the inner spirit that becomes manifest”).

Even if particular performances are not exceptional, an excellent juerga may take place due to the strong synchronization of the group into a prolonged rhythmic cohesion that pulls everyone in and focuses the energy into an intense, “in the moment” experience. The experience defies verbal description or analysis, yet is revealed in an increased performance level among the individuals.

To understand that this phenomenon is taking place requires presence and cannot be analyzed with any certainty “after the fact,” although it can be appreciated as having left a powerful memory. These peak moments furnish the criteria for subsequent aesthetic judgments when attending future juergas. The “imprint” of the experience may be considered, in and of itself, to be a way of considering the idea of “tuning.” This attunement that occurs communally but is manifested in the individual becomes more profound and refined with continuous exposure and participation in the juergas. Aesthetics are embodied, modified, transmitted, and critiqued in the moment of performance.

The night at the Lentisquilla compound, on Saturday night of 2003, was such a moment. The three young singers exchanged songs back and forth, resulting in several peak moments wherein the participants reacted with exclamations or sighs.

One particular moment in the woman's *cante* struck me with a sudden realization of just how deep a person could reach down within, even for just a brief moment, and make an unforgettable utterance that was still full of grace and soulfulness. There was no need for a stage, or bright lights, or paid admission; it can happen at a birthday party for family and friends.

Furthermore, there is no doubt in my mind that even if I did not have the years of listening experience that many of those present had, I nonetheless was capable of appreciating where those peak moments were; everyone present felt them and acknowledged them without requiring any kind of exterior cues. The moments happened quickly, but they were also immediately recognized. In Andalusia the common reference for these moments is the "hair standing on end" (*los pelos punto a pié*), phenomenon that can be found among other traditions such as in Indonesia where Judith Becker points to the "skin orgasm" in relation to the onset of certain musically induced trance phenomenon (Becker 2005, 132).

The *juerga*, then, is also a "tuning" site, a site wherein aesthetics are manifested and transmitted as a shared resonance among the participants—whether they be highly charged emotional moments such as the singing exchange at the *Lentisquilla* between the three *Fandangos* singers, or a more general feeling of aesthetic communion resulting from the prolonged rhythmic entrainment and its general *élan* in the streets under the stars where the family and friends sang and danced.

But there is another equally important factor on the reverse side: The *juerga* can be a site for aesthetic failure. Even if performers of high caliber are present, the

performance can nonetheless “fail” or simply be of mediocre quality. What is it that causes a juerga to fail—to end in everyone slowly disbanding, wandering off, or changing modes to possibly the humorous, or changing the focus of attention back to conversation and food?

In my experience both with flamenco and at the Rocío, the successful juerga hinges far more on the group entrainment than on the average level of skill among those present. However, I must qualify that statement. There has to be a minimum level of musical competency before any juerga can be successful, and I am assuming that minimum level of competency when making this observation. In Andalusia that minimum level of competency is not at all hard to find; it is, by far, more often the case than not. The potential for aesthetic resonance, especially regarding music making, is such a common phenomenon among Andalusians that one can say that it is literally “in the air” without risking hyperbole. As an example of what I am describing, many of us foreign flamenco and Sevillanas aficionados have noticed that by simply going to Andalusia and spending time there witnessing juergas, and even with minimum participation on our part, we return to our native countries as *better musical practitioners*. Yet we often have never practiced a day that we were there. This is a commonly acknowledged fact among the foreign aficionados. It is always surprising how deeply the juerga can penetrate into the nervous system even after a minimal level of prolonged participation and how it can result in a deeper attunement to the aesthetic it manifests.

Nonetheless, juergas can and do fizzle out or result in evenings that are less than inspired. Yet these experiences also add to the individual “tuning.” A relative

novice can come to acknowledge, after repeated exposures to many different juergas, that what would have seemed more impressive earlier in their aesthetic attunement is afterward not so impressive at all. The level of musical critique in Andalusian culture is extremely refined. But it is not the result of an intellectual appraisal that becomes increasingly detailed in its scrutiny. It is far more the result of a general aesthetic appraisal that translates more as a “resonance” than as a mental dissection. The aficionado can easily dismiss a precise and highly technical performance without having found fault in any particular aspect of the performance (for a good discussion on this subject by a foreigner considered to be an authoritative aficionado in Andalusia, see Pohren 1990, 38–50).

The dissonance comes with the lack of sufficient sympathetic entrainment among those present. If the music is rhythmic, the entrainment begins at that level and collapses if the rhythmic entrainment cannot be sustained—and sustained with good *soniquete* (“simultaneous syncopation and groove”). If it is a gathering devoted to the *cante*, then the personal expression and command of the emotional present becomes paramount. Either way, the result must be an entrainment among all of those present that is impossible without their full participation. If, for any number of reasons, the communal attunement does not take place, the manifestations of the aesthetics—not in an archetypal formulaic sense but in a unique, in-the-moment, and unique way—will simply not occur. The form may be there (for example, they are dancing Sevillanas *correctly*) but not its substance as a living, breathing process of emotional structuring and aesthetic embodiment.

If the forms are being presented “correctly” and the participants are all at least minimally competent, if not above average, how is it that the juerga can still fail? I would like to propose a tentative answer that is partially intuitive but that will receive further support in Part II concerning the culmination of El Rocío, the procession of the Salida of the Virgin. My proposition is this: The Andalusian forms (or palos) can never be construed as being fixed archetypal vessels that are recognized when they are properly manifested. There needs to be, at any juerga, some element of innovation, some element of distortion, of uniqueness, that results from the inspiration and inherent grace of those participating. There needs to be, within these forms, some element of breach—some element of *chaos*. I am convinced that these elements of chaos and individuality, that distort and threaten to breach the forms and the encroaching formulas, or *formalidades*, are essential for the juerga to come alive. This theme has already been mentioned in relation to emotional structuring and its modalities as morphology, and has been even given a certain label by the Andalusians themselves through such seemingly paradoxical terms as “controlled chaos” and “sublime savagery” or in such self-effacing sayings as “Andalusians are good until they become bad.”

A juerga can also fail, or have ambiguous results, by an opposite means: The borders of the prevailing aesthetics are being challenged *too far* by personal innovation or breaches of formalidad. For example, the use of the Arabian lute called the *Ud* in flamenco is now fairly common and acceptable. However, prior to the mid1970s, this was not the case. Aficionados dismissed musicians like Paco de Lucia, and the American Carlos Lomas when they began to introduce the instrument at

juergas in Andalusia (personal correspondence with Carlos Lomas). Only at the juergas, however, could such an introduction have taken place at all, and eventually they came to be accepted, from whence they continued to make their way into the commercial stages and recordings throughout Andalusia. In 1976 Paco de Lucía released his influential recording, *Almoraima*, in which he features an Ud on the title and hit track. It is interesting to note that the name Almoraima comes from a destination sanctuary for a local romería from Paco de Lucía's home town of Algeciras (Pohren 1992, 83).

We can also imagine that the first time a rumba was introduced at a juerga at El Rocío, it may have met a similar initial response. I witnessed several occasions on the Rocío when rumbas were performed at small gatherings, and many of those present began to lose interest and demand a return to the Sevillanas. In flamenco *cante jondo* ("deep song") circles, I have seen singers simply walk out of the room as soon as a *rumbero* ("a singer of rumbas") enters! Failure then—by breach or lack of sufficient breach—is a powerfully inherent feature of the juerga. It is as important, in my estimation, as its potential to acculturate and embody aesthetics through the performance success of aesthetic resonance.

The potential for failure is concomitant with the fluidity of the juergas to be sites wherein transmission of previously formalized aesthetics can be effected. The introduction, transmission, and formalization of variations and even marked innovations can also take place. The juerga, in this sense, can be seen as the performative embodiment of *afición*. Failure, then, is in itself a kind of aesthetic resonance in the negative. The inherent potential for failure, is not only a important

feature of the juerga itself, it is also a critical function of the juerga in relation to the rest of the ritual system. Experience is everything—no experience, no continuation. The failure factor reveals the functional heart of the juerga—the fact that it is an experiential site. In Part II, the potential of the experiential ritual as a failure factor will be contrasted to the deliberate elimination, to whatever degree possible, of any potential for failure that is an equally inherent and equally important characteristic of what I will call the symbolic ritual.

How does an innovation, however, overcome the failure factor and become accepted within the juerga? The same way a peak moment is acknowledged: There is a moment when the aesthetic “sense” of the innovation becomes clear. After successive failures and rejections, there comes a time when a certain innovation begins to find its consonances with the prevailing aesthetic. These consonances override the dissonances but also, eventually, what was seen as dissonance begins to be considered, in itself, a consonance. The acceptance of innovation can be either very slow, or very fast, there are no rules governing this save the process of aesthetic tuning.

Afición and critique at the house of the Hermandad: Aesthetic resonance and the discursive reflection

Sitting at the house of the Hermandad of Granada at the Rocío is always an opportunity to hear the discourse of the aficionados concerning a variety of fields. These discussions are always entertaining and informative, and they serve as invaluable sites of information for the ethnographer. Comparing historical

knowledge, disseminating information, and appraising the validity of information and opinions turned ordinary tableside conversation into enlightening discussions.

Issues concerning the ritual proceedings, their protocol, and logistical problems encountered along the camino that year are often discussed as well. These discussions often lead to concrete actions that can result in real change. The discussion I first heard at a dinner table along the camino concerning the order of carretas was brought up again at a discussion at the Hermandad, and I realized next year that some changes were made (such as seniority being a factor in choosing the order of the carretas). Likewise, there are often conversations about the juergas—who sang the best that night, who seemed to be particularly inspired, whether or not a song was new, or even a discussion about whose recorded version of a song was best.

To the degree that the subject matter is cultural, such as in the behavioral aesthetics of dance and song, any subsequent discourse or critique serves only to reaffirm or transmit information concerning the experienced aesthetic resonance of an event. The aesthetic resonance, however, will drive and condition the discursive response, not the other way around. Nothing is settled concerning the juergas by subsequent conversation. The reason for this was explained above: The experience lies largely outside and beyond the limitations of language and is firmly rooted in the experiential nature of aesthetic resonance.

First of all, the discussion itself would be meaningless to anyone unfamiliar not only with the general aesthetic but also with the experiences that the juerga is capable of creating (which amounts to the same thing). Discourse, in this context, is merely a reflection upon experience, and the reflection upon it does not determine the

experience, nor its consequences to any significant degree—mainly because it can't. The very language about the experience—words such as *salero*, *guasa*, *arte*, *duende*, *pellisco*—have no real meaning except as attempts to identify certain experiential manifestations of which the structural expressions manifested through the body are not really fixed to start with. The ground of the language about the juerga experience is itself a result of those experiences, and without those experiences as shared references, the words have little meaning.

More significantly, the meaning of the words themselves are changed, if only slightly, by every performance. Each individual gives to the communal aesthetic his or her own variation of what a *pellisco*, or a bit of *salero*, might mean. For example, if a peak moment within those shared experiences should occur as a manifestation of *soniquete* (rhythmic synchronization as a particular groove), what constitutes good *soniquete*—at least for those people present—may have been altered. The critique already occurred as a shared peak moment of aesthetic resonance.

If this phenomenon is repeated often enough, then there will be, at least locally (the Hermandad of Granada, for example), a new formulation (or *formalization*) of what a good *soniquete* can be. In time, the people of Granada may become renowned for a particular rhythmic synchronization that will gain in reputation and that others from outside the Hermandad may strive to emulate and introduce to their own Hermandad and so on. Or it may remain as a local variation of the Sevillanas, or Rumba rhythm. However, regardless of the eventual outcome, the verbal critique will serve only to spread word *about* a *soniquete* that has been already

formalized. That critique will have little, if any, effect upon its content or its eventual acceptance.

Furthermore, if the verbal or even written critique were to be all that survive, nothing would be surviving at all. The transmission is achieved through subsequent manifestations that can potentially become assimilated into the general aesthetic by the communal acknowledgment in the form of an aesthetic reaction to the moment of manifestation. In a real sense, aesthetic resonance is the *only* way the transmission can happen at all with any lasting consequences. The potentially new aesthetic has to manifest for it to be communally acknowledged to exist, and the only way it can be acknowledged as even existing is, in fact, for it to manifest repeatedly as *musical behavior*.

The emotional tuning that underlies aesthetic resonance has to have already been achieved. And discourse, from that perspective has little to contribute beyond the acknowledgment by then is a *fait accompli*. It is in the performance itself that aesthetic resonance is created, transmitted, and critiqued. The discourse then, is secondary and “after the fact.” It can only affirm what already is, whether as a rejection or as an affirmation. The new variation has been formalized; it has become part of the cultural *formalidad*, beginning with the local and eventually, potentially, becoming regional and then perhaps even national.

Critique, in the performative aspect, can be seen as a resonant response within the performance—the resonance of dissonance and consonance within the aesthetic as response to, and within, the medium of the genotype (to borrow a term from Julia Kristeva, in McAfee 2004). The verbal critique is a response that is an after-the-fact,

off-site reflection through the medium of the phenotype (ibid.). What is articulated around the dinner tables, and at camp late into the night, is the processing and articulation of the resonating responses to direct experience. The resonance drives the discourse to a far greater degree than the discourse about the musical experiences drives the resonant embodied aesthetic. The magnitudes are not at all the same. The first is a product of the source (the musical, performed experience) at a semiotic level whose sign/object relations are far more immediate and concrete than the subsequent relations of the “linguaging” process. This process is characterized by sign/object relations in what Charles S. Peirce categorized as “Thirdness,” or signs that rely on learned associations, meaning and interpretation, in order for them to be processed (Turino 1988, 5–8).

The signs forged by the dancing community to one another have a relationship to their object that is immediate and unmediated. The subsequent verbal critique is not only after the fact in time and place, but the sign/object relationship referring to the danced aesthetics is a secondary kind of knowledge by comparison to the embodied aesthetics that the discourse makes reference to. Not only that, but for the critique to make any sense in the first place, there has to have already occurred a substantial amount of direct experience. Discourse, whether it is verbal or written, is only a reflection of that manifestation in human behavior and is itself preconditioned by that behavior. No theoretical abstract considerations have any real weight within the process, because no such abstractions form part of the pedagogy (as will be explored further in Chapter 7), much less the performance. Learning, transmission, and formalization is virtually one continuous performative process. Again, there is

not *a* soniquete, nor is there *a* Sevillanas; there are as many soniquetes and Sevillanas as there are singers, dancers, and juergas. This is the inherent power of the musical form: its relationship to consciousness is far more direct than language.

What *is* continuous and coherent is the living tradition of aesthetic embodiment: the flow of human cultural behavior. This same principle extends to the Rocío in general. Any accompanying documentation (such as this dissertation) has minimal effect upon Rocío behavior because it lacks a sufficient experiential dimension within the Rocío practices. The verbalized critique only adds to the dimension of shared mutual recognition of what was already experienced and brings that shared musical resonance into further, mutually shared self-awareness. However, it is in the performance itself that the aesthetics are fully expressed, shared, and formalized as cultural behavior.

One aspect of this performed self-awareness (again, something that has been pointed out by many observers of Andalusian culture before me) is the acknowledgment among the Andalusians that words simply reach their limits in these matters and tend to degenerate into paradox. However, as the aesthetics spread out into Andalusian culture and society in general, language (and its inaccuracies) begins to play a larger role. I will present examples of this aesthetic “unmooring” between aesthetics and meaning in Part II. In Part III, I will reveal how the relationship between language and musical aesthetics is an expression of the relationship between myth and ritual and, in a more basic sense, between experience and representation.

Juerga as musical communitas

Communitas—identified by Victor Turner ([1978] 1995, 250–255) as an essential element of the pilgrimage in general—is also an element of the Andalusian juergas, especially when they take place within the communitas of the pilgrimage, but not necessarily limited to those kinds of sites. It became apparent to me through my experiences at El Rocío that the social positioning of those attending the juerga has no bearing upon their status within the juerga. Although the presence of the entire social spectrum is inevitable at the communal juergas of the Hermandad, there was also a great deal of social class convergence even at the family group juergas, and at these juergas, as at the Hermandad gatherings, each person is assessed according to their *arte*. Father Pedro endeared himself not just because he danced, but because he danced well.

Furthermore, although the community level juergas were common, when one considers that the processions (although they do not function in the same way as juergas do) are nonetheless also musical gatherings of the entire Hermandad, then it becomes clear that social standing takes a backstage to musical and ritual participation not only at the juergas in particular but throughout the romería in general. The musical aspect of the romería alone greatly substantiates Turner's theory of communitas in its relation to pilgrimage.

Although one might argue that outside the juerga of the pilgrimages, ferias, and religious festivals, juergas are segregated to a great extent according to class, this argument is actually not strong. It is beyond the confines of this dissertation to attempt a thorough exposé on the general communitas of the Andalusian juerga, but it

is instructive to simply note the following: First, the frequency of *romerías*, *ferias*, and festivals is such that the opportunities for *communitas* to manifest often in the form of a *juerga* are many. One must keep in mind that the public *juerga* is always an open circle that anyone may enter and participate in (including tourists who, as already noted, can present a problem).

Second, when the *juerga* does manifest, the practices embodied in *formalidad* go well beyond class distinctions (or, better said, well below) in that they provide an underlying aesthetic of shared behavioral norms. As music structure, the “norms” translate into musical “forms” (the *palos*), and these forms are known to all Andalusians to one degree or another according to the individuals’ level of *afición*.

As previously pointed out, the embodied aesthetics of musical performance are learned by everyone in the same way; the *juerga*. Whether at *romerías*, at weddings, at baptisms, *ferias*, patron saint celebrations, flamenco gatherings, private parties, or family gatherings, the only way to learn is to participate in the *juergas*, otherwise the person simply never learns at all. More important, the musical forms that function as embodied as structured behavior, as structured emotions, are processed well below the cognitive limitations of the discursive. One can in no way distinguish a person by class according to either their dance or their singing. In a culture as permeated by dance and song as Andalusia is, this fact is significant.

“Forma de ser” and formalidad: The maturation process of the individual through music performance

The term *forma de ser* (literally, “form of being”) is in Spanish synonymous with one’s individuality—not as a phenomenological abstraction but as a manifested expression of a particular individual’s behavior. This “formalized self” is an individual manifestation that, again, runs beneath the markers tracked by the social radar. This personal way of being has little to do with one’s socioeconomic status. It runs much deeper; it is embodied knowledge of the self, not to be confused with what is called “self-consciousness.” By limiting the discussion to the musical manifestation and, at this point within the present investigation, to the *juerga*, we can arrive at deep insights into this term *forma de ser*, or “form of self.”

Just as musical forms at the *juerga* are modified and reformulated, we can see that, in a concrete way, so is the Andalusian individual. A person’s *forma de ser* is the result of a complete individual aesthetic coming into being within a general cultural aesthetic. In Andalusian culture, the singing and dancing are still, to a large extent, essential elements of the total maturation process of the individual (if by “maturity” we mean the attainment of a certain self-knowledge that translates into self-control, and self-directed behavior). The process of exteriorizing the emotions into highly structured musical forms, whether through dance or song or even rhythm alone, within a sophisticated communal environment is itself a process by which an individual comes to know his or her self. The process is accomplished not only through the musical forms themselves—forms that shape and help generate emotional content (e.g., the *Sevillanas Rocieras*, the *Rumbas*, the *Fandangos*, the *Salve*

Marias)—but also through their public performance as described above. At the juerga, everyone present becomes communally entrained for the purpose of bringing to the forefront the *individual*. It seems paradoxical but it is nonetheless the case.

The footage of the juergas at El Rocío confirm not only my recollection of the experiences but also my recollection of juergas I experienced outside of El Rocío: Everyone is acutely attentive to the potential coming forth from an individual within the communal milieu. The sudden song that bursts forth and causes everyone's hairs to stand on end—the sudden exquisite movement of a particular dancer that brings an automatic “Olé!” from those present—this is the central operative feature within the juerga. Even when the chorus is singing beautifully and full of energy, no one is singing in exactly the same way as the person next to them. They are all singing to create an ambiance for the dancers and the individual singers to reach a peak moment, and to bring the collective to a peak moment of aesthetic resonance with them.

It is never the case at a juerga that the individual is lost sight of within a communal ecstasy. This phenomenon is completely foreign to Andalusian music making, and, as will be revealed further in this work, it is also completely foreign to Andalusian ritual practices, even though superficially it may look that way to an observer. Individuals learn, through musical expression, to be comfortable with their emotions and with their bodies and to express them in formal behaviors that are neither archetypal nor random. The musical forms, and their concomitant behaviors, leave much room for individual modification that through embodied expression is then evaluated within the generated field of the communal aesthetic. Within those moments of performative consonances and dissonances, the individual receives

structure from the community while, at the same time, he/she *contributes* structure to the community. This give-and-take process of attunement and expression constitutes an important aspect of the maturation and enculturation of the individual.

Conclusions for Chapter 6

Process of Musical Aesthetics as Observed at El Rocío Summary of Juerga to Formalidad

Learning/transmission	(observer/participant)
Performance	(participant/observer)
Innovation/Modification [deliberate and default]	(participant/observer)
Formalization/Aesthetic Resonance [communal resolution of aesthetic consonance and dissonance]	(performance)
Critique [evaluation]	(non-performative evaluation)

May be reduced to:

Transmission	performance
Modification [adaptation]	performance
Formalization	performance

The stages of musical learning can be seen as a processional cycle wherein performance is the constant medium and key element. With the exception of Stage 5, they occur simultaneously, and what varies is the size of the groups. Private learning is minimal. The aesthetics of emotional exteriorization can be clearly observed as both a product of and a continuing element in, the above stages as they progress through the social tiers at El Rocío.

Stage 5, that of language-based critique, holds none of the power, in terms of magnitude of effect, that Nattiez (1990, 177–182, 189–192) would ascribe to the

discursive critique in Western art music. What I call “aesthetic resonance” is, first of all, not something that can be ascertained in a conversation or set of rules and diagrams. Once the aesthetic resonance within a group builds up and the internal consonances and dissonances of performative qualities reach a certain threshold, then there is conversation about opinion concerning events that occurred. To a large degree, the opinion and critique simply reaffirm into communicative language what has already been determined by experience.

Aesthetic resonance can be seen as operating at every stage of the musical generating process. First, by resonating with the communal, the individual first learns the behavioral repertoire and the attenuating aesthetics. Second, resonating with the communal is how the individual then participates and contributes to the communal music making process as both a transmitter and a modifier of that aesthetic. Third, the individual himself or herself becomes a source of resonant consonance and is then a part of the overall process, which reacts to the modifications of every individual as well as to the potential dissonances that come with the introduction of innovation (See Fig. 7-1).

Learning/transmission/modification/formalization constitutes one continuous flow that occurs in the moment of manifestation. Furthermore, in the *juerga*, the individual is the key figure regardless of the communal process required to bring the *juerga* into manifestation. Innovation begins with the individual’s *forma de ser* and ends with the manifestation of the new *formalidad*—not by an indistinct communal act but by another individual’s variation of the innovation as his or her own *forma de ser*. As related earlier, is no such thing as *a Sevillanas*, or *the Sevillanas*; there are as

many Sevillanas as there are Sevillanas singers, Sevillanas dancers, and Sevillanas juergas. In a similar way, but in direct relation, here is not *a forma de ser* (a way of being) but only *forma de ser* ways of being. Formal behavior, as formalized within communal music making, constitutes an important aspect of overall social behavior.

Formalidad, when considered as the unwritten aesthetics of social behavior, can be seen to have its roots not in interactions of class but rather the opposite—within the *communitas* of *romería* and *juerga*. That *formalidad* continues to function within the *communitas* reveals deep cultural origins that not only lie beneath the social structures of class relations but also form the ground upon which those social behaviors are founded. We will see how this theme of formalized behavior continues throughout the ritual process of the *romería*, even in its most extreme moments—the chaos of the *Salida* (Part II, Chapter 10).

Musical form, ritual form, and modes of being or “forma de ser”

This chapter showed the Andalusian musical form, the *palo*, to be an essential, if invisible, factor in everything that transpires musically and even ritually. The musical form’s potential for structuring a mode of being is emerging as perhaps one of the critical elements underlying the *romería* of El Rocío specifically and, perhaps, the ritual system in general. Chapter 5 analyzed the morphology of the Fandangos and the Sevillanas in their relation to specific ritual practices that, as this chapter revealed, were actually variations of the *juerga*. The difference between the devotional musical practices to the *Simpecado* at night and those of the smaller *juergas* is only the presence of the image at the center, rather than the individual—no small difference.

The musical form is still the key to the ritual, whether an image or an individual is in the center of the ritual structure. The musical form is a potential proto-ritual in and of itself, a ritual wherein specific emotions take form and, with those emotions, specific modes consciousness or self-awareness. Part III will develop this concept further with the introduction of the possible ethological underpinnings to the relationship between emotional structuring, emergent consciousness, and tonal flow.

In favor of the participant observer

Chapters 5 and 6 are arguably two of the most important chapters of the entire dissertation. Most of the material in these chapters could never have been ascertained, however, without full participation in the camino. As I mentioned, juergas do not officially exist on the romería. To a participant, however, the romería can seem at times to be one extended juerga that regroups into singing processions. A visit and study of the site of El Rocío, its mythology, and its socioeconomic impact would still have missed the crucial, central issues of the pilgrimage: how romerías generate musical culture from the ground up and the central role that the juergas and other liminal rituals play in musical morphology within the romería. Being embedded within the Rocío as a participant in all the rituals, formal and informal, revealed the experiential nature of the pilgrimage. The Rocío did not just manifest or reflect existing sociocultural aesthetics; it was part of the creative *source* of those behavioral aesthetics. Presence and participation in these creative sites proved invaluable, as I witnessed the very creation of cultural aesthetics. This would never have been possible from outside observation or from historical and social analysis.

Chapter 7: Three Short Essays

Juerga University

Vertical and Circular Communal Learning

Individual's relationship to:	Stage 1: Juerga	Stage 2: Feria/Romería	Stage 3: Tablao (Concert Stage/flamenco)
Time alone rehearsing	Little to none	Minimal	Anywhere from minimal to commensurate with Western Art tradition
Family	Observer/participant	Full participant	Co-performer (if family of professionals)
Community	Observer/participant	Full participant	Performer
Artist	Observer (if artist is present)	Participant observer with artist (if present)	Co-performer

Figure 7-1 Communal versus solitary musical learning

In **Stage 1**, an average Andalusian Rociero (or flamenco), may spend his/her entire life and obtain to a high degree of musical proficiency, without ever having taken a single private musical lesson from anyone. I have encountered this many times in my own fieldwork. It is commonplace to find individuals who have achieved a level of musical artistry that is easily comparable to the professional artists but who never aspired, for one reason or another, to do so. My experiences at the Rocío provided many examples. Furthermore, many of these individuals not only never took what might be called a “private lesson” in their entire lives, nor did they ever spend

much time locked in a room “practicing.” (Fig. 7-1, above, roughly outlines the basic distinctions among the learning stages.)

Stage 2 is as common as the first. It extends from the family and friends performances to that of the community at large. This would include celebrations such as weddings and baptisms, the patron saint day of a village, a local *romería*, an agrarian festival such as the famous *Feria de Sevilla*, and so on. Most of the wonderful musical moments that I witnessed at *El Rocío*, for example, were the spontaneous acts of individuals and groups that had never ventured beyond Stage 2.

Stage 3 marks an important demarcation: The individual begins to practice by himself or herself. It is not that the *juerga* practitioners *never* practice alone; it is simply that there is no systematic approach to it because the process of learning, practicing, and performing all in one motion is far more enjoyable. Furthermore, in the right community, it is also extremely efficacious; there is simply little need to take the time away from the normal day-to-day living to practice something they already know how to do. However, if an individual has aspirations to excel, and stand out well above the rest of the community, and perhaps even to become a professional, then solitary practice may become an important factor. However, I must emphasize again, that many individuals reach impressive level of proficiency without ever having actually set aside the time to deliberately practice in a systematic way as is typical in many other traditions that demand solitary rehearsal even at the beginning stages (such as in our Western Art tradition). There is really no comparable method of learning, not only the classical violin, but even most rock and roll, jazz, or other musical styles, without taking individual lessons and practicing individually. The

reason for this is because there is simply no tradition of participatory performance in those traditions such as still exists in Andalusia. The jazz, or rock, jam session is simply not at all comparable to the juerga in this function. Likewise there are no communally inherited forms that complete strangers may come together and play without the presence of some outside directive such as a score. The Andalusian musical form is actually the key central factor that enables the musical tradition to perpetuate itself without having to develop a parallel system of pedagogy—a system that, like the Andalusian system, is where many musicians spend their entire lives. What is so curious about this pedagogic system is that many *professionals* spend their entire career in it!

Even when an Andalusian flamenco, or Rociero, reaches the professional level, they still find their greatest pleasures off the stage, and they will continue to rush back to the family and friends juerga at every opportunity, including after hours following a professional performance. This is completely the opposite in our tradition where the greatest musical and artistic pleasure is attained to on stage, a place wherein only a small percentage of even the musical population attain to much less the population at large. The reason we have the phenomenon of the karaoke bar in the U.S. and in Japan is because such an enormous portion of the two populations can't sing at all—not even badly.

Palmas

The foundational underpinnings—and first step in the Juerga University

At one juerga I remember Sebastián (a Rociero who also traveled with the Caballero family, as I did), played the drum for rows of Sevillanas dancers while many of the chorus members sang. He was not a “musician,” but then again he was Andalusian and a Rociero. Why was it that he knew how to play the rhythm pattern on the drum? Obviously because he knew the rhythm pattern. The rhythms were known by everyone because the dance and song are impossible to perform communally unless everyone knows, at the least, the underlying rhythmic patterns. And how are the rhythm patterns learned? With the hands, the *palmas* (literally, “the palms”), at the juergas. This is why so many Rocieros have a drum lying about somewhere, as did the carreta of “La Curra” (Fig. 4-19). It’s not because anyone in the group is a Tamborilero or even a drum player per se; it’s just that practically anyone from Andalusia can play the basic Sevillanas rhythm on the drum. So whenever a juerga developed at the carreta of “La Curra,” for instance, anyone might pick the drum up and play it; otherwise, it served well as a coffee table for the drinks.

I suspect (but don’t yet have enough evidence to substantiate the claim) that the most important element to learn at an early age in order to perform Andalusian music is rhythm—the ability to internally subdivide the beat accurately and to clap and accentuate interlocking patterns. The learning of Andalusian *palmas* is the most basic way that one can learn and internalize the rhythms, and it is learned at an early age in Andalusia. I say this because I never witnessed anyone ever teaching *palmas* to another person, yet nearly everyone at the Rocío whom I encountered was proficient

in clapping the rhythms, and many could play the off-beat counterrhythms or “contra-tiempo” as well.

On the footage I took of the juergas, it is a simple matter goes over the material and observe the rhythmic proficiency that nearly everyone in the Hermandad possessed. More important, if someone was not proficient enough to clap the counterrhythms, they knew better than to attempt them during a juerga or any performance.

Whereas it was one thing to try and accompany the singers, however badly, on the guitar, it is another matter altogether to disrupt the rhythm. Everyone, no matter how young, knows this. Consequently I never, not once, witnessed an instance of “bad rhythm” or clumsy palmas. It just never happened. Everyone either knew their palmas and their compás, or—and this is just as important—they knew that they *did not know them* and refrained from joining in.

As the aspiring guitarist demonstrated, this strict, unspoken rule does not apply to any other musical instrument. Not singing especially beautifully, or well, is not a problem as long as the singer knows the song and stays in rhythm (if it is a rhythmic song). Not dancing great is not a problem, either, as long as you do the dance and stay in rhythm. But doing palmas without precision is simply not done. It is the one instance where technical proficiency, and homogeneity, went unquestioned.

The *claras* are always the sound used in large groups. There is not much individuality, for the most part, in the performance of palmas. Virtuoso displays of palmas as performed by “El Sevillano” are rare, and furthermore they do not contribute much to the communal rhythmic drive. In general, the people playing the

palmas do not attempt to stand out, and the sounds are quite uniform. The timing is always precise, and this is the point of doing them. Playing the palmas is the one musical area where individual *gracia* is not an issue. Communal drive and homogeneity is the main objective.

The practice of playing the palmas is initiated spontaneously, and the synchronization is almost immediate, no matter how large the group. When one considers that by “group” I am also taking into account the spontaneous rhythmic clapping among portions of the crowd surrounding the action of the Salida (wherein the numbers are easily in the hundreds), this immediate rhythmic synchronization can be seen as a feat in and of itself, but it happens so often at the Rocío that it can easily go by unnoticed. At the time it seemed so natural and occurred so easily that the amazing fact that literally hundreds of people were suddenly in complete rhythmic synchronization with absolutely no outside, centralizing, cue did not even occur to me.²⁸ Yet I have witnessed many hapless musicians trying to lead average Western audiences in even the most basic 2/4 or 4/4 clapping to a song wherein not only is the musician raising his hands above his head in plain sight, trying to conduct and indicate where the rhythm is, but the band behind him is laying out that exact same backbeat at hundreds of decibels in volume—all to no avail. The clapping takes enough time just to reach a semblance of synchronization, and even at that it lasts only a few moments at best. The simple rhythmic “miracle” that happened everywhere on the Rocío should have been immediately evident to me, but it was not. Many of the most interesting aspects of the romería were easy to overlook when confronted with the spectacle as a whole. It is important to point out that, at the

Rocío, the spontaneous rhythmic clapping is always the tertiary pattern that underlies the Sevillanas: 123, 123, with the accent on the 1.

Having said all the above, an even more curious and impressive fact stands out: I never witnessed a single instance of palmas pedagogy. I never witnessed a single child being taught how to either find the sharp sound of the “claras” (which, as a foreigner, I can attest is not easy), nor have I ever witnessed a child being taught the Sevillanas rhythm patterns, which would include when to stop on the right beat at the end of the fourth copla and how to do the counterbeats. Nonetheless, many young children knew the rhythms, and almost all the adults were at least knowledgeable, as I said, to either play them and the counterrhythms well, or they at least knew *not to do* the counterrhythms at all and to stick to the base. At this point, I have no academic explanation for this. I have simply never observed a Rociero, or any Andalusian for that matter, being taught how to do palmas. In flamenco, the accurate performance of palmas is a rarity among foreigners, and those who are proficient had to deliberately seek out a knowledgeable flamenco performer to teach them and/or they had to practice alone with a metronome or some kind of rhythm recordings, in conjunction with attending performances and the occasional, but rare, juergas. Whenever I raised the question of palmas among Rocieros I encountered, they simply shrugged their shoulders and referred simply to how they grew up. Most of them actually don't know when, nor precisely how, they learned to clap the rhythms. In fact, most of them thought the question was a bit odd—like asking an American when they first started looking for bargains. At this point I think the most correct, if not the most

precise, answer to how Andalusians learn rhythm patterns is simply the obvious: It is part of their enculturation process.

Another phenomenon concerning rhythmic clapping at the Rocío should be noted. The distinction between the spontaneous random, unsynchronized “applause” type of clapping one hears everywhere in most parts of the world to show appreciation and the spontaneous rhythmic clapping being discussed here are, of course, also a feature of public Andalusian performance or self-performance (the applauders and the performers are so often the same people). At many rituals, especially those involving the Simpecado or the image of the Virgin itself, random applause will be initiated following any number of ritual “events” (that is, they are not officially ritual events that could be written down in an itinerary) and then at some point suddenly convert to the tertiary Sevillanas rhythmic pattern. What is uncanny about this sudden shift is again, that it happens with no outside director, no conductor, and no official cue of any sort. There is no real predicting when, in the ritual, either the applause alone might occur, rhythmic clapping alone might occur, or applause followed by rhythmic clapping.

There is yet another fascinating aspect to the spontaneous rhythmic clapping of the Andalusians at El Rocío. The spontaneous rhythmic clapping I am referring to takes place, as I have indicated, most often in the presence of the image of the Virgin or its representation as the Simpecado. That is, they occur during the processions, whether at a stop or during the actual procession. I am not, however, referring to incidents where the people in procession are clapping rhythm as they sing. I am referring here only to spontaneous expressions of affirmation or exaltation to some

ritual event having to do with the Virgin. The former happens often after a chorus of particularly rousing “Vivas!,” and the latter most often during the chaotic and highly emotional Salida procession (see Chapter 10). What I found after comparing the tempos of over fifteen separate events of spontaneous rhythmic clapping was that the tempos never varied more than 5 BPMs to the dotted quarter note equaling 73–78 BPM (see Chart 7-2 below).

The first curiosity is, of course, the precision. The second curiosity is that the sample selections are separated by up to a little over a year, and they are never the same group of people. This alone suggests the possibility of an interesting neurobiological phenomenon. The individuals seem to have a tempo memory associated with these rituals. But just as clearly, the memory of tempo is not clouded by the possibility of beginning out of sync with the person next to them. Evidently everyone, even though they may be complete strangers to one another, can immediately recall the tempo as an automatic reaction of the nervous system. They will all, as a group, synchronize almost immediately as they move from random applause into a synchronized rhythm pattern to the same tempo (again, a group that at times consists of up to hundreds of individuals in which most of them have to be unknown to one another, as is the case at the Salida). Another interesting aspect is this: The Rocieros immediately synchronize to the same narrow tempo range regardless of the seeming disparities between emotional circumstances. The chaos and near hysteria of the Salida does not illicit a different tempo from that of the relative calm following the joyous “Viva!” sequences before crossing the Ajolí river in 2003 and 2004. The following chart gives the incidents and the tempos.

Spontaneous Synchronized Palmas	
Event	Dotted Quarter Note = BPM
1. Salida (2004, night).....	74
i. (church bells were at 62)	
2.	76
i. (church bell at 54)	
3.	78
4.	73
5. (2004, day).....	74
6.	74
7.	73
8.	75
9. Salida (2003, day).....	76
10.	76
11.	76
12.	75
13. Salida (2003, night).....	75
14.	76
15.	75
16. Ajolí crossing (2004).....	three instances.....77
17. Ajolí crossing (2003).....	76
18. Guadalquivir crossing (2003).....	75
19. Guadalquivir crossing (2004).....	74
20. Huelva arriving at El Rocío by horses and wagon train ²⁹	75

Figure 7-2 Tempo for spontaneous rhythmic entrainment

“Measured musics are often associated with collective activities, thus contributing to the social life of the group; first and foremost is dance” (Arom 2000, 27). This quote is really an archaic approach to the notion of dance that is common among people who are not sophisticated musically, especially in terms of dance. Communal dance often *looks* like a completely communal act, but in fact, when practiced by a dance sophisticated people, it is just as much an act of individuality as it is an act of communal submerging. Measured music such as dance of course

contributes to the social life of the group, but actually any activity can do the same. What is suggested by the above quote is that the primary contribution attained to by the dance is its submergence of individuality into a communal enterprise, which is often exactly the case among musically unsophisticated people—people who require, for instance, a conductor or some other kind of outside directive (a recording) to carry out measured music as a group. This is precisely what is *not* going on in the Andalusian procession or juerga. The social life of the group is enhanced through its promotion of individuality, not the reverse. I hope to have already sufficiently demonstrated this fact through the materials presented in the preceding chapters.³⁰

Before the communal phenomenon can take place as a means to develop individuality, however, the ability to sense and respond to rhythm and then to generate rhythm in return, spontaneously, must be thoroughly ingrained. The ability to quickly synchronize rhythmically is to possess structured time embodied in muscle memory as well as in the nervous system. This kind of immediate motor activity is a reflex and involves little conscious thought as is evident by observing and taking part in juergas. The process begins at the level of the individual within a communal phenomenon. Recall that there is no conductor, nor any leader or “rhythmic authority” in these incidents. A group of highly self-aware individuals spontaneously synchronize with each other in a virtually effortless manner: individuality within the communal as a musical phenomenon. This acute individuality is a requirement for the juerga to take place at all. Without it, it simply doesn’t work. Having one “leader” or conductor, among a circle of musically undeveloped people, or people who no matter how skilled they may be in other kinds of music, nonetheless require that they be

directed in some way in order to make music, would not constitute a juerga.

Furthermore, if it did function musically in some way, what ever resulted would be the opposite of a juerga. I would either be a “classroom” or a “performance” on the part of the leaders, with the followers functioning as audience.

Tempo embodiment, as I have observed it in the Rocío of Andalusia, tentatively supports my theory that emotional tuning is taking place among the Andalusians, at least among the Rocieros, as a result of juergas and juerga ritual practices. For it is at the ritual celebrations—from weddings, baptisms, saints day, Christmas, Easter, and of course the romerías—where much of Andalusian musical practices are cultivated as components of the formal rituals and as juergas as part of the informal aspects of those rituals.

At El Rocío there is no appreciable changes in tempo regardless of how emotionally relaxed or agitated the rituals appear to be in relation to one another. So we can see that by generating and structuring the emotions, the Rocieros achieve a level of self-knowledge that seems to translate into self-control, as a formalized embodied aesthetic. But it is not the self-control that comes from a “thou shall do this...” or “thou shall not do that...,” but rather a self-control that is the natural result of an increased self-knowledge that is embodied as emotional structure finding expression through the aesthetics of behavior.

The Intimate Song

“Hoy me quiero emborachar
Today I want to be drunk
Sin tomár vino
Without drinking wine
Sin tomár vino
Without drinking wine
Hoy me quiero emborachár sin tomár vino
Today I want to be drunk without drinking wine
Solo me voy empinár con simple el camino
I’ll be intoxicated solely by the walk (pilgrimage)
Sentai el camino
Feeling the walk
Me gosará mi voca con alegría
My mouth will savor the happiness
Llenará mi voca de tu romería
My mouth will be filled with your pilgrimage

Mi borachera, mi borachera, mi borachera
My drunkenness, my drunkenness, my drunkenness,
Sera cantar Rocío siempre a tu vera”
Will be to sing Rocío always in your gaze

Lyrics of a Sevillanas Rociera, sung by Elvira of the carreta “La Curra” to Sebastián and me one night on the camino (the author’s translation)

I am making two categories of what I call “the intimate song.” The two categories are not song categories but rather *singing* categories—the conditions under which the intimate song is performed. They are (a) individuals to individuals, or part to part, and (b) individuals to Virgin, or parts to whole. The former involves a Rociero singing to another Rociero or to a small group of other Rocieros. The latter involves a single individual or small group, singing directly to the Virgin. This intimate practice within the overall musical practice does not lend itself well to the community level. The individual to individual song is an integral part of the intimate

family juerga and the family gathering juerga, but it is much less common at the community level.

The part to the whole, or the individual to the Virgin, singing is most common at night when singing to the Simpecado, at the Hermitage when singing to the Virgin, and to a far lesser degree at the Salida (where it is drowned out by the noise and tumult). It is an extremely important aspect of El Rocío, but it could not have been even ascertained, much less understood, without having participated deeply within the camino. It is this intimate singing, a product of its conditional phenomenology that I hope to have brought to light in the last two chapters, and will continue to make clear in the ensuing sections, that gave rise to the genre of the Sevillanas Rocieras, a genre that was born within the crucible of the pilgrimage itself. The morphology of the Sevillanas into the Sevillanas Rocieras is a direct result of ritual behaviors.

The footage of the intimate Juergas and of individuals singing to each other is abundant, and in every case the singer looks directly at the person he or she is singing to and sings to them. This was apparent on the first day as I observed the Caballeros in their carreta. It was also apparent when Carolina would exchange songs with Sebastián in either within the Ajoli carreta or within La Curra, along the camino as I recounted in Chapter 6 (see Figs. 6-1, 6-2, and 6-3). At times these exchanges could take place out in the open such as when I witnessed a lady riding in a carriage single out a man on horseback and dedicate a song to him. It could also happen at one of the parties at camp or at the town of El Rocío. In short, these exchanges were common, they could happen almost anywhere, and yet they remained intimate moments between two people.

The three Sevillanas sung to me

Three songs were dedicated to me on the Rocío, and each revealed two important points. First, the fact that they were chosen, on the spot, for their specific relevance to the moment indicates that it is not just the songs themselves that have been internalized as a memorized list but that they have been internalized as an emotional landscape full of interrelationships that create meaning in the moment from the materials of the moment. It was not simply that the lyrics had relevance to the moment as far as what they referred to, it was that they could be used as metaphors to create new experiences that were products of the moment of their utterance.

The Rocieros often dedicate songs to each other. They will announce who the song is for, or simply look the person in the eyes and begin singing to them. I witnessed this consistently throughout the Rocío beginning with my first few hours in the carreta of the Caballero family. There were three occasions in which a song was dedicated to me by someone. The first was on the evening of the second day when the lady Elvira sang the song translated above to Sebastián and myself.

Second, was along the camino of the first year, in the heat and dust of the Quema during a brief halt to rest the oxen. The lady had been walking behind the Simpecado with *promesa*.

A verte vengo
I've come to see you
A ver mi primer Rocío a verte vengo
To see my first Rocío
A verte vengo
I've come to see you
Este es mi primer Rocío , a verte vengo
This is my first Rocío , I've come to see you

A verte vengo
I've come to see you
A verte vengo este es mi primer camino
I've come to see you this is my first Rocío
A verte vengo como cualquier peregrine
I've come to see you like any other pilgrim
Que quiere cumplir un sueño
Who wants to fulfill a dream
Como cualquier peregrino
Like any other pilgrim
A verte vengo
I've come to see you

The third time was at the Aldea in the home of Charro's relative. The lady, whom I had never met and I never saw again, sang the following song to me:

Ayer la Yegua³¹ lo sorte
Yesterday I let the mare loose
Ese caballo era mi amigo
That horse was my friend
Ayer la yegua lo sorte
Yesterday I set the mare loose
Y arrastrando se me fué
And dragging herself she went off
Pasito a paso al Rocío
Step by step to the Rocío
To see Her one last time
To see Her one last time

What is important about the content and circumstance of these songs, in relation to Murphy and Farraco's study, is that it reveals why these songs come into existence in the first place, and one of their primary functions within the Rocío. The songs, once learned, provide an emotional landscape that mirrors their experiences of the Rocío. Some songs describe nostalgically the landscape (however imperfectly) for the purpose, not of describing accurately the landscape, but as a marker of their emotional experience in the moment at some place and time of their experience of the

Rocío. Most Rocieros have a fairly large repertoire of songs that are accessible to them, and these songs seem to always carry a strong emotional charge borne for the most part from deep emotional experiences. That the internal landscape is well developed is made clear by the way so many of them can call forth a song out of their total repertoire that suits the immediate moment in some relevant way. In other words, the songs are not randomly chosen as emotional tokens, but rather they are carefully chosen for their immediate relevance to the present situation. The above examples illustrate the point. In the first case, the lady knew it was my first time on the Rocío and wanted to celebrate that fact. In the second, Elvira was letting me know that even though there is drinking and partying going on, there is nonetheless a method to it, and it underlies a conscious approach to emotional devotion. In the third, the lady was letting me know that I was welcome there among them even though I was a complete stranger (the lyrics in this case being incidental yet not without their local symbolism).³²

Singing to the Virgin: The parts to the whole as musical communion

The phenomenon of singing to each other is simply an extension of why they are on the Rocío to begin with. They came to sing this to the Virgin:

Aqui estamos otra vez
Here we are again
Para decirte que te queremos otra vez
To tell you we love you again
Para cantarte por Sevillanas otra vez
To sing Sevillanas songs to you again
Para llorar ante tu Mirada
To weep before your gaze

What is done on a large scale during the processions, especially at the *Presentación*, and what finds culmination either in private at the Hermitage or in the intensity of the *Salida*, was being done all the time at every level since the Rocieros embarked upon the Rocío. From small groups at camp singing at night to the *Simpecado*, to friends and family singing to each other in the *carretas* or at their homes, to individuals singing directly to Her when they arrive at the Aldea, to the singing to the Virgin that occurs during Her procession at the *Salida*, the Rocieros sing to each other as an extension of singing to the Virgin and likewise sing to the Virgin as an extension of singing to each other. When they sing to the Virgin, it is important that they look directly at Her, and this is most evidenced in the intimate single person's song/prayer. We can see then that singing to one another and looking into each other's eyes goes far beyond a performance convention, it is an essential means through which the Rocieros extend the practice of emotional devotion to the Virgin, from the Virgin to one another, and through that extended practice continue to add to their own inner emotional landscape of their experiences of El Rocío. What is sung to the Virgin can be seen, especially in reference to the religious experience, as a communion between the parts and the whole. What is sung between one individual and another can be seen as a communion between one part to another part of the whole. Their singing to each other is a continuation of their devotional practice to the Virgin as one continuous process. Again, the musical communion is an experiential procession that began at the Mass and continued to the *Salida*, and back to the Mass. What changes along the way is the degree of experientiality.

The phenomenology of this intimate and in-the-moment experience is naturally completely lost when the lyric is read outside of the ritual practice, or the song is heard in recording. The fact that these songs find a detached mythological life of their own beyond the confines of El Rocío testifies to the power of ritual to generate cultural artifacts, artifacts that continue to function in ways that were perhaps unintended but that are nonetheless culturally enriching. Just as today there exist volumes of collected mythologies from around the world, there are many books and websites either dedicated entirely to Rocío lyrics or for which a collection of selected lyrics constitute a substantial portion of their content.

While the singing of the Sevillanas provides a vehicle for emotional exteriorization as an expression of *de Gloria*, at the same time the music serves as a means toward the internalization of the Rocío experiences that can then be shared within the *communitas*. This musical function, as a reaffirmation of the ritual experience through shared musical experience is not revealed except within the ritual practices themselves. By that I mean that the developed interior emotional soundscape that the Rocieros cultivate, is being perpetually processed among the Rocieros all throughout the pilgrimage. But it doesn't end there. What is cultivated within the *communitas* of the pilgrimage continues to be differentiated throughout, and incorporated into Andalusian society, with great effect precisely because the Rocío is a *communitas*; the social order is present, albeit temporarily deconstructed.

The ongoing processing of new emotional experiences and older emotional nostalgia constitutes a vital element within the pilgrimage that is not accessible to the spectator view. Nor, I might add, is the function of this interior emotional soundscape

that are like tracks of the many moments experienced on the pilgrimage, possible to completely transfer when the songs find their way onto popular recording tracks, print, or any other media.

An exercise in myth and ritual: Mythological life of the detached lyric—a curious study by Murphy and Carrasco

Michael Dean Murphy, in one of his many collaborations with colleague Juan Carlos González Faraco from Huelva, Spain—*La construcción cultural del paisaje: Doñana en la música popular rociera* (“The cultural construction of landscape: The Doñana in the popular music of the Rocío ”)—makes the interesting observation that the lyrics of the Sevillanas have actually distorted concepts among schoolchildren concerning the real topography, flora, and fauna of the area around the town of El Rocío, especially within the national park of “La Doñana” (Murphy and Gonzáles 2001). Although I respectfully disagree with their conclusions as to the implications of this phenomenon, it does reflect a fundamental aspect of the myth/ritual dynamic that I will be treating in more detail in Part III. It suffices to say here that historically myths tend to break off from their rituals and become their own cultural entities. This in fact has been one of the driving observations of the entire history of comparative mythology and ritual studies. The breaking off of mythological content has resulted in a massive amount of literary and poetic genres throughout the world (Bell 1977, 32). But what I find especially interesting about the observations of Murphy and Carrasco is the fact that within the last 30 years, there has begun a process of generation and separation between myth and ritual in the form of popular lyrics, recordings, and literature that have broken off from the pilgrimage of El Rocío and made their way

into popular culture—and like the Greek myths and other ritual castaways drifting through time, they have become the object of scholarly scrutiny (as this work is an example).

Murphy and Carrasco point out the fact that the lyrics have created a distortion of popular perceptions between the physical environment and the mythologized, or discursive, environment of the Rocío that has become *social reality* (if not quite geographical). In a study conducted among schoolchildren, they discovered that the children had vivid misconceptions about the flora and the fauna surrounding El Rocío that were arrived at through their massive exposure to Sevillanas lyrics (Murphy 2001, 4).

My interpretation centers on the fact that the mythological reflections generated by the ritual experience of El Rocío in the form of lyrics are not reflections of any reality beyond the phenomenology of the ritual experience. The lyrics of El Rocío are about the ritual phenomenology in the moment, especially in terms of the intimate song, and not anything else. To whatever degree the lyrics generate a misconception of certain features of the Doñana preserve, the lyrics are not about the Doñana to begin with, but rather about the Rocío—a ritual of emotional devotion directed at the Virgen del Rocío that does in fact take place within La Doñana.

What is revealing about Murphy and Carrasco's work is the emerging fact that the Rocío ritual cannot be reconstructed through its mythological products such as the lyrics of the Sevillanas, but that nonetheless, the attempts to do so are already underway—and the schoolchildren's misconceptions are the least of it. That they, the lyrics, do not represent the physical Doñana park accurately (and whatever else might

be implicated by that fact), actually serves to underscore what the study of ritual has been struggling with since the inception of ritual studies as a discipline: that rituals cannot be reconstructed from their myths. The reason for this is that the myths were never intended to represent the ritual itself in the first place but rather its phenomenology. In this light, the lyrical content of the Sevillanas Rocieras are excellent guides in the understanding of the devotional “de Gloria” character of El Rocío, but they would provide a poor roadmap for anyone traveling through the area. The devotional content of the lyrics is their intentionality manifested, while any information they might yield about the operational environment are merely unintended consequences that may or may not be useful.

Mythological differentiation

In the informal processions and on the Camino, people sing to each other (i.e., dedicate songs) that are not necessarily about each other; this is the phenomenological aspect of the Sevillanas lost in Murphy’s analysis. This is the ritual to which the mythological song is properly attached to in practice. This reveals the phenomenal state, while Murphy’s analysis reveals a possible consequence, i.e., the children pursue the inconsequential semiological path that has something to do with plants and fauna, while they have no access to the internal landscape that was the generating force behind the lyrics.

The practice of direct person-to-person singing (part-to-part), or person-to-Virgin singing (part to whole) provides the “context” for the lyrics without which the lyrics lose most of their “meaning” a meaning which in fact has little to do with what

might be considered as “meaning” in the first place. The lyrics may be seen as the mythical corollaries to the activities of the ritual, the singing itself. The act of singing to another person is a ritual act in and of itself, to which the pastoral lyrics are intended to express its phenomenology not its actual activity or environmental context. The music uses the environment as markers for an internal emotional landscape that is conveyed to fellow Rocieros through the act of singing, not through any precise meaning of the lyrics. Observing the faces of the two ladies to whom the gentleman with the cane was singing to (see the Second House of Charro in Chapter 5) reveal all that is needed to know about the song. The lyrics, while of a certain importance to them, are not vital to the analyst, as their “meaning” is contained in the experience of the moment. The task of the analyst is to understand the moment, not to reconstruct potential meanings around the lyrics.

In these situations, even if the lyric does refer to something else outside the moment, the purpose of singing it to the other person is to reveal something that is in fact, *in* the moment. But this relationship will not transfer beyond that moment regardless of the lyrical content, furthermore: *it's not intended to*.

To read those lyrics, or hear them, far away through some mediated form, whether it be the radio or a CD, is an excellent example of a detached myth becoming its own social genre outside of the ritual process and experience. The study of Murphy and Carrasco reveals just one of the potential “lives” these lyrics may take on as they make their way independently into Andalusian society. The “distortion” Murphy reveals, is also another example of the problem that has continually vexed the ritual phenomenologist. While it is difficult enough to attempt to relate a

phenomenology to ritual structure, it is virtually impossible to reveal a phenomenology of a ritual through its mythological reflections. However we are not dealing with a culture from the past but with a living one. What does transfer into Andalusian culture? A great deal. Most Andalusians since the 1970s dance the Sevillanas Rocieras and, furthermore, sing them to each other. They have embodied, to some degree or another, the behavioral aesthetics of El Rocío. It is in their behavior that the real “distortion,” if we want to call it that, has occurred: a ripple originating from within the ritual crucible that travels through the social fabric as popular culture.

Ritual proliferation (as opposed to mythological differentiation) into Andalusian society as aesthetics of social behavior

The practice of singing to each other is commonplace throughout Andalusian society, from private parties to local bars to night clubs. In local bars the singing back and forth of songs is so commonplace it often goes by unnoticed. However, my observation is that it is not as common in the larger cities as it is in the smaller towns and villages. Nonetheless, I have observed it even in Granada. I have also many times observed young Andalusians singing the words of a popular song while they are dancing to it, and singing the words directly to each other. This can be observed even in discothèques.

The practice of sharing an emotional internal landscape between individuals, even in public spaces, is differentiated throughout Andalusian society at every level. We can see, at an intimate level, how the ritual system has generated basic patterns of human behavior.

The act of singing a song to another person while looking them in the eyes is something many people from many different cultural backgrounds would find uncomfortable. Here in the United States, for instance, this practice is completely unknown. I do not believe that this is a new phenomenon in Andalusia, however.

El Rocío, just as all the other rituals of Andalusia, has generated cultural aesthetics for centuries. The best scholars of flamenco, for instance, believe Andalusian religious ritual has greatly influenced the aesthetics of flamenco (Arrebola 1995; Mairena 1971; Gómez 1982; Estal 1980; Molina 1985; Infante 1980; Barrios 1989). In flamenco, as in popular Andalusian culture in general, the practice of singing to one another is commonplace. Singing to a person, singing to an image of the Virgin, or singing to a saint or to the Christ, are all common practices throughout Andalusia.

The huge popularity of the Sevillanas Rocieras is just one case in point in an ongoing process that generates and cultivates cultural aesthetics, or *formalidad*, from within the ritual system. If El Rocío is a typical example, the ritual system can generate culture as “popular” culture not just for decades, but seemingly for centuries. Although Allen Josephs did not specifically attribute the tenacity and centuries of continuity of Andalusian culture to its underlying ritual system, I am convinced that it is the ritual system that has all along provided the foundational support and the generating force behind the centuries of coherent behavioral observations that he documented so thoroughly in Josephs’ 1983 work, *The White Walls of Spain*.

The tracks (or grooves, imprints, impressions, wagon ruts, parallel grooves, musical electromagnetic recordings)

*“Algo se muere en el alma”
Something in the soul dies
“Cuando un amigo se va
When a friend leaves
Y va dejando una huella
And leaves a track
Que no se puede borrar
That can’t be erased*

First copla of the Sevillanas Rociera “El Adiós” by “Los Amigos de Ginés” (M. Garida/M. Garcia 1975 Hispavox)

Who is the “amigo,” the friend? Even the name of the group, “The Friends of Ginés,” indicate only that they are from the town of Ginés, but not to the fact that they are all members of the Hermandad of Ginés³³. There is a long history in Iberia of referring to a lover or a friend, especially when not present, in song, just as there is to referring to the Virgin as a friend through song (E. B. Place 1959). Likewise, friends who come together for purposes of pilgrimage are friends. The object of longing seems to be often deliberately made ambiguous—lover, pilgrimage, companions, Virgin.

Here is how a candidate to become the next *Hermano Mayor* (Elder Brother) of the Hermandad of Granada, Antonio Almagro Jiménez, signed his letter to the members of the brotherhood: “*Me despido de ti con tres palabras: Huella, Cimiento y Vida....El camino es Huella, el trabajo Cimiento, y el amor, Vida.*” (“With three words I leave you: Track/Goove, Bond/Cement, and Love/Life....The camino is Track, the work is Bond, and love is Life.”)

It is interesting to note that the words to a song such as “El Amigo” can float through the airwave or be imprinted on a sheet of music or the jacket of a CD and eventually find their way into the mouth of a singer in Washington, D.C.—singer who has no idea what the song and its lyrics, at one time, may have been an integral part of and may have represented. And in a sense, what they do not represent. Yet when the trail is “tracked,” we immediately begin a descent into the concrete (*cimiento*, or “foundation,” in Spanish) that brings us to a mass of tracks in the sand of la Doñana, thousands of miles away, as shown in the photos below.

One might make the mistake that we have merely replaced one metaphor (the tracks in the sand) with another (the words of the lyrics), but that is not the case. The tracks are the tracks of thousands of Rocieros who walked or rode through the sand, and of course, they went singing along the way. The emotional “tracks” imprinted at El Rocío, are as real as the tracks in the sand, and they are directly indicative of the experiences of the singing Rocieros. The tracks in the sand are not solely metaphors for imprinted emotions; they are indicators of those emotions that were manifested by people having participated in the Rocío.

Can we say that the musical rituals that structure an emotional mode they call “de Gloria” creates phenomenal states among the Rocieros? If so, would these states contribute to aspects of a total self-knowledge, a total awareness of the self, as being a *form* of human intelligence? If so, then should we consider that intelligence, as in “intellect,” to be the product of deliberately cultivated and intensified emotional structuring?



Figure 7-3 “Cuando un amigo se va...”
(Photos in Figs. 7-3, 7-4, and 7-5 courtesy of Rocío.com)

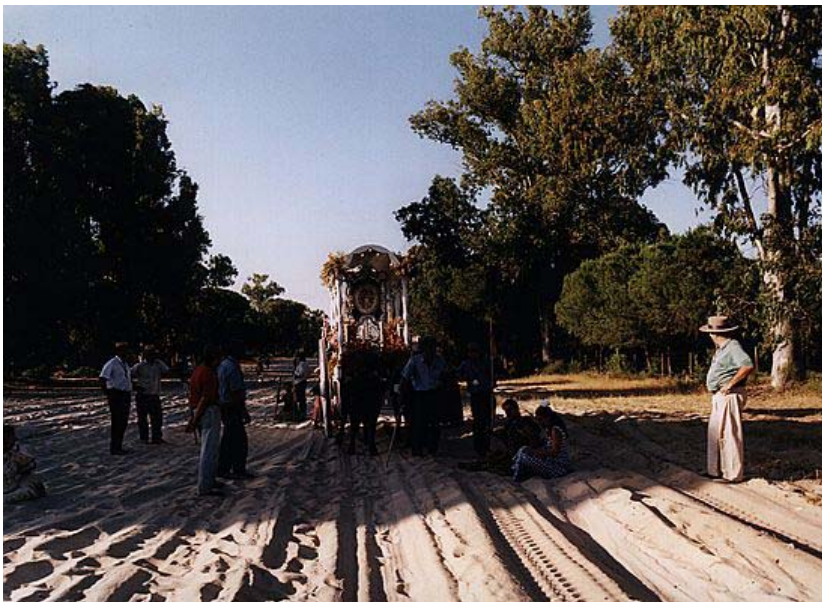


Figure 7-4 “Y va dejando una huella...”



Figure 7-5 “ Que no se puede borrar....”

PART II: FROM SYMBOL TO EXPERIENCE

Chapter 8: The Mass

Prelude to the Mass

Why analyze the Mass as part of an investigation of the pilgrimage of El Rocío?

First of all, for all 101 of the present-day Hermandades, the pilgrimage of El Rocío not only begins and ends with a Mass at the local parish or cathedral but also has a Mass every day along the pilgrimage route, and the Mass is also celebrated at the pilgrimage site. The Mass, then, is actually an essential ritual within the pilgrimage, and its contrast with the other rituals of the pilgrimage reveals a great deal about the different functions that rituals within the same system can perform.

During the early stages of this investigation, I first began to suspect that some of the rituals I was looking at must have either been a direct part of the Mass at one time or had had some intimate relation to it. This suggested the obvious fact that the Mass had undergone various degrees of change. It occurred to me that the Mass either had expanded beyond its capacity to remain structurally coherent or it had contracted as certain functions broke off to become their own rituals. As it turns out, both suppositions are true. Subsequent research into the history of the Mass has revealed that the Mass has expanded by breaking off into separate rituals, while leaving intact the core ritual and its central driving dynamic—the myth and ritual relation reflected

in the act of Holy Communion and sermon, respectively. The Mass has contracted in one sense while it expanded in another. As the in-depth historical survey by Lucinda Coleman, *Worship God in the Dance* (1995), reveals, the Mass was generating separate rituals from its own ritual structures during the early Middle Ages.

The dances were usually performed to hymns or carols. “To carol” means “to dance” (Adams 1975:6). “Carol” is derived from the Latin *corolla* for “ring,” and “caroller” is derived from the Latin *choraula*, meaning flute-player for chorus-dancing” (Oxford Dictionary). Most carols were divided into the stanza, meaning to “stand” or “halt,” and the chorus, which means “dance.” Thus, during the chorus, the people danced and unless a solo dancer performed for the stanza, there was little movement as the stanza was sung. (39)

The most common step performed during the chorus was the *tripudium*, which means “three step.” This was danced by taking three steps forward and one backwards; then it was repeated. The timing was usually 4/4 or 2/4 and the step was popular for processional dances. Often five or ten people would link arms and then join with others to process through the streets, and around the church, symbolising the unity and equality of the church community. (40)

Notice the role of the chorus, the origins of the word itself, and the presence of the flute player. It would make sense to think that this flute player was more than likely an ancestor of the Tamborilero because it is hard to imagine how, or why, one would lead a dancing chorus with only a flute. If the original source stated “flute player,” we might keep in mind that Tamborilero literally means drummer, but that is only the title. As Coleman goes on to relate,

The worship dance did persist as the exclusive realm of the clergy. Bonaventure (c. 1260) wrote that in the joys of paradise there will be endless circling, “rhythmic revolutions with the spheres” (Adams 1990:21)...Even as late as the sixteenth century, a manuscript describes an Easter carol or ring dance which took place on Easter eve at the church in Sens. In this dance, the Archbishop is assisted by the clergy who first moved round two by two, followed in the same manner by prominent citizens, all singing songs of the resurrection. The carol moved from the cloister into the church, around the

choir and into the nave, all the while singing *Salvation Mundi* (Taylor 1976: 22). (41)

By the Reformation (mid-sixteenth century), Coleman finds, “Consequently, religious dance disappeared, or survived in only a few isolated places. Some religious denominations cultivated specific liturgical movements which harked back to the early church dance. Other Christian dance movements were changed into folk expressions, to be seen at weddings or funerals, or else remained buried in the structured movement of the Catholic Mass” (43).

We can see then that dances, processions, and even plays were part of the Mass (38). Not only did the Mass detach these ritual acts, but it also, in the process, became much shorter (45). Coleman did not point out, however, that the dance and chorus did not go away, especially not in Andalusia. These ritual practices were simply carried on outside of the confines of the Mass as their own break-away ritual entities, i.e., the Holy Week processions that were once part of the Mass (Coleman 1995, 36; Brooks 1988, 156) or incorporated within rituals absorbed from previous ritual systems such as the *romerías* of Andalusia (Turner [1978] 1995, 172, 257; Nolan and Nolan 1989, 328; Calamari 2002, 8–9).

General background of the Mass and its related processions

The Mass is the same all over the Catholic world, with the exception only of language and other decorative and supportive elements (New Advent, “Liturgy of the Mass,” E.). Since Vatican II, the language of the Mass has been left to the local vernacular. The music has since been left to the discretion of the parish, nonetheless,

for reasons that are important to the overall thesis and that will be discussed in this section. The role of local music in the Mass remains completely subsidiary to the set structures of the ritual and has not altered what I am calling the *relative semiotic function* (see Chapter 13) of the Mass at all.

Although the structures of the Mass are everywhere the same, many other rituals such as the Holy Week processions, pilgrimages, and the feast day celebrations for various saints and the Virgin Mary can vary greatly, not only from country to country but even between adjacent localities.

The structural consistency of the Mass is in itself an indication of the role the Mass plays within the total ritual system. Its very universality allows the Mass to act as a unifying ritual that resists individual and local idiosyncrasies and, in turn, functions as a ritual that is more abstract, universal, and removed from the present moment. However, as we will see, other rituals within the system do just the opposite: They tend toward the idiosyncratic, the local, the deeply experiential and concrete, and they are often the results of many local demands. This distinction becomes increasingly important as we look at how certain ritual events within El Rocío relate, and contrast, to the Mass.

I will argue that the Mass has achieved its universality by undergoing a steady progress of constriction and abstraction that has generated in its wake experiential elements that have branched off to become separate rituals. Yet, regardless of this progressive constriction and increased abstraction, the Mass has retained the essential myth/ritual dynamic that constitutes the core of the Catholic revelation: the mystery of Holy Communion and the ritual site for exegesis, the sermon. More important, I

will be suggesting that this progression is the inevitable result of the Mass having become the central ritual of a ritual dynamic—a system created largely by its own subdivision into separate rituals that carry different ratios of symbolic to experiential elements. These different ratios of symbolic to experiential degrees are largely the result of the design and needs of the local people to experience their religion beyond the more symbolic levels at which the current Mass operates.

As the experiential potential of the Mass changes in consequence of its own evolution, the cultural and then the social circumstances within which the Mass is performed are continually changing and being experienced. To that end, they constitute an inevitable ongoing reality that contextualizes the ritual within the social and cultural orders. This contextualization does not determine its content, however. The Mass has never been, and is not now, a projection of the social order. It does, within certain parameters, reflect the social order as a default experience among the ritual practitioners. Yet from its increasingly “administrative” positioning within the ritual system, the Mass continues to regulate the rituals of experience, including the pilgrimages and processions that have evolved, as I will argue below, from its own ritual structures. The Mass continues to regulate these “break-away” rituals by two means:

1. The basic work of the Mass constitutes all the central tenets of the Catholic faith, and these tenets are all subsumed within the single ritual act of the transubstantiation. The mystery and its interpretations are embedded within the ritual structures of the Mass (New Advent, “The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,” IV), and consequently they continue to be

transmitted within the break-away rituals, regardless of whether these rituals remain in their totality as separated parts from the Mass, or whether to one degree or another they have assimilated structural elements of any previous ritual system.

2. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church continues to exercise doctrinal regulation by retaining strict control over the central ritual of the ritual system (the Mass) and the chief discursive medium contained within it: the sermon (New Advent, “Christian Doctrine,” “Ecclesiastical Forum,” “Liturgy of the Mass,” and “Canon of the Mass”).

The Mass, being the central ritual of Catholicism, serves as the informing generator for all other rituals within the system because, in a literal sense, they share the same body. As such, it will become clear that each ritual within the Catholic ritual system of Andalusia is in the end a ritual of Holy Communion—at varying degrees of experiential to symbolic ratios.

The three modalities of the Mass

The Mass, according to church doctrine as described in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New Advent), has three interpretations through which communion may be understood:

- **Sacramental/Mystery:** Mystery of transubstantiation and communion with God through the Holy Spirit (expressed in rite of Holy Communion)
- **Sacrificial:** Ritual atonement, call to consciousness, acknowledgment of sacrifice, sorrow, penitence, rogation

- **Celebratory:** Resurrection, Easter Sunday, triumph of life over death, intercession, rogation (expressed through music and dance)

These three approaches, or interpretations, may be seen as corresponding to the three basic emotional ritual “moods” within the Andalusian Catholic Ritual System:

- **De Gloria:** Devotional, celebratory, and joyful, “de Gloria” rituals transferred to Mary as “Daughter, mother, and wife” of the Christ (Clark 1981, 109). Blessings, bounty of God on earth, renewal and life affirmation, also rogation as intercession; the romerías are rituals of glorification.
- **De Penitente:** Passional/penitent, purgative, sorrowful; Holy Week processional rituals.
- **De Mysterium (Corpus Christi):** Contemplative/miraculous, mystery, meditative: the Corpus Christi processions, adoration of the sacrament, solitary or internal pilgrimage, quest.

After looking deeper into the practice of these rituals, it becomes evident that the three “modes” are not at all hermetically sealed but rather interpenetrate each other, much like when the same tones in a scale are rearranged; although they emphasize different sets of relations, they are nonetheless the same group of tones.

Glorifying the mystery gives rise to consciousness of the self and its circumstances in relation to the mystery. The penitent can glorify through penance and empathy, just as the glorifier may come face to face with his own limitations and the implications of his own actions in light of the glorified. The one who contemplates the mystery may undergo many emotional realizations. Here is an example of the circularity that can easily occur no matter which modality one starts the set of relationships with. The “joyous sorrow” is a common phrase used to describe the Passion. Likewise, a common phrase found in Andalusian lyrics is

“*Alegre canto mis penas,*” or “Joyfully I sing my sorrows.”

My intention here is neither to promote nor critique Catholic doctrine one way or another but simply to suggest, early on, that emotional modalities may be seen as relating to intellectual processes as well and that the emotional modes are not hermetically sealed and linear but rather flow into one another because they are really the same phenomenon, the mystery of the passion, refracted through different experiential expressions. These expressions have their analog in the *romería* ritual of El Rocío as it relates to the other processional ritual modes of Holy Week and Corpus Christi.

These basic specialized categories of organization have developed in Andalusia specifically to cultivate these ritual modalities³⁴:

The Cofradías are brotherhoods that specialize in the *penitente* ritual processions of the Christian Passion that are performed during Holy Week (Burgos 1977).

The Hermandades specialize in the *de Gloria* rituals that consist mainly of *romerías* and other devotional practices to specific saints or, as in the majority of the cases (especially *romerías*), to the Virgin Mary. (In fact, all the *romerías* in Andalusia are Marian, and as we will see, most Western European pilgrimages are Marian as well. Even the famed Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage is actually a Marian pilgrimage [Moreno 1974].)

The priesthood still maintains control of the mystery processions of the Corpus Christi as well as the all the sacramental rites such as First Communion, baptisms, weddings, funerals, and so on (Brooks 1988, Chapter 2).

In Andalusia, of the three basic modalities surrounding the ritual of the Mass, only the Corpus Christi processions and their modality of mystery and initiation remain entirely in the hands of the priests and the Church proper. The two remaining modalities of de Gloria and Penitente, corresponding respectively to the celebratory and penitential aspects of the Mass, have become detached from the Church proper, to be taken over by lay organizations. These rituals are performed outside of the Church. However, a system of regulation is in effect through which the priesthood maintains a loose control of the rituals.

This is done through the intercession of a local priest who becomes the *conciliario* for one or more *cofradías* and/or *Hermandades* (Burgos 1974, 38). Father Enrique is the parish priest for the church of *San Pedro Y San Pablo* (Saint Peter and Saint Paul) in Granada. His duties, as the *conciliario* of the *Hermandad del Rocío* of Granada, are to ensure that the rituals do not stray from Church doctrine. Usually, as in the case of Father Enrique, *conciliaris* become members of the brotherhoods; however this is not always the case. Naturally a great deal of subjective judgment is involved and over time debates and controversies have arisen (see App. A).

The penitential modality, carried out by the *cofradías*, is restricted to the Holy Week of the Church calendar, although activities surrounding the preparations for the devotional processions may continue all year. It is important to note that the *cofradías* and *Hermandades* become community organizations that have functions throughout the year (Llorden and Suvirón 1969; Gonzales 2000; Briones Gómez 1999).

Likewise, the de Gloria modality, carried out by the *Hermandades* and characterized by local processions and by the *romerías*, is also related to the Church

calendar (Burgos 1974). This is because each devotional saint or Virgin has a particular feast day or celebratory day affixed to them. This creates a cycle of ritual activities that is in constant motion throughout the Catholic year (New Advent, “Christian Calendar” and “Reform of the Calendar”). In addition, the preparations and minor practices may also continue year-round as will be evidenced by the activities generated around the *romería* of La Virgen del Rocío.

Rogation processions were in the past performed as part of the Mass. That is, they began in the Church, led by the priests, and then proceeded out into the surrounding city, town, or even fields, to sanctify and/or seek protection from famine, enemy invasions, and so on (New Advent, “Rogation Days”). These kinds of processions are rarely performed anymore as part of a Mass, yet in many parts of the Catholic world the laity has taken them up as part of the ceremonies surrounding patron saints and virgins. As we will see with El Rocío, the rogation element plays a relatively prominent role within what is predominantly a ritual of glorification (Taillefert 1996; Flores Cala 2005).

We might say that most of the rogation elements of the Mass have actually been taken up by the laity in the form of glorification rituals through the celebration of saints and by devotional practices to the Virgin. By glorifying them, the rituals at the same time solicit their aid (intercession) in the world of men and nature. This is abundantly clear in the periodic *Translados* of the Virgen del Rocío by the village of Almonte that were referred to in the historical background to El Rocío given in this work (Flores Cala 2005).

Semiotic analysis: General structural observations

The Mass is choreographed from beginning to end—one might even say micro-choreographed.³⁵ Every movement, every step of the priest is scripted. His clothing, even how he puts it on before saying Mass, is scripted. Every gesture, every movement, is symbolic. Every act is scripted to the last detail, and nothing at all is left to improvisation. The participation of the congregation, however limited, is also choreographed to a minute detail: when to stand, when to genuflect, when to kneel, when and what to say in response to a statement by the priest, what to sing and when to sing it, etc.

The next general feature of the Mass is also not as obvious on the surface but is nonetheless a basic corollary to the highly scripted ritual, and that is that the Mass is performed from beginning to end regardless of how anyone feels and is slowed down or sped up only by the number of people taking communion and by the length of the sermon (in the present-day Mass, the total time allotted for the ritual is approximately 1½ hours). Regardless of the phenomenological state of the practitioners, the ritual is carried out from beginning to end and is concluded according to the script. Whether or not any particular state of mind, intellectual or emotional, is achieved or whether even a particular physical state has been achieved, such as exhaustion or relaxation, the ritual continues from start to finish and then is considered *done*. The work is done.

“The Mass is ended, go in peace” are the last words of the priest for the official liturgy. What this suggests is that the most important thing about the Mass is that it be done. What immediate results the ritual may or may not have upon the congregation and priests is secondary as long as the Mass is completed according to

the script. One consequence of this fact is that there is little to no “failure risk” for this kind of ritual. Failure, in this respect, would occur only if the ritual were interrupted and not brought to its conclusion. However, any specific phenomenology on the part of the participants would not be seen as an immediate objective. The Mass is a “success,” then, as long as it is performed.

The next conspicuous ritual component is the definite control of the Mass by the priests. Even the entrance and exit processions are conducted by the priests and their assistants with only a small number of the laity participating, and this separation of priests and congregation continues throughout the performance of the Mass. There is often even a low rail between the altar area where the ritual is conducted and the congregation—a physical construct to emphasize this ritual demarcation between the most sacred space controlled by the priests and the rest of the church wherein the laity follows the activities of the priests. (This architectural feature, and its implications, becomes important when discussing the *Salida* of the Virgin at El Rocío).

Furthermore, the entire ritual is conducted almost entirely by the priests with little intervention or assistance by the congregation. The congregation, for the most part, participates in the Mass as spectators to a performance, a performance of which they know the script intimately but in which their participation is limited and completely controlled.

The obvious observation concerning any processions *within* the Mass is that they don’t exist. There is, as just mentioned, a short entrance procession led by the priests and the auxiliary personnel and an exit procession that is basically the same, only in reverse. Again, the laity sits, or stands for the exit procession, and watches.

This structural observation in itself seems insignificant until it is contrasted with the ritual processions that are performed *outside* of the Mass, and it is especially significant when we realize that what is now performed *outside* the ritual of the Mass was once performed as *part* of the Mass (as will be discussed below).

What is left as “traces” of these former ritual practices within the Mass are momentary ritualized gestures within the choreography of the Mass that correlate with the three interpretations of the Mass: the celebratory, the penitential, and the presentation of the mystery. What is pertinent for the moment is the fact that these gestures (the kneeling and striking of the heart during the recitation of the “per mea culpa,” or through my fault, liturgy for instance), along with congregational song (if it occurs), afford brief instances where the congregation has the opportunity to forge signs from within. By this I mean that the congregation takes a physical and active role in self-expression, even if it is strictly directed by the script and the priests. The result, if viewed from the the point of a spectator, is that the congregation functions as a sign “forgers,” that is, they create potential signs of their own inner state by way of activity. These signs tend to consist of a much higher component within the realm of the Piercean category of Firstness and Secondness; the relationships between their activity (as outward forged sign) and their intention (as inner object) are far less arbitrary and more direct. It is not that these activities lack symbolic content, obviously the fact that they are largely scripted indicates that they do. It is simply that through the act of performance, the relationship of the symbolism of the act is far more concrete than if when the congregation is only processing the symbolic activities of the priests. It is a matter of degree, not absolute differences, degrees of

force and proportion, and the implications of these relationships will become clearer as the analysis proceeds.

Semiotic flow: The ratio between the forging and reading of signs

An obvious and general statement can be made simply based on what has been observed up until now: The priests carry signs in the form of ritual implements and symbolic clothing, and they forge signs, in the way of gesture and speech. Their role is active in the production of signs. The congregation, on the other hand, carry no signs to speak of and forge very few. They are engaged mainly in the reading and processing of signs forged by the priesthood whether directly or indirectly (which would include the reading of the signs presented within the architecture, the surrounding iconography, and the musical signs if performed by a choir).

The semiotic flow, that is, the exchange of information, is overwhelmingly coming from the priests and directed toward the congregation. The congregation reads and processes signs that are forged or carried by the priests. What kinds of signs are being processed, in terms of their category, and in what relative proportions from category to category are dominant, is an important factor when attempting to arrive at some kind of general ritual phenomenology.

The majority of the signs being processed at Mass are at the level of the Peircean category of Thirdness, an operation in which the intellect plays a dominant role and through which the sign reader must have the acquired knowledge to engage with, or arrive at, an understanding of the sign (Van Baest 1995, 22; Turino 1988, 3).

The dominant signs in this category are discursive, that is, they are

characterized by a sign/object (S/O) relationship that is arbitrary in nature and must be learned through social conventions. Because the S/O relation is arbitrary, there is always the potential for further associations to be made—a potential that can stimulate, or merely result in, what Pierce called an “endless semiosis” rather than the intentional or “final interpretent” (Turino 1988, 2–3; Cobley 1997, 24–26). Endless semiosis is a potential often expressed as “daydreaming.” However this potential of the arbitrary signs of Thirdness is a latent but important aspect of the flexibility and power of their inherent arbitrary relationship between sign and object.

Since any outward response by the congregation that would constitute a personal expression of their own is tightly constrained by the ritual choreography, any intellectual rumination that may result from the processing of signs of Thirdness would be carried on internally. This is the first indication as to what might characterize a potential general phenomenology of the Mass on the part of the congregation: an inwardly directed contemplation regarding *meaning*. The first obvious task of the congregation (other than the primary task of attending the ritual from beginning to end) is interpretive. It will become obvious to the reader, by way of what was presented in Part I, and through what will follow in Chapters 9 and 10, that any movement toward interpretation is specifically avoided at El Rocío. This point alone is one critical distinction between these two rituals despite their deep interrelationship within Andalusian Catholicism.

The cross

The symbol of the cross is ancient and widespread. In the specific instance of the Christian faith, it represents the passion of Christ—itsself a mystery concerning the relationship between spirit and matter in the form of the relationship between the divine and the human (Dupré 2002; Ferguson 1954). Needless to say, its meditation has no boundaries, and even in the specific Christian context it is, and has been, the object of a lifetime's contemplation.

That the potential of the symbol exceeds the 1½ hours' attention granted to it within the ritual of the Mass should be obvious. But the accumulation over a lifetime of elaborate ritual attention, however brief, cannot be dismissed, even if its phenomenological impact may seem minimal at any particular moment. Nonetheless the pursuit, to some deeper degree, of the meaning of the symbol would have to lead the contemplator outside the structural confines of the Mass.

The pursuit of what was symbolized in the Mass has had many historical manifestations. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was taken as a way to go “the way of the Cross,” which was at times to follow the actual path to the crucifixion and mark the various stations along the way (New Advent Encyclopedia, “Way of the Cross”) and in some cases the symbol was taken as a literal search of the “True Cross” (New Advent, “The True Cross,” III). A common metaphor for leading a more profound Christian life is to “take up the cross,” and of course the symbol for the Crusades, itself a militant pilgrimage that began as military act to protect the pilgrimages to Jerusalem, was the red blazoned cross.

Whether it be in pursuit of a deeper religious experience catalyzed by the

encounter with the symbol or whether the symbol engenders only a contemplation of its meaning, the ritual structures of the Mass are exceeded by the symbolic content. This displacement between what is symbolized and what can be reasonably expected to be realized in the moment leads the individual to at least mentally, and in time perhaps physically, reach beyond the ritual structures of the Mass.

Host and chalice

The host and chalice, as vehicles for the transubstantiation, have also taken on symbolic lives of their own. The host, in the form of the poetic term “the bread of life,” has been a common Christian literary metaphor. The chalice, however, has had a much more substantial literary evolution in the way of the cycle of myths involved with the “Quest of the Holy Grail,” which began with the work of Thomas Mallory in the fifteenth century based on much-earlier works and has continued to grow to this day (Weston 1957; Campbell [1949] 1973).

In the field of ritual studies and comparative mythology alone, the myths have had an extensive life. What is important about these manifestations related to the symbols of the cross, bread, and the chalice are the common threads of pilgrimage, quest, and even, as will be elucidated further on, procession that have led directly to ritual and experiential expressions well beyond the literary or the intellectual.

Mystery of transubstantiation

When the priest holds up the host (a bread wafer) before the congregation, it has become the “body of Christ,” and when the chalice is held up, it has become the “blood of Christ.” The transformation is said to have occurred through the miracle of the transubstantiation (New Advent, “The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,” V). The miracle transpires through the workings of the Holy Spirit (the third aspect of the Catholic Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). In the act of Holy Communion that follows, the congregation—those who have been initiated through First Communion and those who have sufficiently prepared themselves according to doctrinal conditions—approach the altar and receive a consecrated wafer from the priest (or assistant).

Church doctrine is as clear about the transubstantiation as it is about the act of Holy Communion: The experience, or even the understanding, of either one is not induced by the ritual of the Mass. This assertion means that the experience of communion with the divine, by receiving Holy Communion, is not a result of ritual manipulation. The experience cannot be induced.

The online *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New Advent) describes the experience as follows: “Here the act of drinking is evidently neither the cause nor the *conditio sine qua non* for the presence of Christ’s blood” (ibid., “The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,” IV)... When the Eucharist is received by a person capable indeed of the fruits but wanting in some disposition so that the effects are not produced... of a sacramental and spiritual reception, that is, by those who are in a state of grace and have the necessary dispositions (ibid., “Holy Communion,” I).

It is not my intention to analyze Catholic doctrine. My only point is that a semiotic analysis is congruent with what the practitioners themselves claim: There is no potential within the ritual structures themselves to induce the transubstantiation—either its understanding or its experience. It is an ongoing miracle as an act of grace and not a result compelled by the ritual.

Myth/ritual: Holy Communion/sermon

What about Holy Communion? Can it be dismissed as a symbolic act rather than an experience? Church doctrine, as already stated, makes clear that the experience of Holy Communion is a potential and not a certainty. If we identify *communion with the divine* with the activation of the mystical mind as described in biogenetic structuralism, one would conclude that the act is largely, for most people most of the time, a symbolic act of great importance.

Again, however, my purpose is not to argue matters of faith. As a ritual analyst I need only to point out whether or not divine communion (interpreted for the purposes of this work as a full activation of the mystical mind) is considered by the practitioners to be a product of the ritual structures of the Mass or to be, instead, potential—a potential of which the determining factor, grace, lies outside the ritual. In that light there is no need to look for a phenomenological correlation between the ritual structures and the experience of Holy Communion beyond the obvious contemplative serenity that characterizes the emotional modality of the Catholic Mass as a “mystery.”

The sermon

The Mass is balanced between a mystery that defies rational explication and an attempt to penetrate its mystery through rational exegesis. Although *potentially* the Mass is a ritual wherein the mystery can be experienced, to the degree that it is *not* experienced it must be explicated. Yet, as previously noted, by its very existence as a mystery, Holy Communion *resists* explication. This fact is fully congruent with what the practitioners say about the mystery of the miracle of Holy Communion—that it is, first of all, a mystery whose experience cannot be induced through ritual manipulation. The experience of the transubstantiation is viewed as an act of grace, as already cited, the understanding of which can never be fully explicated.

As the *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia* explains, “The existence of theological mysteries is a doctrine of Catholic faith defined by the Vatican Council, which declares: ‘If anyone say that in Divine Revelation there are contained no mysteries properly so called (*vera et proprie dicta mysteria*), but that through reason rightly developed (*per rationem rite excultam*) all the dogmas of faith can be understood and demonstrated from natural principles: let him be anathema”’ (New Advent, “Mystery”).

Presenting the tension between the mystery (as potentially experienced in Holy Communion) and attempting its explanation and meaning through the sermon (to the degree that the experience has not been attained) constitutes the central ritual work of the Mass, a high degree of symbolization and experiential displacement.

Semiotic analysis

The Mass consistently leads the ritual practitioner on an *inward* journey *outside* the Mass, outside the present moment precisely to the degree that the symbolized experience is in fact *not* experienced and its contents are nonpresent objects: the meaning of the cross, the experience of Holy Communion, the meaning of Church doctrines, and so forth. The ritual relationship between symbol and object within the Mass reflects a process that in itself suggests an ongoing paradox operating within the structural foundations: Although the symbolic content has remained highly abstracted, the ritual structures have nonetheless *decreased* in their potential to bring any abstracted objects into ritual experience, and consequently the ritual becomes progressively unable to bridge the S/O displacements that have been *increasing* over time. *The semiotic displacement then, increasingly exceeds the ritual's structural potential to bring the S/O into direct relation as experience*, and this displacement of experience in favor of further symbolization has continued to increase over the centuries.

At this point, any attempt to describe a phenomenology of the Mass is problematic. The sign symbolization leads to individual responses. The ability to understand what is being symbolized is a lifetime's work, and the congregation consists of everyone who is able-bodied, from the children to the eldest members of the community. We are left with the observation of Evans-Pritchard: that the chief importance of a ritual is that it be performed, even if it is not understood by many present or even if there is no general single understanding of the ritual at all (1974, 208). The ritual must be performed, the symbolic content disseminated, while the

attention of the congregation runs the gamut from rapt attention, to inner contemplation, to distraction, and even indifference.

I will contend in Chapters 12 and 13, however, that is true only for certain kinds of rituals, but not for all rituals. I call these types of rituals, *symbolic rituals* (as opposed to *experiential rituals*) and I am arguing here, and will continue to argue throughout, that the Mass is an example of a predominantly symbolic ritual in relation to other more experiential rituals within the same system, i.e., the *romería* of El Rocío.

Default to social/religious order

What the “endless semiosis” possible is the very abstraction manifested in an S/O relationship of indefinite displacement. The level of focus and bodily engagement can range anywhere from the single-minded entrancement of a meditating monk to a child’s curiosity, looking up over the priest’s head to notice the symbol on the wall for the first time.

I am drawing attention here to the default trace through the categories of being that any apprehension of the sign entails. The interpretent is present, at the Mass, and I am now considering what the congregation must experience at one level or another, as a direct result of their physical presence at the Mass regardless of whatever phenomenological state they might be in.

The table below shows orders of default experience—what is present as trace in Peircean Firstness in relation to what is symbolized at Secondness and Thirdness.

The Church edifice and its symbols (operational environment)

Holy Communion (as ritual event)	Sermon (as ritual event)
Wafer, chalice, gesture	Speech, gesture
The act of receiving/ingestion of sacred	Hearing the doctrine
Priest (as authority)	Priest (as authority)
Church hierarchy (as authority)	Church hierarchy (as authority)
Social relations/hierarchy	Social relations/hierarchy
Interpretation of act	Understanding the presented concept
Experience of the Holy Spirit	Full understanding of the Catholic faith

Even if a person did not understand the language or the religion, the above hierarchy of perceptions would be unmistakable, and the likelihood of their correct interpretation would decrease as the list descends. In other words, if the signs of Thirdness, the medium of discourse, were rendered inoperable due to a lack of specific cultural socialization, the person would nonetheless be capable of drawing certain obvious conclusions from the ritual experience itself. It is a similar situation that a child would be in. If we take a more Durkheimian, or sociological, approach, we might conclude that the person would in fact perceive the real essential elements of the ritual precisely because he or she was not distracted by the religious overlay (Durkheim 1912; Bell 1997, 24). The music and aesthetics would simply contribute to the “effervescent” (Durkheim 1912, 258) reinforcement of that reality, and that reality would be the unconscious celebration of the social order.

Furthermore, this analytical approach, still used as a basic underlying tenet by

many ritual analysts of Andalusia (Aguilera 1978; Briones Gómez 1996; Mitchell 1990) implies a complete identity between the social order and the religious order. But this basic tenet not only assumes the religious experience to be a mask for the social experience but also presumes that the people themselves cannot distinguish between a religious experience and a social experience, or the social order and the religious order—an assumption that has been contradicted over and over historically and has no example in any present situation that I have come across. Certainly the recent history of Spain, more precisely the civil war (1936–1939), clearly demonstrates that the Spanish people were perfectly capable of making distinctions between social authority and religious authority, religious experience and social experience. Catholic Spaniards, who were still the overwhelming majority of the population at that time, fought on both sides of the civil war (Fraser 1979; Collier 1987, 1–3).

But to the religious practitioner, that analysis would miss the essential elements of the religious experience while drawing attention only to the secondary elements—the social implications of the ritual structures, implications that are obvious and no secret to the ritual practitioners themselves, and not just the exclusive insight of the sociologist.

Only by ignoring the phenomenology of the religious experience can the confusion of the social order and the religious experience be made. However, it is the very incoherence of the religious phenomenology within the symbolic ritual that makes that confusion plausible in the first place. What this theory of ritual experiential default will reveal is that the experience to which a ritual defaults to

becomes its prevailing phenomenology. The sociological default function of the Mass, when seen as a function within the complete ritual process, proves to be an important nexus. As the above chart suggests, it is precisely to the religious order and the social order that the phenomenology of a highly symbolic ritual like the Mass may easily default to as a general experience in the moment.

I will also suggest in the following sections that as the analysis shifts its attention to those rituals of a more experiential nature (lower symbolic ratios), many structural and semiotic reversals take place. Among those reversals is the increasing rise to prominence of the religious experience as the prevailing ritual phenomenology, and with the religious experience, a corresponding manifestation of Victor Turner's concept of *communitas* (Turner 1969; 95–165) wherein a clear distinction between the religious experience and the social order becomes unmistakable.

Generating quest as “overflow”

The structural to phenomenological relationships within the Mass must be considered in terms of probability, not certainty. The uncertainty increases with the specific individual at any given moment, while the certainty increases through group observation over time. What I mean here is that it is difficult to predict what experience any particular individual at any given moment might be experiencing, especially under the conditions presented by the Mass. Since the predominant S/O relationships between the symbols of the ceremony and their potential meanings are mostly arbitrary signs of Thirdness (as I have been arguing).

Given Pierce's semiotic model, and our own common experiences, we can all

experience the fact that within the potential for “endless semiosis” there are no limits to what might be going on within the mind of any given member of a congregation at any given moment. However, over time, when large numbers are taken into consideration we can arrive tentatively, through observation, participation, and reflection, to certain predictions. What we can say about the Mass, considering its semiotic potential (the predominant sign categories and the scripted activities of the congregation) is that there is a general phenomenological incoherence that defaults to the social order *in general*. That is, in lieu of a common experience among the congregation in relation to the meaning of the Mass, there is shared the experience of the social environment.

If, however, we compare the enormous amount of energy, dedication, and enthusiasm that goes into the performance of the Semana Santa processions and the *romerías* of Analusia on the part of the people who carry them out, to the *apparent* incoherent phenomenology of the Mass, we might wonder whether the Mass is still a vital ritual within the Anadalusian ritual system at all! But that would be misleading. The “work” stimulated by what the Mass presents to the congregation, through the symbolization of the transubstantiation and its exegesis in the sermon, cannot be underestimated. *What is symbolized at the Mass far exceeds the ritual structures of the Mass to realize in the moment: This is not a shortcoming of the Mass; it is its potency.*

At its most fundamental level, the mystery of the transubstantiation within the Mass concerns relationships between spirit (consciousness in some capacity) and matter; the meaning of life and death; and why, in light of that relationship, human

morality holds any real consequences. To arrive, within a ritual, to any degree of understanding regarding these mysteries, whether once a week or every day, could take a lifetime and still might not have any appreciable results. To attain to any level of understanding, to any “meaning,” behind the Mass, the individual must continue the work outside the ritual confines of the Mass. The Mass presents a mystery but does not solve it, at least not in a way immediately apparent or accessible to the practitioners. But this is its great power. It assures the congregation that there is a solution—if they could only grasp it, if they could only experience it, if they would only pursue the mystery with enough determination and faith.

Charles Laughlin, in *Brain, Symbol & Experience* (1990), discusses how a sign may engender a response within a sign reader that might cause the sign reader to actively seek out its object in the environment (see “symbolic penetration” in Laughlin, McManus, and d’Aquili 1990, 185–195). It is this “seeking” (quest) that results from first, the formulation of an imagined object within the “inner representational model” (145) and then proceeds to seek it within the operational environment, that is the crux of this discussion.

In the case of ritual (and Laughlin makes clear that ritual is a central component to his argument), the ritual becomes the human-created “operational environment” that engenders quest as a result of an encounter with symbol. This model, at first glance, seems to support the Eliadean version of the “eternal return” (Eliade 1991) a phenomenological state that results from the encounter with the sacred through myth or symbol. Laughlin, however, in the chapter dealing with the symbolic processing says: “...stimulated by events in the operational environment. In

the latter instance there may well be a motor component to acquiring the fulfilling object. In other words, the individual may go seeking the desired object (Powers 1973, Arbib 1972). We would say in this case that the symbol has ‘fulfilled’ its meaning” (Laughlin online tutorial 2006).

However, I am arguing that it is a mistake to think that the religious experience can then follow solely from the symbolic encounter, and this is what Laughlin seems to be putting forth. If the fulfillment of the meaning of the symbol results in quest, the realization of its meaning lies not in a semiological encounter but in the physical pursuit of experience—one that may or may not come to fruition. Failure, as the Grail legends present to us, is as likely as success. What is of interest are the symbols presented in the Mass eventually having their functions “fulfilled” through the engendering of a search, a physical movement into the environment.

The work of William A. Christian Jr. makes a convincing claim, based on statistical analysis of rural and urban records from sixteenth-century Spain, for the equal distribution of religiosity across all social strata. There seems to be no corollary between education, wealth, or occupation with religious suggestibility (Christian 1981). If this is the case, two implications are particularly relevant to this section.

First, it explains why, among the many people (though obviously not all) who are stimulated to pursue what is symbolically represented in the Mass, there are no shared social commonalities. What became evident to me on the Rocío—and what has been noted by many writers (Trujillo Priego 1995; Muñoz Y Pabon 1991; Rengel, Gelan, and Gómez 1995; Murphy 1994)—is that the Rocieros are equally distributed among the social strata. If the pursuit of the religious experience is not conditioned by

social positioning, then the arguments for and against *communitas* being a real phenomenon among pilgrims is implicated in favor of Victor Turner's well-known stance that pilgrimages are characterized by *communitas* ([1978] 1995, 252–255).

My tentative proposal for why the symbolic ritual may engender a degree of quest in many individuals is that that the symbols and the ritual activity create the perturbation that triggers a potential that for some people is more dominant than in others. If we see “periodicity”—the ongoing process by the human nervous system that checks sensory data with the internalized model of the environment as described by d’Aquili and Newberg (1999, 87–90)—then the holistic experience (or variation of the religious experience) might well be much nearer to baseline consciousness for some individuals than it is for others. By that I mean, that for some individuals, questioning the nature of their internal model of the environment, their experience of reality, against what they perceive at any given moment, constitutes an important component of their personality.

The experience of reality as a whole, for some individuals, might be less deeply obscured by the linear differentiation of consciousness into the daily quotidian existence. More simply: Perhaps in certain individuals the mystical mind is easier to stimulate because it plays a more prominent role in daily consciousness to begin with. This may be directly related to, or simply analogous to, Judith Becker's conclusions concerning how people process musical stimulation; some people are simply more predisposed toward what she calls “deep listening” than others (Becker 2004, 54).

I am proposing a simple model based on the tenets of biogenetic structuralism that accounts for how a symbol might engender an activity, but I am expressing it in

terms of the semiotics of experience and representation and in relationship to the different categories of signs and their inherent characteristics as modeled by Peirce. I believe that both biogentic structuralism and Peircean semiotics can be made simpler and more useful when applied to ritual performance that assumes the religious experience (in any variety) as the starting point of any analysis.

The experiential displacement of direct experiential knowledge by a symbol such as the cross, has the potential to create in certain individuals a desire, even a need, to bridge that displacement through some kind of experience. Whatever it is that causes individuals to respond to these kinds of abstract symbolic representations, it is self-evident that many people *do* respond to them. Biogentic structuralism seeks to model one way that this process may come about.

The going forth of those individuals who are compelled to seek out deeper levels of the religious experience does not seem to reflect social conditioning and therefore issues forth, from the beginning, as a potential for *communitas*. This in itself suggests strongly that the religious experience is rooted in processes of the body, and is to some degree a function of the human body. Furthermore, the very metaphor of a “spillover,” due to ritual activity, a spillover beyond the ritual structures, suggests a resemblance, if only as metaphor, to the “spillover” that the proponents of neurophenomenology (Laughlin, d’Aquili, et al.) claim initiates the catharsis of the experience of the mystical mind. Note, also, that the functionalism school also used the “breach” term to model ritual processes as reactions to social pressures, and van Gennep used it to model the transitions from ritual to ritual that involve the crossing of boundaries, or *limens* (van Gennep 1960, 15–25), as I related in Chapter 2.

The boundaries of the ritual of the Mass are constituted by the experiential displacement they symbolize (the religious experience), and in that way they contribute to their own “breaching” by pointing toward something that is not present in the moment and that is beyond the ritual structures within which the symbols are presented.

As we will see in Chapter 12, according to the model of biogenic structuralism, the two structural variations within the human nervous system can also operate to breach the boundaries between them when the religious experience is approached. There seems to be a kind of isomorphic parallel between a ritual system and the human nervous system that suggests both are participating in a processual exchange that extends beyond the boundaries of any particular ritual, or of any particular individual human.

To sum up the semiotic analysis thus far:

- The high level of experiential displacement of the Mass results in a high symbolic ratio between what is symbolized and what is actually experienced. This ratio suggests a highly symbolic ritual function on the part of the Mass in its relation to the ritual system as a whole. But in order to determine whether or not this is true, that the Mass is functioning at a high symbolic ratio, it is necessary to compare the Mass with the other rituals within the system.
- An engendering, by means that are not quite clear, of a pursuit of deeper experience seems to result from the high symbolic ratio operating within the Mass: What is symbolized exceeds the ritual structural capacity to bring symbol and experience into direct relation. The Mass seems to engender activities beyond its own performance.
- The quest “impulse” toward deeper experience extends across social boundaries, which suggests there is a *communitas* from the onset of the pursuit, or quest, for experience. Knowledge and experience can be considered synonymous in this context. Both seem to be rooted in the body and do not appear to be products of social conditioning.
- The process of exceeding the ritual structures of the Mass, i.e., individuals or

groups going forth beyond those structures, as a ritual in itself as is the case in going on a *romería*, seems to take the form of a movement toward the religious experience that in itself resembles the neurological processes of *attaining to* the religious experience, according to the model presented by biogenetic structuralism. This crossing of thresholds, or boundaries, may be seen in terms of a “breach,” and we already saw such a process occurring on several levels in the discussion of the processional pilgrimage in Chapter 2. The neurological “breach,” as a metaphor with which to model the religious experience will be further discussed in Chapter 12, when biogenetic structuralism, or its more general term, neurophenomenology, is further considered.

Fieldwork of music and the Mass at El Rocío corroborates semiotic analysis

The following summary discusses how the Mass functioned at El Rocío regarding attendance and the musical component. By this brief exposé I hope to demonstrate two key points: (1) The Mass is a relatively stable abstract ritual that is little affected by local idiosyncrasies. Likewise, its function within the overall Andalusian ritual system is the same as its function within the pilgrimage—a symbolic one. (2) The features of abstraction and resistance to local circumstance are reflected in the musical function within the Mass: First, the music is incidental. Second, when it is present, its function is referential to the activities of the Mass; in that way it functions symbolically within the Mass, just as the Mass functions symbolically within the ritual system.³⁶

The Cathedral Mass (first day, 2004)

The Cathedral Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral of Granada the morning the pilgrimage of El Rocío began. The entire *Hermandad* attended this Mass. Significantly, it was one of only two Masses in the whole Rocío pilgrimage that had

this total participation. The Bishop of Granada celebrated the Mass, and the Rocío chorus sang Sevillanas Rocieras. At the end of the Mass, the Hermandad exited the cathedral in a procession led by the Tamborilero.

Eventually I discovered that not everyone attended Mass every day of the pilgrimage, even though it was celebrated daily. What made the send-off Mass so compulsive while the Masses along the route and even at the Aldea were apparently optional?

Mass along the camino (third day)

It was at the town of Coria that I first realized Mass was given on the Rocío camino at all. It was interesting to see a Mass attended by men on horseback out in the open air, and maybe it was the horses that drew my attention to the central field of the campsite that early morning in the first place.

In the succeeding days I made it a point to count the number of people attending Mass. I continued to do this the next year as well. I found that only about 8 percent to 10 percent of the Rocieros attended daily Mass. It was not always the same people. A few of the same people were almost always in attendance, but overall the participants varied. This ratio became predictable and never varied appreciably throughout my two caminos on the Rocío. During the Mass, the rest of the camp went about its business of getting ready to continue the day's walk or simply socializing. Another observation about this Mass was the simple fact that there was no music at all.

The “Rocket” Mass (fifth day)

The “Rocket” Mass, as I have called it ever since, was held in the open field within the large circle of *carretas* on Wednesday morning, the fifth day. The area was hilly and covered intermittently by light forest. The Mass held that morning was curious because the *cohetero* (the man in charge of the fireworks) was enlisted to provide a sonic punctuation of the main “events” of the Mass.

What is of interest here is that this very substitution of explosions for music brings into high relief the real function of music within the Mass: It is purely supportive and referential. The explosions were at best amusing, and at worst a bit annoying, but nonetheless the Mass continued and was performed as it always is and as it has been for centuries: Palestrina, Coro Rociero, rockets, or no music, the accompanying “music” is still, in the end, incidental.

At the Aldea (town of El Rocío and environs): The Bishop’s Mass

At the Aldea a number of Masses were held throughout the three days. The one official Bishop’s Mass is held on Sunday at noon. Although the crowd was dense, and the number of prelates gave it an aura of importance, the approximate percentage I witnessed on the camino still held. In fact, it was more than likely less than that. The sheer number of people at the Rocío made it impossible for any large percentage of the Rocieros to have fit within the confines of the plaza anyway.

Within the plaza, people were inside the cafes drinking coffee or eating while the Mass went on outside, even though it was broadcast over the loudspeakers. Then, again, one could barely see what was going on through the dense crowd, and the heat

was miserable. The Mass was a Rociero Mass, the chorus being a Coro Rociero, so there was a lot of singing, and some good soloists singing some of the *cante jondo*, or Deep Song, forms of flamenco.

The Hermandad Mass

The Hermandad Mass is celebrated at the Hermitage, the central church within which the image of the Virgen del Rocío is housed. Each Hermandad is given a specific time in which to hold their Mass, and they go to it in procession, along with their parish priest who will conduct the ritual. The Mass of the Hermandad of Granada was celebrated by Father Enrique the first year, and by Father Pedro the second year. On both occasions most if not all of the members of the Hermandad attended it.

The Tamborilero Mass

In the Tamborilero Mass, a large group of Tamborileros plays all of the musical sections. Only one Tamborilero Mass is held during each Rocío, and it is open to everyone. The attendance was to capacity, but there was also a steady stream of visitors in and out of the hermitage throughout the ritual performance. One could not hear much of what the priest was saying due to the noise created by so many people coming and going through the large central hall of the church. Nonetheless the Mass went on and was punctuated by the ensemble of Tamborileros.

Summary of Mass at El Rocío

The official Masses of every Hermandad—as near to obligatory as anything can be within the *romería* climate—are well attended. These Masses have a ceremonial aspect that involves the status of the Hermandad as a whole and reflects the commitment to the Catholic faith on the part of the Rocieros in a symbolic and ceremonial capacity. However, the Masses intended for the public at large, although seemingly well attended in terms of gross numbers, were not well attended in terms of percentage; attendance were similar to that of the daily Hermandad Masses on the camino (roughly 8 percent to 10 percent).

It would be a mistake on the part of the reader (or the analyst), judging from these attendance figures, to assume irreligiosity on the part of the Rocieros. Their very presence at the Rocío, especially in view of the devotional musical rituals described in Chapters 5 and 6, testify to their dedication and fervor. Furthermore, it is not a question of the Mass versus the Rocío or of the relationship between the Rocieros and the Catholic Church. Rather, these percentages reveal the internal dynamic inherent within the Andalusian ritual system, which suggests a difference in function between the Mass and the Rocío.

The people attending the Rocío are not going on the pilgrimage simply to experience the Mass within a different environment. I suggest that they are going to experience what the Mass symbolizes but does not structurally permit the experience of—or even the pursuit of such experiences. In other words, the Rocieros go on pilgrimage to experience their religion more deeply and in a more direct way. What this consists of has been described to a great extent in Part I: communion between

individual and diety, individual to community, and individual-to-individual. As we will see in Chapter 10, this communion culminates in the ritual of the Salida.

The Rocieros are putting into practice and experiencing (to whatever level each individual cares to pursue those experiences) what is presented through doctrine and symbol at the Mass. Therefore it is not surprising that most Rocieros attend Mass only on those occasions that require their attendance (the official Masses of the Hermandad) or whenever else they feel a special need. In general however, they are participating in the Rocío for experiential purposes that are precisely to be found outside of the Mass, but which are nonetheless intimately linked to the Mass.

I will further expound on this relationship between religious experience and the symbolic and experiential ritual spectrum in more depth in Part III the theoretical section of this dissertation, especially Chapters 12 and 13.

Another interesting implication of my participation in the Mass as it is performed within the romería of El Rocío is the musical parallel. The reader might well ask: “What musical parallel, there doesn’t seem to be any?” This is exactly the point. As the brief descriptions of the Masses give above reveal, there can be no music component at a Mass, there can be sound effects (i.e., the “Rocket Mass”), or there can be idiosyncratic styles of music from, for example, the music of the Tamborileros to the music of the Rocío and its flamenco elements. What is important to note is that the function of the ritual and its basic choreography are not affected one way or the other by the musical corollary. In this sense, the music functions as a symbolic commentary to the events within the ritual, and point to those events just as those events, being symbolic events themselves, point elsewhere, beyond themselves

to some potential meaning. In other words, both the music and the ritual events and symbols, function referentially. In both cases there is an absent object: the music points to the object of the ritual events and their potential meaning (not to the events themselves to which they have no real relation), and those ritual events point to the absent object outside of the Mass that object being their complete potential meaning: communion with the divine, relationship to mortality, moral values, etc. The experience of the music is constrained by the ritual structures and their inherent symbolic functions, and likewise the experience of the Mass is also constricted by the same ritual structures that are configured to present a web of symbols.

I will argue in Part III that the essential absent object of any religious symbolic ritual is the religious experience itself (as modeled by biogenetic structuralism). In an analogous manner, the chief difference between music at the Mass and music at a *juerga* (whether religious or sacred) is that at the *juerga* the experience is that of the music itself, to whatever degree it can be attained to. There is little to no symbolic reference at all. The structures of the *Rocío juergas* are only a circle of people, perhaps the *Simpecado*, and the structures of the music. As I presented in Chapter 6, the *juerga* has little structural constraints or boundaries, and any “meaning” is to be found only in the embodied experiences of the practitioners in the moment. The experience of the ritual is the ritual itself that in the case of the *juerga* is the experience of the music itself. I am suggesting that the function of the music within the religious *juerga*, as constituting a ritual of experience, has a symbolic content that parallels the symbolic content of the ritual itself. In the case of the *juerga*, since the ritual structure and the musical structures are virtually the same,

their symbolic functions are also the same, and they are virtually zero. Neither the music of the juerga, nor the embodied aesthetics that are manifested and created within the musical ritual that constitutes the juerga, refer to anything outside of themselves. If we continue the analogy and apply it to the Mass, we see that the parallel holds: the music is symbolic, and so is the ritual itself in general. Although the music, as the above brief survey of Mass at the Rocío suggests, can be completely separated as a component and corollary to the performance of the Mass, it must nonetheless, if it is present at all, become subordinate to the symbolic function and structured choreography of the Mass.

I will develop this theme further, as a theoretical hypothesis, in Part III. But the basic tenet is simple: To whatever degree a ritual functions symbolically (referentially), as compared to other rituals within the ritual system, if there is a musical component to that ritual, the music must also function to more or less the same symbolic degree (degree of referentiality) as does the ritual itself. In both cases, the degree of symbolic function will reflect the symbolic ratio (as discussed earlier in this chapter) of the ritual within the overall ritual system. I call this theoretical relationship, the hypothesis of music and ritual functional congruency.

Conclusions about the Mass and its relationship to the pilgrimage of El Rocío

Charles Laughlin and Eugene d'Aquili, in *The Spectrum of Ritual*, discussed the potential (or, rather, lack of potential) for the Mass to create deeper levels of experience (1979, 178). Then they made suggestions as to how the Mass could be,

hypothetically, restructured so as to have a greater trance-inducing potential (Laughlin and d'Aquili 1974, 183). In this sense, Laughlin and d'Aquili made the same oversight, as did the other ritual theorists before them, and that is that they placed all rituals into the same functional category (as I will discuss further in Chapter 12).

The Mass does not fail at trance induction, nor does it fail as a means to engender epiphany or arouse strong emotions, but rather, it is structured in a way that deliberately avoids all three. It functions symbolically and from there the practitioners pursue deeper levels of experience through the subrituals that have broken off from the Mass. In the following two chapters we will see what the deepening degrees of experiential rituals contribute to the overall ritual system that the Mass, as a highly symbolic ritual, does not. Laughlin, for some reason, considered the Mass to be a communal experiential work that was not quite succeeding. But I believe the Mass succeeds magnificently at what it does: It engenders pursuit of the religious experience by beautifully and forcefully symbolizing the religious experience as being an experience of direct communion with the divine, as opposed to a mere communication with the Divine.

There are two concepts that I have introduced in this chapter: ritual experiential default and ritual proliferation. The first draws attention to what is experienced in lieu of what has been highly symbolized. In the case of the Mass there are two basic discursive elements: Holy Communion and the sermon. Regardless of whether communion with the divine is experienced or the sermon completely understood, there is the experience of the environment both physical and social, and

this experience constitutes the experiential default. In a highly symbolic ritual the difference between what is experienced by default and what is symbolized can be wide. However that “gap” so to speak, is lessened substantially as one descends into the more experiential rituals. The reason for this, I will argue, is that the experiences of such rituals manifest, or “forge,” symbols, that are themselves direct results of those very experiences and so the symbols are merely referring back to the experiences that give rise to them in the first place.

Ritual proliferation constitutes the process through which a ritual displaces its own experience into higher orders of symbolic content while at the same time breaking off subrituals that have absorbed the degrees of experience that were displaced into symbolization. In the proliferation of subrituals the differences between the default experiences and what is symbolized becomes correspondingly diminished. As a semiotic function those symbols and their objects stand in relation to their interpretants more in the Peircean realms of Firstness and Secondness and far less as discursive relations of Thirdness such as those that dominate within the symbolic ritual. This trajectory will be examined in the two chapters that follow.

I have also presented in this chapter a preliminary argument that suggests that the inherent semiotic relationships within a ritual, the S/O relationships that change categorically from ritual to ritualand that in turn reflect changing functions of symbol and experience, are paralleled by the musical function within each ritual. This parallel relationship will also be traced in the ensuing chapters that follow, and as stated above, it will be theoretically further developed in Chapter 13.

Chapter 9: The Joyous Procession

It was the task of the previous chapter to suggest that the meaning and work of the Mass lies, at least to a great extent, outside of its structures and performance. Its symbolized meanings exceed the structural limitations of the ritual and are not likely, short of a spontaneous mystical experience of divine communion, to be fully realized within it. That chapter explored those relationships.

The central purpose of this chapter is to reveal the opposite in terms of the Rocío processions: Meaning lies almost entirely in their performance. Not only does “meaning” not lie outside of the ritual structures, but it can be understood *only* as a product of the structured performance. Judith Becker makes a similar observation in regard to the trance experience: “Knowing is doing” (Becker 2004, 160). More significantly, I came to realize that meaning as a ritual object is largely unimportant at El Rocío in general; any labored search for it is actually a distraction.

Even the historical aspects of the Rocío—such as the relationship between the glorification modality of the Mass and its relationship to the “de Gloria” ritual processions of the romerías—do not really reveal anything about the processions themselves but rather reveal only in what emotional modality they stand in relation to the Mass and thus to the entire Andalusian ritual system as a whole. To the degree that the romerías are experiential is precisely to the degree that they will resist any kind of explication that points outside the ritual performance. What follows are a series of subheadings that will take the reader step by step toward understanding just how the processions are structured, both physically and socially, to deliberately

achieve that end: experiencing glorification of, and even communion with, the Virgin Mary as opposed to symbolizing those experiences. It is worth noting from the onset that social structure seems to be an impediment to that end, and so it is the first invisible structural obstacle to be dissolved once the physical ritual structures of the Cathedral have been breached. The ritual procession is the vehicle through which the congregation moves “into the forest,” to cross a series of liminal thresholds in the quest for deeper experiences.

General observations: Structure and anti-structure—the people’s processions

As soon as the Rocieros walk out the door of the cathedral on Saturday morning, the structural relationship between priest and congregation undergoes a dramatic transformation. The priest, if he is going with them (as was the case during my first Rocío), takes his place among the Rocieros as another Rociero. It is not that his status among the congregation suddenly diminishes; it is simply that his *ritual* role has completely changed. This change in role is one of complete mutual consent.

For instance, Don Enrique is the official *consiliario* of the Hermandad de Granada. However, other than being the intermediary between the Hermandad and the Church hierarchy—the one who ensures that theory (Church doctrine) and practice (ritual) remain consonant and don’t stray too far apart—he has nothing to do with the actual planning of the itinerary nor with the ritual practices of the Rocío. Don Enrique performs Mass every day of the Rocío at the request of the Hermandad. On my second Rocío, Father Enrique did not attend, and instead the young rural parish

priest, Father Pedro, joined the Rocieros midway at the town of Coria. The first few processions of that year's Rocío did not have a priest at all. From the beginning of the romería we begin to see a transfer of authority, however temporary, from the church hierarchy to the people themselves. The ritual is a created of, and directed by, the congregation itself.

Order of procession

What is obvious at a glance concerning the outward structural composition of the formal processions is that the heart of the procession is the Simpecado and the elements that are immediately constellated around it. This has been noted and described in Part I.

The Tamborilero walks directly in front of the Simpecado. If the Simpecado is in the carreta, the team of oxen are led by the *bueyero* (ox driver), sometimes two of them. The officers of the Hermandad will either precede the Tamborilero or fall in behind or to the side of the Simpecado. Following, in order, are the people with *promesas*, the rest of the Rocieros, and the horse riders. This is the basic formation of the formal procession, and it is basically the same with every Hermandad whose processions I have witnessed. If there is a wagon train, then the wagons generally come last. A curiosity I noted concerning the Hermandad from the city of Huelva was that their entrance procession consisted entirely of a Simpecado, followed by a virtual "cavalry" (hundreds at least) of mounted men and women, followed in turn by a mule-drawn wagon train. This was the only instance that I witnessed where there were no pedestrians in a procession.

What is not apparent at a glance is that there is no corollary between social status within the society at large, and any position within the procession. There is no reference to wealth or status or social importance within the procession. Positions of authority within the Hermandad are voluntarily assumed and they are obtained by vote. How well one performs their assumed duty is the sole measure of authority as there are no means through which to compel obedience or cooperation. Furthermore anyone may take a position virtually anywhere within the procession. In my first year I was given the honor of carrying the banner of the Virgin at the head of a procession. No spectator could have guessed who I was or what my status was by that act.

Although the basic order and shape as just described is adhered to, it is not fixed or regimented. Their standard and symbols precede them, but their demeanor is more like wandering than marching. The “formation” arrangement becomes more pronounced and deliberate in the ceremonial processions such as at the *presentación* to the Virgin (see App. B, “Saturday”), and they are also adhered to within all the urban or village settings. In the countryside a more wandering “loose” structure pervades as the body of Rocieros becomes extended and less coherent. Nonetheless, the Simpecado is kept within eyesight and within hearing distance of the tune of the Tamborilero as much as possible. At important events such as the crossing of the Rio Quema, the Hermandad gathers behind and before the Simpecado, and the tighter formation is adhered to for the crossing (see App. B, “Wednesday”). We can see then that there is a degree of flexibility in how the rocieros carry out their processional pilgrimage. There are few “orders” given, but everyone seems to know their part and have an understanding of how and when to make the transition from formal to

informal procession. The itinerary determined the sequence of events (see App. A), but exactly how that itinerary is kept to results from careful group planning coupled with individual spontaneity.

Strict itinerary, loose choreography

There is no actual choreography—to either the procession or the Rocío in general—that dictates individual actions. The itinerary does consist of a timetable for a sequence of events, however. Within the parameters set out by the itinerary, each member may participate to whatever capacity he or she is inclined or able to. The enterprise is an enormous logistical feat and the responsibilities of the officers are extremely demanding, yet the schedule of events is adhered to and carried out like clockwork.

The essential difference between the itinerary of the Rocío and the script and choreography of the Mass is that the script of the Mass tells or alludes to a story through speech, pictures, music, and gesture, while the “legend” of the Rocío has little to do with the itinerary although everything to do with where they are going. There is no myth element to speak of that is discernible from the itinerary. The itinerary of the Rocío, as a set of instructions, is only a device for setting the parameters within which the actual “work” of the procession is to be done. No story is being told, nor are any specific ideas or concepts overtly transmitted, although certainly a potential sociological text may be interpreted from the actions.

Nonetheless, any phenomenology of the procession lays latent as a potential within the structures of the procession itself—potentials that the itinerary does not

allude to. The importance of the difference between the script/myth of the Mass and the script/itinerary of the Rocío processions is that in the former, the script attempts to impart meaning to the actions; the script itself includes an exegesis of itself. In the latter, the script carries little to no textual content whatsoever. In the Mass, each ritual act refers to something outside of itself, something not in the present moment as dictated by its myth/ritual dynamic (the potential for the immediate experience of Holy Communion notwithstanding). On the other hand, the script of the Rocío procession is about the Rocío itself—*that particular one*, in the present moment. The itinerary consists of a set of instructions on how to carry out the specific Rocío, not an interpretation as to its meaning or a permanent reference to an ideal Rocío. Each year the itinerary changes, sometimes drastically. The Rocío procession is a ritual in itself, a moving icon—but of what? Since there is a presence of symbols within the procession, it is important to examine how they function differently from the symbols presented in the Mass.

Semiotic analysis of key symbols

How do the symbols carried in procession function within this change of state that the people undergo from being passive members of a congregation to becoming active Rocieros? In this case I am not seeking to actually decipher a “meaning” for these symbols, as any one of them could be, and certainly has been, the subject of entire books. I am only concerned with their default: How are they experienced within the processions of El Rocío, and what is the relation between the symbol and its default experience (what they experience simply by their physical presence

regardless of what their intentions may be). It is necessary to consider the key semiological signs of Thirdness to better appraise just how dramatic the total changes between the ritual of the Mass and the formal processions really are.

The banner of the *Simpecado* (see Fig. 3-3) represents the Virgen del Rocío. It is a substitute object of adoration along the way of the pilgrimage until the devotional practices are completely transferred over to the actual image of the Virgen del Rocío within the Aldea. When in the carreta, the banner and the ornate carreta together serve as an object of adoration or as a backdrop for the Mass.

The Simpecado banner includes the following components: cross, dove, motto/inscription, emblem/icon, Rociero carrying the banner, and Rocieros in procession.

The banner functions as a sign on several levels. It represents the image kept at the Aldea—the Virgen del Rocío who in turn is doctrinally a manifestation of the New Testament Mary, the mother of the Christ. At the same time the banner represents the specifically Catholic interpretation of Mary Queen of Heaven. It is not my purpose to invoke a discussion of the theological relationship between the three Marian interpretations. I am concerned only with seeing how the Simpecado banner functions within the procession. As a sign it is both iconic (it includes a miniature form of the original image) and symbolic in the sense that it requires learned relations to understand what it signifies. I was a good example of how the banner may or may not function because, as I indicated in the diary, I knew little about the Virgen del Rocío before I went on the pilgrimage, and I knew nothing at all about the Simpecado.

As has become apparent thus far, the central purpose of the *romería* of El Rocío and its processions is to glorify the Virgin of El Rocío by going on the *romería*. It is through the pilgrimage itself that the glorification takes place. In that light, the specific banner of the *Simpecado* of Granada is a complex of signs that consists of, in physical order descending from top to bottom, an order of signs that can be seen in terms of descending degrees of abstraction. The descending progression from the abstract to the concrete is enumerated in the following list of objects that in their totality constitute an instance of an individual carrying the banner (see Fig. 3-3 for items 1–3):

1. **The cross:** Christianity in general
2. **The white dove:** a dual symbol for the Virgen del Rocío and the concept of the Holy Spirit
3. **The banner as a Marian banner:** The general Biblically based Catholic Mary and her mythology
4. **The inscription “*Concebida sin pecado*”:** the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception
5. **The emblem:** The specific Mary as Virgen del Rocío, Queen of Andalusia
6. **The design of the banner:** The specific Hermandad of Granada, as a devotional organization dedicated to the Virgen del Rocío, going on the Rocío with their own specific banner.
7. **The banner in procession:** The actual current pilgrimage of El Rocío
8. **Those surrounding the banner:** The Rocieros themselves on the Rocío
9. **The individual carrying the banner:** The individual Rociero within the procession, in the process of performing devotional acts to the Virgen del Rocío, e.g., carrying the banner

It is to the last five of the above list (5–9) that any experience of the banner must eventually default to regardless of how one might or might not interpret the upper abstracted layers of potential meaning. The sign/object displacement progressively narrows from cross to banner bearer. I say this for a number of reasons. First, the banner itself never serves any other purpose than to signify the fact that the

Rocieros are on the Rocío. If one sees the banner and/or carreta of the Simpecado, one is seeing the Rocío itself. In this sense it cannot be confused with the myriad abstractions that may be associated with a national flag or religious pendant. The banner refers only to the Rocío.

I don't mean to suggest that because the banner refers to the Rocío it will necessarily engender any specific reaction either in an individual spectator or in a specific Rociero. I am only referring to the fact that the Simpecado banner leaves the church that houses it only because it is being carried on the Rocío. To see the banner is to see the Rocío in progress. The relationship then, although constituted by a sign of Thirdness, nonetheless assumes characteristics of more direct S/O relations that are usually the properties of signs of Firstness and Secondness.

My analysis at this point is not to describe a potential phenomenology but rather to analyze the ritual as it functions within its system. By comparing the Rocío processions to the Mass (as I have pointed out at various instances), we can see how differently their inherent signs function within each ritual. In the case of the processions, most signs, even those of Thirdness, are self-referential in that they refer back into the ritual itself and its immediate physical act. As I hope to become apparent, the appeals to universal abstractions decrease as one progresses within the Rocío.

The term "*concebida sin pecado*" ("conceived without sin") embroidered on the banner has to be first read, and if one is not familiar with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, it has to be explained. Yet I had no idea what the banner represented, even when I first carried it. I vaguely realized there was an icon of the

Virgin, but since I had never seen the Virgen del Rocío, I didn't realize it was iconic to her specifically and not to a universal Mary. As to the term referring to the Immaculate Conception, I wasn't aware it was written on the banner, as it is easily missed among the rest of the elaborate embroidery. I had been experiencing what the banner meant all along, right in the moment, and there was really nothing further to explain concerning the "meaning" of the banner. I was in the procession, I could feel the emotional intensity and the excitement around me, I could see the beautiful aesthetics of the procession, I could hear the songs and the rhythmic clapping, and I could join in at any time if I chose to. Entrainment was occurring whether I understood or was even aware of the symbols or not. None of these acts required any kind of explication at all. I was, in body and action, already the object of what the banner signified: "Knowing is doing." The S/O relation moved toward collapse to the degree that I was experiencing the procession.

Although the theological points are important in their place within the overall ritual system of Catholicism—and the Rocieros seem to be as conscious of these issues as any other Andalusians—these issues and their narratives, such as the meaning of the Immaculate Conception, are nonetheless abstractions whose resolution, or elucidation, are not functions of the processional pilgrimage. The procession makes no reference to any theological issues surrounding Mary, although the history of El Rocío, as I have demonstrated, does reflect them.

It is important to note that the mythological content surrounding the Immaculate Conception and the role of the Holy Spirit, in regard to Mary are simply not ritually addressed as being part of the procession. These concepts are understood

at a doctrinal, functioning level, by those present as part of their Catholic education and upbringing. But nonetheless they are not subjects of ritual attention during the processions. None of the processions of El Rocío, to include the Salida (see Chapter 10) can be considered to be enactments of the Immaculate Conception. That the doctrine is important, while true, does not require it to be part of the glorification rituals of the processions.

This may seem somehow incongruous at first glance, but it is nonetheless true and constitutes a central distinction, not between interpretations of Catholicism but between rituals of different functional categories. It is not that the symbolic meanings are unimportant; it is simply that they are more important *somewhere else*, in some other ritual but not at the Rocío processions. What the processions address is not the symbolic content of the signs; but rather the signs within the processions point to what the Rocieros are doing in the moment of the ritual and to what they are experiencing. To the degree that that is the case is the degree to which *meaning* is displaced; meaning is *deferred*.

That these theological issues, although present in symbolic form, play virtually no role within the rituals of El Rocío has another significant aspect concerning the field of ritual studies, and it is this: The fact that these symbols and their interpretations do not play a significant role in the ritual practices could not have been known without intense ritual participation. Only by participation within the rituals themselves could one come to the realization that those abstract considerations are after-the-fact reflections that while they *may* have arisen in the first place as consequences of ritual practice, they are nonetheless not a feature of the current ritual

practices themselves. Furthermore, it can be argued that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception came about precisely because of the ritual activity that was at its foundations. The doctrine itself is a result, and a late result at that, as discussed previously in Chapter 2, of ritual activities that were already centuries old.

This clear relationship of theological speculation as being after-the-fact of the ritual is another indication of the low symbolic ratio inherent within El Rocío; that is, the relatively much closer relationship between what is symbolized and what is present. In general those symbols being addressed by the procession are actually indexical of what is in fact occurring. This is especially true when one considers that there is ample time and space available within the ritual structures of the entire *romería* to devote to matters of dogma and faith if that were a ritual objective. But this is never done. There are no “sermons” on the Rocío other than those given at the Masses. I am arguing that the experiential nature of El Rocío vehemently resists any kind of discursive exegesis at every possible level that would mediate, and thus distract from, the direct devotional experience at the heart of El Rocío. Whereas the Mass cultivates symbol and argument to a fine degree, El Rocío, to an equal degree, resists both.

The Tamborilero

Tamborileros have no abstract symbolic function that might be ritually addressed; they symbolize their function. The Tamborilero is a symbol of all Andalusian processions but is more associated with the Rocío than with any other. As Part I reveals, there is an immensely rich historical legacy to the Tamborilero. But at

the Rocío his importance is only to the degree that he functions within the processions. A bronze statue to him at the Aldea celebrates his important position within the Rocío. But again, the historical context is completely after the fact. I immediately recognized that the Tamborilero headed the procession and then in short time, that his drum and tune signified “We are going in procession to celebrate the Virgen del Rocío”—and, again, that’s exactly what we were doing.

On the Rocío, the tunes function like a sonic banner to announce the location of the Simpecado and the fact that it is in motion. Whenever the Simpecado is in motion, the Hermandad is in procession, whether formal or informal. Again, whatever symbolism the tunes of the Tamborilero may have accrued for certain people (including an analyst) that might refer to something outside of the procession, *within* the procession the two processional tunes meant nothing except that we were in procession. What I have learned about the tunes and the Tamborilero since then is completely superfluous to the experience of the ritual procession. I knew exactly what the tune meant the first time I heard it: we were in procession.

Staffs

Upon close inspection the staffs fall into only two categories: (1) smaller-scaled replicas of the lanterns called *faroles* that, in centuries past, town watchmen carried aloft as they made their rounds, especially along fortified walls at night, and (2) staffs that carry replicas of the image of the Virgin. There is no correlation between specific offices and a particular staff, and for this reason one cannot read from the staff what position within the brotherhood the holder of the staff occupies.

Even the positioning of the staff holder within the procession is not fixed.

Whereas the icon of the Virgin is obvious, the staff of the *farol* suggests some interesting relations concerning the way in which the Virgins have functioned historically as protectors of the land and its people. The historical significance is not at issue here because, once again, whatever historical significance they may or may not have beyond their immediate relevance to the procession, the information that is conveyed is simple and complete: “*The holders of these staffs are participating in El Rocío and may have some degree of authority.*” I say “may have” because the staffs, in the present practice, can be carried by anyone although they are usually carried by those who are more actively interested in administrative contributions. Nonetheless young men and ladies carry them, and even a complete stranger such as myself can carry the most important symbol of the Hermandad, the Simpecado.

Again, although the historical implications of the staffs, especially of the *faroles*, may provide fruitful lines of inquiry for the analyst and the historian as to the evolution of the ritual in its historical context, their meanings have little to do with the Rocío at hand for the same reasons that give them hermeneutical saliency: The inquiry leads the investigator, or contemplator, outside the present moment of the Rocío. This kind of intellectual activity, as I will reiterate often, is antithetical to the ritual practices of El Rocío, including the processions.

A potential sign reader who lacks the education to decode the exact meaning of the symbols will nonetheless default correctly to the next trace level in the moment of experiencing the sign at all—that is, that the signs refer to a person’s potential role within the procession, which is exactly the case and is sufficient. The staffs and

medallions are simply two examples of how nearly every potential symbol within the Rocío inevitably defaults to the Rocío itself. Any symbolic explication that strays too far from that fact begins to function as a myth that has detached itself from its ritual. Both the staffs and the medallions have significance only within the Rocío as signs of the Rocío in motion.

Clothes and medallions

“Mi Medalla”
“My medallion”

Se va poniendo morena
She’s starting to darken
a la misma vez que yo.
As am I

Ella de polvo y arena,
She from dust and sand
yo de los rayos del sol.
Me, from the sun rays

Mi medalla del camino
My medallion from the route
siempre la llevo conmigo.
I always take her with me

Y a mí me quita las penas
She takes away my pains
mi medalla del Rocío,
My medallion of the Rocío
de mi Hermandad Macarena
Of my Brotherhood from Macarena
—by Luis Capitan, 1991

“Mi Primer Rocío”
“My First Rocío”

No me limpies tú los botos
Don’t clean the boots
déjalos como han “venio.”
Leave them as they’ve come
Que son como dos tesoros,
They’re like two treasures

son de mi primer Rocío.
They're from my first Rocío
Esto no es cosa de limpios,
It's not about being clean
pero es que a mí me da igual,
It's just that for me I prefer it
esa arena la he "cogio"
That sand has stuck to me
andando con mi Hermandad.
From being with my Brotherhood
Me metí bajo la Virgen
I put myself beneath the Virgin
me pisó un Almonteño.
And one of the Almonte Brotherhood trampled over me
No me limpies tú los botos
Don't clean the boots
que son parte de mis sueños
They're a part of my dreams

—by J. Miguel Muñoz, 1982

Other obvious symbols—such as the medallions worn by each member signifying they are members of an Hermandad and the staffs carried by the officers (though not always)—each refer back to the Rocío as well. The medallions consist of a pendant icon of the Virgin attached to a two-color chord. The combination of colors indicates the specific Hermandad, the colors of Granada being red and white. The symbolic element of the colors and the icon both require learned associations; nonetheless, when deciphered, they would not tell any potential sign reader much more than was already evident: This person is with a group, and this group is on the Rocío.

The identity information concerns only identity within the religious order created around the romería. That is, the medallions only distinguish one Hermandad of El Rocío from another. Outside of El Rocío they have no meaning and, in fact, are

not worn at any other time. They are the only symbols that the Rocieros manifest at all times while on the Rocío . The medallions are worn throughout the Rocío, not only during the processions, while the staffs are carried only during formal processions.

It is important not to confuse the way in which these medallions represent Granada, the city and province, with how they function within the procession. That there are rivalries within the Rocío among all the provinces, cities, towns, and even villages of Andalusia should not surprise anyone who studies human behavior. These rivalries, like the specific class tensions still prevalent within Andalusian society, while still in evidence, are simply not the ritual focus. Nonetheless the present and historical relationships between regional groups does play a role within the Rocío and such instances will be discussed when relevant. One such relationship is of course the mythological origins of the statue and the roles that the two towns, Almonte and Villamanrique play within the pilgrimage and its rituals as covered in Chapter 2.

The medallions, then, refer to Granada much less as a sociopolitical entity than as an entity within the community of Rocieros. The culture-generating force at work within the ritual system is what generated the presence of people who happened to be from Granada to come to the Rocío. Creating the medallions was not nearly as much a social act given meaning by its social positioning within the superstructure as it was a cultural religious act whose meaning is forged within the operational environment of the ritual experience. I am a case in point. I am a member of the Hermandad of Granada because I attended the Rocío with that brotherhood, but I am not from Granada.

Shortly after my “baptism,” I was allowed and instructed to wear the medallion. However, copies of the medallions can be purchased on several street corners at the Rocío, where they are for sale to tourists! If one were to analyze this from an etic point of view, the entire Rocío can be seen a ritual wherein meaning is determined by positioning within the social and regional political order. The reality, however, is that once the social order appropriates the symbols, in whatever way it happens to occur, the symbol completely changes its significance and becomes detached from its ritual function. From the perspective of how it reflects social positioning, the medallion correspondingly loses all relationship to the ritual. What is important, in regard to ritual analysis, is that the detached symbol, now embedded to whatever degree into a social discourse, no longer serves to reveal meaningful information about the ritual.

This reattribution of significance is, of course, a natural tendency for any symbol as it is passed through the social structures and is the inherent characteristic of its artificial S/O displacement. Nonetheless, from the vantage point of any ensuing socially constructed discourse around the medallion, the medallion no longer serves as meaningful information concerning the ritual that produced it. This is my point in regard to ritual analysis. Once the medallion leaves the ritual environment, whatever it may or may not mean becomes increasingly irrelevant. A sociological analyst however, will begin from the symbol as a text and attempt to read, or *deconstruct*, meaning from it. However, in the process of the supposed “deconstruction” he/she is actually *constructing* meaning. This kind of analysis, moving backward from symbol to experience, is faced with the same problem presented by the detached myth to

early students of ritual (see ritual theory in Chapter 11). It is not a matter of *context*, but rather of experiential displacement. Whereas the Rocío generated the medallion, the trinket and its social positioning did not generate El Rocío. By the time the symbols of El Rocío (as a religious ritual of experience) become embedded within the social superstructures of Andalusia and begin to take on a social position within those structures, the inner content had already been forged at the Rocío.

The degree to which the social discourse concerning El Rocío can potentially influence subsequent experiences of El Rocío through constructed meanings reflecting back to the pilgrimage has to be understood as an after-the-fact reflection upon the generated *symbols*. These discursive reflections and interpretations originating from outside the Rocío experience only create another mythological layer that, in the end, has little (albeit some) effect upon what the Rocieros experience.

The force of possible influence, in that light, is minimal when compared with the force of the bottom-up generation of behavioral aesthetics wherein those symbols were forged. The semiotic arrow moving from the Rocío into Andalusian culture is far greater than the discursive “critique” generated in retrospect through social discourse originating in the superstructure. We will see how this same principle—the continuing function of the myth/ritual dynamic—relates to many aspects of El Rocío and its relationship to Andalusian culture.

As should be obvious to the reader, I am not subscribing to the basic premise behind discourse theories that implicate after-the-fact discursive processes as a coequal force in the creation of the symbol. This argument stands against Jean-Jaques Nattiez’s proposal that musical effectiveness is primarily a creation of social

discourse around the music and not a property of the “sound object” (1990, 41–49, 102, 133). I am proposing that it is the music, as embodied aesthetics, that creates the discourse far more than the discourse creates the music. The experience of the juerga, as explicated in Chapter 6 provides a great deal of evidence from the field to support my argument.

I am also arguing that the very social critique from whence discourse originates was already conditioned by the cultural aesthetics generated within the cultural crucible of which El Rocío is a powerful component—and that crucible is the ritual system itself. If we see a ritual system, such as the Catholic ritual system in Andalusia, as an autopoietic system as modeled by Mataruna and Varela (1998, 47–48) then the ability for the social superstructure to modify a ritual system is dependent upon its ability to trigger internal change *within the ritual system*. My observations both in the field and through historical research suggests that any attempts to change the ritual of El Rocío, originating from outside the Rocieros themselves, whether it be from the social super-structure or the religious administrative order, is fiercely resisted (there are a number of examples in App. A). However, as I will continue to show, the ability for the ritual system, as exemplified in only one (albeit major) ritual in Andalusia, that of El Rocío, to effect the social order, is enormous. (See Murphy 2002, 63–68, for a good survey of the scope of influence the Rocío has had on Andalusian society.)

Where is change originating from: from within the ritual system or from the social superstructures? I am suggesting that the social structures of Andalusia are to a large degree conditioned more by the ritual system, at least in many key areas, than

the reverse. What is most important, however, is that by the time the change is registered through any symbolic medium within the social structures, *the change has already occurred—after the fact*. From that perspective, the discourse itself may not even be acknowledging the fact of its underlying condition any more than the day-to-day conscious thought of an individual is aware of one's own heart rate.

The influence of social discourse upon the Rocío (as a component of the ritual system), therefore, is minimal compared to the influence that El Rocío, as an experiential component within the ritual system, exerts upon social discourse. The question becomes: What exactly is the content of this “force” generated by rituals such as El Rocío and, by extension, the ritual system it is a part of? What is the “work” of the ritual system?

I will contend that the ritual system is not the result of a cognitive imperative, as argued by Lévi-Strauss (1963, Chapter 11) and to a degree tacitly supported by certain authors within the neurobiological field (i.e., Newberg in d'Aquili and Newberg 1999, 79). Rather, the system brings to awareness, at different levels of experiential displacement, a knowledge that the body experiences at all times. Gerald M. Edelman supports this approach by considering mind as a special process of matter—a process seen as a total mind-body activity (Edelman 1992, 6–7 in Becker 2004, 9). Ritual, at its foundation, is an embodied activity that processes experience at different proportions of experience and representation. Some rituals emphasize deeper degrees of religious experience; others emphasize processing of representations of religious experience at varying degrees of symbolization. I will develop this theme further toward a more formal theory of ritual relations in Chapter 13.

Myth/ritual dynamic as expressed through lyrics

In terms of the myth/ritual dynamic, we see that the pilgrimage of El Rocío has historically generated its own mythology. The legend of the statue has already been referred to in Chapter 2, and presented in App. A.

Another conspicuous way in which the Rocío processions continue to create mythology is through musical lyrics. Bellow are two more examples, in addition to those already presented in Part I, of the self-referential nature that characterizes most of the Rocío Sevillanas lyrics.

Example 1

Que me gusta en el camino
What I like on the route
una candela de ramas,
Is to have the pilgrims staff
una manta por los hombros,
A mantle over my shoulders
un sombrero de ala ancha
A wide-brimmed hat
y buena gente a mi "lao,"
Good people at my side
que sepa tocar las palmas.
That know how to clap the rhythms
Y es que a mí me gusta "to,"
But really I like it all
beber, cantar y bailar,
To drink, sing, and dance
haga calor o haga frío
whether it's hot or it's cold
y por las noches rezarle,
and to pray at night
a mi Virgen del Rocío
To my Virgin of the Dew

Example 2

Cuando el tamboril toca la diana,
When the drummer plays the dawn
se levanta el campo, la leña se apaga
the camp arises, and the embers are put out
y vamos cantando que la senda es larga.
And we go singing because the road ahead is long

Que nos vamos, vamonos,
We're going, let's go
al camino a caminar,
to start walking on the way
que la Pastora nos guía
The Shepherdess [another name of the Virgin of El Rocío] is our guide
entre pinos, enramás,
among the pines beneath the branches
buena gente y armonía
good people going in harmony

The lyrics of the following two Catholic hymns come from the contemporary hymnal, *Gather Comprehensive* (1994):

O come, O come Emmanuel
And ransom captive Israel
That mourns in lonely exile here
Until the Son of God appear
Rejoice! Rejoice! Emmanuel
Shall come to you O Israel
Text by Eleanor Farjeon, 1881–1965
French Traditional Hymn

We cannot measure how you heal
Or answer every sufferer's prayer
Yet we believe your grace responds
Where faith and doubt unite to care
Your hands though bloodied on the cross
Survive to hold and heal and warn,
To carry all through death to life
And cradle children yet unborn
Text by John L. Bell, b. 1949
Tune: "Ye Banks and Braes," Scottish traditional

The two hymns given above from *Gather Comprehensive*—however beautiful and however they may strive to capture some aspect of the meaning behind the Mass—nonetheless refer to something abstracted and not in the present moment. The first example is an extended metaphor that identifies all humanity with the nation of Israel that awaits salvation in the promise of a Messiah; the Son of God, that Christians believe was Jesus the Christ. Obviously the symbolism is dense and requires a familiarity with biblical literature to understand and at the same time requires meditation to come to some “final interpretation” of its content. The second example also requires familiarity with the story of the crucifixion and an interpretation of its significance, or meaning (“meaning” here as being a promise of immortality). The lyrics also address the issue of suffering, prayer, grace, and direct petition to Christ, all of which involve a great deal of theological consideration. Behind the symbols and metaphors, even the more visceral images of the second example, there lays a great deal of abstract considerations that inform the songs with meaning. Without previous knowledge of the abstract references the symbols refer to, that in turn guide the singer toward a contemplation of their importance, the congregation could not possibly understand what they were singing about. There is virtually no direct experiences being referred to by the lyrics, nor do they mention the Mass itself, the site wherein they are being sung. Meaning is crucial to both hymns, and a full understanding of that meaning is not likely to be attained to within the half-hour Mass. The meaning then, whatever that may ultimately be for any individual or for the congregation as a whole is for all practical purposes, an absent object, to which the symbols of the Mass point to. The Mass, like the lyrics, presents the

symbols, however an attainment to their full understanding, and experience of that potential understanding, lays outside the structures of the ritual.

Out of the one hundred hymns I have looked at so far, mostly from *Gather Comprehensive* (one of the most commonly used books among the English speaking Catholic parishes of the United States), only a handful (less than 5 percent) refer to actually being at Mass or to the Mass itself, and none to the joys of going to Mass. I found a contrast by examining a hundred lyrics, chosen at random, from the more than 1,000 catalogued lyrics taken from the “*Musica del Rocío*,” a vast compilation of Rocío lyrics collected online by the Hermandad of Ronda (www.Rocio.com), and a number of collection of Sevillanas Rocieras such as *Por Los Senderos del Alma* (“Along the Paths of the Soul”) (Gllardo 2004), *Rocío , un Camino de Canciones* (“Rocío , a Road of Songs”) (Murga Gener 1995), *A La Santísima Virgen del Rocío* (To the Holiest Virgin of the Rocío) (López 1997).

I found that 60 percent are sung from the subjective point of either being on the pilgrimage in the moment or of addressing the Virgin, and 90 percent to some kind of descriptive motif about the Rocío. Of those that refer to the Virgin directly, more than 60 percent sing directly to her (that is, they are practically conversations with her), while 20 percent sing about her indirectly, referring to her qualities. Even more remarkably, 90 percent sing about the feelings of the person singing them. This alone represents a dramatic reversal in the relationship between the individual and the ritual in regard to the Mass and the processions of El Rocío.

The mystery of the Mass must be first contemplated and reflected upon and *then* sung about. In contrast, the acts of devotional celebration that constitute the

Rocío are primarily experienced *first*—at the Rocío—and only then reflected upon and sung about. The hymns of the Mass sing about the mythology behind the Mass but not the Mass itself. The songs of the Rocío sing primarily about the Rocío itself, not its mythological background or meaning.

The Rocío procession generates its own meaning as an experience, rendering exegesis upon it superfluous, while the Mass, due to its progressive abstraction, requires more and more exegesis as its symbolic ratio increases through time in response to the displacement of the central experience, the transubstantiation, that itself is the result of symbolic drift (as discussed in the previous chapter).

Singing about the experience of the Rocío constitutes the “sermon,” or “myth,” elements of the Rocío rituals, and these elements are clearly generated by the ritual *at the ritual site*, even if their expression comes as a reflection. The lyrics of the Sevillanas Rocieras are not the only examples of how the myth/ritual dynamic can be seen at work within the Rocío. The *Salve Marias*, discussed in Chapter 5, are another example—one that takes a previous prayer form and develops it both musically and lyrically into a specific vehicle for Rocío practices.

Similarly, but in an even more concise and direct manner, the litanies of praises that have accrued around the many Rocío rituals and activities, have also taken on a specific and “in the moment” quality.

The “Viva!” salutations

As presented in Chapter 3, every time a *Salve* is sung, it is followed by a litany of “*Que viva ___!*” (Life, long life, to ___!). These litanies sometimes can be

fairly extensive but they are always typical of the Rocío; I have never heard them refer to anything outside of the Rocío. This is actually more significant than it appears at first. For instance, I never heard “Viva España!” (Spain) or “Viva el Rey!” (the King). Andalusia was given an occasional nod through one of the Virgin’s titles, “La Reina de Andalusia” (“Queen of Andalusia”). However, everyone else addressed in the litany was always someone who was there: the *bueyeros* (ox drivers), el Alcalde de las Carretas (director of the carretas), the *Tamborilero*, Father Pedro, the *Compadre* (usually called out as the last), and, of course, El Rocío itself.

This steady descent into the self-referential moment is strikingly consistent in everything the Rocieros do. After hearing these litanies over and over again to the point that sometimes they bordered on self-parody (humor being a constant companion of the camino), it finally lodged into my mind one day that what was being accomplished by this practice was nothing less than a prayer in itself but also a ritualized emotive exultation: “*Viva! Viva!*” What they are doing is so simple and so obvious it is easily overlooked: They are evoking and generating *life, energy, bountifulness*. They are affirming that life is good, very good, and the Rocío is a supreme manifestation of that good. All one has to do is look around at what they, the people, have wrought, and the aesthetic triumph that is the Rocío is plain to see. Life force is the real emphasis: *Life!*

This is perhaps what Edith Turner meant by “The purpose of sacred ritual is to create life force” (1992, 13). This force, the result of the work of the ritual, is not to be deduced from its symbolic representations. Energy cannot be conveyed, much less the process of creating it. The process of “boiling energy” of the !kung (Katz 1982) is

another graphic example of a ritual wherein myth, narrative, and script play virtually no role. The purpose of the ritual is the *doing*, and what is done, what the work is, is a healing restructuring of the self. This enthusiastic affirmation is another indication that the Rocío processions are rituals of arousal. However, and this is indicative of the more experiential rituals, the only way to know the “Viva!”s exist is to be on the camino or to have received the information secondhand. They are not indicated anywhere in the published itineraries, nor is there any term to describe the practice.

The trajectory I have just outlined—from the Hymns of the Mass, to the litanies of the “Viva!”—traces not a polarity but a reaffirming process that began at the Mass and consistently progressed through experiential layers, from the more intellectual and abstract to the more devotionally concrete, emotional, physical, and in-the-moment. However, it does not represent items in opposition but rather a continuous flow that is both consistent and multilayered.

The functional change in the ratios of sign potential follows the same trajectory. The movement, the stream of physical and emotional bodies from the Church along the camino, is not a movement away from the Church as much as it is an overflow of energy that dispenses itself at different levels of experience—as the diary recounts, as a circuit from church to camino, Aldea, Salida, and back to the church. This “overflow,” when seen as a movement into the body, both as metaphor and as activity, is similar to the way in which Julia Kristeva models the cognitive and communicative utterance as being a movement from phenotext to genotext (McAfee 2004, 25); it is a continuing re-integration of what is already the body’s awareness of itself and the environment through experience and representation.

An example of the social analysis: The ideologically deferred meaning of the displaced social marker

What follows is a continuation of the symbolic analysis as an example of how easily symbols, when read as a text, run a great risk of misinterpretation that does not, as some discourse analysts contend, result in a “new meaning” but rather in merely fruitless exercises of theoretical demonstrations that can be misleading to the public.

In “Class, community, and costume in an Andalusian pilgrimage,” Michael Dean Murphy addresses the signification role that clothes have played in revealing the sociopolitical realities outside the performance of El Rocío, as interpreted by various etic concerns (Murphy 1994, 49). He begins with a reference to Victor Turner’s classic relation between *communitas* and pilgrimage: “Turner claims that during pilgrimage the ordinary structures which distinguish and divide people in a complex society are temporarily ignored or diminished in importance. While Turner certainly does not argue that structural distinctions are completely eliminated, their sting, as he puts it, is quite purposefully removed... The claims of age, class, ethnicity, regional or national affiliation, and community membership are muted, however transiently, as the homogenizing status of ‘pilgrim’ dominates the social stage (1974a: 207)” (Murphy 1994, 51).

Then he contrasts this stance with the critique by Michael Sallnow: “In his ethnographically rich critique of Turner’s views, the late Michael Sallnow (1981, 1987, 1991) points out that pilgrimage is often an occasion in which stylized egalitarian gestures are marbled in with vivid displays of social division, hierarchy, and conflict. He asserts that in the Andes, his area of expertise, pilgrimage is ‘a

complex mosaic of egalitarianism, nepotism and factionalism, of brotherhood, competition and conflict' (Sallnow 1981: 176). Eade and Sallnow (1991b: 2–3) argue that the first step in appreciating the 'essential heterogeneity' of pilgrimage is to recognize that it is 'an arena for competing religious and secular discourses'" (Murphy 1994, 52).

Both these positions are well understood within the anthropological disciplines and require no further comment here. However, Murphy feels that the Sallnow and Eade's position have "uncommon relevance" at El Rocío. Yet, as his detailed analysis of the role of signifying clothing makes clear at the end, the relevancy is actually the result of the intentions of the observers but *not* of the practitioners. The practitioners, I will argue, make it a point not to discourse about El Rocío. It would seem that this is the obsession of the analyst, especially if his methodology has not invested him with any other tools:

Of course, this is not to say that a pure state of *communitas* fills the hearts and heads of all Almontenos at all times during the ten to thirteen hours of their most important ritual. That would undoubtedly be too much to ask of men who have grown up in a community riven by economic inequity, by social class, and by political ideology. Yet, these distinctions are minimized during this ritual as in no other social context and it is significant that there is no attempt on the part of any Almonteno to exclude any other who is, as they say, man enough to participate. . .

Outsiders, however, typically depict the khaki-clad Almontenos as working-class men engaged in a fierce ritual of rebellion against the *traje corto*-clad *senoritos* who appear to dominate the rest of the pilgrimage. Yet the men of the middle classes and even some of the largest land owners are invariably to be found among the ranks of those struggling to carry the Virgin. While it is true that the majority of the men participating in the ritual are of the working classes, their presence is not disproportionate to their representation in the total population (*ibid.*, 59).

Notice how the issue of explanation and meaning as something the ritual

practitioners are well aware of is paralleled in Murphy's experiences: "But what of the difference between the insider's and the outsider's perspectives? On a number of occasions in my presence Almontenos have used errors of class assignment in an effort to discredit the relentless efforts of outsiders to explain one or another truth about Rocío" (ibid.). Again:

Unwitting media commentators are especially prone to making hilarious mistakes in their efforts to use costume as an index of social class in the romeria. In one documentary I watched with some Almonteno friends, a town baker dressed in the traje corto is depicted as if he were the latest in a long line of *senorito* land barons. In another television report, khaki-clad Almontenos are shown struggling to carry the virgin del Rocío while a narrator solemnly intones about working-class solidarity. Standing out among the procession participants are the son of a wealthy landowner, a teacher, and a young banker (ibid.).

Distinctions between the social commentator/analyst and the ritual practitioner now become clear: "In these instances and others Almonteños seize upon mistakes of this nature to dismiss the attempts of outsiders to explain them and their pilgrimage, thus effectively deflating the mounting criticism of their successful strategy of keeping non-Almontenos at arm's length from their beloved statue" (ibid.).

And what might that explanation be? I would put forth, from a historical perspective, from a theoretical perspective (neurophenomenology), and more especially from the perspective of a participant observer, that the explanation is extremely simple, although ideologically unpalatable to certain interests: It is about the religious experience.

The Almonteños, across all social boundaries, are united in their condemnation of the misreading of their religious activities by those who refuse to admit that the ritual is about the religious experience first, and anything else, a distant

second. Murphy once again turns to Sallnow: “Sallnow advises that when ‘people converge in pilgrimage, meanings collide’” (Eade and Sallnow 1991, 137 in Murphy 1994, 60).

Yes, “meanings” collide. But meaning is not the point of the experiential religious ritual in the first place. In fact, *meaning* is precisely *not* the point. As regards the experiential ritual, observation alone, and even interview alone, may prove to be more misleading than informative.

If the observer is not willing to fully participate in the experiential ritual, then what I am suggesting is that a study of its symbolic content will prove to be more misleading than enlightening, and reflect the social positioning of the analyst far more than the ritual, a fact that in itself is congruent with the basic theoretical premise of the discourse analyst: they fulfill their own theoretical premise, their own “discourse” as a result of their subjective positioning within the social structure; precisely what the experiential *communitas* dissolves.

Summary of semiotic analysis

Because of the experiential nature of the processions and El Rocío in general, the lyrics—like the clothing, medallions, horses, etc.—although generated by the activities within the rituals themselves, nonetheless can take on a life of their own when detached from their ritual practice and become misunderstood as symbolic markers for objects to which they actually were not related. It is not just a question of misunderstanding symbols, however. The mistake runs deeper than that. It is a question of taking for a symbol what was not a symbol in the first place: A meaning

was assigned, after the fact, to an S/O relationship that functioning at a different semiological level through the intervention of an observer interpreter (analyst).

However, the reinterpretation of signs by subsequent interpreters is not the only mistake I am referring to. The reinterpretation of signs is the inevitable consequence of the exchange of information as it becomes signified to higher levels of semiotic displacement as the exchange progresses throughout the sociocultural system. I am referring to the analytical mistake of believing that when the inevitable potential changes of meaning that occur when information is processed from a generative site such as the rituals of El Rocío, arrive to some resultant “meaning”—or in Peircean terms a “final interpretant”—by means of their having acquired a certain social positioning wherein the ritual symbols then become “located” as objects of discourse, is then construed by the analyst as the only significance the symbols ever had or could possibly have. In other words, the experience that generated the potential symbol (which may have only been a “symbol” to the analyst to begin with: i.e., the kaki shirts), is discounted altogether, and the analyst subsequently grants themselves the privilege to engage in a discourse that originated from the social superstructure to begin with and not from the ritual site.

This line of thinking presupposes an ontological and epistemological relationship between a sign and its object that ignores the relative proportional magnitudes entailed in the semiotic flow between culture (in this case culture as ritual system) and social structure. Murphy’s commentaries show that the widely different interpretations of El Rocío have to do primarily with the relative positioning of its interpreters and that this critique is what, in turn, attempts to socially position El

Rocío by attempting to assign it “meaning.” The positional parameters have already been articulated by two pairs of polar dyads: insider/outsider and left/right, both of which have little relevance to the religious experience in general, and El Rocío in particular.

The final observation by Murphy was that the conflicting views expressed by what should have been different *analytical* approaches were actually more a product of ideology than a reflection of actual methodology or any proximity (direct knowledge) of the event. Yet in the end we are left with the not-quite-stated but highly implied suggestion that both are “equally valid.”

Discourse theory itself has as an underlying assertion that ritual subjective content, like all subjective content, is conditioned by social discourse—not by culture, much less by ritual—and by its subsequent representations within the social order. This is what gives credence to the reading of the ritual act as a “text,” even from a distant view any validity in the first place. But if we take seriously the proposition that the ritual act is primarily an experience, and not a show (which El Rocío clearly is not), then why would any analyst believe that he or she, could understand the ritual by watching it? First of all, the ritual is not a show. Second, it is not intended for them (whoever the analyst might be). From that perspective, the attribution to the ritual of some kind of “meaning” that is actually the result of any “unconscious” process, is truly ludicrous, and extremely arrogant. Any “meaning’ derived from this approach can only be assessed as having to be far more the reflection of the “unconscious process” of the analyst rather than constituting any kind of valuable information concerning the ritual participants.

Furthermore, I am suggesting that Andalusian social discourse, that is, the basic kinds of questions asked and looked at, whether negative or positive, (to include that of the would be analyst) is much conditioned by Andalusian ritual before they are ever formulated into discourse. I am arguing that the aesthetics of Andalusian culture are formulated below the level of discourse—as embodied behavior and values—within the ritual system at the level of the experiential rituals of which El Rocío is simply one experiential ritual among many.

Summary

The first point I've covered here is what I hope to have been a fairly obvious observation: the degree of self-reference of the procession, is significantly, if not far greater than that of the Mass. Whereas the Mass tends to point outside its own structural boundaries, the processions point inward. Whereas the Mass leads one outside of the present moment, the procession pulls one into the immediate experience.

Second, the processions of El Rocío have a definite emotional cast: Joy is the word I use, but anything in the general category such as “happiness” would work just as well. Whatever word is used it serves only as a marker for the experiences. The point is that the emotional cast, the *mode* of the procession is well defined and consciously cultivated. This emotional mode is different from the relative neutrality of the Mass, both in quality and quantity. The Mass does not attempt to arouse emotional content of any modality, but rather seeks to move the participant toward a general nondistinct contemplation and passive receptivity to its symbolic content.

Third, I would draw attention to this simple observation: The ratio between the forging of signs on the part of the processional congregation, as opposed to the processing of signs that were forged by the priests when they (the Rocieros) were at the Mass, is dramatically reversed.

Fourth, the participants of the procession take direct charge of their procession because it very much is *their* procession; they sing at will, they choose what they will sing, they choose the path and itinerary of the processions, and they do this without regard to previous social distinctions. The procession is a *communitas* in motion, and one that generates and structures emotional content (as described in Part I).

I see the procession as the first stage but nonetheless a dramatic first stage in terms of change, toward a “descent” from the more abstract relations that constitute both the Mass and the day-to-day social relations within other social institutions, toward a more concrete, less-mediated experience of life in general, that is nonetheless a continuation of what was symbolized in the Mass: Holy Communion. What exactly that experience might entail is not really the focus of this dissertation. I would simply outline the trajectory as I witnessed and experienced it—a trajectory that leads from symbol to experience—without attempting to draw conclusions as to exactly what that experience might be, much less attempt to imprison it within language, which is precisely what the Rocieros themselves made clear to me as being neither possible nor desirable.

Finally, any analysis of the experiential ritual that does not focus upon the understanding of the experience itself is likely to reveal nothing of “significance” concerning the ritual. The very act on the part of the analyst of ignoring the religious

experience within a religious ritual is itself an ideological act that in fact conforms to ideological interests, but sheds no light on the ritual as an important aspect of human behavior.

Chapter 10: The Salida

In an act that is symbolically striking but whose symbolism is still not as impressive as the witnessing of the physical act itself, the congregation of Almonte arrives in an impressive procession to the doors of the hermitage, some time after midnight in the early hours of *Lunes de Pentacostes* (Monday of Pentacost). But suddenly they break all semblance of order to charge into the church and swarm over the high rails that surround the Virgin in order to seize what they adamantly insist is *theirs*, and by that act proceed to take into their own hands a direct and unmediated control of their relationship to Her. They breach the symbolic and physical boundaries between themselves and the Virgin, and take Her out from within the Church's hierarchical control and into the streets among the people.

Even though only the members of the brotherhood from Almonte are privileged to carry the Virgin, a huge crowd gathers outside the church to take part vicariously in their assault into the inner chamber—the holiest part of the Church and usually the exclusive domain of the priests. However, once the Virgin is out of the church, from then on the participation by the masses of people in the streets is anything but passive.

What follows first is a description of the key actors and events of this dramatic, 12- to 13-hour ritual procession called *La Salida* (The Coming Out) that is the culmination of the processional pilgrimage of El Rocío. The culmination of the processional pilgrimage is, as noted in Chapter 1, a procession itself, and like so

many of the most important moments of the pilgrimage discussed throughout this work, many of the key acts of the Salida are not mentioned in any itinerary or script, and have no mythological representations.

This myth-ritual relationship constitutes the first of three analytical themes that have been developed throughout this work and that I will apply to the Salida. The lack of mythological representations in important ritual moments furthers my argument that the more experiential rituals generate myths rather than reflect or embody them.

The second analytical theme to be developed in this chapter will be the continuation of the semiotic analysis that began with the Mass in Chapter 8 and continued with the processions in Chapter 9. The subject of the S/O relation and the trajectory that can be traced as a narrowing of the “gap” between sign and object will be taken to its conclusion in what I will call the approachment to a “S/O collapse.” This ritual state reveals a condition wherein what is symbolized and what is defaulted to in experience, are virtually the same phenomenon.

The third objective of this chapter is to compare my analytical approach to the discursive approaches that rely upon textual interpretations, and reveal how those approaches are simply not useful when analyzing an experiential type of ritual such as the Salida. The fourth theme to be further developed in this chapter is that of embodied aesthetics and to point out the important, if not crucial, role that the behavioral norms of Andalusian *formalidad* play in this chaotic, and emotionally exhaustive ritual. The chaotic nature of the ritual itself addresses a fifth theme; that of the relationship between the single focused emotional procession to moments of chaotic culmination. That relationship will be further developed in the concluding

section and further in the brief summary of Part II that follows. All five of these themes contribute significantly toward the theory of ritual relations to be presented in Chapter 13.

Basic structural characteristics

The Salida has four structural characteristics that bear consideration:

1. The itinerary
2. The configuration around the Virgin and her carriers: the image, the *costaleros* (men carrying the image from below), and the “point men”
3. The stops by the procession at the awaiting houses of the Hermandades, or at certain assigned places and times where the members of those brotherhoods can render devotion to Her.
4. The mass of people gathered in the streets of the Rocío

The itinerary

The itinerary is minimal: The Hermandad of Almonte comes in procession to take the Virgin out of the Hermitage sometime after midnight on the Monday of Pentecost, the last day of the *romería*. Once they enter the Hermitage they rush en masse to the wrought-iron rail that stands between the altar and the congregation. They climb over the railing in an act known as the *Salta la Reja*, literally “jump” or “assault the rail.” Then they hoist her up from beneath the palanquin onto their shoulders, transport her back over the railing to those on the other side, and carry her out.

The Almonteños move through the streets to take the Virgin along a more or

less predetermined path in order to present her to the awaiting Hermandades at a more or less predetermined time. After she has been presented for veneration to all the Hermandades, she is returned to her place at the altar of the Hermitage. The total circuit currently takes anywhere from 10 to 13 hours.

The configuration of the procession

The Virgin in her palanquin is carried by 10 Almonteños at a time (members of the Hermandad of Almonte) who are located directly below her and to the sides. Stationed in a circle around the float are seasoned members of the Hermandad, who direct the proceedings. They are not conspicuous and unless someone had alerted an observer that they were there at all, they would probably pass unnoticed. They act in the capacity of crowd control (calling for the crowd to back off when the immediate mass becomes too congested), crowd facilitators (helping some people to touch the Virgin), and directors of the proceedings (they guide those carrying the Virgin by visual and verbal cues). Besides these directors, teams of Almonteños force their way through the crowd to replace exhausted brothers under the palanquin.

The stops at the Hermandades

The “stops” at the Hermandades mark the progression of the Virgin through the streets. The stops are made in order of seniority and the members await the Virgin with as much song, noise, and fervor as possible.

The stops at each Hermandad do not function like a “station” as in a stational procession. There are no qualities to be evoked at each stop, no act to contemplate or

variation on the emotional theme such as in the Stations of the Cross processions. The stops at the Hermandades function to allow time for each Hermandad to render adoration to the Virgin and also to fuel the intensity of the procession as it moves along. In this sense, the Salida may serve as a living example of what some of the Dionysian-type processions were actually doing. The stated destination may have had little to do with the processions' purpose; rather, the procession itself was the purpose. The emotions aroused during the procession, not the destination, constituted the processional objective. The Salida has no destination; it is a circuit through the village that generates emotional energy all along the way.

The mass of people in the streets

The streets of El Rocío are filled by a mass of humanity all along, in front and behind, the route of the procession. The Virgin appears to be floating above a churning sea of human heads, arms, and hands. To anyone unaccustomed to this kind of densely packed humanity, just standing within the sea of people can be a little intimidating. Nonetheless, I immediately noticed that there were always little streams of movement that one could follow in order get from one spot to another. There was always the presence of structure and order even within what appeared to be a tumultuous mob.

Without the people in the streets and their fascinating contribution to the ritual, the Salida would be an ordinary (by Andalusian standards) procession. It must be emphasized that the descriptions of the un-scripted acts that follow below, are not so much the work of the Hermandad of Almonte, who are carrying the Virgin

along the route, but the interaction between the carriers of the Virgin and the mass of humanity that awaits them. The genius of the “controlled chaos” is the work of people, that in their aggregation are strangers to one another, and yet not strangers in terms of shared values and unspoken understandings.

I think that the reader will agree after reading the descriptions that follow, that this kind of cultivated emotional intensification would simply be impossible were it not conducted within a population that was at some deep level, behaviorally “in-tune” with each other. It is their collective, spontaneous and interactive behavior that is so impressive. The spontaneous rhythmic clapping covered in Chapter 7 would seem to have been a foreshadowing of this emotional, and behavioral atunement that to me is still a mystery.

The non-“scripted” ritual acts

Three kinds of powerful events recurring within the procession that are not scripted anywhere but obviously understood by the participants to constitute essential elements of the procession. I call them “recurring” events, and I witnessed their manifestation over and over again during my participation within the Salida.

The first recurring events are the attempts by people in the congregation to touch the Virgin or hold onto the railing. The Almonteños strive to block or push them away. Needless to say, the pushing, shoving, and cursing are greatly aggravated by the fact that the image is literally “floating” above a churning sea of humanity with currents of people surging back, forth, and around the Virgin at the same time that the Almonteños below her and around her are moving her through those same currents.

The second recurring events are what I call the “crunches.” There are moments when the Virgin turns into a portion of the crowd as the crowd surges toward her. The people directly in front of her had to move back and out of the way. Often, however, the float is approaching too quickly for them to get out of the way in time, or the mass of people behind them is too dense for them to back up any further. At these moments, people began bumping forcefully into me and me into others, and several times people were knocked down upon each other before the float changed directions and relieved the pressure. These are definitely moments of near-pandemonium. Certainly this is not the encounter with symbol that Eliade had in mind.

The third recurring event is the “scare” event. It looks like the Virgin is about to be toppled over. Sometimes she comes close to capsizing on one side or the other. Sometimes the Almonteños seem to be sinking below her, and she starts to sink within the sea of people. These events are usually related to the “crunches” in combination with too many people pulling and pushing against the palanquin, or it happens while there is a replacement going on among the Almonteños. When she is suddenly pushed up and righted, there is great cheering and applause. Needless to say, she never sinks completely and never quite capsizes.

The fourth recurring event is the passing of the children. Small children, even toddlers, are passed over the heads of the crowd and finally placed upon the palanquin briefly or just held against the Virgin so as to touch her. The only explanation I have ever heard for this is that it is a way to “bless” the children. Considering the turmoil of the crowd it seems to be quite a daring act of faith on the

part of the parents. The children are not usually so happy with their good fortune. Some go kicking and screaming, but others seem to enjoy the ride well enough. Again, needless to say, they are not dropped.

The fifth recurring event is the “mounted priest.” It consists of a priest sitting upon the shoulders of one of the brothers to raise himself above the crowd so that he can more forcefully and visibly praise the Virgin. These mounted priests shout and gesticulate praises to the Virgin so that she will come to their standard. The reason for this is that not all the houses of the Hermandades are on the route. Such is the case with Granada (they tend to be the newer ones). These Hermandades have designated spots along one of the central squares where they wait with their banner for the Virgin to pass by. When she is near enough, the priest (or the Elder Brother) will be lifted up so that he can entreat the Virgin to come closer. He needs to become impassioned, the more the better. Father Pedro, in 2004, drove his “mount” into the sea of people trailing after the Virgin as he continued praising and gesticulating; he wasn’t quite finished, and he was determined to get her to stay a little longer.

Another aesthetically compelling moment is the **cascading of buckets of rose petals upon the Virgin** when she approaches certain houses of the brotherhoods. This is done by someone from on top of a roof along the route, usually the house of an Hermandad while the members are rendering devotion and the bells are ringing riotously.

Myth/ritual in regard to the “Salta la Reja” and other subrituals

Nothing in the mythological literature could prepare someone for the Salida. There are no myths associated with the assault upon the altar that is the *Salta la Reja*, or the moments of near-pandemonium, or the passing of the children. The ritual of the Salida could not be reconstructed from any mythological evidence, whether from the legend, Biblical references to Mary, or any other sources. Even the Sevillanas lyrics rarely refer directly to the events of the Salida, except for the *Salta la Reja*, and this is inevitably by men from Almonte for whom the carrying of the Virgin can be a rite of passage into adulthood (Murphy 1994, 10–13; García 1991, 26–38). Although I found the Freudian psychoanalytical approach of García that sees the *Salta la Reja* in terms of sublimated sexuality, the penetration of the female archetype, and hence a ritual of male initiation (38), to be only mildly of interest and for the most part forced and off the mark, it is worth noting how the recurrent themes of the crossing of borders, and of phenomenological transitions, continue to become manifest concerning the processions of El Rocío.

This act, the *Salta la Reja*, has become an important ritual within the pilgrimage, but again, it has no mythological content whatsoever. There is no story about why it is done, and not even the itinerary refers to it. However, it is hardly a secret, either; it is now captured on television! Yet this event is only a somewhat more graphic version of what happens in many churches throughout Spain when the *Hermandades* take their *Simpecados* to the Rocío. The congregation wants to experience the divine to whatever degree they are called. In a sense, it has to be seen as an act of Holy Communion.

The suggestion of a “subversion” to the Church hierarchy, which outside observers have made, misses an important point. The Salta la Reja is not at all an act against the Church hierarchy. On the contrary, it is a continuation of exactly what the Church proposes at the Mass: communion with the divine and communion with each other. Father Enrique puts on his medallion every year as he has for over sixteen years (Granada Rociera: Romería 2003) and walks alongside the Rocieros singing to the Virgin. Father Pedro is baptized in the river Quema like all the other Rocieros. The “mounted” priests attain to states of emotional near-hysteria among the crowds in the streets, and of course the Hermitage’s doors are unlocked on Monday Pentecost (after all, she’s coming back). We might want to consider that Catholicism in Andalusia is not just what the Church did in Andalusia but also what the Andalusians did with the Church. The Salta la Reja seems to be a bold, while at the same time trusting, act of communion (on the part of the Church hierarchy as well as on the part of the people of Almonte).

As to the passing of the children, I have found no lyrical Sevillanas references at all. A study of the photographic history suggests that while both the Salta la Reja and the passing of the children might be relatively new, they are nonetheless older than any current Rociero (Flores Cala 2005, collection of photos). Photos of the early twentieth century reveal that the image was previously set on the ground before each Hermandad to receive veneration (Flores Cala 2005, 138, 143). Naturally there is no need to lift the priests above the crowd to give praises if the image is set down for that purpose. As to the passing of the children, I have found no photos of this at all.

There is no mythological content for either the mounted priests or the passing

of the children, and yet they certainly represent a far more important improvisation than the changes I witnessed. What I find intriguing about these changes is that important key ritual elements within all the sub-rituals of El Rocío, seem to be continuously evolving. Even if I witnessed only a minor innovation in the “butterfly effect” of our *presentación* procession, nonetheless these little incidents seem to be part of an overall fluidity that encourages innovation as long as it does not stretch the current aesthetic too far. Most important, these innovations are initiated by the people themselves as spontaneous aesthetic acts.

In the light of the many unmythologized ritual acts within the Rocío, and the fact that the ritual was already centuries old before the legend even appeared, how are we to understand the role of myth within the Rocío? The legend provides only the basic premise for why the people would go to El Rocío in the first place. How they are to worship is simply not addressed. What actually occurs at El Rocío is truly its own ritual event with little of it mythically represented.

It is at these kinds of junctures that I question the emphasis that d’Aquili and Newberg, authors of *The Mystical Mind*, place on the role of the cognitive impulse to create myths as a means of ordering and explaining contradictions in experience (1999, 79). This structuralist approach is ignoring the very ritual tenets implicated by the activation of the mystical mind along what they themselves have postulated is a state of mind called the “unitarian continuum” wherein experiences are attained to that are then reflected upon as paradox (1999, 97–98). The congregation of Rocieros does not seem to fulfill any kind of cognitive mythical imperative at all. On the contrary, they seem to be avoiding the cognitive process altogether except as a tool

with which to manifest their desires for religious experience.

Myths are generated by the ritual activity of the Salida, and some potential myths, such as the passing of the children and the moments of panic, have not been mythologized at all yet. On the other hand, the Salta la Reja has not only been mythologized in song, it has also been the subject of exegesis such as in the work by Miguel Zapata García (1991) and in many television commentaries and videos. None of these myths or commentaries existed prior to the ritual activity; just as the legend itself came centuries after the ritual had already been in progress (see App. A).

This suggests that the experience of wholeness that is the central understanding derived from the mystical experience (see Chapter 13) is an experiential “truth” that is immediately differentiated into myth as sets of oppositional dyads through the communicative structures of language as modeled by Lévi-Strauss ([1958] 1963, 206). But the paradox that results is a limitation of language, not of experience. The wholeness of reality is something we continuously experience, but the experience can be displaced by the linguistic process with which we cognitively order our thoughts and reflections (d'Aquili and Newberg 1999, 187–189)

As of yet, the Rocieros seem to have made little effort to categorize and order their experience of the Rocío except through song, dance, and worship—the expressions that emphasize what Julia Kristeva refers to as the semiotic, sensual *genotext* underlying the discursive meaning carried through the semiological *phenotext* (Kristeva 1984 in McAfee 2004, 24). In a similar vein, Becker’s “knowing is doing” (Becker 2004, 164) suggests a similar reversal of the experiential process,

from a cognitively induced ritual to a ritually induced cognition. I think this is what Nietzsche meant by his “Apollonian Rhapsody” as a reaction to the Dionysian experience but not the reverse: The Dionysian experience is neither a reflection of, nor motivated by, the Apollonian need to render paradox more palatable (Nietzsche [1886] 1967, 41–44). Furthermore, as just pointed out, many important aspects of the Salida have as yet no mythological expression at all. It would seem that, at least for the Salida and much of the Rocío up until this final act, the rituals produce myths, but myths did not seem to produce rituals, except perhaps in the most general sense: A miraculous image of the Virgin Mary is found in the forest, and the land there is a sacred place for healing. If the legend were all one had to go by, however, the Salida would come as quite a shock.

The fact that the ritual has little mythological content is a significant indication as to its experiential quality. Without a mythological context for much of the ritual there is little in the way of symbolic, or textual references, to lead the participant outside of the ritual. As previously discussed in Chapter 8, the Mass entails a default experience of itself as a result of the extensive semiotic “gap” between what is symbolized in the ritual and what can be reasonably expected to be experienced in relation to those symbols. The fact of one’s being there, at the Mass, experiencing the environment both physically and socially, becomes inevitably the predominant experience by *default*. However, we can see immediately that if little is symbolized in the ritual then whatever is being experienced in relation to the ritual itself must, again inevitably, have a closer relationship. The semiotic “gap” between what is symbolized in the ritual and what is being experienced by the participants

must narrow significantly, by default, when compared to a ritual in which there is substantial distance between symbolic presentation and actual experience; there is less in the way of an absent object.

Ritual default to its own experience: The S/O collapse

There is little experiential default in the Salida ritual, because there is little in the way of an absent ritual object: What is symbolized is the Virgen del Rocío, and what is present as a ritual object is also the Virgen dEl Rocío. The objective of the ritual is to render devotion to the Virgen del Rocío, which is precisely what transpires. To the degree that one is not devotionally involved in the ritual but yet physically present in the ritual, that person experiences “structural coupling,” to use the term of Maturana and Varela (1974, 75–77) from the devotional intensity of those in the proximity; it is impossible *not* to. If nothing else, the sheer physicality of the ritual makes demands on one’s attention and physical participation (to avoid being knocked over, for instance, as was presented in the Prelude of this dissertation). Participation in the Salida is not really a choice; a person is either there or not, and if a person is there, then that person is participating whether they had intended to or not.

What is sensed and what is symbolized are virtually the same, even if not shared to the same degree by everyone present. It doesn’t matter what any individual’s reaction to the ritual might be, whether revulsion, fear, curiosity, indifference, or something else. If one is present within the ritual, there is no choice but to experience the ritual’s physicality and emotional turmoil. I am certainly not suggesting that a phenomenology for any individual can be predicted. I am arguing,

however, that the more experiential the ritual, the more we can approach a phenomenology of the ritual in terms of general emotional modalities and physical experiences. Default then, is a semiotic trace, not a semiological path of associations.

The experience of the Salida, and its ritual objective, are practically the same phenomenon. The semiotic displacement between the S (the ritual activity) and its O (emotional/physical glorification) is extremely narrow. If one is physically present, one cannot help but bring the two into relation. It is sensed; it is experienced at a visceral level. Thinking about its potential meaning is completely secondary, and furthermore, the consideration of meaning is absent as a ritual objective altogether. There is no ritual space at the Salida dedicated to apprehending the “meaning” of the Salida; there is so such space anywhere on the Rocío, for that matter. The Salida, in this way, is far more like an emotional musical movement flowing through the streets without program notes. The only way to ascertain a meaning is to come back and do it again.

By “ascertain a meaning” I am suggesting that there are far fewer operations in the Peircean category of Thirdness that need to take place in order for the Salida to seem purposeful and fulfill its ritual objective. The predominant symbol, the image of the Virgin del Rocío, and its object, emotional interaction with the image, are brought into direct relationship without dependency on any textual or language based operations; there is no search for meaning, no argument being presented or being considered that would require the mind to bring sign and object into relation. “Communion” with the Virgin is a fact even if we cannot predict what any given individual’s reaction to that communion might be. My own reactions were mixtures

of anxiety, exhaltation, even moments of fear, but there was never any need for me to consider the purpose of the ritual; the purpose was unfolding before my eyes and being experienced by my entire body. What the ritual participants were doing was self-evident. *Why it might be important to do this*, although a perhaps reasonable question to ask in retrospect, was not a question that was being addressed by the ritual (or any other question for that matter).

In light of the proposition that there are little to no textual symbols to be analyzed at the Salida ritual, there arises a question of methodology in respect to analysis: How useful then, can a methodology like social deconstructionism be (if we admit that this is, in fact, a methodology at all; see Ellis 1989), when it relies on textually based interpretations of human behavior, if a textual analysis is precisely what the behaviors resist?

Discourse analysis relies on experiential displacement

As Murphy's writings (1994, 2000) amply demonstrate, there are no valid social markers at the Salida, and the *communitas* that comes into temporary play is real. This condition of *communitas* and S/O ritual convergence is precisely why there is no space for a social constructionist approach to its analysis; there is nothing to deconstruct because few artificial Sign/Object relations are being addressed within the ritual wherein the object can be deconstructed to the social order.

It is within the area of the "gap," or "rupture," between signifier and signified that the discourse magician works his sociological magic. Where there is little gap, little displacement of experience, there is not much room for the discursive analysis.

The object is there, in the moment. To reassign the present object elsewhere is to take the analysis out of the ritual moment, which is to say the analyst has just left the ritual and gone somewhere else. Furthermore, in the Salida the subjective selves of the participants are not socially positioned within the ritual. The practitioners have gone “into the forest,” literally, and into the temporary anonymity of *communitas*.

Deconstruction through social markers yields fruitless results.

There is no ritual “text” other than the text of its performance, and that text is devoid of valid social markers (as already discussed). Without social markers, that is, without an “object” (as in socially constructed object) outside the ritual that can be related to a sign within the ritual, there is virtually no “text” *ripe for deconstruction*. For any deconstruction to take place the analysis must relate the ritual to something outside of the ritual; the analysis must immediately leave the ritual. As I hope to have demonstrated thus far, that is precisely what an experiential ritual does not lend itself to. In the same way that the ritual does not actually relate to anything within the body of religious doctrine, neither does it relate to anything within the social order. The ritual intensely resists, by its very nature, being interpreted as a “text” for any purpose whatsoever.

One could experience the entire Salida without knowing the language of Spain, without knowing anything about the image, without being Catholic. The experience is self-explanatory and requires little to no exegesis. Exegesis would not clarify the experience; on the contrary, it would only confuse it. What is necessary in the Mass, exegesis, is counter-productive at the Salida. It is clearly not a mythological enactment; there is no “story,” no return to an Eliadean “golden era” (the turmoil

around her makes this clear): It is far more the Dionysian descent into the heart of experience, the heart of paradox by way of a “controlled chaos.” It is less a reflection of ecclesiastic, or of social, discourse; though it does, as I will argue further in this dissertation, function as part of the system within Andalusian culture that contributes to both. In other words discourse certainly arises out of the Salida, but discourse does little to effect or condition the Salida. On the contrary, I will continue to argue that the Salida, and the many degrees of experiential rituals that comprise the cultural bed of Catholic Andalusia, condition the fundamental parameters of Andalusian social discourse to a far greater degree than the reverse. Every speaking social body is already a product of the embodied aesthetics generated within its ritual system. In Andalusian aesthetics, as I emphasized in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the emotional component within the embodied aesthetics comprises a dominant and deliberately cultivated element.

Controlled chaos: Emotional structuring, formalidad, and the cultivation of hysteria

The emotional modality of glorification becomes less well defined at the culminating ritual of the Salida. Up until now, the predominant emotional mode was definitely something that I have been approximating as “joy,” punctuated with moments of deep devotion. At the Salida, however, the prevailing emotional expression turns a bit darker and less easy to define despite the fact that the emotions generated are now far more intense. The contrast with the inner contemplation and passivity of the Mass is obvious, but the chaotic breakdown of the processional

structure itself—and, with it, a more raw, near-hysterical emotional expression—also clearly distinguishes the phenomenological content of the Salida from the other processions of El Rocío

There is another emotional cast to the Salida that is not as easily captured on video, especially if filmed from a distance: there is a certain element of fear and anxiety, even near panic that surfaces periodically, especially at what I call the “crunches”—those moments where the image moves a little too quickly into a densely packed portion of the crowd and those in the pocket of intensification immediately feel uncomfortably pressured, one against the other, and it is not certain how far the crowd can condense before they begin falling and trampling each other.

There is also the somewhat theatrical anxiety wherein the Virgin appears to possibly be falling over. In addition, there’s a certain amount of anxiety in watching the children (who are often crying at this point, though a few seemed to enjoy the ride) being passed over the heads of what is still a churning mass of humanity and wondering whether they might be dropped.

However, this “frenzy” and “panic” element, combined with the near-hysterical devotional quality, is not unique to El Rocío. I witnessed similar moments in the Semana Santa processions in Granada (unpublished video presented at the SEM convention in Miami, 2003), and Rafael Briones Gómez gives a similar account of the Holy Thursday procession in the town of Priego, where he encounters the term “sublime savagery” (1999, 266), which I will refer to again further in this work.

In each of these cases, primal emotions of panic and hysteria are brought to the edge of actual manifestation, but the crossover is never made. They always pull

back just at the brink, and in a sudden moment there is a release of tension that results in an actual, unmistakable feeling—a feeling that cannot be captured by video, even when the filming is done from within the actual occurrence, as I did in 2004. The fear and anxiety is captured on the video but not the emotional release when the tension is broken.

The sudden “break,” wherein the mounting tension is released, is usually accomplished by a movement of the image, a change in direction, or a change in its direction of spin if it is being turned in another direction. There is no doubt that both the buildup and the release are intentional, and their manipulation is an example of a masterful capacity on the part of the Andalusians to generate and control their own emotional experiences. The concept of “controlled chaos” runs deep, well beyond the frenzy at the base of the Virgin.

The difference between the *Salida* and the penitential processions of Holy Week, then, is the emotional modality leading up to the culminating moments of intensification. But at those culminating moments, both joy and sorrow are subsumed into a general pandemonium that becomes anxious, hysterical, and chaotic but never degenerates into true chaos nor (and this is even more impressive), into any kind of violence. The control of chaos can be seen clearly in these practices, and the configuration around the Virgin of the members of the *Almonte* brotherhood attest to how carefully they manage and, in a sense, “stage” the approach to the brink of hysteria, and then carefully, at the right moment, back off from it.

This flirtation with hysteria prolongs the overall emotional tension over a long period of time, during which the participants have the opportunity to experience these

primal emotions without giving in to them. Also, since the image must be moved within a sea of people during the 10- to 13-hour procession, the tension/release practice is performed over and over again along with the “near fall” of the Virgin as she moves through the packed streets of El Rocío. But as I also indicated in the Prelude of this dissertation, the emotions of anxiety, fear, awe, elation, ecstasy, and even euphoria, are all churned and processed at once

The processional movement of the *romería* into the liminal forest becomes, at the *Salida*, a visceral physical procession into the interior liminality of the emotions. The edges of hysteria and panic are explored, prodded, penetrated momentarily all along its borders and then suddenly released. In the end they, the ritual practitioners, “hold their ground”; they remain “grounded” both in the moment as being fully present and engaged participation and also in regard to their inner aesthetic habitus of formalized behavior: *Formalidad* is never *quite* breached. There are no acts of violence, the children are not dropped, the Virgin is protected and kept aloft, no one is trampled; the procession continues, and the emotional grounding is maintained.

Brief conclusions about the Salida

The *Salida* is by far the most paradoxical and mysterious ritual of the pilgrimage. To a large degree it defies explanation. The *Salida* also displays the most intense level of experientiality within the pilgrimage of El Rocío. Its “controlled chaos,” however, has analogous expressions in other processional rituals in Andalusian Catholicism. This fact has been lost on many ritual analysts who have focused too narrowly on one single ritual. The *Salida*, although it may seem to be an

extreme form of ritual practice, is nonetheless consistent with general Andalusian rituals and their cultural aesthetics:

1. Extreme emotional arousal is the central feature of the Salida as it is in much of Andalusian ritual practice.
2. Trance induction is neither a feature of the Salida nor of Andalusian ritual practice in general. The Salida resists trance induction in favor of emotional arousal, exteriorization, and concomitant structuring within the ritual structural aesthetics.
3. However, the element of the chaotic that engulfs the Salida is of extreme interest. The prevalent mode of glorification and devotion is deconstructed and fractured into fear, anxiety, near hysteria, awe, ecstasy, exhilaration, euphoria, etc.
4. Yet the behavioral aesthetics of *Formalidad* are maintained even within a milieu of extreme emotional arousal and a social condition of temporary *communitas*.

Music becomes noise at the Salida, and language becomes an emotional ranting that defers meaning to immediate experience. Even the emotional expression of “joy” that characterizes the Rocío *romería* up until that point begins to break down into something far less definable. The boundaries of what constitutes joy as an experiential state are pressed and stretched and even merged into other emotional modes such as fear, anxiety, and exhilaration. It is as though the intensification of one emotion has spilled over and stimulated other emotional categories. Who knows if some people experience touches of rage, anger, moments of the erotic, or even of despair? What is important is that the moments are quickly dissipated back into a general controlled chaos that falls back upon devotion and the internalized structures of *formalidad*. There are even purported occasions of miraculous healings as related by the experience of Trujillo Priego (1995, 20–23). It appears that something important is being generated at the Salida, and more important, something is being

transformed, if even only slightly, and then reinternalized. I cannot say with certainty at this point, but it seems to me that what I took part in at the Salida, as a culmination of the Joyous Processions that led up to it, was an ongoing process of emotional morphology. What constitutes joy and devotion was being re-processed and pushed to their limits. Emotions are generated, raised to a fevered pitch, broken down, and re-internalized as something slightly new, something a little different than the year before, and the year before that, etc; “*Cada Rocío es diferente*” (Every Rocío is different”).

That the structures of formalidad (normative aesthetics of behavior) are maintained even in this crucible of experiential and chaotic *communitas* has implications for how humans self-organize that may be compelling. Two elements of behavior remain intact during the tumult of the Salida: the emotional exaltation directed at the image of the Virgin, and the consciousness of the boundaries of interpersonal relations. Is it possible that the behavioral aesthetics of formalidad were, like the embodied musical aesthetics, created in the crucible of Andalusian experiential ritual?

Summary of Mass, procession, and Salida

This summary is a recapitulation of the long course of inquiry that culminated in the three short vignettes presented in the Prelude. The three rituals of Mass, procession, and Salida reveal a semiotic process of representation and reintegration of the religious experience at differing degrees of semiotic function. The spectrum of semiotic functions extends from the symbolic mystery of the Mass, wherein the

religious experience has been displaced and where its representation, coupled with considerations of its “meaning,” has a central importance, to the emotional and experiential level of the Salida, wherein any search for meaning is constantly deferred in favor of the experience of the present moment.

In the former, we have experiential displacement, and in the latter we have symbolic deferment. In the Mass there is a great deal of potential amplitude between what has been symbolized and what can be experienced, while at the Salida there is little. At the Salida what is symbolized is what is occurring. The processions of the route provide the ritual vehicles through which the movement from one ritual semiotic function to the next is accomplished. But the processions are not just transitional movements; they are potent rituals in and of themselves. Furthermore, after analyzing the ritual of the Mass we see that there were once processions within the Mass, and when we look at the Salida we realize that it is a procession itself.

The pilgrimage traces a liminal path, from Mass to Salida. Furthermore, the structural positioning of the Mass—its very integration into the social order, and its very presence at the center of the social order—creates structural boundaries, both physical and phenomenological around itself that take the form of symbols and doctrines, boundaries that the processions breach as they move across first, the actual physical architectural boundaries of the Church, then the social boundaries of class positioning, and then into the metaphorical and literal liminality of the “forest”—the marginalized, liminal territories that are both physical and social. But the final boundary is the emotional: The “controlled chaos” of the Salida breeches emotional categories and with them, categories of self-awareness. In Part I, I argued that the

deconstruction and reconstruction of emotional forms through informal, as well as formal music and ritual practices, represents a technique of morphology through which states of being, as embodied aesthetics and as emotional states, are generated and integrated into the self as a kind of “knowledge of the self.” The continuation of the musical and emotional focused ritual procession reaches a climax in the Salida where they are broken down and fractured into many emotions even ones that would seem to be oppositional to one another; devotion and panic for instance.

In Part III I will introduce the work of a number of researches in a range of fields that nonetheless will prove to be relevant to the subject of music and ritual. Those discussions will further develop the trajectory followed up until now that seeks to establish functional semiotic relationships between music, ritual, and states of consciousness that would include their interrelated morphology; that is, how any change in one of the three elements requires a corresponding change in all three.

PART III: TOWARD A THEORY OF RITUAL RELATIONS

Chapter 11: Myth and Ritual

The study of ritual began with a prolonged and influential debate on the origins of religion that gave rise to several important styles of interpretation—evolutionary, sociological, and psychological—from which new fields of scholarship emerged. The simple question at the heart of this productive controversy was whether religion and culture were originally rooted in myth or in ritual.

—Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (1997, 3)

This chapter outlines the most important junctures in the relationship between myth and ritual. What I am hoping to accomplish with this brief survey is to reveal how the myth/ritual debate serves as dynamic manifestation of a more fundamental principle; the process of experience and representation, a process that underlies human consciousness (for a discussion of experience and representation as process, see Whitehead, Chapter 1, “Fact and Form, 39–75), and how that principle works within every field of scholarship. In the field of ethnomusicology, it can be seen as mirrored in the relationship between music and discourse.

The early scholars of comparative religion such as Friedrich Max Muller (1823–1900) and Edward B. Taylor (1832–1917) favored the primacy of myth over ritual as explanatory stories and texts for natural phenomena. These theories were concerned primarily with the value of understanding the workings of “the primitive mind” (Taylor 1871 in Bell 1997, 4) and, as such, were seen as evolutionary

approaches that were eventually discredited even in their own time. The ensuing counterclaim for the primacy of ritual over myth originated with two basic schools, called collectively the myth and ritual schools (Bell 1997, 3), whose objects of study were Biblical and ancient Near Eastern scholarship, and Classic Greco-Roman and Indo-European scholarship respectively. Sir James George Frazer (1854–1941), Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928), and William Robertson Smith (1846–1894) were among the most notable, but certainly not the only, proponents of this position.

These studies centered a great deal upon the perception of universality concerning the cult of the dying king in relation to vegetation, the seasons, and the procession of the heavens. The consensus following the voluminous scholarship from these two schools on this point was that myth, contrary to the conclusions of the earlier comparative mythology scholars, was a secondary correlate to the activity of ritual—a secondary correlate that often became detached from the ritual and then survived independently long after the ritual ceased to be performed. The ensuing process led to genres such as drama (e.g., Greek tragedy, as detached mythology from Dionysian ritual), poetry, and liturgy. More important, the myths themselves were seen simply as lingering signs of complex and profound activities that were instrumental in the process of human development. In short, the rituals were vital; the myths were not.

The Myth and Ritual School left two ironic legacies regarding the future of ritual and music. The first legacy is the influence of linguistics upon the nascent disciplines of anthropology and the social sciences. It would have seemed logical that, with establishment of the primacy of ritual over myth, music and dance would have

come into the forefront of ritual study and, with them, an interest in nonlinguistic-based forms of cognitive structuring. After all, even a casual perusal of any body of rituals brings to light the obviously intimate relationship between ritual, music, and dance. (For early scholarship raising this issue, see W.O.E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance* [1923] 1968.) Most scholars, however, did not see—or at least did not address—this relationship for several possible reasons. The first might have been the inherently ephemeral quality of dance and music as performing arts. Before the advent of modern technology, these arts left few traces except occasionally in other media—those of language and the visual arts. This argument proves insubstantial when one considers that ritual itself suffers from the same condition, yet scholars correctly ascertained its primacy over myth, the linguistic remnant, despite this obstacle.

The second, more plausible explanation for bias toward myth (one that I believe has had far-reaching consequences for the role of music in ritual studies) is that, for the most part, many of the early scholars (such as Muller and Robertson Smith) were linguists. This signaled the onset of a host of problems that I believe have plagued much of the humanities over the past half-century and that first appeared in the myth-vs.-ritual controversy. This pro-linguistics bias resulted in the eventual domination of social-science methodologies by language-based models and, as a side effect, the subordination of music structures to linguistic structures in matters of analysis and modeling, even in regard to music analysis. (I will have more to say on this as the dissertation progresses.)

The myth and ritual school

The leader of this school was Robertson Smith, with other major contributors being Muller, Taylor, Frazer, Harrison, Jessie Weston, and later writers such as Joseph Campbell (1904–1987). These contributors elucidated the deep complexity of myths, rituals, and their interactions, thereby generating an enormous amount of academic activity. From the onset we witness an interesting continuity: Rituals give rise to cultural institutions, and the study of rituals gives rise to more cultural institutions.

The basic argument in this school concerned whether myths or rituals predominate, including whether myths preceded (or generated) rituals or vice versa. This school actually began its work as comparative mythology and assumed the primacy of myths (mythology) until Frazer, author of *The Golden Bough* (1922) perhaps the most extensive collection of mythology ever published—changed his mind and argued that ritual was primary and that myths could not be understood independent of their ritual activities ([1922] 1996, vii).

Robertson Smith also insisted on the primacy of ritual activity, contending it is independent of its own rational or theorizing myths—in other words, that rituals are nonintellectual acts motivated by irrational or primitive impulses (Bell 1997, 4). In contrast, Muller claimed that myths were primary, contending that (a) myths were statements about nature that, over time, were misunderstood, and (b) rituals were, at best, only loosely related to, and not basically generated by, the myths attached to them (4–5).

Taylor, an evolutionist, contested the idea that myths were “misunderstood.”

In his view, myths were never meant to be pseudoscientific observations of nature but instead constituted philosophical attempts to explain the world in their own terms. He viewed myths as glimpses into the workings of the “primitive mind” and saw vestiges of these mythological elements in some modern religious customs (5) For Taylor, myth was a means of explaining phenomena, especially the mystery of spirit, and myth was the origin of religion. Both Taylor and Muller were representative of those schools of thought that dismissed the importance of rituals, and claimed that rituals were merely crude manifestations of the myths.

To summarize, within the myth and ritual school, virtually all possibilities exist—that myths generate rituals; that rituals generate myths; that myths could exist without rituals (e.g., the myth serving merely to preserve history) or rituals without myths; and that rituals can be incomplete manifestations of myths.

This suggests that this overall myth-vs.-ritual approach is, in the end, not the *fundamental* way to understand this relationship. It is important to note that the argument about the relative domination of either myth or ritual continued in most of the schools described below. What is so significant about the original myth/ritual debate is that it represents an issue at the heart of the humanities, and that is, the relationship between experience and representation. Furthermore, as I will cover in the next chapter, the myth/ritual relationship finds a direct analog within the field of ethnomusicology in the relationship between music and language, a relationship that has been a persistent theme within the field.

Finally, independent of how they interpreted the myth-ritual relationship, analysts of the myth and ritual school saw a steady expansion of the field of “spin-

off’ arts attributed to ritual activity (Bell 1997, 10–12; Schenchnner on Turner, in Turner 1988, 7) This dissertation will further consider this concept, noting that this spin-off is not limited to artistic genres and academic pursuits but encompasses further ritual production as well—a phenomenon I call “ritual proliferation” and I am suggesting it is a direct result of how ritual systems develop.

The sociological school

One of the earliest precursors of this school was the French anthropologist N.D. Fustel de Coulange (1830–1889), whose work found that the role of the cults of ancestors maintained joint family lineages and the core social institutions that resulted from them. Fustel greatly influenced the most important proponent of what would be called functional structuralism, Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), who stated the following in his famous 1912 work, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*: “Religion contains in itself from the very beginning, even in an indistinct state, all the elements which...have given rise to the various manifestations of collective life” ([1912] 1995, 237).

Durkheim ignored the individual’s psychological experience of religion and emphasized the socialization process. One central goal of his analysis was to distinguish between the sacred and the profane. He claimed that religious beliefs and their representations constituted the sacred, while ritual consisted of the prescribed behavior around such representations.

Nowhere in the prodigious volume of Durkheim’s work is there any inquiry into the musical aspects of ritual, and likewise there is no hint that he ever took part,

as a sociologist, in any rituals whatsoever. But it is interesting to note that when he refers to the notion of “form” as regards ritual, he sees it purely in terms of legal structure:

When, in the so-called Feast of the Tabernacles, the Jew set the air in motion by shaking willow branches in a certain rhythm, it was to cause the wind to rise and the rain to fall: and it was believed that the desired phenomenon would result automatically from the rite, provided it were correctly performed....this religious formalism-very probably the first form of legal formalism- comes from the fact that since the formula to be pronounced and the movements to be made contain within themselves the source of their efficacy, they would lose it if they did not conform absolutely to the type consecrated with success ([1912] 1995, 35).

We can see that if we use the Rocío and the relation between musical form and behavioral aesthetics, there is a wide space for improvisation and change that completely belies this static approach to religious behavior. Furthermore, fear of failure is not a detriment in practically any aspect of El Rocío, and neither is any act predicated upon some expected positive outcome. What I propose that Durkheim is addressing, is what I am calling a highly developed “symbolic ritual,” a ritual wherein any failure factor is completely eliminated by establishing as the dominant priority for the ritual, the performance itself as a structural representation of something outside itself, with no regard to any phenomenological outcome. But as I will argue in Chapter 13, and El Rocío is a good example, all rituals do not function in this capacity.

Although, as a functionalist, Durkheim was not interested in individual psychology, he did use the psychological concept of projection to reinforce Robertson Smith’s idea of the social origins of ritual and claimed that all concepts such as God or the Biblical ancestor, Abraham, serve as projections of the social entity itself.

Religion, then, serves as an “unconscious” reinforcement of the communal identity (Bell 1997, 24). Religious ritual is the way to accomplish the identification process. All sacred images are actually images of the social order—the social “self”—and the rituals around them are intended to produce an intense feeling of “effervescence” in the individual, who experiences being a part of something greater than oneself.

“Religious beliefs are the representations which express the nature of sacred things and relations which they sustain, either with each other or with profane things. Finally, rites are the rules of conduct which prescribe how a man should comport himself in the presence of these sacred objects” (Durkheim [1912] 1995, 41).

We see that Durkheim’s structural functionalism, while emphasizing communal social relations and institutional structuring as the primary purpose of religion, nonetheless relies on subjective experiences through ritual. The community bonding is not achieved through conscious affiliation but through the feelings that ritual arouses. His conceptualization of the sacred and profane also contains a marked psychological dimension that is crucial to his theory. He conceives of the sacred and the profane as manifesting within the individual as an inward-turning look into the self and an outward look that projects the social order onto some kind of religious image “god and society are one of the same...the god of the clan...can be none other than the clan itself, but the clan transfigured and imagined in the physical form of a plant or animal that serves as a totem” (Durkheim [1912] 1995, 208). We note that this dual aspect of religious ritual he is describing has a parallel in my description of the inner content and the outer projection of the procession. However, he is taking decidedly the position of the observer—a position that (as I described in Chapter 3,

“Introversion and Extroversion”) projections on the part of the observer (or analyst) are common. But his concept of the “collective effervescence” is his nod to the religious experience. His sentiments regarding the validity of such experiences being anything more than basically a collective delusion are clearly revealed:

“But from the fact that a ‘religious experience,’ if we choose to call it this, does exist and that it has a certain foundation...it does not follow that the reality which is its foundation conforms objectively to the idea which believers have of it” (Durkheim [1912] 1995, 190).

Even while insisting that religion is the primary vehicle of the communal expression, however, Durkheim insisted that social relations constitute the foundations of how both self and world are perceived. To Durkheim, knowledge itself is a social construct: “Concepts are collective representations” ([1912] 1995, 435).

The phenomenological school

In Germany, a countermovement emerged, led by Muller, which he called a *Religionswissenschaft* (translated as either the “science of religious studies” or “history of religion”), aiming at a nontheological approach to the study of religion. In English, the term became “phenomenology of religion” as well as “comparative religions” or “history of religions” and had as its first identifying characteristic Muller’s emphasis on the primacy of myth. A second important aspect of this approach was its reaction to the perceived reductionism of Taylor, Robertson Smith, and others regarding the religious experience. This position rejected the notion that myths are mistaken explanations or subjective fantasies. Its adherents considered the

myth to be a valid means of understanding the world in its own right and insisted that myths should be studied in that light. The ascendancy of myth in the ritual-myth dichotomy took what was to be a permanent position of dominance with the rise of phenomenology.

The Idea of the Holy ([1923] 1936) by Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) was an early vanguard of what would be variously called “the science of religion,” “history of religions,” “phenomenology of religion,” and eventually the more widely used term in general anthropology, “phenomenology.” I would address two salient points of phenomenology: (a) the reemergence of the primacy of myth over ritual, and (b) the concept of the sacred as the focal point around which the concept of ritual and myth can be understood.

As Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) stated, “For the historian of religions the fact that a myth or a ritual is always historically conditioned does not explain away the very existence of such a myth or ritual. In other words, the historicity of a religious experience does not tell us what a religious experience ultimately is” (Eliade 1969, 53, in Bell 1997, 11).

Ironically, although the above quote suggests that Eliade was primarily concerned with the religious experience, he only considered the experience in terms of the ritual enactment of myth that in turn gave meaning to life:

“What does living mean for a man of a traditional culture? Above all, it means living in accordance with extrahuman models, in conformity with archetypes. Hence it means living at the heart of the *real*...” (Eliade 1954, 95). [Note that for Nietzsche, and his processional “chorus of satyrs,” what lay at the heart of the *real*, was not an

enactment of a story but a an encounter with *paradox* (*The Birth of Tragedy*, [1886] 1967, 45).]

Eliade was probably the most influential of the phenomenologist school. He made two important reversals to the myth and ritual school by linking myth intimately with the symbol. Myth is not simply a narrative to a ritual, in his view. It is more than even a metaphor; it is actually a symbol. As a symbol it greatly supersedes the ritual's capacity to convey meaning, and the ritual is subsumed as an unstable means to portray the symbolic content. "A symbol and a rite...are on such different levels that the rite can never reveal what the symbol reveals" (Eliade 1963; in Bell 1997, 10).

In sum, for Eliade, ritual is a reenactment of a cosmogonic event or story recounted in myth. The myth plays a critical role in establishing a system in which any activity has its meaning by ritually identifying the activities of the here and now with those of the gods in the period of creation...Myth as a matter of beliefs, symbols, and ideas, is deemed a manifestation of the sacred that is inherently closer to the cognitive patterns that define *homo religiosus* while ritual as action, is considered a secondary expression of these very beliefs, symbols, and ideas (Bell 1997, 11).

For Eliade, as for Otto, the manifestation of the sacred becomes the central operation of a ritual, and in so doing, its complex of symbolic representations becomes the key to ritual interpretation. Eliade's concept of "eternal return" is based on ritual being a symbolic enactment of the cosmic creation that places the participants in a desired relationship with the cosmos—and thus with society, and thus with themselves as individuals. He relates directly; power with ontology, and both with myth and archetype (Eliade 1954, 35). The themes of death and rebirth, chaos and order, are the basic elements underlying the cosmogonic myth, which in

turn informs the ritual. As Bell summarizes, “Myths and rituals are seen as attempting to present, model, and instill a coherent and systematic unity within all human experience” (1997, 12).

Two possible theories were then considered. The first placed the sacred as something with an independent existence—beyond human sensibility but something to which humans aspire. This was Otto’s approach, which placed much greater emphasis on the role of ritual in the religious experience of the sacred. Otto argued that the concept of “the Holy,” or “the Sacred,” is innate to all humans and to the religious experience in general (Chapter XVII, “The Holy as an A Priori Category,” 1936, 140–146). The problem with this approach was that the cross-cultural search for tangible structural correspondences between ritual and phenomenological states eluded this branch of phenomenology.

In Chapter IV, “Mysterium Tremendum” (12), Otto presents some of his most fecund insights, as suggested by the subheading, “The Elements of Awfulness” (13). First of all, as the following two citations indicate, he begins not with an idea about religion, but with religion as fundamentally the product of direct experience: “It is this feeling which emerging in the mind of primeval man, forms the starting-point for the entire religious development” (15) “...that ‘creature feeling’ that has already been described as the feeling of nothingness and abasement before the awe inspiring object *directly experienced*” (19) [emphasis mine].

The tremendum is a feeling of what he calls “neumen,” a phenomenon that is substantial, while mysterium is the attempt to penetrate the paradox of existence that lies at the heart of “the Other” (30). Notice how Otto points to how quickly the

inherent structures of language become exhausted when attempting to communicate the religious experience. Paradox is encountered almost immediately, as in the term “controlled chaos” from the Rocio. Otto also uses the terms “over-brimming” and “overflow” in discussing these encounters (30)—terms that continue to be relevant as this work continues in regard to the neurological aspects of the religious experience. I am convinced that Otto’s approach to ritual was perhaps the most important of all the schools of ritual in conjunction with the initial Myth and Ritual schools. I say this because he addressed the single most important aspect of sacred ritual; the religious experience itself, directly. The neurological substrate of the religious experience, what neurophenomenology attempts to provide, has furnished an interesting corroboration to Otto’s “over-brimming” and “overflow” that will be addressed further in this chapter. Unfortunately however, Otto also emphasizes the “primitive” and “demonic dread” (112) as manifestations of the neumen to “primitive religion” and, in so doing, undermines much of his own argument by casting religion in an evolutionary process that although he does not state explicitly, he highly implies, is an intellectual evolution, and issue I will be contesting further in this section as well (119). Nonetheless his value was in seeing the religious experience as central to religion, with morality and doctrine following in stages afterward.

He also addresses the important question of disposition and quest, two important questions that arise when one considers that everyone is not equally drawn to the religious experience, yet the suggestibility to this experience, to one degree or another, seems to be ubiquitous in human cultures that result in “these manifestations of a predisposition becoming a search, and a driving impulsion” (120); and, again,

“For one and the same experience speaks here, only by chance in varying dialects” (1960, 13), which he explains as being a “differentiation of Mystical Experience” (157). Here is where we find the root, within the Western academic tradition, for what has become the present neurophenomenology that locates the structural correspondences between ritual and the phenomenal at the intersection of the structures of the human nervous system.

The second phenomenological approach, that of Eliade (which eventually prevailed), considered the sacred to be a cognitive structure—namely, that it *existed within the mind* as a universal aspect of what must be fundamentally human (*homo religious*). For Eliade, an encounter with symbol was the means of encountering the sacred; and this encounter was prior to, and the driving force between any secondary experience.

Eliade expresses his most potent insight as to the relationship between myth, ritual, human culture, and most important, why the myth might work in the first place, this way: “Not only do rituals have their mythical model but any human act whatsoever acquires effectiveness to the extent to which it exactly repeats an act performed at the beginning of time by a god, a hero, or an ancestor” (1954, 22).

Eliade, for all practical purposes, dispensed with the study of ritual altogether in favor of the study of myth and symbol (his later works on religion and phenomenology contain no discussions of ritual whatsoever). Ritual studies returned to comparative mythology, wherein language and cognition are the chief mediums through which the religious experience is to be approached; but wherein the

overwhelming emphasis is placed on religion as an idea, as a concept, that motivates action, and not an experience in and of itself that motivates further action.

The functionalism school

“The concept of function applied to human societies is based on an analogy between social life and organic life...like all analogies it has to be used with care.”

—Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society* (1956, 178)

British anthropologist Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955) further developed Durkheim’s social approach to religion and ritual into a general school of thought. He sought to reveal the different notions of God that should be reflected by the different societies that projected the image: “If the image of God is a collective representation or projection of the social group, then different forms of social organization will have different self-reflective notions of God” (Bell 1997, 27, paraphrasing Radcliffe-Brown).

Radcliffe-Brown points out that doctrine is often secondary ([1952] 2002, 176), and he states: “To understand religion we must study its effects. The religion therefore must be studied *in action*” (177). He realized that at times there were “direct and immediate” relations between religion and social structure, but that at other times the relations were “indirect and not always easy to grasp” (ibid).

This approach, while not successful in making direct correlations between social structure and religious belief, nonetheless succeeded in completely pulling anthropology away from what was left of the evolutionist framework as well as

obviating questions concerning the origins of religion: “We deal not with the origins but with the social functions of religions, i.e., the contributions they make to the formation and maintenance of the social order” (Radcliffe-Brown [1952] 2002, 3). But a key insight that, in my opinion, becomes much abused by ensuing social anthropologists, is the notion of a “social personality” that is a result of his/hers occupation of a social position within a social structure (1956, 193), where “structure” and organization are to be understood as distinct: structure is a set of relations, while organization is way in which certain activities are carried out (11).

Bell points out an interesting movement in anthropology at this juncture that is relevant to my thesis. Durkheim had relied for his theories on reports, mainly from missionaries, but Radcliffe-Brown lived among the aboriginals of western Australia and among the Andaman Islanders for his research. Although he did not spend sufficient time with them by current standards, he still brought into the field an appreciation for the importance of firsthand knowledge based on experience as well as an appreciation for the accounts of oral tradition in matters of history.

Interestingly, his work reaffirmed the ritual approach of Robertson Smith. Radcliffe-Brown did not think that belief causes ritual but rather that ritual, or ritual action, gives rise to belief. Central to his insight was the suggestion that ritual activity passes on sentiments that are crucial to the survival of the group. Here again, another early ritual investigator suggests that emotions themselves could have been developed into culturally specific forms through ritual. He related these ritualized emotions to social structure.

“We can consider the effects of the rite-not the effects that it is supposed to

produce by the people who practice it but the effects that it does actually produce” (1956, 143). Although I do not agree with the condescending attitude toward the religious practitioners (something that still continues much in the field and a problem which I hope this work serves to address), he still points to the ritual as something that creates lasting work within human society.

Two important issues arise from this premise. First, if rituals can influence the emotional disposition of a culture, does that imply that at some point they can become inheritable? Radcliffe-Brown raised this possibility by suggesting that ritual does not merely express mental states; it *creates* mental states ([1952] 2002, 178; Kuper 1977, 99–100). This is where he differs most with Durkheim, who thought that the emotional states were projected and expressed through the ritual activity, not created *by* the activity. Radcliffe-Brown rejected Durkheim’s central thesis that ritual enacts symbolic representations of the collective “in the guise of religious beliefs” in favor of seeing belief, doctrine, and myth as a secondary and unstable results of ritual practice (Bell 1997, 27).

We notice El Rocío can support and deny both approaches. That the social order is “represented” is true, but that it is the object of ritual activity is certainly not true as evidenced by the manifestation of a *communitas*. To see the performance of El Rocío as a symbol, is of course the only way it could be seen by a non-participant observer because the social order, although not symbolized or even present in structure, is nonetheless present by the fact that people from across all social barriers are indeed participating. However, the *communitas*, and the internal phenomenal experiences are only apparent to those within the ritual, and easily confused by those

from without, as was made evident by the observations of Murphy in Chapter 9. That the social order can be either “symbolized” or “projected” has to be true from the point of view that the social order is indeed present within a *communitas* (otherwise how would there be a *communitas*?), but to whom is the order projected? Only to a spectator/analyst who has nothing else to go by, no experience or knowledge of the ritual phenomenology.

Another important aspect of Radcliffe-Brown’s approach is his acknowledgement that the emphasis on a cause-and-effect relationship between myth and ritual often obscured the coherent whole comprising both elements. Here we have an attempt to emphasize that the ritual/myth issue is a dynamic rather than a dichotomy, a dynamic that brings into play the relations between thought and action, language and thought, articulation and behavior, and at a more fundamental level; experience and representation. These relationships, in turn, have implications for ethnomusicological questions such as the relationship between music and ritual and between music and language.

Bell’s interpretation of functionalism, however, seems to emphasize the regulation of social pressures more than I feel the functionalists themselves actually suggested: “For social functionalists, therefore, ritual is a means to regulate and stabilize the life of the system, adjust its internal interactions, maintain its group ethos, and restore a state of harmony after any disturbance” (Bell 1997, 29). But this is not quite the stance of Radcliffe-Brown. In his last four chapters of his 1952 work, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, he does not so much attribute the efficacy of ritual to relieving social pressures so much as to create the cultural ethos

(2002, 182)—which may or may not lead directly to social harmony. If the rituals actually create states of mind and shape emotions, however, then we have to wonder how this is primarily a process of stabilization (as Bell claims in the above statement), when it may in fact lead to extremes of emotional states and with them further conflict. Certainly at El Rocío, the rising of the emotions along with the complication of the logistics of the pilgrimage, created a real potential for inner conflict, and sometimes did result in conflicts. But when the arousing of the emotions are seen from the point of view that they also arouse consciousness and a sense of self (see Damasio 1999, 72–80; as well as Part I and Chapter 12 of this work) then the emotional component can be seen as creating stability only as a side effect to increasing consciousness. If arousing the emotions does in fact result in the creation of stability; stability in the long run can look different from stability in the short run.

Arnold van Gennep (1853–1957) further expanded the scope of the ritual analysis to seek the function of a ritual, not within a single instance but as a rite within a sequence of rites. He found the study of rituals taken out of their social context and selected from diverse cultures (the method of Frazer) to be completely unacceptable. A ritual can be understood only by seeing where it fit within a sequence of rituals, what ritual preceded it, and what followed it, he argued in his 1909 work, *Rites of Passage*. As Frazer did in *The Golden Bough*, van Gennep sought to reveal universal patterns of ritual function at the social level.

Two social states intrigued van Gennep, and both involve transition. The first is the manner in which a society processes crisis, and the second was the manner in which an individual makes a transition from one social state to another. Although

“Rites of Passage” is the standard translation of van Gennepe’s title, Solon T.

Kimbal’s introduction to the 1960 edition suggests that something like “Dynamics of Transition” might better indicate how van Gennepe used the French words *passage* and *schema*. This better emphasizes to me how elements of ritual interact and remain fluid within the ritual system.

Van Gennepe was part of the broad anthropological tradition of positivism—“the insistence that general laws of social process should be derived from empirical observations rather than metaphysical speculation” (van Gennepe in Bell 1997, 35). His approach to functionalism used taxonomic methods that have proven extremely useful in the study of ritual: sympathetic, contagious, positive, negative, direct, indirect, dynamic, etc. (van Gennepe 1960, 1–13). Victor Turner would subsequently take up van Gennepe’s identification and classification of the rituals of transition (see below), and Laughlin and d’Aquili (1979) would further develop his “mild” to the “severe” classification into their “spectrum of rituals.”

Interestingly, although van Gennepe rejected Frazer’s technique of collecting isolated myths from around the world and attempting to derive universal patterns from them, his own work paralleled the three-part sequence of events found within the God King myths as identified by Frazer ([1922] 1995, 308–373): king’s journey (or quest), death (transformation), and return/re-birth/replenishment. They become, for van Gennepe, separation, transition, and incorporation (van Gennepe [1960] 1984, 11). While Frazer concentrated on cross-cultural, mythical symbolizations of the metaphysical to arrive at a theory of ritual pattern, van Gennepe focused on cross-cultural ritual sequences and purposely avoided their mythological components. From

somewhat opposite directions, both approaches to ritual nonetheless yielded similar patterns. However, it is instructive to note that Frazer eventually changed positions from advocating the primacy of myth to advocating the primacy of ritual (Frazer [1922] 1996, vi-vii).

Another important legacy of van Gennep's work was to call greater attention to the important role of rituals in aiding the individual through the transitions of life. The implication is that these transitions are perhaps too important and potentially destructive for individuals to face alone. Subsequent ritual theorists wondered whether much of modern pathology might have resulted from a lack of ritualization for these and other important steps within the socializing process: which are, in the end, nothing less than the cycles of life: birth, maturation, and death—in short, the dynamics of transition. Being in a state of transition is also to be in a state of potential vulnerability. Birthing for instance, is a state of great vulnerability to both the mother and the child. Ritually addressing this transition focuses communal attention upon it, and with that attention, concern and aid. Puberty is likewise, an emotionally vulnerable period for the individual.

Van Gennep saw in ritual the potential for humans not only to process change but also to gain a certain mastery over themselves and their environment. If van Gennep is correct, then, we see that ritual systems have served not only to acknowledge and facilitate the natural biophysical cycles but also to be a key instrument through which humans have taken an active role in their own evolution.

Victor Turner (1920–1983) contributed important insights in two basic categories of ritual theory: the actual ritual activity—the ritual process—and the

symbolizing function itself, presented in his classic 1969 work, *The Ritual Process; Structure and Anti-Structure*. Bell sees Turner as having “combined a functionalist’s interest in mechanisms for maintaining social equilibrium with a more structural perspective on organization of symbols....[Turner] argued that many forms of ritual serve as ‘social drama’ through which the stresses and tensions built into the social structure could be expressed and worked out” (Bell 1997, 39). Turner would build upon Durkheim’s view that ritual served to reaffirm social unity. He also incorporated the work of another ritual observer, Max Gluckman, who in his *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations* (1962) took into consideration the role of ritual as a vehicle for change, thus contributing to stress. As Bell notes, “Rituals did not simply restore social equilibrium, they were part of the ongoing process by which the community was continually defining and renewing itself” (Bell 1997, 28).

Turner was, in fact, introducing the process of change as the same process that forms a society to begin with. The reestablishment of equilibrium is not a return to exactly what was but is the process by which what is becomes what can be—that is, the process by which a society formulates itself, changes, and adapts. Ritual catharsis is not simply a reaction to crisis; it is the process of cultural adaptation itself.

Turner built on van Gennep’s underlying model for the ritual process and further developed it into four basic stages of “ritual drama”: breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration (Turner [1969] 1997, 94–99). The four stages are generated by an underlying dialectic between the structures of the social order and a temporary manifestation of deliberate antistructure that Turner called *communitas* (131–133). In

the process, says Bell, “Ritual dramatizes the real situation, and it is through this dramatization that ritual does what it alone does” (1997, 40).

Turner’s theories concerning symbol imbue the symbol with an almost visceral quality. At the same time, however, he sees the symbol as having no fixed meaning, instead capable of containing many different meanings at once and of changing over time, thereby being “multivocal” (Turner [1969] 1997, 142, on symbolic thought and *communitas*), which he contrasts with the more static approach of Claude Lévi-Strauss (143).

To Turner, the symbol functions at any given time through its association with other symbols, within the context of a symbolic system. He divides the functional aspect of the symbol into two polarities: its sensual aspect (the symbol’s direct relation to sensory realities) and its ideological aspect. Thus, a tree with white sap can be associated with breast-feeding as a sensory symbol while also representing the social matrilineal properties at the opposite polar end (Turner [1969] 1997, 33–34). The dynamic at work within the symbol is the way it can embed a moral or abstract principle into the mind via its sensual aspect. The ideal is made sensible, and the sensible is brought into the categories of the moral or the abstract. This dynamic, for Turner, is what gives the symbol its power.

An important aspect of Turner’s understanding of symbol is to see the symbolic process as deriving from the human body. He roots all symbols from three basic colors: red, white, and black—red from the issue of blood, white from semen and lactation, and black from feces or decayed matter (39). The issuing of these materials from the human body are moments of heightened emotional association.

Whereas Durkheim, and Lévi-Strauss make social relations the source of symbolic formation, which is then transferred down into the body, Turner moves from the body upward and argues that the social relations themselves, and their symbolic representations, issue from the body: “In contrast to Durkheim’s notion that the social relations of mankind are not based on the logical relations of things but serve as the prototypes of the latter...I would postulate that the human organism and its crucial experiences are the fons et origo of all classifications” (Turner in Bell 1997, 42).

Durkheim’s theories require a condescending “primitive logic” component to explain why social relations do not follow a logical order if they originated at the intellectual level of social organization. Turner, by observing the “primitive” in the field, reverses the symbolic process so that we understand that “primitive” logic doesn’t exist (Turner [1969] 1997, 92). The foundations of human organization exist around principles that are supralogical to begin with. In other words, the symbolic process is not generated by the intellect but by experience.

The structuralism school

“Implicit in the functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown was an appreciation of the social structure as a system of relationships connecting people to their social roles” (Bell 1997, 33). In her assessment of the contribution of functionalism, Bell goes on to reveal that Radcliffe-Brown based his analytical model of religious function to social structure on the work of paleontologists who ascertained the logic of different species’ development by comparing how their anatomical structures arose in response to their physical environment. Naturally, there was some skepticism as to whether

these methods of comparison would translate into a field in which the ethnographer was comparing abstracted invisible social structures to the activities of daily life.

Nonetheless, certain useful explanations were thought to be obtainable through this methodology. The first was the functional relationship between ritual and cooperation in communal life. The second was a means of analyzing *meaning* in ritual as it symbolized core cultural values through the ritual activity. According to Bell, however, Radcliffe-Brown did not succeed in establishing a credible corollary between social structure and “patterns of symbols and beliefs” (Bell 1997, 34).

In the work of Gregory Bateson (1904–1980), we come to a critical understanding of the way in which cultural analysis encounters its own theoretical limitations in a reflexive moment. Bateson attempted to explain the relations between social structure, emotional values as reflected in cultural structures, and the subjective individual within the social context of shared values.

He used as his analytical object a ritual performed in New Guinea in which a central feature was cross-dressing by both males and females. Even after extensive fieldwork, however, he concluded that the categories of analysis he was employing, i.e., social, cultural, even the notion of structure itself, “were not facts of New Guinea life but abstractions created and manipulated by social scientists like himself” (Bell 1997, 34).

This book is a weaving of three levels of abstraction. At the most concrete level there are ethnographic data. More abstract is the tentative arranging of data to give various pictures of the culture, and still more abstract is the self-conscious discussion of the procedures by which the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle are put together...what looks like a truism today: that ethos, eidos, sociology, economics, cultural structure, social structure, and all the rest of these words refer only to the scientists’ way of putting the jigsaw puzzle together (Bateson 1958, 281).

What is important here is that he attributes the furthest levels of abstraction, not to the people under consideration, but to the analyst. This is where he has his greatest moments of doubt, and I believe it an appraisal of what I have observed in the sociological analysis of Andalusian ritual.

Bateson was attempting to establish what he called the total “ethos” of the culture: “a generalized tendency which shows itself in the most diverse contexts of the culture” (220). “Ethos,” he further explained, “is the system of emotional attitudes which governs what value a community shall set upon the various satisfactions or dissatisfactions...[It is] the culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and emotions of individuals” (220).

Perhaps he was observing in New Guinea among the *Iatmul*, which I observed as *formalidad* among the Andalusian Rocieros. But he quickly departed from interpreting these “generalized tendencies” as being embodied aesthetics from the results of ritualized activities, such as what I described as emotional tuning in Chapters 5 and 6, that moves from the emotions to the intellect, and fell back upon a theory wherein the personality is structured through the intellect first, and then reaffirmed through ritual: “We defined social structure in terms of ideas and assumptions and ‘logic,’ and since these are, in some sense, a product of cognitive process, we may surmise that the characteristics of Iatmul culture which we are now studying *are due to a standardization of the cognitive aspects of the personality of the individuals*. Such a standardization of and its expression in cultural behavior I shall refer to as the *eidos* of a culture” (220) [emphasis mine].

Again, the combination of ethos and eidos stimulate, according to Bateson a great deal of *intellectual activity* among the Iatmul—activity that is not only enshrined in ritual activity but also brought about through ritualized activity (hence, the name of the book is a name of the most important rituals) (221). He found, however, that the concept of “ethos” eluded him as he sought its traces within the ritual activity and within the social and cultural structures. I believe, judging from his own words, that the source of his doubts concerning his own analysis were due to two basic problems: (a) he gives no impression that he actually participated in the rituals, and (b) from that vantage point he assumes a cognitive origin for the attitudes of personality. Yet when I observed the coming into being of attitudes and personalities among the Rocieros and other flamenco sites, this cognitive process he assumes does not really appear to be there, which is in fact what he himself was concerned with. Following in the footsteps of Durkheim, he seems to have been the one doing the “projection,” not the “natives.” However, it seems that the possibility of that fact began to haunt him.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973) remained a functionalist in the sense that he still believed religion could be understood only by relating it to social structures. His work with the Nuer of the Sudan included a large scope of factors ranging from the sociopolitical to the environmental, rationalizing that all of these factors played a role in forming any particular social structure. These religious conceptualizations, however, were so complex that they resisted analysis by any religious theoretical framework. While still agreeing with the general tenets of Robertson Smith, Durkheim and others that religion was a “product of social life,” Evans-Pritchard

could not agree that it was “nothing more than a symbolic representation of the symbolic order” he insisted that it was “Durkheim, not the savage, who made society into a God.” (Bell 1997, 34).

Evans-Pritchard concluded that religion could not be reduced either to the social order or to the purely subjective internalization of the individual. He noted that at sacrificial rites, for instance, no single ethos prevailed, nor even a particular view of community. He concluded this by observing that ritual participants displayed a range of attitudes, including virtual indifference, gaiety, and intense reverence. (ibid., 36)

The importance of a ritual, Evans-Pritchard found, was in carrying out the essential acts. The rites themselves brought into relation structured categories of thought that were integral with the social relations. Without understanding the philosophical and religious categories of thought and how they related the realm of the spirit to the realm of the human (the social order), it was impossible to understand how the ritual integrated the spiritual order into the social order and then into a complete religious ordering of the world. However, the experience of this world ordering—e.g., the internalized experiences of the Nuer as they live within this cultural construct (in other words, what the rites actually mean to the natives)—was something Evans-Pritchard believed to be beyond the abilities of the anthropologist to model. An essential element of his work, then, was to consider the conceptualization of what was “spiritual” as itself a structured order that influenced the structural order of the social. Ritual was a means of manifesting these relationships. Since the society

in general is brought to bear in carrying out the rituals, the social order begins to take shape in relation to the conceptualized “spiritual” order.

With Evans-Pritchard we see an interesting turn between structuralism and phenomenology. He considered the possibility that the social order itself was being modeled after some kind of experience, and experience for what he had no other word for than the spiritual and to which he believed, as an analyst observer, had no access. The Rocío provides many examples of how the observer analyst might not understand the inner workings of the ritual. Even in a ritual that seems simple such as a procession, an observer can easily make any number of observations and yet not be aware of the inner phenomenal content of that procession.

In the work of Structuralist anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908), language—and, with it, myth—again takes central stage in the study of ritual. For Lévi-Strauss, the myth/ritual debate manifests the schism between thought and experience, a schism brought about by language. According to him, language fractures continuity into discrete units constituting polar dichotomies (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 72-73) that are then articulated through myth (P. 212-215). Ritual attempts to redress this fracture, a “doomed” attempt to return to a “mindless” whole that experiences reality as a seamless continuity (Bell 1977, 43).

Ritual, in this context, is not a reaction to reality as the world, nor is it an enactment of myth in order to attain something concrete within the world, it is actually a reaction to how myth structures our experience of the world. In this light social ritual becomes analogous to the “ritual” of the neurotic, a vain attempt to work out through action what action cannot resolve: the inherent dialectic at the heart of

human experience brought about by language. Lévi-Strauss claims that this fact accounts for the “stubbornness and ineffectiveness” often encountered in human ritual (Bell 1997, 43, paraphrasing Lévi-Strauss).

In short, structuralism attempts to relate rituals to myth solely as reflections of the inner relations below the surface of the myth: the structures of language. Ritual symbols are put into relation to other ritual symbols without considering their potential relation to the ritual structures. In the nearly 400 pages of Lévi-Strauss’s seminal *Structural Anthropology* there is not a single analysis of a ritual.

Functionalism is an attempt to explain rituals by putting them into relation to one another without regard to their potential symbolic content. Structuralism may be seen as the opposite—an attempt to put myths into relationship without regard to their ritual underpinnings.

The social constructionist and postmodernist school

The concepts in both these schools follow the trajectory begun by linguistic structuralism but are developed further along ideological lines stimulated by Marxist thought. Here the religious experience (ritual) is not a consideration, much less a focus, for analytical scrutiny; only the social structures and the narratives embedded in them reveal what constitutes knowledge of the self. In this light, self-knowledge is synonymous with social identity, an identity whose contents are determined by the narratives that are both embedded in and also constitute social structure. The representational process itself makes up the content of both the psyche and the experience of the external world.

Furthermore, according to this school of thought, we are constantly constructing and evolving our own “social realities” (see Burr 1995, 2–16, 16–27, and 82–88, under “Discourse and Reality” and “Ideology as Lived Experience”) for theoretical explication concerning notions of reality as a social construct) through discourses that, when scrutinized, implicate power relations (178). In other words, there are no innate human qualities; all qualities motivating human behavior are socially constructed and directly related to power inequalities. Both myths and rituals are seen equally as manifestations of a social “text” and considered in the context of how they consciously or unconsciously serve to support or resist social inequalities and to create social identities that conform to the prevailing relations of power (Burr 1995, 62–68; MacDonnell 1986, 34–38). That we live in a socially constructed perception of reality—in which the only underlying truths (or literarily “reality,” depending on the author) constitutes the flow of power—society, as a text, can best be understood by “deconstructing” its textual overlays until they reveal the social power structures from which the various discourses arose in the first place. (See Burr 1995 and MacDonnell 1986 for concise assessments of the basic tenet and theories underlying social constructionism, especially as pertaining to theories of power relations and identity.) As should be apparent to the reader, my work at El Rocío, and with music and ritual in general, seriously contests these basic premises. I am suggesting that the basic materials out of which the sense of self is formulated, are rooted well below the level of social discourse and the inherent power relations that characterize the social superstructure. In a sense, I am replacing discourse, with “formalidad” (as I have explored the subject in Part I), as the most important factor in

the process of self-formation, a process that precedes and conditions what then becomes the discourse of social identity.

The application of the theories of social constructionism are to be found in the practice of *social deconstructionism* (Burr 1995, 106–108). Through the process of deconstructing the social discourse (analyzing the discourse so as to reveal the layer of power relations), we come to know ourselves as subjects whose contents are determined by our discursive positioning within the social structure. It should be understood that social deconstructionism is also the methodology of postmodernism. Calling it a methodology at all, however, has been seriously contested by authors such as John Ellis: “Social constructionism stems from an *epistemological* position—not an explanatory theory. It is an approach to psychology (and other bodies of knowledge) focusing on *meaning* and *power*” (Ellis 1989, 23). Ellis understands that social constructionism clearly takes structuralism and restricts it to sociology while minimizing biology. Rom Harré emphasized this difference: “There is a science of meanings, skills, strategies and rules (psychology), and there is a science of neural structures and processes and the genetic sources of the basic forms that these take (biology)” (1983, 62).

Jerome Bruner leans heavily toward the cultural but not so much toward the strictly social in the ongoing nature-vs.-nurture argument: “It is culture, not biology, that shapes human life and the human mind, that gives meaning to action by situating its underlying intentional states in an interpretive system” (1990, 34).

What is important to note here is that by culture, social constructionism implies socially constructed identities in the service of power interests. The consistent

declaration that meaning, language, and social positioning are one and the same thing acts as an ideological barrier to any other considerations as to how consciousness, or knowledge, might arise. The circularity of this argument is simply accepted as a basic tenet of postmodernism and not pursued further except to say that reality is relevant to the particular instance of social construction. Positioning within that ongoing construct is the crucial matrix wherein the analyst can interpret meaning, and that, according to the theoretical premise, meaning becomes reality. However, as El Rocio suggests forcefully, there are cultural sites wherein the postponement of meaning, and the deferment of meaning, in favor of unmediated experience is precisely the issue, and is in fact a deliberately cultivated art wherein consciousness of the self emerges (and we might add; a more accurate apprehension of reality). The limits of language are well understood, and have been well understood for centuries which lead to a pertinent question: how is it that our “educated” elite, persist in a theoretical premise that is demonstrably false: if the self is not even socially constructed in what way can we say reality is socially constructed?

Michel Foucault (1926–1984) is the most compelling of the postmodern discourse theorists and arguably the most influential. His basic concept is that we are constantly socially constructing and evolving our own social realities. Accordingly, he rejects the idea that epistemology should be based on ontological constructs of origin—we are not moving *toward* a manifest destiny: “Such a history of genealogy would breakdown identities, revealing them to be masks-or many intersecting systems which dominate one another and not some single idea struggling for its self-realization” (Foucault 1986, 238) His emphasis on power relations transfers quickly

into an argument against enlightenment values and capitalism in general. For Foucault, the textual (and this is an important word: read, “seeing reality as a text”) interpretation of actors within their social positioning always follows a trajectory wherein power relations, and their relationship to knowledge, become the focus of attention; “Knowledge is the result of conflicting desires, characterized by the will to dominate or appropriate. It is unstable and violent...” (164).

If social reality, that is a reality completely conditioned by social constructs, is indeed the only reality humans may experience—whether relative (according to postmodernism) or potentially universal at some deep linguistic based structural level (for the structuralists)—the inevitable conclusion is still that knowledge is primarily a political product derived from the activities generated by social power relations and distributed among the individuals through the various social discursive mediums. But my work at el Rocío suggests that ritual practitioners engage reality through deeper levels of direct experience and then distribute the results of these experiences into the social superstructure in the form of embodied aesthetics. In doing so, the entire issue of language is obviated, and with that, the basic tenets of social constructionism. We experience reality. We seek to understand it through deeper experience followed by reflections (representation), but we do not construct reality one way or another; reality constructs us, and our task as philosophical agents is to attempt to understand how that is so. Our subject selves as organisms and our relationship to our environment constitute reality for a human being. How that total experience can be constricted into the narrow confines that extend no further than our social interactions is certainly problematic. Certainly, as my experience with the Rocieros confirms, we

can easily distinguish between our social condition and our total experience of ourselves as human beings within the immensity of the world around us. The Rocieros confirm this with the very ease they move in and out of *comunitas*.

For ritual studies, at least regarding sacred ritual, postmodernism is virtually a dead end. Because reality can be understood only as an endless series of representations, subsequent interpretations are as real as the ritual, and consequently analyzing the ritual as an experience is unnecessary; in the end, the experience is nothing more than another positioned narrative leading to an endless series of reinterpretations. But again, I must emphasize that the experience of El Rocio completely contradicts these assertions; the representations, while they may have their effects, those effects are in no way commensurate with the experiences and their resultant embodied aesthetics.

If the project of modernism was the creation of identity, then the postmodern project is the avoiding of a fixed identity. Whereas the deferment of meaning in postmodern considerations of language can obtain at least a certain degree of traction, the idea that we can defer identity indefinitely, especially if by “identity” we mean our perceptions of reality, seems problematic. Interestingly, Jacques Derrida’s (1930–2004) *différance* has an odd relation to the experiential ritual (1973, 23–30). Derrida’s argument that meaning between speech and text is continually deferred—a certain inherent absence and disruption of meaning—builds not only upon the structuralists’ proposed link between language structure and consciousness but also has a parallel in the detached myth that embarks upon its own independent existence apart from its ritual foundation through generations of reinterpretations.

As I will propose further in this text, however, the deferment of meaning is actually a property of direct experience, an objective of the experiential ritual, whereas the play of words that Derrida proposes is made credible only by the experiential displacement inherent in the linguistic symbol (as re-presentation) to begin with.

But here is a set of citations taken from a critique by Lois Shawver: “DifferAnce is the...formation of form” (1976, 63). It is the “historical and epochal ‘unfolding’ of Being” (1982, 22 in Shawver 1996). [The spelling of “difference” is deliberate.]

Derrida is looking toward “form” as critical in how humans conceptualize. Unfortunately, in my opinion, his fixation on language and text (1976) limits the applicability of his insights. The patterns within which concepts come into being might be much better understood in musical and ritual terms, rather than linguistic terms, not just as models for conception, but as manifestations in the biology of behavior. I hope to have presented a convincing body of preliminary materials in Parts I and II of this work to suggest that the musical form, as embodied aesthetics, may play a significant role in human self-perception.

Background to biogenetic structuralism

The basic tenets of biogenetic structuralism are rooted in the field of ethology, in which it is considered that insights into certain forms of human ritual activity can be better understood by studying certain ritual behavior of animals as possible precursors of, or at least analogous to, human ritual activity. Julian Huxley (1887–

1975) observed that, although most of the ritual activity was genetically generated, there was also a certain amount of what might be called culturalization within the “ritual” behaviors (Bell 1997, 30). What Huxley then noted when observing modern human society was the apparent breakdown of human ritual behavior, to which he attributed a corresponding breakdown in communication. He also felt, however, that the kind of communication afforded through the ritual process could not be attained in any other way. In this sense, then, the functions of the ritual systems were not supplantable by modern, highly symbolized communication systems.

On the contrary, the highly symbolic nature of our communicative systems often does just the opposite: They contribute to a further miscommunication in vital social interactions. This miscommunication causes us to undervalue the genetically based features of our rituals (Bell 1997, 30–31).

In recent years, a large amount of information has been acquired about the functioning of the brain. It is now fairly broadly accepted that our most basic emotional responses have a genetic origin, although the nature of our response can be influenced by societal effects. Genetic (primary/universal) responses include, for example, love, hate, jealousy, guilt, anger, embarrassment, happiness, sadness, surprise, and fear (Damasio 1999, 50). The two tests for whether a response is genetic are (a) that the emotional response has not been taught (e.g., even seen in infants and young children), and (b) whether an automatic genetic (unconditioned) body response is involved. Examples are happiness (laughter), sadness (crying), and so on; but our response depends strongly on our culture and the specific circumstances involved. *That* we laugh is genetic; what we laugh *at* is at least partially cultural. Another major

finding was that there is a special prespeech processing system in our brain, where unconscious thoughts and reactions are processed *prior* to our thoughts being converted to words. In fact, there is a huge amount of filtering of our unconscious thoughts prior to the thoughts becoming conscious and converted to words (proved by experimental results such as masking and inattention).

Erik Erikson (1902–1990) emphasized the maturation process of the individual in a context of human relations and ritual practices. Bell states: “Ultimately, Erikson’s theory makes ritualization an essential link between the development of the human individual (ontogeny) and the evolution of the human species (phylogeny)” (Bell, 32). This theory also links the biogenetic structural components of the human nervous system to psychological states that must be activated in order to have fully functioning, healthy individuals who in turn constitute the health and well-being of the group. We can see in biogenetic structuralism the “grounding” into the body, those states of mind that occupied the attention of the phenomenologists, that being the religious experience, or experiences, but to which they could not make any reliable relation to in ritual structure. By placing Neurphenomenology between phenomenology and ritual studies, we have a working medium rooted in the body from which to establish relationships that were previously could only be conceptualized, between ritual practice and various states of mind.

D'Aquili and Laughlin and the neurological structures underlying the "overflow" that engenders the mystical experience

Cliff Guthrie, in a paper written for the Ritual-Language-Action Group, gives a succinct summation of biogenetic structuralism that begins with the following:

"Biogenetic structuralism" is an unfortunately complicated name for a promising line of inquiry that seeks to apply knowledge of the evolution and structure of the human body to various human or cultural behaviors. It has particularly focused upon ritual and religious experience to demonstrate its methods, which is not unexpected given the strong influence of structuralism on ritual studies in general and the centrality of ritual and religion in most human cultures. Even though hampered by an unwieldy name and method, ritual theorists are beginning to pay attention to the interesting contributions the field seeks to make. Along with performance theory, Ron Grimes has called biogenetic structuralism one of the "most promising theoretical currents regarding ritual." Victor Turner's "Body, Brain, and Culture" concluded his collection of essays in *The Anthropology of Performance* and dealt both with biogenetic structuralism and split-brain theory. Roy Rappaport rehearsed some of its assertions in a few pages of his major and posthumously published book, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*" (Guthrie 2000, 1).

The key importance of biogenetic structuralism is that it places the religious experience back into the center of anthropology as an important phenomenon in its own right regardless of how it might be subsequently interpreted. What is most important is that humans *have* these experiences and, only secondarily, what those experiences might mean. Rooting the experiences of ritual and other related disciplines such as meditation within a neurobiological framework is the central objective of biogenetic structuralism, a term that first appeared in *The Spectrum of Ritual* (1979), edited by Charles Laughlin and Eugene d'Aquili, and subsequently in the theoretical variants called *neuropsychology*, introduced by Laughlin, d'Aquili, and John McManus in *Brain, Symbol & Experience: Toward a*

neurophenomenology of Human Consciousness (1990) and, finally, in *The Mystical Mind: Probing the Biology of Religious Experience* (1999) by d'Aquili and Andrew Newberg.

The following synopsis of the functional modeling of the nervous system that comes into play with regards to the religious experience and other related experiences are drawn from three key sources: Chapter 2 “The Brain and the Central Nervous System” in *The Mystical Mind*, by Eugene d'Aquili and Andrew Newberg (1999, 21–45); Chapter 2 “The Nature of Neurognosis” in *Brain, Symbol, and Experience*, by Charles Laughlin, John McManus, and Eugene d'Aquili (1990, 34–61); and the online “Self-Guided Tutorial” of Charles Laughlin, available on the Web at www.biogeneticstructuralism.com/tutorial.htm.

Briefly, then, there are two systems that constitute the most basic part of the human central nervous system, called the autonomic system. This is the part of the total nervous system that regulates basic baseline body functions and at the same time takes in environmental stimuli. It is what regulates the two polarities of rest and activity. The system is constituted, in turn, by two subsystems: the sympathetic and the parasympathetic. The sympathetic is the most important system in the overall system that generates “arousal” and is sometimes called the ergotropic system. The parasympathetic is the most important element of an overall system referred to as the quiescent system and regulates activities such as the vegetative functions such as cell growth, digestion, and sleep. In most ways the parasympathetic works as an antithesis to the sympathetic, as they function as inhibitors to each other.

What is important to the subject of ritual studies, however, is what happens when either system is driven to extremes, that is, extremes of activity or extremes of relaxation, each of the two systems, rather than inhibit the other, will instead, after reaching a certain stage, will excite the other. Biogenetic structuralism recognizes two general ritual forms that affect either of the two general nervous systems. The “slow rituals”—such as meditation or extremely slow dance—stimulate the parasympathetic, or quiescent, system. The “fast” rituals stimulate the sympathetic, or arousal, system and frequently employ rhythm as a central feature. However, as was mentioned above, when driven to extremes, one system will then stimulate, rather than inhibit (as they normally do) the other system and this gives rise to five basic states:

- The Hyperquiescent State
- The Hyperarousal State
- The Hyperquiescent state with Eruptions of the Arousal System
- The Hyperarousal State with Eruption of the Quiescent System
- The Simultaneous Maximum Discharge of Both the Arousal and the Quiescent Systems

The fifth state listed above is the rarest and results in a “breakdown of any direct boundaries between objects, as sense of the absence of time, and the elimination of the self-other dichotomy” (d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 26). The phenomenon that causes the simultaneous stimulation of one system by the other is called “spillover” or “overload” and is the result of one system reaching its maximum capacity and triggering the other. Notice how the metaphors employed by Otto

decades earlier, of “over-brimming” and “overflow,” to describe the religious experience decades ago before there was the technology with which to explore the nervous system, are almost identical to those metaphors used to describe a neurobiological process that theoretically models those same experiences. The symmetry is, if nothing else, provocative.

Furthermore—and this is especially interest in terms of my observations and experiences at El Rocío in regard to “emotional tuning”—under the heading of “Retuning the Autonomic Nervous System,” the proponents of neurophenomenology write: “Simultaneous discharge of *both* the excitation and relaxation systems may lead to profound alterations in consciousness (Gellhorn and Kiely 1972) and even to a reorganization of the personality (see page 135)” (Laughlin, d’Aquili, McManus 1990, 147).

In addition, there is substantial evidence that ritual practices can cause changes in the nervous system that are permanent, and as the literature relates, results in new “settings,” or a “tuning” of the central nervous system: “Driving behaviors employed to facilitate ritual trance are actually elaborate methods of tuning the CNS [Central Nervous System]” (Laughlin, d’Aquili 1979, 136).

Also of keen interest is how these practices are related to the learning process, that in turn links these experiences to human adaptation and consequently evolution: “Three stages are tuning are recognized...in these states learning has occurred in the nervous system” (137–138, referring to the clinical work of Gellhorn 1970 and Gellhorn and Kiely 1973).

Thoughts on the validity, usefulness, and limitations of neurophenomenology

Biogenetic structuralism accounts, neurobiologically, for an important observation regarding the religious experiences: The activation of the nervous system toward the “overload” and “spill-over” phases—the phases that initiate the movements toward stimulation of a religious experience and related phenomenal states—can be achieved through two seemingly opposite approaches: sensory stimulus and sensory deprivation.

By observing that the nervous system is completely activated to its fullest capacity, which is what results in the overload, breach, and spillover, sequence of events leading to the experience of the “mystical mind” (d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 47–56) it is implied that the individual is processing information to its fullest capacity (165).

Whether the resulting phenomenological state that results from this experience is one of complete self-deception on the part of the person undergoing the experience, or whether the person is actually processing accurate information about the nature of the self and its relationship to the environment, is beyond the scope of this work to prove one way or the other. What is important is to acknowledge that given the central role these experiences have played in the development of human culture, that being for the most part religious culture, it is essential that anthropology seek to understand this phenomenon within the scientific methodology.

The model afforded by the initial theories and methods of biogenetic structuralism (Laughlin, d’Aquili, and McManus 1979) and its further development

under the name of neurophenomenology (Laughlin, d’Aquili, and McManus 1990) give the investigator a working theoretical foundation and methodology with which to begin the study. The model accounts for the religious experience and its many varieties, in terms of neurobiology, quite well.

Furthermore, it is the only theory we currently have with which to approach the phenomenon of the religious experience. It acknowledges the reality of such an experience, or branch of experience, and takes the first step toward understanding what phenomenology has been struggling with for decades but for which other cultures have developed entire branches of knowledge (i.e., Tantrism, Taoism, Cabalism, Sufism, and so on; see d’Aquili and Newberg 10–16 for the relationships between neurophenomenology and Eastern traditions as well as older Western traditions).

To ignore the religious experience—and, with it, the enormous and central role these experiences have had in the course of human civilization—is to ignore the largest “elephant in the living room” of the social sciences of the past half-century. Ignoring the religious experience is hardly good science. Science proceeds through a working dynamic between theory and empiricism that mutually inform one another.

Data, in and of themselves, do not constitute science, nor is there really any useful understanding of the concept of data without a theoretical, or synthetic, framework (see James Lett 1997, 48–57 [Chapter 3, “The Scientific Approach to Knowledge] and Kuznar 1997, 30–39). neurophenomenology provides both: data in the way of clinical observations, and a theoretical framework as contained in the theories of neurophenomenology as currently configured (that it is an ongoing

evolving theoretical premise; see Laughlin's online tutorial under "Methodology in Biogenetic Structuralism"). The clinical data draws from a number of sources:

The work of Ernest Gellhorn (1967), Gellhorn and W.F. Kiely (1972), and Gellhorn and Loofbourrow (1963) all have to do with clinical studies regarding the neurobiology of the emotions and mental states associated with pathology. The work of K.H. Pribram, M.D., Ph.D., of Stanford University, and staff members of the Brain Research Center, Radford University, are also cited frequently. All seven of the works cited were written between 1971 and 1975 and have to do directly with neurobiological studies of the emotions and states of mind. However, in 1999, he was invited to be the key note speaker for the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic.

The speech was titled "Learning as Self-Organizing and Brain-Organizing: The surface and deep structure of memory, new EEG findings using 128 dense electrode arrays, human learning as self-organization, and biofeedback as a feed-forward system." Other researches cited are G. Ratcliff (1979), D. Schacter (1977), and R. W. Sperry(1969–1974), among others.

The technologies used are mostly the MRI (magnetic resonance imaging), EEG (electroencephalogram), and the PET (positron emissions tomography) scan. While there may be a conspicuous absence of newer materials having to do specifically with clinical work in brain research and neurobiology for a work that was published in 1990, nonetheless as indicated by the work of Pribram, the field seems to be alive and well. In a book by Michael Murphy and Steven Donovan, *The Physical*

Effects of Meditation: A Review of Contemporary Research (1999–2004), dozens of studies are cited and discussed.

Of key importance in trying to establish the relative importance of the religious experience and its relationship to ritual is whether or not ritual activity *does* have any effects on the humans that practice them. In this regard, the work of Gellhorn and Loofbourow, as cited by Laughlin, seems significant: “Gellhorn’s contention that during abreaction oscillations in ergotropic-trophotropic functioning often lead to a ‘new setting of the level for automatic balance’...a hysteric change described as ‘relatively long lasting’” (Gellhorn and Loofbourrow 1963, 297; and in Laughlin 1979, 173) suggests that ritual activity directed at the emotions and not necessarily limited to the private or sensory-deprivation approaches to ritual, may have significant results.

These citations and others listed above, provide the neurological basis for the proponents of neurophenomenology to suggest that sacred ritual has been an important aspect of human self-directed “mutation of species through ritual” (Laughlin 1979, 174).

Criticism or appraisals are difficult to find because most of the fields employing the neurosciences are more concerned with pathology at this point rather than phenomenology. A positive review by John A. Miles, Jr., appeared in the March 1976 *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 15 (1): 99–100, while Paul Ballnoff’s critique in the December 1975 *American Anthropologist* 77 (4): 967–968, while not supportive, merely considers the field to be a: “... necessary non-contribution.” However, obviously this view (as made clear in Guthrie’s opening

remarks cited above), is not at all universal, and some important people in the field obviously do not agree, i.e.; Victor Turner, Ron Grimes, and Roy Rappaport.

In the scientific community, biogenetic structuralism and neurophenomenology are more marginalized than criticized, and this probably has more to do with the subject matter rather than with a serious problem from the community regarding their methodology or validity. In general, after reviewing a number of neurobiology departments in major U.S. universities, it was apparent that their programs were directed toward medicine and pathology and not toward any pursuits that could be considered as attempting to systematically arrive at a phenomenology of consciousness.

Nonetheless, the founders of biogenetic structuralism have confronted an obvious aspect of the human experience and at least begun an inquiry within the Western scientific and humanities traditions that provides (1) a provisional model accounting for certain aspects of the workings of the central nervous system in regard to the religious experience (as described above), and (2) a starting methodology that combines the monitoring of the nervous system through the use of electronic technologies with a discipline for a controlled introspection (see online biogenetic structuralism tutorial under “Methods Parts 1 and 2” and “Training for Transpersonal Anthropology”).

Neurophenomenology places the religious experience back into the forefront of ritual studies, and in doing so it simply continues Turner’s reversal of Durkheim by directing the study of the religious experience back into the human body and away from superficial social rationalizations.

In this way, neurophenomenology also takes up where Otto's phenomenology left off. The difference is that rather than looking directly to the rituals to find the corollaries between the phenomenology of the religious experience and the ritual structures, biogenetic structuralism goes directly to the nervous system and from there seeks to establish the corollaries between ritual structure and phenomenal states.

Limitations of biogenetic structuralism

I disagree with neurophenomenology, as currently configured, on three basic points. I must emphasize that I am not in a position to argue against their neurological data (or for it, either); rather I am addressing their model of the relationship between ritual activity, the processes within the body, and their potential consequences, especially in relation to discourse theories.

The cross-disciplinary approach I am taking is intended to introduce the religious experience into anthropological approaches to ritual using the basic concepts developed by the founders of neurophenomenology. My criticism involves only certain emphases that they have placed upon their own interpretive model that themselves are the results of concepts developed in structural anthropology.

The founders of neurophenomenology are themselves cross-disciplinary anthropologists. I approach their work in much the same way that Judith Becker approaches the work of Antonio Damasio; she employs the model that Damasio developed as a result of his clinical work in neurobiology.

First, there is an overemphasis on the role of myth and language embedded in their theories that seems contradictory to their entire premise. Laughlin's theory of

“symbolic penetration” is, I believe, ill-conceived; partially as a result of his focus on the mental process involved in meditative ritual practice, but mainly due to his dedication to the linguistic based structuralism of Lévi-Strauss (Laughlin 1990, 8, 78–79).

The fact that people meditate upon symbols is not, to my understanding, due to any virtue in the symbol itself. The symbol merely serves as a focal point with which to begin the task of stilling the mind and moving the body toward sensory deprivation. It is the act of meditation, and the prolonged hours of inactivity and mind control that potentially induces the resulting states, not the symbol. The particular symbol is relatively insignificant.

While “symbolic penetration” may be useful in certain aspects of ritual consideration such as serving to instigate a search, or quest, as I covered in Chapter 8, the symbol does not in itself lead directly to a physical/emotional state but, rather, can only potentially trigger materials that are already there by its power to refer to something else, which is exactly the properties of the symbol as described by Peirce (Peirce 1955, 102; in Turino 1988, 5)—nothing less but certainly nothing more, either. Prolonged meditation is a taxing, physical, and potentially emotional ritual practice regardless of what it may look like to an observer. It is to this physicality that the practice owes its efficacy, and not, I believe, to any “symbolic penetration.”

Naturally, in view of what has been covered earlier in this chapter, there is much at stake in the proposition that the power of symbols, and thus of language in general, may have been greatly exaggerated by recent proponents of the social sciences.

Consider that the entire edifice of social constructionism, to include postmodernism, rests upon linguistic-based structuralism; they are intellectual models in themselves that then rely on models of how the intellect works for their epistemology.

The polar dyad of Lévi-Strauss, while it may reflect a limitation of language and perhaps vex the mind of an intellectual to some degree, does not necessarily reflect the nature of reality, nor does it necessarily vex the average person so much. It would seem that the man gesturing to the convergence of Hermandades on the way to El Rocío, and foreshadowing the experience of the Salida, seemed not only untroubled by the term “controlled chaos” but, on the contrary, he seemed to revel in it, as the Rocieros revel in the act of controlled chaos that so well describes the Salida, but certainly does not contain or determine the Salida.

The supposed angst created by the antimonies of life among humans is what has led Laughlin and the others to postulate a number of “drives” within the nervous system as ways to makes sense of them. These lists of drives (d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 52) are, in my opinion, the weakest elements in their model and not coincidentally the elements that have not been supported by any direct neurological evidence. Locating where the brain processes language does not constitute the location of a “drive” that explains what the brain is doing.

On the contrary, what evidence does emerge seems to contradict their linguistic structuralism: “What is exciting about the new evidence [neurobiological work regarding transformation and cognitive structures] is that it seems to indicate...such configurations of elements are highly stable neural and cognitive

systems, not easily changed, but not absolutely and permanently fixed in either an ontogenetic or a phylogenetic sense, as Lévi-Straussian structure would seem to imply” (d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 82–83).

There is not enough space here to pursue this matter in any detail here, but I would simply propose that the need to resolve paradoxes—a central feature of Lévi-Strauss’s explanatory model of ritual (1963, 80–89)—presents an intellectual problem that may or may not be real and, more important, may not constitute a significant motivation for people to pursue religious ritual at all; hence the people at El Rocío seemed to pursue their rituals with great vigor and intensity, but seemed to be little concerned with, much less motivated by, any existential intellectualized angst.

Second, the hypothetical vexation of the mind by polar opposites, postulated by both Lévi-Strauss (1963, 70–75) and Eliade (1963) and consequently followed by a host of anthropologists and sociologists to include Laughlin et al., imposes an intellectual strategy upon human behavior that may be grossly exaggerated. Not only that but, as will be covered in the following chapter and in view of what has been already highly suggested by my observations at El Rocío, what seems to be now emerging in the field of neurobiology in relation to music, ritual, and human consciousness, suggests that the intellect may be a tool of an emotional evolution, and not the other way around.

In that light, any “cognitive imperative” (Laughlin 1979, 161), while perhaps a useful concept to explain behavior according to a preconceived framework, may not have much to do with why humans behave the way they do.

Finally, the proponents of biogenetic structuralism do not account for the fact, as I previously pointed out, that many rituals do not have as their objective the stimulation of the nervous system toward a mystical experience at all, and furthermore it might be said that many, if not most rituals, quite deliberately avoid it (e.g., most weddings, funerals, and baptisms).

By not understanding the role that the dynamic between experience and representation plays in the unfolding of a ritual system, the proponents of neurophenomenology have inadvertently created a static notion of ritual that does not account for either the variety of rituals, the variety of rituals within a single ritual system, or the very existence of ritual systems in the first place as opposed to a collection of cross-cultural mystical practices.

Summary of myth/ritual treatment within various schools of ritual theory

In regard to the table below, the letters in the third column, R and M, stand for ritual and myth. They describe, as simplified ratios, the proportional emphasis between the two elements of experience (ritual) and representation (myth) as they play out in the various schools of ritual theory covered: A large M or large R suggests that either myth or ritual is the focus of attention; a large R and small m suggests that both are considered but the emphasis is on the ritual and vice versa. Also, if one letter is missing, then that theoretical approach, for all practical purposes, dismisses the one as unnecessary. Brackets indicate that they are present but only nominally, as in the case of the sociological school.

Postmodernism	Experience and representation are indistinguishable. Ritual as text	M
Discourse	Reality as a product of social discourse Discourse is a tool of power relations. Ritual as text. Subjective self product of socially positioned narratives	M
Structuralism	Consciousness is a function of language that fractures reality into discrete binary dyads. Ritual is a futile activity trying to reintegrate consciousness into a whole	M
Sociological	Although Durkheim devalues myth and considers ritual, he denies the religious experience and substitutes mythology with another myth: the psychology of unconscious projection.	[R/M]
Psychological	Uses myth to decode unconscious motivation for behavior. Ritual enacts myth motivations.	M/r
Phenomenology 2	Eliade: Religious experience is a product of the encounter with the Symbol. Ritual reenacts mythical content (a re-presentation. Ritual is unimportant; mind formulates myth as a response to “horror of history.” Rituals follow as representations of mythological content.	M
Functionalism	Myth is an overlay that enables rituals to regulate social behavior; what is important is the system of rituals.	R/m
Phenomenology 1	Looked for ritual structural correlations to the universal religious experience; “awe and tremendum” were reactions to the experience that ritual sought to engender.	Rm
Myth School [of the early myth/ritual debate]	Myth enables insight into the “primitive mind.” Rituals are unstable and unimportant.	M
Ritual School [of the myth/ritual debate]	Ritual is the experiential basis generating mythological representations. These representations can be more confusing than useful.	R
Biogenetic Structuralism	Acknowledgement of the religious experience as a semiotic function reintegrating relationship between consciousness and environment into a coherent whole through ritual manipulation of the nervous system. There is some ambiguity as to the role that myth and symbol play in determining the religious experience.	R/m(?)

Summary: The problem

Keeping in mind Bell's comment regarding the increasing trend toward abstraction within the humanities (Bell 1997, 21), if we begin at the bottom of the list we can see that trend reflected in the pattern of the third column to the right as it moves upward. Beginning with Phenomenology 2—Eliade's phenomenology that declares ritual experience as the result of the symbolic encounter within the mind—there is a clear progression of emphasis upon abstraction and language as the column moves upward and we arrive to the present expression in postmodernism at the top, wherein all phenomena, all experience, is considered as a text. The reality of the religious experience, or any experience at all for that matter, is negated at the top of the list as being conditioned by representations within the mind, and yet the religious experience is the central object of analysis only at the bottom of the list. Nonetheless the drift toward abstraction and symbolization of the experience, and away from the religious experience as its own phenomenon, persists even in biogenetic structuralism due to the retaining of linguistic structuralism within its basic theoretical premise as I described above.

The problem I am referring to however, is not the trend toward abstraction itself, but rather the fact that when the body of ritual theories is taken as a whole, it becomes apparent that the theories in general are at times in direct contradiction to one another. At the two extremes we have the schools of functionalism and structuralism. In social functionalism the body of theoretical approaches analyzes ritual while ignoring any mythological content. In structuralism we have myth analyzed exclusively and ritual dismissed as insignificant.

At the base of this spectrum of theoretical distinctions lays the very item ritual studies began with: the ritual/myth dynamic itself wherein; if the significance of ritual is emphasized, then the significance of myth is proportionally deemphasized, and if myth is emphasized then ritual is correspondingly diminished. This dialectic persists in biogenetic structuralism wherein inherent contradictions are exposed along the fault-line of the same myth/ritual dynamic: by beginning with the neurobiology of the religious experience (the biogenetic part), the proponents of neurophenomenology maintain the centrality of ritual as being the site of its manifestation, yet paradoxically, to the degree that they propose a corresponding concomitant theory of symbolic efficacy (the structuralism part), they have to continually postulate a series of abstracted behavioral “drives” that take the overall theory further and further away from the religious experience itself, and into increasing layers of explanatory abstractions for which there is correspondingly less and less neurobiological evidence. The theory itself begins to degenerate into a series of increasingly abstracted representations of its own theoretical premise; Drive 1 is explained by Drive 2, is explained by Drive 3, and so on (d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 52) rather than remaining moored to the reality of the religious experience as being rooted in the central nervous system, which was the original premise. It is as though the evolving theory of biogenetic structuralism retraced the same progression toward and endless series of abstractions that led linguistic-based structuralism into the morass of postmodernism in the first place.

Clearly, it is not a simple matter of determining which of the schools of ritual studies have been either completely correct or completely wrong. Each one has

provided useful insights to the study of ritual and consequently to the study of the humanities in general. I will propose that there is an underlying phenomenon of which each school of thought has addressed some part of—a process whose inner structural relations change as the process moves through different phases. I will propose that the “markers” of that process are to be found in the changing relationship between the myth/ritual dynamic. I will propose in Chapter 13 that the proportional relationship within the myth/ritual dynamic places the ritual within a continuum that characterizes the ritual as being more or less experiential, or symbolic, relative to other rituals within a specific system of rituals (also to be defined in Chapter 13). I am proposing that the observations by analysts of this process as it manifests itself at different stages, that is different rituals within a system of rituals, without consideration of its relationship to other rituals within the system, has led to different theories about the nature of ritual.

For instance, if we take the three categories of rituals that are central to the *romería* of El Rocío—the Mass, the Processions, and the *Salida*—we can see immediately that the relationship between symbol and experience is strikingly different. Had three different analysts looked only at either one of those rituals and then formulated a theory of ritual based only upon that ritual, they might easily have arrived at completely contradictory theories concerning what the object of Andalusian Catholic ritual might be, and ritual in general. The difference in those three rituals, as I described them in Part II, is their level of experientiality. If we start with the Mass, the evidence points us toward concluding that what motivates people to perform the ritual is its symbolic content. But if we begin with the *Salida*, the evidence suggests

that it is the experience of the ritual itself that is compelling; and with the processions, some ratio between the two.

What I am proposing is a theory that will put into relation the insights of the various schools of ritual theory into a coherent whole that reveals what is of value within each theory and how those insights actually support one another. However I am convinced that the best way to approach this problem is through the relationship of music and ritual. As I pointed out in Part II, there is a semiotic function at work within a musical ritual that points toward a model of ritual phenomenology extending beyond the limitations of a linguistic structuralism approach. In the field of ethnomusicology, a field that one could argue also began with the study of comparative ritual, the myth/ritual debate finds a direct analog in the music/language debate.

If we consider the title of William James's book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), and consider its topic and content as an attempt to understand what various religious behaviors or experiences represent, and then replace the word "variety" with the word "forms" to read, "The *Forms* of Religious Experience," then, given what has been suggested in Part I concerning the musical form, its potential for morphology, and its relation to the musical ritual, we may find that a better starting point with which to approach a theory of ritual is to approach it from the direction of the musical ritual. The musical religious ritual forms, as a particular expression of the varieties of religious ritual experience, might provide unexpected insights into what underlies the religious experience. As will become apparent in Chapter 12, what is central to the study of the musical ritual as a study in phenomenology is an emphasis

upon the relationships between music, emotions, and trance, rather than language structure and cognition. There is also neurobiological evidence supporting the intimate relationship between the emotions, consciousness, and music in the theories of Nils Wallin that will be considered at the end of Chapter 12.

In short, the old ideas and models relating the evolution of human consciousness to language structure and its cognitive functions, theories that have dominated the humanities for the greater part of the past century, may be giving way to a broader more ample understanding of consciousness as being a product of emotional evolution intimately linked to tonal flow and music structures. Once again, ritual studies will be at the center, and at the center of ritual studies is the myth/ritual analog to the basic semiotic process of experience and representation.

Chapter 12: Myth and Ritual in Ethnomusicology

Music, trance, and emotions: An opportunity to study ritual phenomenology

What follows is by no means intended as a survey of ethnomusicological theory. The task is far less ambitious. What I propose to accomplish in this chapter is a brief survey of specifically how the role of music has been seen theoretically in its relationship to ritual and trance as a parallel to the trends I discussed in Chapter 12 regarding the myth and ritual dynamic in terms of experience and representation (or experience and symbol). I have chosen only a select number of ritual analysts, whom I believe represent the basic theoretical positions on the subject of music, the emotions, and ritual trance. They are certainly not the only, and perhaps some readers would suggest they are not the most important, however in my judgment they are best choices for representing the various positions on the issues that of concern here.

The reason I have focused on the subject of trance and emotions are twofold: First, trance and its relationship to the emotions affords to ritual studies a visceral confrontation with phenomenology. The purpose in studying a trance ritual is that at some point in any analysis, the analyst must address the phenomenological aspects of the trance one way or the other. To make an analysis of a trance ritual and ignore the phenomenon of the trance is not to have analyzed the ritual at all.

Second, the study of ritual trance in ethnomusicology places music and trance

in direct relationship. Again, the phenomenology of the trance and its relationship to the music must be addressed. This relationship, as will be revealed in the ensuing discussion, reflects the same myth/ritual dynamic that operates within the general field of ritual studies and has a direct analog in the music/language (or discourse) debate.

Where music is to be analyzed as vehicle of discourse—as a text

Jean-Jacques Nattiez argued in his *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music* (1990) that musical response is socially constructed through discourse *about* music. Music is a carrier of symbols but has no essence beyond its symbolic communication. In other words, music is considered and analyzed as a text wherein discourse about the text constitutes the music's *meaning*—and, through its meaning, its subjective qualities as a social construct. In this way music can be seen as attaining to a subjective reality through the same process used by human beings: a subjective “self” (musical affectivity) through its social positioning (staged associations) and its “life” as a series of consecutive, and changing, discourses through time. What Nattiez has done with musical subjectivity parallels what the postmodernist Jacques Lacan theorized concerning human subjectivity (Appignanesi and Garratt 1999, 88–91). Perhaps this is not really such a surprise considering the long-held associations (often contested) between human subjectivity and musical structure.

Nattiez proposes that musical content results from a social construct that is nonetheless a product chiefly of the privileged or empowered elite through the power

of *critique*. He gives the critic and the composer equal power over aesthetics and poetics.

The theory rests on two suppositions: (1) that music has no inherent power to induce phenomenological results, and (2) that musical creation is social rather than cultural. Implicit in this second point is the belief that a directive issued from the elite regarding aesthetics will determine popular aesthetics.

I will argue, using El Rocío as an example, that the entire notion of a top/down process originating in social structure in regard to music and aesthetics is grossly exaggerated by social analysts who start with that very supposition. The music of El Rocío will suggest that “popular music” may be seen simply as the state of a particular musical art at that particular time and that it is more likely to be a trans-social structure phenomenon reflecting shared aesthetics than an aesthetic reflecting power relations (an example of the creation of musical form and its relationship to social structure was treated in Part I).

Part of the argument lays in the fact that music does entail a phenomenological affectivity, and this is especially true of music that is in the process of coming into being or of being transformed, which is the case with cultural generating sites such as pilgrimage. If El Rocío is an example, sites of musical creation are not restricted or conditioned by social positioning to the degree that the proponents of the discourse schools of thought, such as that of Nattiez, would suggest.

Phenomenology is a learned habit, socially constructed, and music acts only as a sign to cue ritual behavior

Gilbert Rouget in his principal work, *Music and Trance: Toward a Theory of Relations between Music and Possession* (1985), focused on the relationship between music and trance. He concluded that while music is involved in trance induction, it has no intrinsic power in this process. Instead, its role is limited to that of a carrier of symbols—a coded message, understood only by the ritual practitioners, that triggers a response to learned behaviors. Rouget's work as ethnomusicology supports the theoretical work of Nattiez, namely a semiological approach toward the affectivity of music wherein musical effect is considered to be strictly a social construct.

Rouget also models the trance possession as a socially constructed identity with which the trancer would, in turn, *identify*. He completely rejects the notion of any relationship between neurobiology and drumming patterns, as well as any essential emotional relationship that is not socially constructed. His work then suggests there is no structural relationship between music and trance, or between music and emotions.

Where ritual structure, sound structure, and phenomenology seem to be isomorphic

Steven Friedson, in his *Dancing Prophets* (1996), argued that the musical structures themselves are the key element: "What ethnographers have overlooked time and again in their investigations into the world of African healing are the musical dimensions of experience." (Friedson 1996, 168). His experience among the

Tumbuka explored how they use music as therapy, in what he called a “technology of healing” (165–166). Concerning the effect of music in both healing and in causing trance and similar altered states, he concluded that they are directly related to the effects of the cross-rhythms of the music on the nervous system: “What is explored in *vimbuz*a drumming are the multistable boundaries between polyphonic and polykinetic configurations; in trance dance of *vimbuz*a, the boundaries between human and spirit: ontologically, that which separates objects from subjects” (169).

The concept of the self/other merging is something that has analogies in the sign/object relations within semiotics. The parallel relation between sign/object and self/other, as manifested within a musical experience, is beautifully revealed by Friedson’s own experience: “My boundaries between self as subject and drum sound as objects were losing their meaning...” (161).

Language is always confounded by the subject/object collapse, as represented in the self/other merging because, by its very nature, it is constituted by the “gap” between the two; the sign and its object. Their collapse marks the boundary of language but not of either subjectivity or of experience.

Friedson is acutely aware, however, of the questions that might arise concerning his own subjectivity and takes great care to analyze his experiences and his observations in a way that clearly reveals that they constitute a way of knowing, a way of being in the world. He comes to his conclusions as forcefully as Rouget came to his: “This musically constituted clinical reality, part of the Tumbuka health care system, is not an abstract construction but a living process, and as such it has more to do with an ontology of energy than with an aesthetics of music” (163). Clearly he is

drawing from his own experiences, but as I argued in Chapter 6 concerning the juerga, those musical ritual experiences can be analyzed as a process that manifests certain observable features. It is to these kinds of observable processes that I think he is referring to when he says: “What I have sought to uncover in this book is an ethnomusicology of a clinical reality” (167). His thorough and intimate experiences with these musical rituals leads him to conclude: “Music may in fact be a privileged mode of being, a way of being-in-the-world that is beyond or before linguistic phenomena and therefore is especially worthy of serious ontological investigations. Language, despite Heidegger’s claim, may not be the only house for Being. To reverse the analytic direction, an analysis of musical experience, the temporal art par excellence, may indeed make an important contribution to a fundamental ontology whose very essence is temporality”(167).

Friedson’s position is obviously radically different from that of Rouget. Friedson's own experiences, combined with what his informants taught him, brought him to a knowledge of the trance experience and its relationship to music that directly related the musical structures to his phenomenological state.

Where musical structure and the sensory structures of the nervous system are isomorphic

The work of Nils L. Wallin lodges the affectivity of music deep within the structures of the brain that are believed to operate below, or independently of, those structures currently associated with the linguistic faculties. He goes so far as to say that our musical responses are rooted in our evolution and share common responses to

those found among other mammals. He uses the term “isomorphic” to describe the direct structural parallel between musical structure and the response within the nervous system.

One of the most provocative contributions to *The Origins of Music* (Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000) is an article titled “A Neurobiological Role of Music in Social Bonding” by Walter Freeman (2000, 411–424). What is most relevant in the article to this work is the suggestion that a direct link exists between the effects of musically induced emotional bonding and the development of the intellect in human evolution: “I conclude that music and dance originated through biological evolution of the brain chemistry, which interacted with the cultural evolution of behavior. This led to the development of chemical and behavioral technology for inducing altered states of consciousness.” (Freeman 2004, 422). As I made clear in Parts I and II, what I am calling emotional structuring featured prominently at El Rocío in connection to ritualized musical practices. What Freeman seems to be exploring is the biochemical process that allows for emotional arousal and structuring through music and ritual to take place; but the process itself comes into being not only as a result of the possibilities inherent within the evolving biochemical evolution, but as those latent potentials are themselves structured through intentional behaviors.

Where triggering learned phenomenological constructs plays a partial role, and the relationship between neurology and sound structures also plays a role

Judith Becker, working closely with the neurobiological work of Antonio Damasio, wrote the ground-breaking ethnomusicological work; *Deep Listeners:*

Music, Emotion, and Trancing (2004), which strikes a medium stance between Friedson and Rouget (both of whom she refers to in her work). There are three key features to the model:

The proto-self: processes information as perturbations, or stimulus from the environment, as well as within the biological unity. It maintains homeostasis and has no consciousness.

The core self: perceives the changes occurring within the proto-self and establishes an “I” to which these changes, or perturbations, as sensed images, occur to the “integrated body sense,” as Becker refers to it (146).

The autobiographical self (the self as narrative): Changes, over time, draw upon the immediate sentience of the core-self, and the accumulated memories of change stored within the autobiographical memory produce a continuous self-narrative that is self-conscious but with habits and expectations.

In terms of semiotics, we might see the *proto-self* as modeling the first stage of the nervous system’s processing of experience; the *core-self* as the formulation of experience into signs and symbols to the self; and the *autobiographical self* as the symbol user, the sign processor. We may provisionally suggest that these stages in the processing and representation of experience roughly correspond to Peirce’s three categories of being: Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness.

The entrainment process of the community in ritual through music and shared beliefs creates a milieu wherein communal entrainment may take place. Becker uses the theory of autopoietics of Mataruna and Varela from their work *The Tree of Knowledge* (1987) as a way to explain the nature of entrainment as a process of

homeostasis practiced by all self-creating, self-monitoring units through a means called “structural coupling” (Becker 2004, 121–122). In this model, the self-monitoring unit (in this case the human, but at what level isn’t clear), perturbations in the environment are appraised internally as to what degree the unit will interact with the perturbations and still maintain its own structural boundaries: “...the organism itself ‘determines’ which perturbations are ‘allowed,’ how and to what degree a perturbation will be modified. Thus perturbations never cause the changes in an organism; they can only instigate or trigger change” (121).

The proposition that any self-organized system can determine, as a choice, in what way it will be affected by the environment is problematic. It is one thing to say that a self-conscious entity senses a stimulus and interprets it as an emotion, but it is something else to say that all stimulus effects changes only to the degree that a change is *allowed*. Certainly if the temperature in a room is turned up to 350 degrees there will be changes whether the entity allows them or not, likewise with an extremely loud musical sound.

Nonetheless the entrainment process, wherein music can play the dominant role, is the means by which the ritual community brings into being a second narrative, the mythological narrative that is then completely internalized by the trancer, and this narrative replaces the inner narrative of the trancer. Becker finds that Damasio’s distinction between the integrated body sense of the core consciousness and the languaged consciousness of the autobiographical self “...better allows me to imagine the neurophysiology of trance as the substitution of a trance persona during trancing, a circumscribed, alternate autobiographical trancing self who enacts a prescribed role

within a stable sacred narrative” (Becker 2004, 146).

The trance itself consists of a displacement of the autobiographical self, as a narration, with a second narration—a collective mythological narration.

Furthermore there is the question of change; how do structural changes take place such that the trancers in the Balinese *Bebuten* ritual, for instance, do not bleed after they stab themselves? Presumably the mythological narrative makes it possible, but how is this accomplished? But can a change in *narrative*³⁷, cause a change in biological structure? If we understand the word “narrative” in the way Becker and Damasio are using the term, we must refer back to the basic tenets of linguistic-based structuralism and its evolution in the various schools of social constructionism covered in Chapter 11. What we are really considering to be the operative influence within “narrative” is the broad term *discourse* as used by the proponents of social constructionism. From the vantage point of this clarification of terminology we can see that both Becker and Damasio are, to a significant degree, subscribing to some of the basic tenets of social constructionism, especially Becker in view of her theoretical references to Maturana and Varela as quoted above. Although social constructionism still encompasses a broad theoretical spectrum of degrees, nonetheless the subjective self is seen as a product of social discourse whose operative efficacy is the purported power of language (Burr 1995, 134–137, 146–153); thus the *language*³⁸ self, as a “narrative.” Becker is claiming that the ability of the person in trance to avoid bleeding has more to do with the socially constructed narrative, of which the subjective self is a product, than it does with any inherent relationship between music and the trance state. That an individual’s inner narrative may have something to do

with determining their experience has to be true at some level. But the question remains: Can the trancer avoid bleeding as a result of his/her alternative inner “narration”?

The sign/object relation in language is an arbitrary relationship. If the inner language stops, only to be replaced by another inner language, albeit different from the first, what innate qualities would a change in sign/object relations of the same category have upon the biology? The self-narration, as a sign system for “I” within an autopoietic biological system, replaces that sign system with a sign system that was attributed to some other subject, a subject constituted as a “Thou” sign system, but that previously, before the replacement, was an objective “other” constituted within the “I” sign system. What was previously an object becomes the subjective self, replaced by a “Thou” sign system. Whereas the displacement of the “I” symbolic system (as a representation of the mind/body) by an other (a “Thou” symbolic order created through communal social discourse) seems convincing as long as it is seen as an enactment, how is it that there is a corresponding biological “Thou” that is significantly different from the original biology? What biological “house” did it previously reside in, or are we actually talking about accessing hidden potentials within the total self that were present all along? Either way, as symbolic representations of the proto-self, the two different narratives are only re-presenting the same biological continuum. Has something else entered the process? What has changed; the narration as a symbolic order, or the biological order? Clearly it’s the same body, and only the sign system of its own internal workings has changed. Is that enough to change biological structures? Becker places a great deal of emphasis on the

relation between emotional arousal and deep listening and consequently for the trance experience: “Because emotional arousal is a precondition for deep listening and trancing, music may play a central role as a precipitator of trancing as it does as a precipitator of transcendent feelings in deep listeners” (Becker 2004, 147).

Under a section titled *Trancing and Language*, Becker makes it clear that she sees the relationship between trance and music to be almost entirely mediated by language, that is, that music functions to carry symbolic content: “Trance experiences are socially constructed and personally experienced within a particular religious cosmology which encourages some kinds of feelings and some kinds of bodily attitudes, and constrains others. Trance processes are embedded within worldviews...that are enacted by persons in trance...they are inseparable from languaged understandings” (Becker 2004, 27).

For Becker, the ritual phenomenology of trance is much less a communion with musical structure (although as a communal entrainment its role is important) and much more a displacement of one script with another, one language with another, one symbolic order with another. The change in symbolic order would create the change in biological structures, whereas for Friedson there is a communion with patterned energy—a pattern that is isomorphic with the musical patterns—and these patterns restructure the biology that, in turn, results in a new symbolic order as a reflection upon the change in biology but not the other way around. The language about the experience comes afterward, not before. Friedson interprets the process this way: “The existential structure of the music itself where dancing prophets and drummed spirits are brought forth into an embodied Phenomenological presence” (1996, 128).

What follows, however, is Becker quoting Damasio on another key issue that attempts to explain how a change in script, a change in narration, can possibly create biological changes. Damasio first claims that the after-the-fact response to a stimulus that results in an image of pain is just as much a function of the brain as the original stimulus, that is, they are of equal magnitudes. He is referring not just to the image of pain, however, but to the tissue damage that led to it as well. From this he concludes “...it is a process that interrelates neural patterns of tissue damage with the neural patterns that stand for you, such that yet another neural pattern can arise—the neural pattern of you knowing, which is yet another name for consciousness....If the latter interrelating process does not take place, you will never know that there was tissue damage in your organism....If there was no you and there was no knowing, there was no way for you to know, right?” (Damasio 1999, 73; in Becker 2004, 148)

Damasio is attempting to root in biology the claim that re-presentations of experience are in magnitude equal to experience—an argument that seems to underlie much of discourse theory in general—but in this case it simply makes no sense. The social construction of reality is a symbolic process and as such is limited to those areas of human activity mediated by the symbolic process. To say that tissue being burned at 350 degrees Fahrenheit is a symbolic process that can be negated by the lack of chemical and symbolic representation—whether as a “choice” or as a negation by way of an absent consciousness—is problematic.

There is also the issue of the limits of choice as it relates to social constructionism, trance, and the concept of the autopoietic system. Jim Wafer in *The Taste of Blood: Spirit Possession in Brazilian Candomblé* (1991) provides an

excellent example of how trance can affect and even compel people. Wafer's story is about his initiation into Brazilian *Candomblé*. However, although he finally succumbed to a desire to experience trance, he resisted it the first time it began to come upon him. His friend, a committed Marxist, refused to acknowledge the trance as real, but when he finally began to feel the trance coming upon him involuntarily, he stopped his investigations because he felt he could not resist the compulsion of the trance that was assailing him through the ritual music (Wafer 1991, 94–95). What does this say about the condition of communally shared feelings and the role of emotional arousal that such feelings, coupled with music, elicit as being a requirement for trance?

Myth and ritual among three general approaches to trance

For Rouget, myth and narration is the only reality in trance. For Friedson, the ritual creates the reality. Although Wafer goes into some detail regarding the mythological background of *Candomblé*, he spends far more time describing the behaviors of the possessed in relation to categories of spiritual entities. In the end, possession is far more a technology than an enactment—which is why, within the overall ritual system of diverse practices under different settings, he comes to know that some trances are theatrical and some, like his own experience, are definitely not. In the latter, ritual creates myth, not the other way around. Friedson regards the relationship between music, trance, and spirit as relations of “patterned energy” that result in an increased capacity for self-restructuring ontology of energy” (Friedson 1996, 163). This approach is far more similar to how Katz understood the “boiling

energy” of the !Kung to work (Katz 1982).

For Becker the trance is basically an enactment of mythological content achieved by means of a displacement of the individual narrative for a collectively constructed narrative. The role of music is ambiguous, but it functions more like a symbolic order (language) than the patterned force that Friedson and Wafer suggest: Here again is Becker’s interpretation of trance which when contrasted to the other two can be seen as markedly different: “Trance experiences are socially constructed and personally experienced....All trance experiences are preformed within the framework of a particular understanding of the holy, and interpreted by the trancer in a way that is congruent with the understandings of her social group; they are inseparable from languaged understandings” (Becker 2004, 27).

From Rouget to Becker to Friedman: The procession of emphasis is contradictory at the extremes and ambiguous in the center.

Rouget	M	Myth dominates.	Music functions as discourse. Trance is completely socially constructed.
Becker	M/r	Mythical enactment drives ritual.	Music functions as aid to narrative. Trance is discourse as mythological narrative.
Friedson	R	Ritual manipulation creates trance phenomenology.	Music and ritual are virtually synonymous.

The relationship between music and discourse parallels, as an analog, the relationship between ritual and myth. Could it be that all three investigators are correct but that they were observing not only different rituals but also different ritual functions? The key to understanding their differences is contained within the relative

proportions of the myth/ritual dynamic, or the music/discourse relationship.

Symbolic trance

I will propose some ideas concerning ritual in this section that I hope will help to reconcile the positions of Friedson and Rouget, whose positions I see as another analog to the myth/ritual dynamic of the experience and representation process that has been so important in the development of ritual studies. Becker's ambiguity provides an excellent starting point. She furnishes us with an important clue in her choices of illustrations for *Deep Listeners*.

One photograph, of a group of *qawwali* (singers and musicians within the Sufi traditions of Pakistan and Northern India), shows them seated in what looks like either some kind of palace or a large villa, perhaps even the tomb of a saint, in a position that suggests they are performing a concert.

Another plate is of a sixteenth-century miniature depicting dancing Sufis in the forest. One has collapsed in the foreground and is being attended to by another Sufi. Two musicians are playing flute and drums, one is clapping, two are watching (one with a rose bead), while two are dancing the spiral dance characteristic of the Mevlevi Sufi sect founded by the famous poet/sufi Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–1273).

The contrast between two kindred traditions says a great deal about ritual differentiation. Although both are examples of trance music and of kindred traditions (Sufism), they are being performed under different conditions and, I suggest, with different objectives. These objectives might not be apparent at first sight; even by a direct observation.

Becker describes the “scripted” emotional/musical aspects of *qawwali* performances: “A Sufi *habitus* of listening at a musical ceremony involves a sequence of emotion and feeling and action that could be called a ‘script’ (Schank and Abelson 1977, 36–68; Russell 1991a, 1991b). Scripts are like liturgies in that they prescribe a more or less fixed sequence of events...to include as well the affective, phenomenological responses...the effect of the script, when fully acted out, is the ultimate joy of a direct and personal knowledge of *Allah*” (Becker 2004, 82).

This is an argument in support of the cultural and social constructionist aspects of emotion and trance that coincide with the examples that fit into the scenario depicted in the plate. That scenario depicts a ritual that is highly socialized, already fully invested in the social order. But can we really believe that every time the script is “enacted” there results a direct communion with God?

To an observer from a culture wherein trance is relatively rare (although Becker makes an excellent case for revealing the fact that trance is not as rare in the United States as it may seem), any trance ritual will appear to be experiential and emotive. However I will also suggest the plate depicts something quite different although still a part of the same ritual process. The Sufis in the forest are performing a ritual far more toward the primal end of a ritual system. The performance in the forest is, first of all, for themselves. One man has already collapsed in the foreground and is being assisted. I am interpreting this scene as an example of a ritual wherein the religious experience, as some kind of “divine communion,” is precisely the issue. The ritual is attempting an operation that may or may not prove successful (something risky if attempted at the palace), in which there needs to be plenty of time

available and a great deal of energy ready to be invested.

To ignore the phenomenological state of divine rapture, communion, or “spiritual” transcendence that is the objective of the Sufi *dhykr* is to ignore the most obvious salient feature of the ritual. But to expect that divine communion or rapture is what is to occur at every ceremonial performance is simply not feasible. The reason that the Sufis depicted in the plate have gone into the forest is to free themselves from the restrictions of the symbolic ritual so that they might pursue divine communion in earnest. However, it is also more than likely that the only reason they knew that such a thing as divine communion was possible was because they had attended symbolic rituals earlier in their lives.

“Symbolic trance” is not an oxymoron in a culture where trance plays an essential role to many ceremonies—ceremonies that must be performed within a given time frame and for symbolic purposes. Nor does it indicate “sham” or fakery, but rather it indicates that there is a role and a script—precisely what I will argue are absent in different functioning rituals. If we compare the Salida of El Rocío with what the Sufis are performing in the woods as being what gave rise to what the *qawwalis* then performed at the palace, much as El Rocío gave rise to the Misa Rociero as being the experience in the forest and its *re-presentation* at the palace (or Church in the case of El Rocío). They both represent rituals within ritual systems, but they perform different functions within those ritual systems. The ritual system must be identified, however, and what is being processed must be understood.

It may be that some of Becker’s observations were of symbolic trance. I am suggesting this possibility because the trance subjects tended to operate within scripts

and a music that functions primarily as an indexical support to the narration. (Becker 2004, 77–85)

Balinese culture, for example, is so attuned to trance that I am suggesting the possibility of “symbolic trance,” and, again, by this I do not mean at all “fake” as in deception, but rather that trance can be symbolized within ritual settings so as to get on with the work of presenting the mythological content of the ritual. One of the mythological concepts that is being represented for consideration by the participants of the symbolic trance ritual is the fact that trance is a reality that can be experienced. Symbolic trance, however, involves choice and a degree of the performative. But we have examples where trance music and ritual can be compelling upon the individual and the degree of choice may be limited.

In *The Taste of Blood* (Wafer 1991), we have just such an example of what I call symbolic trance that is recognized as such: “False trance is a familiar phenomenon in Candomblé, and is known as *equé*, which Tais [the name of an informant] defined for me as ‘a type of theatre.’ The existence of *equé* does not mean there is no such thing as genuine trance. But it does mean that people who go into trance have considerable room for maneuver” (34).

There are many reasons why a false, or symbolic, trance might be enacted, not the least of which is the failure potential of an experiential ritual: Sometimes they don’t work. In the isolation of a mountain retreat, the middle of a desert, or deep in the forest, a small group of seekers may have years to reach a certain state. A group like the !kung may have entire days, if not weeks, to achieve a particular phenomenological state (Katz 1982). This luxury of time is simply not available in

the ceremonial ritual. Possession, like the Mass or like a coronation, must be performed within the allotted time and according to a specific script so that the mythological content can be integrated into the social cultural fabric. The chief purpose of this ritual is to disseminate the symbolic content, the re-presentations, of the experiential knowledge.

The symbolization of a trance state, in lieu of its actual experience, is something societies in which the trance phenomenon has been ritually suppressed have no category for. By representing the trance state, its potential experience remains within the cultural repertoire. One reason for why there is much less (comparatively) trance phenomenon in Western societies today is because trance is not represented *ritually* as a cultural institution. However, neurobiology highly implies that trance is a property of the nervous system so that it nonetheless remains a potential (as Becker reveals in her chapter on trance history in the U.S. and Europe in her “Interlude” in *Deep Listeners* [2004]).

Holy Communion is a highly symbolized act within Catholic cultures. Because of this, the concept of a direct communion with the Divine is quite common even if it is not experienced by the millions of Catholics every single Sunday during the rituals of Holy Communion. The representation of that potential experience is key to keeping the concept within the cultural repertoire. The miracle of the Transubstantiation of Holy Communion is neither “faked” nor “performed”; it is symbolized within the Mass each Sunday and subsequently pursued and possibly experienced, to the degree that one is disposed to, outside the Mass (as treated in Chapter 8). Similarly, we might not be surprised to find that although trance is

common in societies where trance is common place, there might well be rituals wherein trance is symbolized rather than actually experienced while in other rituals the trance *is* experienced. Both types of ritual would function within the same ritual system but might be difficult to distinguish from one another.

There are some possible clues that I propose may serve as keys to indicate a probable experiential degree:

1. The social context: If the ritual has a high social profile, the ritual is more likely to be a symbolic ritual (high symbolic to experiential ratio) in which the actual trance experience might be displaced by a symbolic trance.
2. If the ritual is less socially prominent or takes place at the social limens or in the forest,” so to speak, it may indicate a more experiential ritual.
3. The degree of overt mythological enactment indicates an emphasis on the symbolically displaced experience.
4. The degree and detail of a ritual script is a strong indicator of a symbolic ritual.
5. The time sensitivity of the script: whether or not there is a definite time constraint wherein all the scripted activities must take place.

Preliminary conclusions about the myth/ritual dynamic as reflected within ethnomusicological fieldwork centering on music and trance

Although the field of ethnomusicology has paralleled many of the same issues that arose in ritual studies, it was not the intention of this brief survey to cover them all. The focus, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, was to look only at the way

in which the relationship between music and trance has been treated in general terms and to reveal how, just as in ritual studies (and in fact from this approach ethnomusicology can be seen as a musical ritual studies), the myth/ritual dynamic that underlay the way each successive theory looked at ritual, finds analog in the current theories within ethnomusicology. But in ethnomusicology the myth/ritual dynamic can be seen most clearly through its analog in the relationship between music and discourse: ritual stands to myth in the same relation that music stands to discourse. Both are analogs of the basic semiotic process of experience and representation. The music and ritual relationship, especially when coupled with high emotional arousal, offers many opportunities to understand the role of the emotions in human consciousness. In terms of experiential displacement, these rituals can be especially valuable in understanding the parameters of symbolic behavior.

What I am proposing is that if a theory addresses the issue of music and discourse, it will also address the issue of myth and ritual. I began a possible solution to that problem, the apparent contradictions within ethnomusicology as relating to trance and music, by proposing the concept of “symbolic trance” in which I claimed that symbolic trance is no less “real,” or no more “fake” than the symbolic act of the Catholic Mass’s transubstantiation as discussed in Chapter 8. Trance must be represented within the society as a potential that may be further pursued in other rituals much the same as communion with the Divine is pursued at a deeper level outside the confines of the Mass in rituals such as the Salida. I will be further developing the relationship between the symbolic ritual and the experiential ritual in Chapter 13.

A second important issue raised in this chapter was to draw attention to the conspicuous role that the emotions play within the musical ritual, and especially within trance-inducing rituals. But it also draws attention to the fact that current scholarship is illuminating the critical role that the emotions play in *creating* consciousness rather than impeding it. The relationship between the emotions, consciousness, and music will be further explored through the field of biomusicology.

Introducing biomusicology

The Swedish ethnomusicologist and evolutionary biologist, Nils Wallin has coined a new term: biomusicology (Wallin 1991). It is a relatively new interdisciplinary field that links the evolution of music with the evolution of human consciousness ways that not so much parallel similar movements within the humanities that were based upon structural linguistics, but in an important way supplants them in one sense while expanding them in another. I say supplant in the sense that if the basic tenets within the field prove fruitful the preeminence of the relationship between language and consciousness that have prevailed over the past decades will definitely be seriously challenged. But we might also consider the field to also be expanding the overall discourse about language and consciousness. There are currents within the field such as represented by the work of Steven Brown that suggest a proto “*musilanguage*” (in Wallin 1991, 271–298), underlying both music and language, that constitutes the essential evolutionary process underlying human consciousness.

I will focus on what biomusicology contributes to the current discussion of the

relationships between music, ritual, the emotions, and human consciousness. Of particular interest is Wallin's own fieldwork with the herding calls of herdsman in northern Sweden called *Kölning* (Wallin 1991, 398). All the citations that follow are taken from his seminal work, *Biomusicology: Neurophysiological, Neuropsychological, and Evolutionary Perspectives on the Origins and Purposes of Music* (1991). My objective is to draw attention to what I feel are the most salient points that seem to be reflected in my observations at El Rocío.

His first task, even before introducing the data is to place his work within a larger context of musical phenomenon in broad, even abstract terms: "Change involves time and time is the very essence of music and music experience...It comes out of silence and returns into silence...between these points of birth and death there is an incessant fluctuation between periodic and aperiodic events. Music is inextricably linked in a loop with such a living system, namely, with the human subject in possession of an emergent conscious awareness of self" (xviii).

The very periodicity of the *romerías* manifests as a musical ritual instance in time and space: each year it comes into being out of silence as *Ida* (the going forth), and returns to silence as *Vuelta* (return). And it is only one periodic musical manifestation among many throughout the Andalusian Catholic, and Agricultural, calendar. What I am alluding to here is the possible relationship between the periodicity of ritual performance, the inherent periodicity of music, and the potential corollary they might have to the cultivation of specific consciousness modes of the human living system through the emotional modalities of the Andalusian ritual system.

The catalogue of emotions as a catalogue of conscious states

Wallin then begins to focus into the neurobiology of this emergent consciousness:

His mind-becoming-conscious, interacting with infrastructural conditioning powers such as DNA, the central nervous system, etc., select and organizes the sequence of tonal events, thereby creating sense through correlation, association and symmetry: a tonal flow-becoming-music...This has been implied in our discourse, for instance, through the adoption of the embryological notion of “cherod” to designate that moment of an evolving musical structure when the system reacts to an unforeseen fluctuation, an amplification or conflicting impulse with its source in the dynamics of emergent vigilance in the subject, i.e., in the agent who controls the tonal flow (xviii).

His concept of a “cherod” seems to be reflected in my observations of aesthetic resonance within the juerga of El Rocío, and that I have also witnessed within the flamenco juerga. There is registered within the group that something slightly different was manifested, and its consonance or dissonance is determined as a reactive critique. “It is further argued that the primordial origins of such tonal structures should be sought.....in “genetic forms,” defined not by fixed patterns, but by specific sensomotoric dynamics with roots in nervous substrates, which are similar in human beings and other higher animals...” (ibid).

We can see here that the musical form might easily have emerged as the first manifestation of a behavioral aesthetic rooted in these “sensomotoric dynamics” that are in turn rooted in the substrates of the central nervous system. The musical form is not fixed in the sense that the form is a fluid vehicle for emotional expression tht also changes with that expression. The Andalusian “palo” can be manifested as a tonal structure in its moment of expression, but the dynamic content that fills is structured by the emotional content, a content that is already structured within the body.

“One function of music might be its contribution to retaining, restoring, and adjusting, an individual’s vital character, as well as helping him to recognize and manipulate emotions as mental forms under social constraints” (Wallin 1991, 481). The parallels between what Wallin is suggesting as the role of music in forming an individual’s “vital character” and what I have described as the emergent “forma de ser” as a product of embodied musical aesthetics within the musical rituals of El Rocío (and Andalusia in general) are striking.

“Yet if in man, emotion as an emergent and dynamic sub-aspect of mind-becoming-conscious is also intended to act in the maintenance and development, respectively, of a purposive behavior...in *virtual* and *functional* and *conscious learning* as well, then there must exist a kind of specific, richly diversified morphology of not only the repertoire of vocalization as display of emotion or as releaser of emotion, but of emotion, per se, as neurophysiological process, as “objets mentaux” (482).

The parallel is striking in the above quote as well. The morphology that I traced first within the Fandangos, as a historical fact, but then in the Sevillanas as an ongoing process related to ritualized emotional structuring, are unmistakable. One of the key operative terms is “conscious learning.” I am convinced that to a deep level, the Andalusians who participate in these rituals are perfectly aware that they are consciously working upon themselves, as most religious people would acknowledge, even if they might not articulate and frame what they are doing in evolutionary terms.

“According to these proposals, the syntax of emotional display in higher mammals and some bird-species would, in an evolutionary perspective, be regarded as a primordial qualification of the syntax of the human emotional repertoire... That conclusion immediately raises the question of whether there is also-encoded in each species—a mutual dependency and interaction, not only parallelism, between the two evolutionary pathways: between what I would call the phenomenology of emotion as neurophysiological process and , respectively, as behavioral display of sound gesture and music” (483).

We can see that here as well that the musical forms and their morphology in Andalusian musical culture, in conjunction with the various processional modalities, offer provocative potential examples of distant results, to what Wallin is referring to. The musical forms as structured emotional repertoire function as an emotional phenomenology that in turn can be expressed through formalized performance as embodied purpose. But exactly how the processional movement as a ‘behavioral display’ to include sound gesture and music became linked with the emergent emotional repertoire could be seen as an example of the “two evolutionary pathways.” The procession as ritual prototype; formalized movement and display; and procession as vehicle for various emergent emotional modes; provides an ethological bridge between the phenomenology of emergent emotional consciousness, and deliberate conscious ritual practice.

“The finest emotional gradations; the morphodynamic power regulating emotional process and emotional expression was used to develop and establish, starting from primordial genetic forms, a sort of ‘catalogue’ of patterns of

emotion.....Such an encoded semiotic catalogue is a necessary prerequisite for ceremonial activities such as rite and music, where each epoch of human history and each region of human culture has used archaic fragments to build ever new and varying forms” (484).

The morphodynamic refinement he postulates can be understood in terms of the emotional tuning I alluded to in Part I. It is an ongoing morphodynamic process that in fact regulates and refines emotional content. Likewise the “catalogue of patterns of emotions” is precisely how I see the variety of Andalusian *palos* (or forms).

But as to the “archaic fragments” Wallin alludes to, I see an explicit example in the procession. By exploring the different uses of procession we can see how this form or ritual behavior is built upon the basic behaviors of communal movement and communal sound making.

It needs to be stated however, that there is a huge time interval between the stage in human development addressed by Wallin, and the present-day Rocío. Nonetheless, if he is correct in his basic thesis—that human consciousness emerged concomitantly with music production as a focused emotion—the fact that something so basic would continue to be expressed in ritual practices to this day is not so surprising. Furthermore, the *kölning*, which will be discussed next, is itself a vestige of practices stretching back that far, not to mention that herding is still practiced by humans all over the planet.

The shepherd's call: Neither music nor language

Here, Wallin (1991) introduces us to the song/call of the Swedish herdsmen: “To ‘*köla*’ means to communicate with the herd over distances amounting to hundreds of meters or even a few kilometers by means of *calls*: wordless, acoustical signals structured according to a basic model, with sub-features primarily concerned with pitch and intensity” (387).

“The structures of the *kolning* are primarily and basically not ‘music,’ but acoustical signals with functional and morphological roots in this archaic herding culture where they serve as calls to the domesticated cattle, as well as signals between the shepherds” (388).

In Part I, Chapter 2, I introduced the potential of the procession to function in the capacity of a territorial marking ritual. But the musical signals, as I also covered in Chapters 2 through 5, that the potential for communication from the procession to an observer is only one aspect of the physical presence of the procession. There is also the communication within the procession. There is the intercommunication of singing chorus, but there is also the signaling function of the *Tamborilero*: “Here comes the *Simpecado*” (*El Camino*), and “We are preparing to go forth” (*Al Alba*). This signaling is accomplished via the high pitched flute, a signal to the participants within more so than a projection to those without.

“These three different types of phrases are combined by means of free addition into chains,....if the cattle are close, speech song-phrases may be preferred while loud and high-pitched sound phrases dominate when the cattle are far away.

The last type is the proper kölning” (391). “The sounds of the kölning are not phonemes but the vehicles for what later became phonemes such as the vowel” (412).

Wallin is adamant in claiming that the origins of kölning lay not in language but in something more akin to gesture and vocal (389), more like “near-field signals of warning and dominance among animals” (390), and that the physiology of the sound in relation to the larynx may even suggest a long ago atrophied aspect of that organ (388). He compares it to the sound a howl of a wolf that has a “clear formant organization which acoustically approaches what we call “a vowel,” yet it is not a vowel (413). And with that example goes on to argue that an emergent self-consciousness can be better explained as a musical extension of activities that are already within the potential of the early proto-human, rather than trying to link consciousness with a cognitive model based in an abstraction like language that seems to have no ethological base. In other words, the howl does not function at all like a proto-language, but it can be seen as foundational material for a vocalized emotion that when focused to a finer degree as *intentionality*, might formulate itself into a controlled tonal flow. The key to his argument (and this is not easy to follow), is that the neurobiological substrates required to create the intentional tonal flow are symmetrical to the concomitant consciousness that would direct that flow in the first place; hence the symmetry. From there, the emotion as conscious flow would be capable of becoming the bed from which an intellect, developing as an effect of consciousness, might eventually formulate the kind of arbitrary semiotic relations we find in language; language would emerge in an already fully conscious human being, and not before.

Fig. 13-1 (in the next chapter) is taken from Steven Brown's theory of a "musilanguage" that he presents in "The 'Musilanguage' Model of Music" in *Origins of Music* (Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000, 275) as being a precursor to both music and language in early human development. This theory complements the fieldwork of Wallin by providing a theoretical underpinning by suggesting a broader neurological substrate accounting for the spectrum of functions to be found in music. He draws across disciplines in support of his theory to include neurobiology, phonology, musical semiotics, animal communication, and others.

The whistling shepherd's flute and the whistled shepherd's language: a short digression

The "shepherd's flute" is not only high-pitched (Chapter 4) but is also often called by a word that means whistle, such as the Spanish word "silbo" that is one of the terms used to indicate a Tamborilero: *silbador*, or whistler. What is of interest regarding the idea of a possible "atrophied" larynx (hypothesized by Wallin, above) in regard to the development of the Shepherds flute found throughout European culture (treated in Chapter 4), is that there are also a number of whistling "languages" that still survive. One of them is called "Silbo Gomero" and is still used by shepherds among the mountainous valleys of the Canary Islands.³⁹

In the January 2005 edition of *Science*, we find the following comments in an article concerning the work of David Corina, a University of Washington associate professor of psychology and Manuel Carreiras, a psychology professor at the University of La Laguna, in the Canary Islands:

“Our results provide more evidence about the flexibility of human capacity for language in a variety of forms,” said Corina. “These data suggest that left hemisphere language regions are uniquely adapted for communicative purposes, independent of the modality of signal. The non-Silbo speakers were not recognizing Silbo as a language. They had nothing to grab onto so multiple areas of their brains were activated. But the Silbadores were analyzing differently, as a language, and engaging those areas associated with language.”

I am not certain that I would agree with their interpretation of the data, and judging from the hemispheric work done by Wallin in his work with the kölning I might suggest that Corina is overemphasizing the left brain/right brain dichotomy. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, in the Rocío processions the Tamborilero is playing even while the people are singing something completely different. This suggests that a musical process can function anywhere along the emotive to referential spectrum. Consequently it is the musical faculty that makes that shift more so than the linguistic faculty. This seems to be what Wallin is suggesting in regard to the Kolning. The “musilanguage” model presented by Brown (1991, 274–298) explains the way that the shepherd would simply move to that end of the spectrum to focus on the referential elements of the silbo gomer, rather than be engaging a completely separate faculty of the brain. Nonetheless, the potential legacy between a hybrid musical language used by shepherds, its tonal similarities in range to the present day shepherd’s flute, their shared nomenclature as “whistling,” and the possibility of an atrophied larynx once capable of producing much higher tones among humans, is certainly intriguing, especially in view of the musilanguage theory proposed by Brown, in conjunction with the field studies of Wallin on the kölning. But what is of more immediate importance is the fact that the study shows that there is an ambiguity between how the brain processes music and language in that they can

easily overlap and be confused. I am suggesting that, in view of all that has preceded, this ambiguity is a deep manifestation of the process of experience and representation that characterizes the function of the central nervous system, a process that extends into further analogs beyond music and language, to the myth and ritual dynamic. The brain is structured to move along that spectrum as it processes experience as information, the result of which is symbolic thinking. Wallin and associates are at least providing a tentative time frame and explanatory theory for how this process might have occurred. Their theories emphasize the critical importance that tonal structuring may have played in that process. What I would propose is the consideration of how the musical ritual may have been another critical feature of that process.

The procession as structured movement: the musical form as structured emotion

The title of Chapter 3 in Wallin (1991, 92) is: “Vigilance-Motivation-Emotion-Purposive Behavior.” Notice the relationships between: marking (marching) in procession, the emotional structuring inherent in the singing procession, and the vigilance aspects that are still apparent in the history of the Andalusian processions as they pertain to the war of reconquest against the Moors referred to in Chapter 2, and the origins of the vigilant staffs carried by the officers as described in Chapters 5 and 9. Wallin places a great emphasis on the environmental niche and the relationship between purposive behavior, and the processing of auditory stimulus as being a primary tool in maintaining that “space occupied by the species” (231). Ethological acts, in the way of formation, display, and generated emotion cannot be considered

fully ritual events, but perhaps, proto-ritual behaviors that formed the “archaic” remnants upon which the ritual behaviors emerged. From archaic sound producing behaviors, there also emerged concomitant musical behaviors that may have (using Wallin’s work as an example) neurobiological substrates and symmetries as “forms”: ritual forms and musical forms giving rise to behavioral forms.

The musical procession may well be one of the most fundamental human rituals to evolve from the proto-musical, proto-linguistic, vocalization process that Wallin identifies as the ancestor to the *kölning*, which in turn seems to have evolved as a physical corollary to emergent consciousness; the ritual/musical form. That is, the phenomenal potential of the procession which is its capacity to structure emotions concomitantly with purpose, seems to have a fundamental relation to both music and ritual as ethologically rooted in processes that Wallin considers to have also been essential in the emergence of human consciousness; music (*kölning* as an example), purpose (vigilance, emotional focus), and formal group movements (herding, or moving in formation): purposeful group motion with an emotional content.

The physiology and the anatomic mechanism of the *kölning* seem to represent a phylogenetic stage in human evolution in which the links with the expressive world of the more advanced non-human vertebrate soundscape are more prominent than in most music of today....However, the emphasis in this book is on just this vocal technique and the assumption that it developed in biocultural symbiosis with a transition from hunting to breeding of domesticated flock animals, a process of enormous impact on human evolution, does not indicate that I hold this to be *the* way music became music (509).

Both music and procession in humans may have a direct ontological relationship with the relationship between early man and certain flock animals. It is not only the communication among the humans that is important, but also the

communication between humans and the herd animals with which they had symbiotic relationships; first as hunter predators, then as domesticate manipulators. The interplay between the two groups seems to have played, if Wallin is correct, some important role in the development of human consciousness. However, how, or why this happened, isn't clear.

Although biomusicology is still in its infancy, nonetheless there seems to be a great deal of supportive material to be found in the study of Andalusian ritual. Notice how, in an interesting way, Wallin's work arrives at similar basic principles from his observation and study of the neurological relationships underlying the kölning; herding (structured movement), music (vocalization; structured emotional sound), individuality (structured consciousness), vigilance (structured purpose), and the sonic marking of territory (marked space and time), as I have, without the neurological data of course, concerning the ritual underpinnings of the Rocío : Procession as marking/marching territory using structured sound and formation: the moving structured formations using organized sound to generate and structure emotional states; emotional catalogues as engendering particular phenomenal states, that in the case of Andalusian ritual, include musical forms as the vehicles for those emotional states and their morphology.

Summary of Chapter 12

Consciousness and the emotions: From language to music

The role of the emotions in being the house of fundamental consciousness, or "core consciousness" as suggested by the relationship between the emotions and

trance, put forth by Becker, Damasio and Wallin (from different fields) is illuminating and contrary to the previously prevalent academic trends: Structuralism itself, as an overemphasis of the role that the intellect, and with the intellect the role that language plays in human consciousness, is seriously challenged by the emphasis upon the relationship between the emotions, music, and consciousness presented by the above authors and their associates and colleagues. In turn, this de-emphasis of language has repercussions in how we see the role of music, especially in terms of ritual and states of being.

Biomusicology provides a neurobiological basis for considering the evolution of human consciousness as an evolution of the emotions rather than an evolution of the intellect. Furthermore, if Wallin is correct then the evolution of the emotions and with them the evolution of consciousness is not modeled by music, but rather it is *symmetrical* with music. This intimate relationship between consciousness and the emotions further exposes the distance between language and consciousness as being a metaphor that has been long confused as being an analog; humans create rituals to represent their thoughts because humans experience life as thought. However, what may be closer to the truth is that humans create rituals as means to deepen their experiences and create myths as reflections of those experiences.

Myth/ritual dynamic as music/discourse: Symbolic ratio

Nonetheless we are still confronted with the reality of the symbolic ritual; why symbolize experiences in a ritual rather than attempt to realize them? Why would the Mass symbolize the emotions of glorification, sorrow, and the mysterious awe, but

not attempt to realize them in the ritual? Why might the dancers of Gamelan symbolize trance rather than attempt to induce it? Obviously music at times functions symbolically, more like language at times, more like a symbol to the listener, as do the tunes of the Tamborilero on the Rocío . The fact that a ritual may function primarily symbolically is paralleled by the fact that music can do so as well.

What I will tentatively propose here is that the three elements of ritual treated in this chapter; trance, emotions, and music, in order for the ritual to continue to function as a coherent ritual that will be repeated (regardless of the phenomenological aspects), these three elements must function at more or less the same (if not the exact same) level of proportionate degrees of the myth/ritual dynamic. That is to say, to whatever degree the music functions symbolically, so must the trance, and so must the emotional arousal. The reason, as discussed above when treating the possibility of symbolic trance, is really quite simple: the music required for possession to take hold may require an hour one day, but three hours on another day. The emotional levels may also take a more or less corresponding amount of time. But if the symbolic activities take only 30 minutes to complete, then there is a problem. There cannot be a 30-minute symbolic story retold with three hours of music, or vice-versa, nor can the 30-minute story be told over and over again until the desired emotional angst is reached; either it is reached or it is not within the allotted time. The allotted time is part of what constitutes the ritual structure.

Potential conflicts between ritual structure and ritual effect however, are not why we have symbolic rituals. We have these three elements of music, emotions, and trance, in what I am calling “*semiotic congruency*,” or in equal “*symbolic ratio*” quite

deliberately because there is a need for symbolic rituals, and for rituals at various symbolic functions. The symbolic ritual is not a failed experiential ritual, as indicated by the fact that Mass does not fail at inducing trance or in inducing the experience of the transubstantiation. The symbolic rituals are functional categories of ritual in their own right, and they satisfy particular purposes within the ritual system. The symbolic rituals are part of the spectrum of rituals that operate along a continuum that include the experiential rituals. However, why there are various degrees of symbolic to experiential ratios within the ritual system will be treated further in Chapter 13.

What I am proposing at this time, in view of what has presented thus far, is that the reader consider that the three elements: emotion, music, and trance, must function congruently at the same symbolic ratio in order for the ritual to have any recognizable coherency as being a ritual at all. Music does not always function in the way that Wallin, or Becker, suggested although perhaps music may have functioned primarily experientially at one time. Providing a theoretical account for the symbolic ritual and with it; symbolic trance, symbolic emotions, and symbolic music, in terms of the overall ritual system, will be presented in the concluding chapter, Chapter 13.

Chapter 13: Conclusions and Summation of the Theory of Ritual: Toward a Theory of Ritual Systems

I have divided the conclusions into two basic concepts that respond to the two trajectories set out in the Introduction of this work: emotional tuning, and experiential displacement. The summary and conclusions to both sets of basic concepts include their observable facts and my theoretical extensions.

The first concept, the experiential displacement of the religious experience, comprises the central features toward a theory of sacred ritual relations and ritual morphology that I call the “ritual spiral.” Section 1 of this chapter presents this theory of ritual and in the process two brief summaries. The first is of the religious experience as I have covered it in this work, and the second is a brief explication of how I am applying semiotics to my theory of ritual. The remainder of the section introduced the various components that together comprise the theory of ritual relations. Section 2 relates basic concepts of the ritual spiral theory to any potential musical corollary through the hypothesis of musical and ritual functional congruency.

The second concept, that of emotional tuning and its potential consequence, emotional proliferation, is summarized in Section 3, and is basically a theoretical construct as well. However, the primary vehicle for the process that I am calling emotional tuning in Andalusian ritual is the musical/emotional procession that consists of the singing chorus, and the stationary juergas. These two elements are observable facts, as is the cultivation of a single emotional mode by each ritual procession. The ritual structures of the procession and the juerga, in conjunction with

the focused emotional content (especially in the procession) together manifest a ritual structuring of the emotions is also observable. As such, emotional structuring by the ritual practices comprises the data base upon which the theory of emotional tuning is based.

Section 3 presents emotional tuning as the summation of the three basic elements that have constituted the fundamental objects of analysis throughout this dissertation: ritual form, musical form, and emotional mode. What emerges from the two summaries, the first of the ritual spiral theory, and the second of emotional tuning, is that the latter is a purely musical correlation to the first.

In Section 4, I refer back to the evolutionary theories of biomusicology concerning music and consciousness that were presented in Chapter 12, to suggest the possibility that an entire ritual system can conceivably consist of nothing more than a system of musical forms that are constantly evolving through time. The musical forms and rituals of El Rocío, and by extension of Catholic Andalusia, seem to support this idea.

At the end of these conclusions I suggest some ways in which the ritual spiral theory might be applied as a useful and practical analytical tool in the field.

Section 1: The ritual spiral—toward a theory of ritual relations

Placing the religious experience at the center of sacred ritual studies and provisionally considering it to be a state characterized by intensified awareness and accelerated learning

Only by placing the religious experience at the center of the study of sacred ritual does the ubiquity of sacred ritual and its historical persistence begin to make

sense. The religious experience seems to be unique to humans, and I would argue, fundamentally human. With that in mind, neurophenomenology (or biogenetic structuralism) must be given credit for at least taking the bold step of placing the religious experience at the center of ritual studies in an attempt to understand the neurobiological basis for the religious experience. neurophenomenology, despite the criticism discussed in Chapter 11, begins the inquiry by pointing the study of sacred ritual into the experience of religion rather than solely to its by-products such as its representational arts, history, and dogma.

I am suggesting, as a provisional and I think useful, way to treat the phenomenon of the religious experience within this work, and without attempting to describe its contents further, as being a state of heightened awareness and accelerated learning. I am suggesting this based on the studies of biogenetic structuralism that indicate that the activation of the mystical mind comes into being only when the entire central nervous system is fully activated (Laughlin, et al. 1990, 34–61; d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 21–45). This suggests to me that the individual undergoing the religious experience is processing information at peak capacity. This in turn suggests that the person is learning, or formulating information as knowledge, at an accelerated rate. What is being learned, and what that knowledge might be, whether universal in some way, cultural, or individual, is not something I am prepared to speculate about at this time. We can assume that since all humans seem to share basically similar nervous systems and that (according to the tenets of neurophenomenology) the activation of the nervous system into the mystical state (Chapter 11) occurs along the same neurological structural processes more or less the same among all humans

cross-culturally. However, to my knowledge there have not been any studies done as of this time to support or negate that assumption. What is important to note is that the human nervous system, according to the neurophenomenologists, has latent in its structural relations the capacity for this experience and so the religious experience and its varieties seems to be a fundamental potential within all humans. Furthermore the experience itself seems to be an extension of what the human nervous system is constantly engaged in to begin with; processing and modeling the relationships between the self to the self, and the self to its environment, which would include both the immediate environment and the extended, or cosmological environment. Whether or not the conviction, on the part of those who have undergone such experiences, that claims the experience has given them a far more powerful understanding of reality is true or whether it is a state of extreme self-deception, is not the issue here. The importance of the religious experience in relation to sacred ritual is what this work seeks to emphasize. I am proposing that the religious experience is the central most important phenomenon operating behind all sacred ritual systems. My study is of ritual, not neurology. But I am convinced that rituals and ritual systems cannot be explained without taking into account the religious experience. The proponents of neurophenomenology have at least presented a model, even if it we accept it only as a metaphorical construct, for how the phenomenological aspects of the religious experience can be considered in direct relation to ritual practices.

Once we provisionally accept the religious experience on its own terms and acknowledge its centrality to human ritual practices, then we can proceed toward a theory of how sacred ritual systems might come into being. A sacred ritual system, as

will be further defined below, can be seen as a system of behaviors to do all three of the following: (1) induce the experience, (2) retain and enshrine in memory the very existence of the religious experience, and (3) preserve knowledge attained from those experiences through various stages of symbolic representations. I am proposing, based on my work at El Rocio and in other areas of Andalusian ritual, that as a result of these three institutionalized patterns of behavior the religious experience sets into motion a process that generates culture. Although, as I related in Chapter 11, many scholars within ritual studies have suggested that much, if not most, of human culture can be seen as a result of ritual processes, how these rituals might have come into being has remained unclear; hence the many, often contradictory theories of ritual that were briefly explored in Chapters 11 and 12. I am proposing that religious culture is founded upon a system of ritual behaviors that are directly or indirectly related to the religious experience. Accounting for how these rituals might come into being to form a system of related rituals is the central objective of the theory I am presenting in this section.

Brief review of the religious experience

I will only present here a number of superficial aspects of the religious experience that have been already mentioned throughout much of this work, and make use of the biogenetic structuralism model presented by d'Aquili and Newberg. By postulating a continuum of experiences that remain within the neurobiological limits of the model presented by the proponents of neurophenomenology, we can identify a process that engenders varying degrees of experiences that would fall

within a general category of "religious experiences. The amplitude of experiences, ranging from the lesser experiential states along the "unitary continuum" (their term; d'Aquili and Newberg 1999, 97) to the fullest expression as an experience of direct communion with an "Absolute Unitary Being" (also their term; d'Aquili and Newberg 1999, 98) constitute for neurophenomenology, the spectrum, or the varieties of the religious experience.

Again, I am not arguing for whether or not religious experiences constitute deeper apprehensions of reality or whether they are actually powerful states of delusion and self-deception one way or the other. My emphasis is upon the fact that these states occur, that they are historically cultivated, that they have had an enormous impact on human culture, and that—most significantly for this thesis—they seem to have a deep relationship to ritual and music. Furthermore, as previously stated, when the most intense levels of these experiences are attained to, whatever is actually happening neurobiologically requires the *fullest possible activation of the central nervous system*.

The last statement, in my opinion, is a critical aspect of the model presented by the neurophenomenologists and is what I base my suggestion that the religious experience is a state of heightened awareness and accelerated learning. The problem is that at this time science has no way of evaluating what exactly has been "learned" in that state—whether it is a more direct apprehension of reality or a profound instance of self-deception. Determining an answer to that question, however, is not the issue here.

The position I am taking for the purposes of advancing a possible theory of ritual is the same position I have developed all along in this work as a result of my investigation into El Rocio and its relationship to Andalusian Catholicism. I am proposing that ritual systems are based upon religious experiences, first, and that any thoughts or reflections about those experiences are second. How to determine what the precise proportions might be between those experiences, and their representations and reflections, toward the eventual formulation a general theory of ritual and religion would constitute an ongoing exploration well beyond the bounds of this dissertation. However, what I can say at this time is that if my position is correct—that religious ritual systems are founded primarily upon the religious experience itself and not primarily upon the dogmas and reflections that would follow—then the problem of their interacting proportions must be seen as a problem in semiotics rooted in neurological processes. Once again, biogenetic structuralism is a good first step in that direction. What follows, then, is a summary of what has been covered in this work concerning the religious experience:

- (a) The fullest possible activation of the structures of the human nervous system results in a phenomenological experience that d’Aquili and Newberg call the “mystical mind” (1999, 79–120). Each critical sage along the process toward full activation of the nervous system is characterized metaphorically as a “spill-over” or “overflow” wherein one of the two basic systems within the total central nervous system stimulates the other (Laughlin online tutorial; Laughlin, d’Aquili, McManus 1990, 146–152; d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 95–102).

- (b) One crucial aspect of the full activation of the nervous system is that it creates a phenomenological state wherein there is no subject/object dichotomy between the individual and the universe at large—the experience of a continuous, undifferentiated, semiotic flow of exchange. It is worth noting that this seems to be the experiential anti-thesis to what is proposed by the linguistic-based structuralism position, wherein ritual is seen as “neurotic act” that attempts to unite what language has irrevocably fractured (Lévi-Strauss in Bell 1997, 43).
- (c) The religious experience reveals a subjective self that is conditioned neither by social positioning nor by the constraints of language. The very fact of the experience of self/other merging is in itself a penetration of the limits of language. The structures of language—far from determining the extent of our consciousness, much less our experience of reality—formulate a barrier that is overcome in the initial stages the activation of the “mystical mind.” *Language itself seems to be but one liminal boundary, among others, that the religious experience penetrates.*
- (d) Not everyone is inclined or interested in pursuing the religious experience. The ubiquitous persistence of religion and religious rituals suggests, however, that most people are suggestible to its re-presentation at one level or another and that most people will act upon this suggestibility to one degree or another. All human beings, in this context, fall somewhere between the indifferent atheist and the mystical saint.

- (e) The suggestibility to the religious experience seems to be equally distributed among all classes and races equally. The work of W. A. Christian Jr., *Local Religion in 16th Century Spain* (1981), is especially salient on this point. His study of religiosity among the rural and urban peoples of sixteenth-century Spain indicates that people are religious and unreligious in more or less equal proportions across all distinctions of class, wealth, and education. This contradicts the prevailing intellectual “wisdom” that claims that education leads to less religiosity while poverty and ignorance are the breeding ground for it. This social fact, the relationship between *communitas* and religiosity, seems to correlate on a social level what biogenetic structuralism suggests is true on a biological level; that all humans share a similar nervous system and with it a potential for religious experiences.
- (f) According the neurophenomenology, an experience of the Absolute Unitary Being—that is, the full activation of the nervous system—is rare, although the many lesser experiences that are related to it are quite common (d’Aquili and Newberg 1999, 102–103).

The religious experience is not always the objective in a sacred ritual

While I am proposing that the religious experience (and its varieties) constitute the central phenomenon at the heart of any sacred ritual tradition, I am also suggesting, at the same time, that the experience itself (the activation of the mystical mind to its fullest capacity) is not the ritual objective of every ritual in a ritual system;

far from it, most rituals are not attempting to do this at all. Furthermore, the most visible rituals, those that are the most socially developed and prominent, are specifically designed to avoid such experiences. The *how* and *why* of this fact constitutes the basis of the theory of ritual relations outlined below, that I am calling the ritual spiral. The best way to approach an understanding of this theory of ritual that I am proposing is to consider the system as a whole as a semiotic process on a cultural level that nonetheless is analogous to semiotic processes within individuals.

Preliminary semiotic discussion: categories of S/O displacement in Peircean semiotics

The first step toward a basic *biosemiotics* (a tentative term) that would support a theory of ritual relations is to fully embrace Peirce's trichotomy of signs and the three levels of sign processing (see Van Baest 1995 for a thorough general explication of the Peircean sign and its categories and Turino 1988 for an application of Peircean semiotics to music). What Peirce did was to provide a means through which the relative affectivity of signs could be established as a set of relations. These relations are based upon what I am calling semiotic displacement. If we consider the following three types of signs—in a progression from the categories of Peirce's Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness—the determining factor is the increasing distance, or "gap" in terms of inherent relation, between the sign and its object. Because the relationship under consideration is the sign and its object, the three types of signs constitute Trichotomy II (as opposed to Trichotomy III that considers how a sign might be interpreted by the sign reader, and Trichotomy I, the S/O relation as being properties in reality). We can see, as traced below, that the change in category from

Firstness through Thirdness, within Trichotomy II, is a product of an increasing displacement between a potential sign and its object.

Icon: There is a relation based upon resemblance. A photograph, two variations of the same melody. Two loud sounds from different sources.

Index: The sign is related to its object through co-occurrence in actual experience. The smoke that can indicate fire. But also a national anthem played at different specific occasions, such as in a parade, or to a flag, that may suggest different things to different people according to their past experiences. The tune of the Tamborilero being played at the Rocio as opposed to its being heard on a recording.

Symbol: The Taoist *Yin-Yang*, the colors of a national flag, the meaning of a word and its sound or written expression.

As Thomas Turino explains: “Symbols are signs about other things, whereas icons and indices are signs of identity (resemblance, commonality) and direct connections” (Turino 1988, 5). But Peirce also takes into consideration the sign/object relations that do not entail an interpretant (perceiver) in order for those relations to exist in reality (Trichotomy I). That any potential sign, no matter in which trichotomy it might be processed (if it is processed by a human at all) has nonetheless a trace in Trichotomy I, is how Peirce firmly roots his semiotics within a positivist pragmatic framework. This feature of his model is critical to my theory of ritual experiential default that I have already referred to in Chapter 8 and that I will continue to develop below.

In Trichotomy III, wherein the interpretant is what is under consideration (the person reading a sign), Peirce considers the reality of a sign/object relationship in categorizing its relative potential effect; a facial expression versus the idea of a unicorn for instance. There is the emotional interpretant, as an “unreflected-upon feeling caused by a sign” (Turino 1988, 3), an energetic interpretant as being “a physical reaction caused by a sign, be it foot tapping to music...” (3), and the sign-interpretant as a linguistic-based concept (ibid.).

“When a Tree Falls in the Forest: The first step in semiotic analysis is to determine what is the sign, what is the object, what is the effect, and to whom, in any instance. While seemingly simple, this basic step is often overlooked *leading to the postmodernist conflation* mentioned earlier” [my italics] (ibid.).

What I am drawing attention to by these examples is that there is a relative magnitude of displacement between the sign and its object—certainly not something that can be measured but something that can be nonetheless compared. The displacement between the redness of oxygenated blood and the blood itself, and the possible meaning (within the mind of an interpreter) of the sight of smoke to a potential fire, is considerable. It is not nearly as great, however, as that of the potential “meaning” that might be arrived at (or not) as a result of the perception (again, by an interpreter) of the Taoist symbol and the symbol itself as a series of interrelated lines on a piece of paper. I am suggesting that these seemingly compartmentalized sign categories are actually a seamless process of exchange constituting a semiotic flow that moves with greater force from lower displacement to higher displacement than the reverse, from higher displacement (symbolization) to

lower displacement (actual relations). By “greater force” I simply mean that there is more likelihood that the interpretant will bring the sign/object into direct relation as the S/O “gap” narrows, in large part because the sign/object relation becomes increasingly a property of real and present circumstances, versus arbitrary, learned associations of convention. Whereas these relations in reality are still a question of degree and magnitudes of probability as far as the final potential effect it may or may not have upon a potential interpreter, those degrees relations nonetheless play a major role in the probability of any sign being processed at all, or in a particular way, that cannot be ignored. The alternative is to begin considering the environment as a socially constructed “text” wherein all categories of signs and levels of experience are conflated into the narrow restriction of the linguistically structured, intellectual signs that constitute the cognitive exchanges in Thirdness. I believe that this is the “postmodern conflation” that Thomas Turino was referring to above.

Experiential default and semiotic displacement

Furthermore, as I discussed in Chapter 8, every sign has its “trace” within each “category of being” below it. For example, a man reading about a description of a smoking fire is nonetheless seated in his chair sensing the “operational environment” (a term borrowed from neurophenomenology) of his room and his own biological processes regardless of the degree to which he may or may not be conscious of them, just as a person attending a Mass experiences the operational environment regardless of to what extent he might be processing the flow of symbols issuing from the priest or from the symbolic web embedded in the church

iconography. Mental operations in Thirdness cannot occur within a biological vacuum. In my concept of *experiential default*, I am simply building upon Peirce's concept of semiotic trace to suggest that whether or not signs of Thirdness are processed within any given environment, such as a ritual for instance, the trace of those signs within the operational environment are nonetheless experienced and processed at some degree of consciousness: not by choice, but by the simple conditions of reality.

Semiotic displacement is not only constituted by the degree of abstraction between a symbol and its object as categorized by the three modalities of Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness within the Peircean semiotic model, but also by its potential magnitude to come into relationship. The Peircean categories provide a relative means with which to compare different degrees of semiotic displacement. When signs come into relation out of a field of potential signs, as in the "semantic snowballing" effect described by Turino (1988, 12), as a web of signs, their statistical propensity to be interpreted one way or the other combine to create what I call a "semiotic potential" which in the case of rituals must still not be considered in any stand alone absolute sense, but rather as a potential that can only be understood when compared with the semiotic potential of another ritual in the system. Every specific instance of a ritual constitutes a web of signs.

Semiotic displacement can also be seen as another way to look at the myth/ritual dynamic. The degree to which the religious experience is being represented is the degree to which the experience itself has been displaced into symbolization. Its ultimate displacement is into language and symbols, wherein it is

completely fractured into symbolic representations and from which it can be reintegrated as an experience only with a great deal of effort through practices that have been enshrined and cultivated within the many sacred ritual systems of the world. (See d'Aquili and Newberg 1999, 91–93, for a discussion concerning various ritual traditions for the inducement of the religious experience.) Ritual, far from being a fruitless, “neurotic” attempt to reintegrate what it, the ritual, is incapable reintegrating, is virtually the *only* means by which such a reintegration may take place, precisely because ritual activity resulting in the religious experience led to the symbolization of the displaced object to begin with; the absent object within a sacred ritual being the religious experience, or experiences, themselves.

Ritual proliferation, symbolic ratio, and ritual systems

The process of reintegrating what has been displaced (direct knowledge of the religious experience) takes place at varying experiential degrees as spin-off rituals, a process I call “*ritual proliferation*.” Ritual proliferation begins when a central ritual (such as the Mass), at some point in its evolution, starts to spin-off separate rituals from itself in response to the increasing displacement of its own initial ritual objective; that being the religious experience, into increasing degrees of symbolization. This concept was developed in Part II by comparing the historical background of the Mass and its present day relationship to the three Andalusian processional modes, and especially its relationship to the formal processions of El Rocío (Chapter 9), and the Salida ritual procession (Chapter 10).

The bidirectionality of ritual change in relation to the religious experience—one toward increased ratios of symbolization and increased experiential displacement (*high symbolic ratio*), and one away from symbolization and toward deeper levels of the reintegration of the religious experience (*low symbolic ratio*)—is what I am suggesting constitutes a ritual system. I am proposing that it is due to these differing experiential ratios that ritual analysts, looking at individual rituals, have arrived at such vastly conflicting conclusions. The “upward,” abstracting, symbolizing current can be seen as the encounter with the symbol in the Eliadean version of “eternal return” (1991), of which the example in this work has been the Mass and its history, while the “downward” movement into experience can be seen as the “satyr procession” that leads to the attainment of Nietzsche’s concept of “tragic wisdom” (Nietzsche [1872–1886] 2000, 38–39)—a concept that constitutes the basis for his “eternal return” ([1872–1886] 2000, 307–333). The example given in this work to elucidate the progression toward deeper levels of experience has been the progression of processions within El Rocío beginning with the departure following the Mass at the Cathedral and ending at the Salida. But both concepts, that of Eliade’s encounter with symbol and Nietzsche’s procession into the forest, may be seen as actually the same semiotic process of experience and representation at different stages in that process: one moving deeper into experience, the other moving further into symbolization—one displacing experience into symbols that nonetheless point back to the experience, and the other reintegrating the experiences symbolized by the former, and in return generating new symbols. Like a spiral in motion, if one enters into the spiral on the western side, then the circular movement appears to be going

northeast, but if we enter on the eastern side the movement appears going southwestward. I would suggest that the point through which an analyst intervenes into this semiotic process (what ritual he chooses to study), will have a great deal to do with the outcome of the analysis

Discourse, semiotic magnitudes, and sign forging

However, I am also proposing a slight extension to the Peircean model of sign types and their categories of potential experience. There is also the consideration of “magnitude.” The direction of a semiotic current, in terms of force, has to be understood as being of greater magnitude (as a product of the probability of the sign being processed at all in any given instance) within the Peircean levels of Firstness and Secondness, compared with the level of Thirdness. More important, when considering the magnitude of a sign or of a web of signs, as constituting a potential arising within the field of perception of a sign-reader (interpretant) consisting primarily of signs of Thirdness, such a potential will lack the force, in terms of probability of effect, to overcome what is already present as habits and dispositions of the reader. The signs of Thirdness find their interpretation within the sign user only because the “path” for their reception has been clearly prepared over time (the very definition of a sign of Thirdness). The process of individualization, that is the process through which the individual comes to know themselves, is the same process that prepares the likely paths for semiosis (the processing of signs of Thirdness). In Chapter 6, I presented an example of how aesthetics can be embodied through musical ritual and how these ritual practices in turn create discourse. I would argue

that those dispositions and habits of the individual, epitomized by the embodied aesthetics I explored in Chapters 6 and 7, are not to be effected as readily by the discursive media, a process that by definition requires that the predispositions already be in place in order for the semiological process to take place at all: What effect is a written sentence likely to have upon a person who cannot read the language? How effective can a television commercial be if a person cannot relate to what is being advertised? What is the probability (magnitude of potential effect) that an advertisement for this year's Rocío dress might have upon a person from Hanoi, Vietnam, as opposed to someone from Seville? It's certainly *possible*, but how probable?

The illusion that these kinds of signs (or web of signs) can alter human behavior through “discourse,” I would argue is grossly overemphasized by discourse theorists such as R. Harré (1983). As the history of El Rocío (for example) suggests, whenever a discourse originating from outside the ritual experience attempts to impose behavior upon the ritual practitioners that is not already consonant with their behavioral aesthetics, it meets with fierce resistance and has little to no effect unless a great deal of force is brought to bear. To put it simply, doctrine cannot override practice unless it brings with it a proportional degree of outside force; symbols do not create behavior as much as they are a result of, and reflection of, behavior. The embodied aesthetics forged within the experiential rituals by the emergent individual, such as in the juergas practices presented in Chapter 6, go much further toward creating the ground upon which subsequent discourse will arise than will discourse

originating from the superstructure determine the behavior of the individual who has come to being as a product of ritual practices.

A final consideration that I would like to introduce is the concept of the “forger” of a sign, as opposed to the interpretant, in the sense that a person singing, for instance, is forging signs potentially at each level of the Peircean categories of being. However, that person is also interpreting his/her own forged signs even in the moment of their production by the fact that the act of sign forging effects the sign-forger's own state of being to one degree or another: It cannot be otherwise. A congregation, or chorus, of singing people forges signs (to other potential interpretants but also including to themselves) that affect their own state of being. The semiotic flow of signs is clearly originating within their own biology and moving upward as further *potential* signs, whereas the passive reception of signs by an audience allows, to a greater degree, for any abstract connotations or potentially symbolic aspects of the music to become more pronounced. It is not a matter of this or that but of degree in terms of potential effects, yet nonetheless the conditions from the onset are not the same: a person when singing is not functioning semiotically (as a processor of information) in the same way as that same person functions when listening to someone else sing. The physical direction of the movement of the sound is different and so is the directional flow of information. The magnitude of effect, however, although increased by the forger, is not necessarily determined by that fact alone. The difference in the field, as discussed in Part II chapters 8 and 9, can be seen as the difference between the Rocieros singing their own songs in procession on the way to El Rocío, as opposed to those same people sitting in church listening to the

singing of a church choir. The processions and juergas discussed in Part I are good examples wherein the full participation and forging of signs, in the way of clapping, singing, dancing, shouting, and improvising, is what the majority of the ritual practitioners are doing, and these same activities constitute the ritual (taking into consideration that juergas are themselves a type of ritual). The “boiling energy” rituals described by Katz (1982) provide graphic examples wherein not only are the musical signs forged by the participants, but according to the practitioners, there is the forging of some kind of perceivable energy as a direct result of their musical ritual activity. Furthermore, when a ritual practitioner is forging signs through ritual activity such as song and dance, their default experience (as will be further considered below) is to their own performance; that is, the trace of every sign they forge is rooted in their performance. Like the participants in the Salida, there is little S/O differentiation, little in the way of a semiotic gap. What signs are forged are self-referential. This is a critical distinction between a performer/audience ritual such as the Mass (Chapter 8) and a fully participatory ritual such as the Salida procession (Chapter 10). The default experience of the ritual performer, such as the musical juerga performer, regardless of whether they are inspired or not, or whether they experience some kind of spiritual or ecstatic moment, is to their own performance. Conversely, the critical displacement that takes place in the audience/performer ritual (and the same holds true for any other musical performance) is the displacement of the audience's own performance.

Ritual default: What is experienced as trace, regardless of the interpretant's relationship to the symbolized object within the ritual

As I have already noted, the concept of experiential default was covered in Chapter 8, which dealt with the Mass, and again in Chapter 10, which dealt with the Salida. What follows is a recapitulation of that serves to present the concept within the overall theory of ritual I am proposing.

First of all, rituals that function predominantly within the category of Peircean Thirdness (that is, they address highly symbolized objects characterized by a wide S/O displacement) are nonetheless conducted by people who are in perpetual exchange with their operational environment. Whether the ritual structures provide enough support (through their duration, intensity, intentionality, and so on) to overcome the displacement between what is being symbolized (the absent object) and what is experienced in the operational environment is what will determine the ritual's functional default category, or default station, within the ritual system. The congregation experiences the Mass as physical beings within an operational environment, and within that environment every symbol has its trace through the three degrees of the Peircean categories of being: Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness. The highly abstracted symbols and the sermons of the priest may or may not be processed to a specific level of experience, but nonetheless, as covered in Chapter 8, the congregation cannot help but experience the reality of their presence within the environment. That experience, regardless of whatever intentionality attends the ritual, and regardless of the web of potential meanings contained within the symbolic environment, constitutes the default experience of the ritual. The fundamental issue raised here is simple: What *is* experienced when there is no

“religious experience” within a sacred ritual? The experience of the operational environment is what I am calling the default experience, and this default experience, especially within a highly symbolic communal ritual, will inevitably default to an experience of the social order to the degree that the social order is present and sensed by the congregation. I will continue to suggest, for reasons to be given below, that in a highly symbolic ritual the social order is inevitably present and so it is inevitably experienced.

The other side of the experiential default concept is that of experiential displacement. What is the web of highly abstract symbols in a symbolic ritual such as the Mass referring to that is not actually present? I is, primarily I argue, the religious experience itself. The experience has been displaced into symbolic representations. The obvious question of course, is why?

Symbolic drift, ritual proliferation, and the central ritual

I propose that the driving forces behind the movement toward increased abstraction within a ritual are twofold: First, the very success of a ritual draws it further and further into the social structure by the very presence of the growing body of the congregation. As the ritual becomes embedded within the social structures, representation and codification of the implications of the religious experience become more important than the experience itself. The ritual, on the way to becoming a religion, in a very real sense becomes increasingly administrative and discourse increases in prominence. This is the root of the process of experiential displacement that begins a ritual’s inevitable movement into what I am calling: *symbolic drift*. It is

this symbolic drift that creates the S/O displacement within a ritual process that must be bridged, either within the same ritual or elsewhere in some other ritual, in order for the displaced experience to remain functioning as a vital source of knowledge to the community at large.

The growing distance over time, between ritual signs and their objects reflects the increasing displacement of the central ritual from its own ontological phenomenology. The fact that new rituals seem to arise in response to those experiences that have been symbolically displaced would support what Nietzsche first asserted, and what was then reaffirmed by Laughlin, et al., in terms of neurological structure; that the drive toward deeper levels of experience is innate in humans. It is a latent potential within all humans that each individual, to one degree or another, may participate in according to his/her predispositions. What results from this accumulating tension between what is increasingly symbolized (symbolic drift) and what has been displaced; semiotic, or *experiential displacement*, is what precipitates the “spin-off” or “breakaway” rituals that constitute what *ritual proliferation*. Ritual proliferation comes in a variety of ritual forms and intentions such as pilgrimage; fasts; and other ascetic practices, meditations, self-mortification, and so on. Ritual proliferation, to my knowledge, has never been previously identified or addressed by ritual studies. Whereas representational products such as mythologies and other arts have been acknowledged by various ritual analysts to have been either the product or cause of ritual practices (see Chapter 11), I am proposing that those cultural products are all examples of the experience to representation current described above and that they are characterized by a deeper search for *meaning*. Ritual proliferation, however,

is a result of the opposite directional flow: from representation to experience, and is characterized by a search for deeper *experience*, a process that becomes manifested first as rituals, and only afterward, in its return current, as representational arts.

I am suggesting that the ritual systems comprise a proliferation of rituals that are interrelated by a common central ritual, a central ritual that through time and symbolic drift created break-away rituals in its wake as ritual practitioners pursued deeper levels of the religious experience beyond the structural boundaries of the evolving, increasingly symbolic, central ritual. It follows then, that the central ritual of a ritual system, one such as the Mass for example, has to be the ritual of highest symbolic ratio due to the fact that its increasing symbolization (and socialization) is responsible for the other rituals coming into being as break-away rituals in the first place. This in turn suggests that the central ritual should be the oldest ritual in the system and the one that has undergone the greatest degree of symbolic drift.⁴⁰ But the most important characteristic of the central ritual, if my thesis is correct, is that the other rituals in the system were at least in part, if not totally, generated from this central generating ritual as consequences of its having undergone extensive experiential displacement in response to its own success (or popularity) causing it to assume an increasingly important administrative role within the social structures accruing around it. The ritual must become, as a result of this increasing social role, more and more symbolic, and with that symbolization, it proportionally displaces experience and this process that I call symbolic drift, occurs concomitantly with the *experiential displacement of the religious experience*.

The central ritual will inevitably reflect the social order to a much greater degree than any other ritual within the system. The social order is usually represented and experienced as the society comes together to reaffirm knowledge that has already been integrated into the social structures. By *default* the social structures are experienced within a highly symbolic ritual because inevitably the social order is present and manifest, while the ritual objects are by definition abstracted as symbols, and as such they are for the most part *absent*. *Communitas* is not, in general, a feature of the highly symbolic central ritual. On the contrary, the social order is implicit either overtly, as part of the ritual objective (i.e., a coronation ritual) or as a default experience (the Catholic parish, and with it the Mass, as it is still in most cases reflective of socioeconomic stratification). Symbolic drift, experiential displacement, and ritual proliferation, are the central concepts to the theory of ritual relations I am presenting herein, and together they suggest a way through which rituals come into being and create a ritual system.

Experiential displacement and symbolic ratio as a continuous semiotic process: A Summary of the theory of ritual spiral

When individual rituals are examined with an interest as to their phenomenological state, it becomes apparent that there is no consistent phenomenology from one ritual to another, although from one instance of a specific ritual to its repeated performance, there is a certain observable consistency (i.e.: the Mass, every Sunday, at a specific parish, will have a very predictable coherency). If this were not the case, it would be difficult to imagine how, or why, the ritual would be repeated over and over again, or considered to be a ritual at all. The

phenomenological inconsistencies are not so much found between instance to instance of a particular ritual, but from ritual to ritual category within the same family of rituals. The phenomenological differences between ritual categories within the same system can be very striking, and as mentioned previously, they can be more different from category to category within the same system than between similar categories cross-culturally.

The religious experience (its strongest variety being the full activation of the nervous system) and its displacement into symbolization is what I believe to be the force behind sacred ritual systems, and I am proposing that this is the most compelling explanation for their tenacity and ubiquity of ritual systems throughout human history. When its degree of displacement is considered to be the operating dynamic within each ritual within a system, then the different theoretical positions presented in the last two chapters can be reconciled. Previously, wherever the analyst intervened into a ritual system for analysis, the analyst would formulate a theory that assumed that the same ratio of experiential displacement occurred in all the rituals within that system. Cross-culturally these mistakes are easy to make. For instance, a comparison of the Catholic Mass, with the Muslim Salat, the Jewish Sabbath, and the Muslim/Hindu Bedaya, might suggest the realm of religious ritual is limited to the highly symbolic and the deeply socially embedded and socially invested rituals: which certainly can be true as I have argued throughout. But a comparison of my experiences with the Salida of El Rocio to the zykr of the Turkish Jerrahi Order, or to the accounts of the Tantric Yoga practices as described by O. Garrison (1983), the African Vimbuza ritual as experienced by Friedson (1996, 158–162), and the Boiling

Energy ritual of the !kung, as described by Katz (1982), would give a totally different picture of sacred ritual. Furthermore, the similarities cross-culturally (laterally), if similar functioning rituals are compared, can be as striking as the differences between rituals (vertically) within the same system but whose functions are different; i.e., the difference between the Mass and the Salida as described in Part II of this work, are far more extensive than the differences between the Mass and the Muslim Salat, if we consider what is experienced rather than what is being symbolized. What I am claiming accounts for these differences and similarities among rituals is the relative symbolic ratios that each ritual is functioning at in respect to the religious experience. I have already suggested in this work that the religious experience itself is not what is being processed through much, if not most, of the ritual system (the symbolic rituals seem to dominate numerically, at least this is the case in Andalusian Catholicism) but rather its *representation* at various levels of experiential displacement that is the ritual objective. I am suggesting that the ritual system formulates the religious experience at different stages and that these different stages are manifested into certain kinds of rituals best characterized by their degree of symbolic ratio rather than by any specific symbolic, or behavioral pattern. Most of the ritual system is actually representing the experience as a means of disseminating and integrating “knowledge” into human culture and society. Knowledge, in this case, is fundamentally that knowledge which was derived from the experience, or series of experiences.

Ritual stations as “overflows” in semiotic potential

The different proportional ratios of the myth/ritual dynamic from one ritual to another within a ritual system constitute the different experiential levels at which the religious experience is experienced and institutionalized. The individual rituals that constitute the ritual spiral can be seen as “stations” constituted by differing ratios of experience and representation that determine the semiotic functions described above. It is worth noting here again, that there may be more than a metaphorical relationship between the spilling over of human activity beyond the ritual boundaries of a symbolic ritual into various degrees of experiential ritual activities as proposed by this ritual spiral theory, and the model of the religious experience itself as being constituted by a “spill-over” between subsystems within the human nervous system. The two processes, the sacred ritual system and the human religious experience, may prove to be more of a direct analog between semiotic processes and human behavior rather than that of a metaphorical relationship.

This tendency for humans to seek out, to varying degrees, direct experiential knowledge, I am interpreting in semiotic terms and seeing as a natural semiotic process within humans, both individually and collectively. This process, in turn, balanced with the symbolic or representational process, lays at the foundation of any ritual system. Ritual systems are for me an institutional structuring of the semiotic process—a process that is, of course, always in progress in any human act whatsoever, but in the case of a ritual system and its ritual internal acts, is founded upon a particular kind of experience and its series of representations at various degrees of experiential differentiation.

I hope to have presented an argument that at least makes plausible the basic principles of the ritual spiral theory: Experiential displacement of the religious experience, symbolic drift, and ritual proliferation. The theory attempts to account for how ritual systems come into being and for their seemingly endless capacity to engender human activity through both representational arts and experiential endeavors. El Rocío, as this investigation reveals, does both of those things: It has generated a great amount of literature, music, and intellectual speculation, and it has generated enormous amounts of human activity as a response to the mere act of carrying out the ritual.

If we propose tentatively that the ritual spiral is an accurate explanatory model for Catholic Andalusian ritual, and that the model can be extended to account for other ritual systems based on the universality of the religious experience and of religious ritual, then we can account for how entire cultures can easily become religious cultures based not so much on shared beliefs, but upon shared ritual activity in the way of ritual systems generated by ritual proliferation. The beliefs generated by these systems among a population may not always be congruent among all its members, but nonetheless the cultural identity will hold together through the ritual practices and the shared cultural aesthetics they generate. Hence we may propose that what connects people within such expansive categorical groupings such as Christian culture, Muslim culture, Hindu culture, etc., and their endless subdivisions, will be their underlying and overlapping ritual systems far more than any specific doctrinal or administrative overlays.

The ritual spiral theory also provides at least the foundation for a methodology

with which carry out an the analysis of rituals and ritual systems based upon the principles of (a) the comparison of relative symbolic ratios within a ritual system as they reflect relative degrees of experiential displacement of the religious experience(b) the relative degree of sign forging to sign reading on the part of a congregation, to include the implications of a ritual with no performer/congregation separation, (c) the implications of social stratification versus *communitas* within a particular ritual, and (d), the concept of ritual default as it reflects the S/O relations within a particular ritual structure. But of special interest to the ethnomusicologist, is the hypothesis of ritual and musical semiotic congruency, an idea that I will present in the following section.

Section 2: The principle behind music and ritual semiotic congruency

In reference to the theory of a musilanguage, proposed by Steven Brown (2000, 271–298) in the previous chapter, although I think it is somewhat of an oxymoron to use the phrase, “sound as emotive meaning,” to refer to the effective mode of music, I nonetheless find the spectrum he describes useful and it brings into focus, through the relationship between music and language, an analog to the spectrum I have been attempting to reveal in ritual through the myth/ritual dynamic. If we were to place a ritual at every marker along his spectrum between “sound as emotive meaning” and “sound as referential meaning” (see Fig. 13-1), what we would have is a parallel spectrum from ritual as experience, to ritual as symbolic. The spectrum would reveal a movement in the changes of semiotic potential as being a

sequence of changes in symbolic ratio. But what Brown is also revealing is the expansion in the semiotic gap from the acoustical and emotive to the referential and symbolic.

What is of special interest is that there must be a functioning congruency all along the spectrum; not of absolutes, as in there being no acoustical emotiveness in language, or no possible symbolism in the emotive sound structure, but rather that the degree of each is what determines the categorical function. There is no either/or, but rather proportions of symbolic ratios; one recedes as the other advances. I am proposing that at each stage, for there to be a recognizable stage, as in a difference between “heightened speech” and “leitmotif”, for example, the relative function of either the referential or the experiential qualities of the music (or conversely the language) must be congruent.

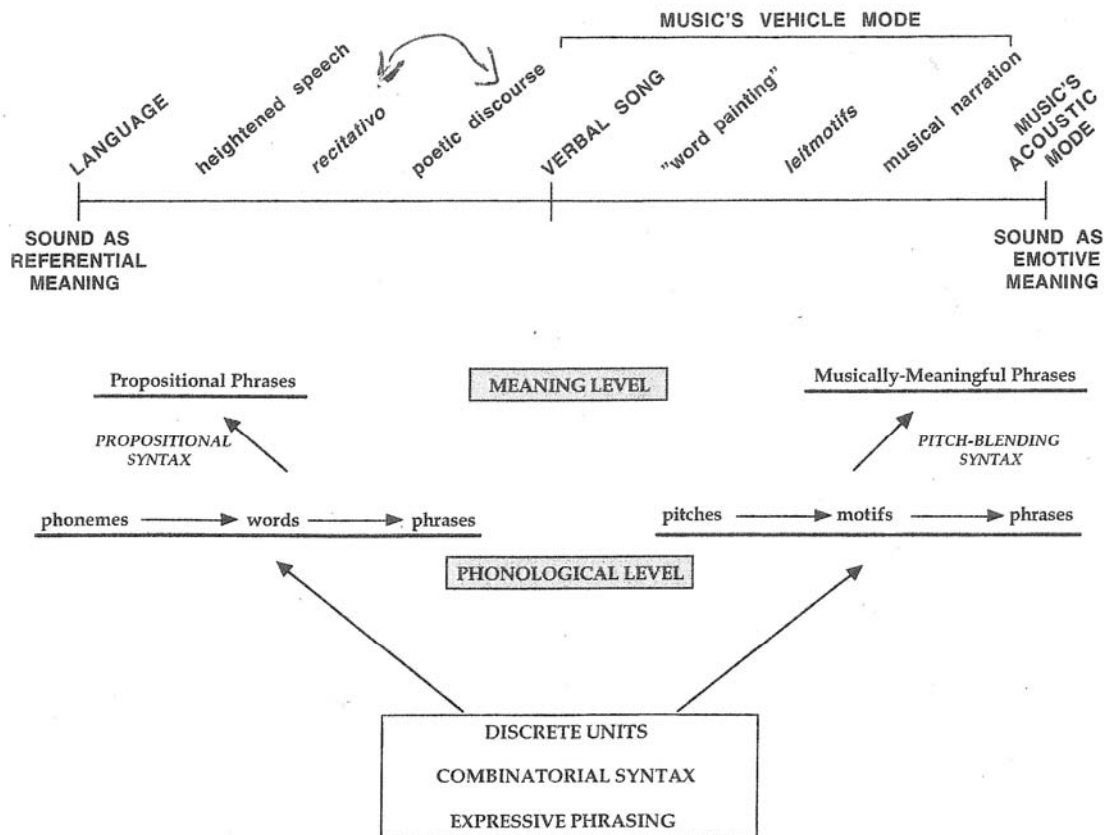


Figure 13-1 Steven Brown's diagram of his "musilanguage" theory (Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000, 275)

In other words, the music cannot function as a recitative in its reference/emotive ratio and still be considered a leitmotif. In the latter, the ratio *must* be different: it cannot be otherwise. The ratio has to change. When that ratio changes, the musical structures, in some way, will change with it.

The degree of experiential displacement within a ritual relative to other rituals in the system creates a semiotic ratio that in turn determines its relative semiotic function within the ritual system. If a ritual is functioning at a highly symbolic ratio, the music in that ritual must also be functioning at a highly symbolic ratio if the ritual

is to function as a ritual at all. The music at the Mass, cannot function in the same semiotic ratio as the Sevillanas Rocieras functions within a juerga at the Rocío. The semiotic function of the music, within a ritual that employs music, must function at the same semiotic ratio as the ritual is functioning within the ritual system it is a part of. If the music were to be employed at a different semiotic function, it would change the function of the ritual. If, for instance, ecstatic singing (and, with it, the “dance” of pushing and shoving and yelling) and the incessant clanging of bells that characterizes the Salida were to be performed at the Mass, in the same sequences of duration and intensity, there would simply be no Mass. We can have a Mass, or we can have a Salida, but we cannot have both at the same time and place. The structured sound of the Mass must be congruent with its ritual structured phenomenology, and likewise with the Salida. The same is not true however, of the symbolic content. As covered in Part II, they symbolic content may run the gamut from simple to complex and esoteric, but it alone, will not determine the semiotic potential of the ritual. The Salida is 14 hours long. The salamander and the crescent moon below the image (described in Chapter 3) are there the entire time. But like the change in costumes the image has undergone over the years (App. B), these symbols have minimum effect upon the ritual in comparison with the experiential activity; activity which, as described in Chapter 10, has no symbolic representation at all (i.e., the “crunches” described in Chapter 10). The musical activity, even in the deconstructed state that we find at the Salida, is essential to the work of the ritual; because it *has to be*. We, meaning myself and the other participants in the Salida, could not have sung Mozart’s Mass at the Salida. It would not have been a question of whether or not it was

permitted, it would simply have been *impossible*. Nonetheless, the degrees of proportionality (the symbolic ratio) of the myth/ritual dynamic (at work within the musical function) are relative; there are no absolute values. Only by comparing one ritual to another *within the same system* can we arrive at a sense of relative experiential proportions.

A simple term with which to denote the degree of experiential displacement in a ritual as compared to other rituals in the same system (the ritual spiral) is the term; symbolic ratio that I have already presented in this section of this chapter. What the term means in relation to music and ritual congruency is that to the degree that a ritual functions more like a language system in that it refers to objects outside itself, is its degree of symbolic ratio. Likewise, the degree to which a given musical performance functions more like a language in that it also refers to objects other than itself (in both cases, to an absent object), it too is functioning at a high symbolic ratio. What I am proposing in regard to these two instances of symbolic ratio, the musical performance and the ritual, is that whenever a ritual has a musical component, to whatever degree of symbolic ratio the ritual is functioning at (and this is a question of its relative function to the other rituals within the system of which it is a part), the symbolic ratio of the music within that ritual must be nearly, if not exactly, the same as that of the ritual. This is what I am calling music and ritual semiotic congruency.

Whereas the above is fairly obvious in the extreme expressions, these ratios become more subtle in the mid level ritual stages somewhere between the highly symbolic and the highly experiential. In the formal processions we have the semiotic ratio of the Sevillanas Rocieras functioning at a more ritually constrained level than

we do at the juerga, but much less so than at the Misa Rociera (Chapters 7, 8, and 9). But we also have the highly symbolic function of the Tamborilero, whose music serves as a herald for the passing of the Virgin's banner (Chapter 4). I cannot at this time provide any kind of mathematical formula to express these proportional relationships, and I don't know if such a thing is even possible. I will leave the subject for the time being.

My first hypothesis is as follows: The semiotic functional ratio (symbolic ratio) of the music in a ritual must be congruent with the semiotic function of the ritual within its ritual system.

My second hypothesis is as follows: If we analyze the musical semiotic function within the rituals of a system and compare them, we will determine the relative semiotic functions of those rituals in relation to one another (their symbolic ratio).

My third hypothesis is as follows: The semiotic function of the music within a musical ritual will indicate the degree to which the religious experience (as musical self-referentialism) has been displaced within that ritual relative to the other rituals of the system. The degree to which the music is referring to something outside itself, to an absent object, will parallel the degree to which the ritual itself is referring to its absent object; the realization, or experience of, the religious experience.

In summary, the symbolic function of the ritual as a whole will be congruent to the symbolic ratio of its musical component. The relationship between the three basic elements; music, emotions, and ritual, must remain in congruent symbolic ratio from ritual to ritual within a system. But where the music and ritual congruency is

even more evident is within the morphology of a ritual. As a ritual changes in response to those sociocultural forces I summarized earlier as constituting its symbolic drift, the symbolic ratios of the three elements, ritual structure, musical structure, and emotional/experiential content, must change proportionally. Again, I am proposing but at this time I cannot prove: that it cannot be otherwise.

The limits of symbolic analysis pertaining to music and ritual

A corollary to the above hypotheses and one that may seem to be very counter-intuitive to the present academic currents is this: It is not necessary to analyze the symbols of a ritual at all, nor is it efficacious. The presence, or the non-presence, of any particular symbol or symbols within a ritual does not tell the analyst much about the ritual one way or the other. This holds true even for a highly symbolic ritual. The symbols within a symbolic ritual always point *outside* the ritual structure. The analyst must retrace the same path that the ritual practitioners do and follow them outside the symbolic ritual and into the experiential rituals; whether it be to the university (to look for deeper meaning), the monastery (deeper experience), or to the Salida (deeper communal experience). Neither can the mystery of the Transubstantiation be fully understood, nor can the experience of Holy Communion be experienced solely by going to Mass and listening to discourse of examining the symbols. One must pursue the absent object outside the ritual structures, which is exactly the point of a symbolic ritual; it point elsewhere. Conversely, to understand the Salida, the analyst *must not go* outside the ritual structures as that will lead the analyst out of the ritual and away from its experience. It is not that the symbols of the

Mass do not reveal anything about the Mass and Catholicism, they reveal *everything* about both. The problem is that they neither is fully revealed at the Mass; as symbols they point somewhere else. To understand the Mass, the analyst must go somewhere else. And conversely, to understand the Salida, the analyst must *not go* anywhere else.

The above concept is paralleled within the musical component of a ritual. To understand the musical element of the Mass, its structural composition and its function within the Mass, one must look outside of the music and to the underlying choreography of the Mass and to its doctrinal constraints. But in order to understand the music of the juerga the analyst must not leave the juerga; the music of the juerga and the juerga itself as a ritual, are both the same phenomenon.

The ritual spiral and biogenetic structuralism

To biogenetic structuralism I have suggested one basic adaptation and three extensions in my formulation of the ritual spiral theory. The adaptation I made was to deemphasize the role of linguistic structuralism and, with it, the concept of “symbolic penetration” (Laughlin, McManus, d’Aquili 1990, 189–197). I would introduce, in its place, the following three concepts:

- (1) The internalized musical form as itself constituting a ritual practice (Chapters 5, 6, and 7)
- (2) The concepts of experiential displacement and ritual proliferation (Chapter 8, and Chapter 13, above), and as a result of those two
- (3) The proliferation of musical forms and musical rituals (Chapter 5), and with that, the proliferation of their concomitant emotional modes (Chapters 5, 6, and 8).

The last concept can be subsumed under what I am calling *emotional tuning*, a concept based upon my observations in Andalusia in general, and at at El Rocío in particular. Emotional tuning when understood to be ritual work that operates directly upon the human emotions, along with the constituent element of the chaotic emotional experience, adds another dimension to what is still the basic tenet of biogenetic structuralism: that the human nervous system can be “tuned”, that is manipulated, and even to some significant degrees permanently altered, through ritual work (Laughlin, McManus, d’Aquili 1990, 146–147).

Section 3: Emotional tuning, emotional proliferation, and the ritual spiral

Emotional tuning and the procession

The musical procession, consisting of a single focused emotion, is in Andalusian Catholic ritual an observable fact. One has only to participate along the route to realize that the cultivation of this emotional mode is the entire purpose of the *romería* pilgrimage. However in order to grasp the overall structural scheme of the ritual system as a whole, it is necessary to take the various other ritual processions of Andalusia into account because the comparison reveals how different ritual processional traditions cultivate contrasting emotional modes. The tuning of the individual to the inner procession, its inner communal intention (Chapters 9 and 10) seems to be a natural consequence of the ritual practices regarding emotional structuring. Although I did not employ any neurobiological instruments to gather data with (nor would such an approach have been appropriate), nonetheless there are a

number of factors that one can point to in support of the emotional tuning process. First, there are my own experiences as I presented them in the three vignettes of the Prelude. Second, there is the sheer duration of the pilgrimage; the single emotional mode is being constantly generated among the practitioners creates a ritual resonance (see Chapter 6). Third, the sheer intensity of many moments of the Rocio is equally inescapable if one is fully participating. These three characteristics: focus, duration, and intensity, I feel confident in arguing, make emotional tuning as a sum total of aesthetic resonance and group entrainment on the part of any participant individual inevitable. Even more important, as a communal project their efficacy is incontestable. That most people, most of the time, become emotionally in tune to the prevailing “de Gloria” emotional mode is observable and can be seen as being the dominant reason for the continued performance of the ritual.

Emotional tuning and embodied aesthetics

However, perhaps the strongest argument for emotional tuning has to be made by pointing to the observable manifestations in behavior, that in Andalusia is called an individual’s “forma de ser” (Chapter 6), or “mode of being”, and what I am calling embodied aesthetics. Certainly this needs more work, and at the moment the idea has to be advanced tentatively, but the ritual and musical behaviors that have been noticed historically, and are still observable to this day, as being the “baroque” nature of Andalusian aesthetics (as presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 10), has to be seen, I argue, as being a product of these ritual musical practices in which the emotional exteriorization of internalized musical forms is such a prominent feature.

Furthermore, the inherent *communitas* of these rituals (Chapters 2, 6, and 7), also serves as a vehicle to impart the cultivated aesthetics to all levels of the social order (see Chapter 6; the *juerga* as musical *communitas*). The tuning takes place, as I observed it, within the two basic ritual structures of procession and station. The procession in particular, focuses and cultivates a single emotional mode (as argued throughout Part I), and the musical forms play a key role in that process (Chapters 5 and 6).

The Andalusian musical form

The role and nature of the musical form that in Andalusia is called the “*palo*” (Chapter 6) has to be seen, in conjunction with the ritual procession, as another key realization arrived at through the fieldwork, especially concerning emotional tuning. The combined characteristics of the *palo*’s formal integrity, its capacity to be a vehicle for great emotional expression, and the very plasticity of its structural components in relation to its formal integrity, allows the *palo* to change in relation to ritual and emotional morphology (Chapters 5 and 6), and makes the Andalusian musical form a powerful ritual component as well as a powerful vehicle for the spreading and manifestation of cultural aesthetics throughout Andalusia (Chapter 7).

Furthermore, the two behavioral practices: internalized musical structures and their exteriorization as musical behavior (Chapters 5 and 6), when applied to the communally structured formation that is the ritual procession, and to its stationary configuration, the *juerga* (Chapter 6), comprise the basis for Andalusian Catholic ritual. These three elements, the musical form, the procession, the stationary *juerga*,

and their interrelations are observable within El Rocío. Together they constitute the key ritual elements of: ritual structure (or form), musical structure (or form), and emotional structure (or form, or mode). Exploring those three elements as they manifested in El Rocío constituted Part I of this dissertation.

Emotional tuning and the chaotic procession

The fourth element is an extremely interesting phenomenon: the element of the chaotic, an element represented by the Salida (Chapter 10, in Part II). The chaotic procession has been noted historically (Chapter 2) but never explained. No observer that I have come across has yet arrived at an explanation for this curious Andalusian ritual behavior. I am tentatively putting forth a possible explanation that I think is not only plausible, but seems to follow from the work of both Nils Wallin (as presented in Chapter 12) and to an extent, the proponents of neurophenomenology (as presented in Chapter 11). As I presented the phenomenon in Chapter 10, and again in Chapter 13, the drive toward the chaotic is the culmination of what up until that moment had been a steady cultivation of the single emotional mode; that of “de Gloria” (defined in Chapter 8).

I am proposing that the chaotic procession has three basic characteristics that are highly suggestive of its potential efficacy within the ritual system as a whole, and that may also suggest that it is a critical element within the process of emotional tuning.

The first characteristic is that the chaotic experience reintegrates the cultivation of specific structured emotions into a generalized undifferentiated

emotional experience that can be considered as an emotional “anti-structure” (to borrow a term from Victor Turner). By pressing any prevailing emotional modality to its extreme, the particular emotion merges into its oppositional emotions and any other emotions that may arise in that heightened state of emotional amplification (Chapter 10). Whether a particular emotion, after being intensified beyond a certain point converges with all other emotions, or whether all emotions emerge when any single emotion is intensified beyond a particular threshold, I cannot say at this time. Either way, the salient point is that within the chaotic procession the cultivated structured emotion begins to de-structure into something plastic and indefinable.

In this way, a second characteristic, emotional proliferation, takes place as a parallel to ritual proliferation (where rituals break off from a central ritual in order to cultivate deeper levels of experience; see Chapter 13) is engendered. Each cultivated emotion changes, however slightly, with every ritual performance, such that any subsequent cognitive categorization will always lag behind the actual experiences. In this way, new emotions, or at least continuous variations of a particular emotion come into being and with those variations, new “modes of being” or “emotional modes” as embodied aesthetics come into being.

The third characteristic reveals itself when we consider the culminating chaotic processional experience to be a variation within the continuum of religious experiences—one that, by its very nature, is both a communal and an individual experience (Chapter 10). I am considering the chaotic procession as a variation of the religious experience from two vantage points. The first is historical. The ecstatic processional chorus that culminates in a hysterical/chaotic act is well documented as

being part of the religious practices of a number of religions, among the most well-known are the rituals of Dionysus from the Middle East and classical Greece (Otto 1996) and those of Shiva still practiced in India today (Daniélou 1992). The chaotic procession, when seen as a means toward emotional intensification, expansion, and proliferation, suggests a powerful role on the part of the chaotic element in furthering the development of human consciousness, when human consciousness is considered as consisting of the summation of the many emotional modalities or “modes of being.” The idea is especially provocative when the theories of the potential relationship between core-consciousness and the emotions are taken into consideration (Damasio 1999, 134–143) and in conjunction with Nils Wallin’s theories of expanded emotional repertoire, self-consciousness, and brain capacity (Wallin 1991, ii–vii, 129, 482–485). Furthermore, the work of other neurobiologists such as Robert Zatorre suggests that music, like emotion, penetrates to much deeper levels of the brain than does language, while the work of Laughlin, d’Aquili, et al., asserts that the religious experiences, and certain ritual techniques, can result in permanent changes to the nervous system, changes that Laughlin refers to as “tuning the nervous system” (Laughlin, McManus, d’Aquili 1990, 146–147).

Within that ritual system, the presence of the chaotic procession suggests a critical element within the ritual process that I have described as emotional tuning and that within that process, the chaotic experience functions as one variety of the religious experience that may contribute toward an expansion of the emotional categories. The potential to expand the emotional categories constitutes a potential to modify the nervous system even if those modifications consist of only slight

incremental changes. Those changes, however small, over time may contribute toward a deepening of individual self-awareness, or “knowledge of the self”. This knowledge can be observed in the embodied aesthetics of the ritual practitioners as evidenced by Andalusian culture in general.

However, although the chaotic procession is certainly the most dramatic expression of the variations of religious experience in Andalusian ritual, the small peak experiences associated with the flamenco *Duende*, or the *Devoción* of the *romerías* (both ascertained by the authors extensive fieldwork in Andalusia), and the experiential manifestations of the “hair-raising,” the “goose bumps,” or the “skin orgasms” (Judith Becker’s term for similar phenomena in Indonesia and elsewhere [2004, 63]), constitute moments of aesthetic resonance that are common occurrences in Andalusian musical culture (Chapter 6). Those extreme experiential moments characterized by chaotic ritual culminations such as that of the *Salida* at El Rocío, are nonetheless not experiences that are categorically different from common everyday musical experiences in Andalusian culture. Those chaotic convergences of the emotions into spine-chilling and hair raising, emotional charges are only extremes in degree of experiences that at lesser degrees of intensity are quite common. What I am claiming here is that those moments of aesthetic resonance that can be experienced at the *juergas* of El Rocío (and to include the secular flamenco *juergas* outside the Rocío) are not categorically different from the more extreme experiences of the chaotic processions. I am suggesting that as a total system of emotional tuning there is a seamless transition from the sacred to the secular in terms of embodied aesthetics that has little to do with political, ideological, or doctrinal stances, but that proceed

primarily from the cultural ritual bed. (Consider my argument, presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 that flamenco and other “folk” traditions of Andalusia are heavily invested in the ritual system as well and may even be products of the ritual system.)

Andalusian embodied aesthetics are the result of a continually evolving system of emotional tuning that manifests itself as popular culture. The Sevillanas Rocieras, as covered at length in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, are just one such example. Andalusians use the term “formalidad” (discussed in Chapters 6 and 10) to summarize whatever is their state of behavioral norms—norms that at any particular historical moment are manifested through the embodied aesthetics of their popular culture.

Section 4: The morphology of the musical mode and the focused emotion of the ritual procession considered in relation to biomusicology

A possible relationship between the musical form and Wallin's theory of emergent consciousness

As I discussed in Chapter 12, Wallin and other biomusicologists have linked emergent consciousness in early humans to the formation of tonal flow that would have served as a vehicle through which to focus emotional content. This theory roots emergent consciousness to music production as originating deep within the biological structures of the human nervous system (Wallin, Falk, Merker, Jerison, Todd, in Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000). If this theoretical approach proves valid then it provides a biological and evolutionary basis for the musical form to have come into being as a possible consequence of emerging consciousness over time concomitantly with increased emotional focus, that in turn might have catalyzed further

differentiation of the emotions. The initial process, once set in motion, would lead to further differentiation, a greater increase in the degrees of emotional/intellectual focus, and so on, into a continuing self-perpetual spiral of emotional proliferation and emergent consciousness. The musical form, or its proto-type as a vocalization, would have evolved simultaneously with the emotional evolution and intensification of the emotions; sound form repertoire expands with the emotional repertoire as vehicles of focused will, and with them, according to Wallin, there potentially evolves an expansion of brain capacity (Wallin 1991, 129, 483–485).

The procession and station within an evolutionary framework

The procession can be seen as the ritual inheritor of a variety of ethological impulses to move and make sound in communal formation; whether it be territorial marking through gesture and sound (Ujhelyi 2000), mating displays and calls (Merker 2000; Miller 2000), hunting formations and calls (Kunej and Turk 2000), and so on. The ethological roots for the procession are many. In the animal organization of sound and communal activities, the congruency of the elements of sound making and intention is not an option: consciousness as a mode of being is the consequence of the act itself. The human processions of today, as evidenced by the present practice and the history of El Rocío, display an analogous congruency to their possible ethological inheritance except that they display a wider range of conscious design and choice, and over time they have developed a far more expansive repertoire; a repertoire that as this work suggests, is in still in continual evolution (Chapter 5). But what operates within the procession, the focused emotion, cannot be separated from its organized

sound component. I would argue that what we now call a song, a hymn, or an anthem, or even a dirge, might have had their origins in a specific musical form and its ritual processional (or stationary) practice. Consider also the verb, to march, or to *mark*, as in to mark territory, that was presented in Chapter 2 in relation to the processional pilgrimage and the camino. What is interesting is that if the processions of El Rocío cultivated an emotion of glorification, they also marked territory along the way, crossed boundaries, and eventually pushed even the defining emotion of the procession to its limit at the Salida (Chapter 10).

In a similar vein, the emotional cultivation that was an essential element at the stationary stops along the camino, the juergas (presented in Chapter 6) were also musical rituals at camp, around a camp fire, and eventually an altar, the Simpecado. The juerga, campfire, hearth, and altar progression, in relation to the musical ritual, can also be looked at within an evolutionary framework (See Frits Staal *Rules Without Meaning* 1989, for an in-depth study of the Vedic "Fire Altar" rituals and their relationship to mantras and his thesis that they are the oldest of Vedic rituals). We can see that the procession, as being a single focused emotion, and the station, as potentially the site for a series, or even a "procession" of various emotions, are intimately linked not only in their obvious alteration from one to another along the pilgrimage, but also in their mutual dependency upon the invisible, yet essential element: the musical form.

Musical form and morphology as creating emotional proliferation and possibly being the sole essential component comprising a ritual system

The morphology of the musical form, especially within the framework of the ritual procession and station, as evidenced at El Rocío, and covered in depth in Chapter 5, might be seen as a continuation of, or a co-evolutionary component of, the morphology of conscious states rooted in evolutionary adaptations and ethological behaviors that is theorized by Wallin, Merker, Falk, and others within the field of biomusicology (Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000). Furthermore, the musical vocal form might constitute the basis for what in the musical ritual, becomes the ritual, musical, and emotional congruency that I have presented throughout this work. The internalization and externalization through performance of the musical form *itself* constitutes a ritual practice that obviates the necessity of an intervening media between the body, and the ritual. The performance of the musical form *is* the ritual. It also requires nothing more than the body—no tools, no images, no artificial symbols. The musical form, when considered in light of the work of Nils Wallin and other researchers in biomusicology, can be seen as being part of the process that would formulate a structured will to create ritual in the first place, that is; an emotional disposition toward further emotional intensification. The musical form perpetuates its own coming into being; the more it is performed the more it generates emotional focus and structure. Those emotional structures can entail self-reflexivity that in turn might compel further musical practice, and so on, and a musical ritual spiral could conceivably be set in motion. Certainly this is a hypothetical notion, however in practice we can see the circularity of emotional intensification through externalization of internalized musical forms leading to further internalization, further

exteriorization, further emotional intensification, and subsequent morphology of musical forms and ritual practices as observable through musical performances and their embodied aesthetics such as those presented in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 10. We see this evolving relationship between musical form and emotional states operating at El Rocío as a natural occurring ritual process. The morphology is in itself a form of emotional expansion, or proliferation that leads to an intensification of individual self-awareness through the ensuing embodied aesthetics. The theoretical relationship between emerging consciousness and emotionally focused tonal flow formulates an ethological prototype for the three elements in relation within today's rituals as evidenced at El Rocío; ritual form, musical form, and emotional form (or mode). The musical form, then, as already mentioned above, may prove to be the first actual human ritual, or proto-ritual that bridges Wallin's theories of tonal flow and emergent consciousness, with the fully institutionalized, fully conscious rituals, of procession and station. I believe, then, that it is not too speculative to reiterate the suggestion that a ritual system composed entirely, or almost entirely, of musical forms might have been the earliest ritual system to have evolved.

Ethnomusicology, the religious experience as emotional tuning, and biomusicology

The theoretical plausibility for human consciousness to be largely a product of the differentiation of musical forms as a concomitant co-evolutionary component to a differentiation of emotional modes that are both cultivated as ritual practices, goes a long way toward accounting for possible origins to the immense proliferation of musical rituals to be found around the world. Furthermore, the linking of

consciousness as being itself a product of a ritually driven proliferation of emotional “modes” coevolving with the three elements of the musical ritual: musical form, emotional mode, and ritual form, has important implications for the continuing role of ethnomusicology as a social and anthropological science.

Potential uses of the spiral ritual theoretical model in the field

The ritual spiral model provides a means of orientation to the researchers in the field as they attempt to sort through the maze of rituals that often constitutes a religious ritual system. The list that follows presents what I believe at present to be the key practical uses of the theory for the field researcher.

- (1) By being conscious of the spectrum of rituals within the spiral, the researcher knows to compare rituals within the system itself in order to select which rituals he will choose to focus upon that will in turn best suit his purposes. In this sense the ritual spiral promotes an intra-systemic ritual comparison rather than a cross-cultural comparison.

- (2) If the researcher chooses an experiential ritual, he should expect that doctrine and dogma will play a correspondingly lesser role. In that light the researcher should not be surprised to witness acts that might seem contradictory to the doctrines or dogmas that were professed within the central ritual. It is not a question of whether or not the acts are deliberate contradictions, but rather that those ritual activities might well be the source of those dogmas to begin with and it is actually from within them that the symbols and dogmas might be

best understood; because the rituals give rise to the symbols and myths, not the other way around.

- (3) It seems to be inevitable that the more experiential the ritual, the more prevalent the *communitas*. Contrasting the level and commitment to a *communitas* may prove to be an important marker as to the kind of ritual one is dealing with. The symbols in the experiential rituals of *communitas* will not provide reliable markers as to the intentions or experiences of the ritual performers, and even less to the prevailing social discourse. What the experiential rituals will reveal to the investigator are the sites wherein the cultural aesthetics embodied in behavior can be best explored. This is true because these rituals are the cultural source of those behaviors. Social behaviors, rather than social discourse, will be revealed. The more “religious” or ritually integrated the society, the more coherent the behaviors will be despite the contradictions and ambiguities that will inevitably be a property of the social discourse.
- (4) A sociologist will be able to gather much more useful information from the symbolic rituals especially the central ritual (if there is only one), if social structure and social relations are the focus of the study. However, observations taken from the symbolic ritual should not be examined in isolation. Some knowledge of the experiential rituals should be taken into account through participatory observation, just as the investigation of an experiential ritual should take into account the symbols and dogmas presented

at the symbolic end of the spiral. If the disparities are too great, then some sort of social conflict may be eminent.

- (5) A neurobiologist will be able to interpret data more accurately regardless of what kind of ritual he selects if he is aware of the difference in symbolic ratios between various rituals. The experiential rituals (lower symbolic ratio) should be reflected by brain activity that will engage deeper layers of the brain, while the symbolic rituals (higher symbolic ratio) should reveal activity that is more limited to the newer, more superficial layers of the brain: it is the difference between musical processing (when processed more as *music*) and language processing (or musical processing when it is functioning more symbolically). The results obtained from a comparison of intra-system rituals across the spectrum within the spiral should provide the most valuable neurological information. It should reveal differences according to what parts of the brain are more intensely activated according to where within the spiral the ritual is manifested.
- (6) If the study intends to focus on the religious experience itself, then the researcher would most likely need to look to the rituals performed at the social margins but not necessarily the geographical margins. However, the deeper these religious experiences are cultivated the more likelihood they will in fact be found at both the social and the geological edges.
- (7) Understanding musical form and its potential for morphology will be a great asset to the ethnomusicologist studying musical ritual, especially if there is a relationship to popular culture. Understanding that fixed songs, or fixed

musical pieces, performed at pre-set times and for pre-set durations, and their corresponding parallel pre-set ritual structures, would strongly indicate a symbolic ritual no matter how “ecstatic” the performance might appear to be. Fixed songs and fixed musical pieces may be what emerge into the social structure, but in all likelihood, it is the musical form that will prevail within the experiential rituals. The reason is simple: there is no predicting when an effect will take place. The music of a musical ritual must be open-ended and adaptable to the unfolding situation. Likewise, the music must be plastic enough to absorb changes, especially, as I have argued, the changes of the third key ritual element: emotional morphology. The emotional morphology demands musical morphology and the result is new music. That new music becomes popular music and introduces a new aesthetic into the social structure.

I hope these applications will in fact prove useful to the field researcher. If so, I am sure there will be changes and additions, which I also hope will be the case.

Endnotes

¹ In the *American Heritage College Dictionary*, the word “ethology” is defined two ways: (a) its commonly understood definition as being the study of animal behavior, and (b) related to the study of human ethos (character) and its formation. In this way, the term bridges a consideration of what is fundamentally human, whether in an individual or among a group, and what is also fundamentally animalistic in terms of behavioral origins. An alternative term for the field of biomusicology is “evolutionary musicology” (Wallin 2000, 3), and *The Origins of Music* (Wallin 2000) presents an array of animal behaviors that are comparable, or at least suggestive as being related to, human musical behaviors. It is in this light that I employ the term “ethological roots” as they may relate to the human ritual procession.

² For occasions that both types of conflicts have arisen regarding El Rocío, see App. A, “1932” and “1956.”

³ “Emotional exteriorization” is not a technical term found in the anthropological literature. Andalusians use the term when referring to their tendency toward highly emotional expression in their musical performance, artistic, and ritual practices but not necessarily in their day-to-day behavior. Allen Josephs, in *The White Walls of Spain* (1983) dedicates a great deal of analysis to the cultural trait of the Andalusians to, as he puts it, “perform themselves” (P. 73).

⁴ When I presented my video, *Semana Santa in Granada: Dissonant Images in the Structures of Passion*, for the Society for ethnomusicology in 2003, a number of individuals came up to me afterward and commented on how they, too, had witnessed similar events. They described events that at first they believed to have been moments of genuine panic and pandemonium but that in retrospect, as I had come to realize after repeated exposures, were actually performed. They were *performed* but not *directed* by any official script.

⁵ I do not intend to enter into a fruitless discussion surrounding a possible undercurrent between Marianism and a proposed pre-Christian, Mediterranean Goddess worship. It is clear that regardless of whatever reinterpretations of mythological symbols and content one cares to make, the practitioners of today are fiercely Catholic and are performing Catholic rituals—albeit rituals that often have absorbed elements from previous traditions. The present day popular notion of ascribing to Marian practices some kind of “return of the Goddess” is just another example of how mythological representations of a ritual can be more misleading than revealing when their interpretation is made from outside the ritual activity.

⁶ These relations also cause one to reconsider the assumed relationship between so-called poetic meter, such as the poetic “foot,” and poetic verse. It may well be that the verse rhythm was derived from the dance rhythms and the many ways to “mark” time and space.

⁷ One might argue that this would be the case in any ritual, but I will counter throughout this work that this is precisely not the case with the more complex rituals that I am calling the “symbolic” ritual. The Mass, for example, has a number of modalities that it moves through, from the penitential to that of /glorification

⁸ At the time of this writing, I have been informed that the Hermandad was to elect a new Hermano Mayor in October 2006.

⁹ It is worth noting that it is in this area that the famous Andalusian horse was bred (Muñoz 2004).

¹⁰ Although I did not conduct a formal inquiry into the representative nature of the constituency of the Hermandad, my deep involvement over the past years confirms what was apparent upon the first Rocío: There are extremely wealthy members as well as members who are of very limited economic resources. Nonetheless, no deference is shown to anyone in accordance with their social status, and the officers of the Hermandad, if anything, represented the middle and lower rather than the higher end of the spectrum.

¹¹ There is no need to cite specific pages as the entire work in both cases deals with the history of the processional “Transladas” of the Virgin.

¹² That flamenco evolved along the same route—beginning with family gatherings, juergas, weddings, baptisms, etc., and later to the professional stage—is undisputed, and there is no need to cite any particular reference as every student of flamenco history (not to mention everyone who performs it) has only stated the obvious. The only question is the question of where, how, and when did the advent of the professional, stage performing, flamenco emerge. This is hotly debated but well beyond the confines of this dissertation. However, the potential intimate relationship between flamenco and the Andalusian ritual system may be seen as in some ways paralleling that of the Sevillanas Rocieras and the Coro Rocieros. But this is not, at this point, an accepted view of any majority consensus. Only Arrebola (1988; 1995), and Steingress (1994), have made substantial arguments for the religious roots of flamenco, and Pohren makes only a vague suggestion that perhaps Gypsy religion had much to do with their (the Gypsy) contribution to flamenco (Pohren 1999, 39-40),

¹³ In conversations with ethnomusicologist and Orientalist Dr. J. Pacholczyk, I was made aware that at celebrations in Islamic North Africa, the women often were segregated from the men. As he had discovered, the women’s celebrations were far more festive and experiential than the more official musical presentations attended to

by the men. The male celebrations contained much more of the performer/audience dichotomy than did the women's celebrations. The men listened to the long chain of songs that constitute the traditional Naubas, while the women made their own music among themselves without resort to professional musicians. In a flamenco analogy, the men attended *tablaos* (staged performances), while the women created *juerga*. But the above, although seemingly Oriental in appearance, nonetheless took place somewhere in present-day Huelva in Andalusia, Spain, not Islamic North Africa or anywhere else near the Orient. It reflects, at a much more intimate, secluded level, the sexual segregation that seems prevalent in the traditions of many public rituals throughout Spain as characterized by the Jota and Fandango processions but that have their roots as much in Western Europe as potentially the Orient. Could both the Islamic and the Catholic practices reveal elements of a tradition antedating both?

¹⁴ The "Tamborilero community" consists of a loose self-organized circle of aficionados and professionals. There is no official agency. My information comes from the various websites such as those of Juanma Sánchez, and from private correspondence through email with various Tamborileros. The category of "sin fin" for many of the Tamborilero tunes is a generally accepted category.

¹⁵ The "Cantigas de Santa Maria" (Songs of Holy Mary), are a 13th century collection of songs dedicated to the Virgin Mary, collected by the King Alfonso "Sabio" (The Wise). There are three collections, the largest having over 400 entries and they are accompanied by beautiful miniature, full color, illustrations.

¹⁶ "Note on the e-text: this [Renaissance Editions](#) text was transcribed by R.S. Bear, July 2000, from the Bodley Head reprint of 1923. The source text is that in the Bodleian Library, Art. 4^o. L. 62; misprint corrections by G. B. Harrison in 1923 have been retained. Any errors that have crept in are the fault of the present publisher. The text is in the public domain. Content unique to this presentation is copyright © 2000 The University of Oregon. For nonprofit and educational uses only. Send comments and corrections to the Publisher." <http://www.uoregon.edu/~rbear/kemp.html>

¹⁷ This is really quite curious as well when one considers that the hunter/shepherd of the legend of El Rocío has been acknowledged, even by the Hermandad of Almonte, to most likely have been from Villamanrique if he was not from Almonte. It is not really a dispute as much as a testament to the close relationship between the two towns regarding El Rocío. Villamanrique is a required stop for all the Hermandades (see Wednesday in diary) and is the oldest Hermandad, second only to Almonte itself. When one considers that the statue legends as a whole are called the "Shepherd's Cycle" due to the central role the shepherd character plays as discoverer of the images; the fact that the Tamborilero is closely linked to shepherds; that his flute is the three-holed shepherd's flute; and that he has traditionally led all the religious processions, then the relationships become definitely intriguing.

Furthermore, the relationship between boundaries of all kinds, processions, and El Rocío is a constant recurring theme. Notice that the very history of El Rocío begins with the settling of a boundary dispute between Huelva and Sevilla (App. A). The fact that El Rocío is in fact in Huelva, yet the music of Sevilla dominates the pilgrimage, has always seemed puzzling to me.

¹⁸ It is worth noting that the title of Molina's work (who co-wrote the book with the famous flamenco singer Antonio Mairena), entitled it: *Mundo y Formas del Cante flamenco*, "[The] World and *Forms* of flamenco Song" (my italics).

¹⁹ The city of Sevilla (Seville) is a very important city in Andalusia, not the least of which is its musical importance (Molina 1963, 36-40). The barrio of Triana ("Three-Annes"), a subject for many of the Sevillanas Rocieras is located across the Guadalquivir river from Sevilla. Its proximity to El Rocío (map , App. B) has played an important part of the history of El Rocío from the very beginning as can be seen in the chronology of Appendix A.

²⁰ The Spanish writers I have come across do not make a distinction between any Fandanguillos and a processional Fandanguillos. The reason for this is that every village in Andalusia has their own Fandanguillos and their own processions where they are sung. Those Fandanguillos that are not processional are not considered to be a separate genre. I had to look through the material to realize that most of the Fandanguillos were, in fact, processional. But most important is that the processional ones are not only the oldest, they are by far the most important. For instance, every time that Merchante refers to a Fandanguillos typical of a certain village, almost every example is in fact a processional song.

²¹ This suggests further to me that although the Spaniards may now, more or less, march/dance to the same basic musical form, they do not do so with the same tune. As in one who has any familiarity with this country comes to realize; keeping and singing their own songs is no small matter. The often repeated saying by Spaniards is very revealing: "The United States is one nation composed of many states, but Spain is one state composed of many nations."

²² I am simplifying the confusion for the sake of this dissertation by calling the rhythmic fandangos that I relate to the processional fandangos as being the Fandanguillos, and the latter more personal variety as the Fandangos. However, in the province of Huelva, since there are no distinction made between the two, when having to make one various sources will give contradictory definitions. Merchante actually defines them in reverse to how I am defining them (1999, 16). However, once outside of Huelva, the definitions become more stable because among the flamencos, all the authors call the Fandangos Grande, the variation that they sing, and relegate to Fandanguillos the one they consider "folkloric," which is the one I am relating directly to the processional.

²³ Although Merchante and others claim that the *Tarantos* is a variety of the fandangos, I am convinced, for a number of reasons, that it is not. First, there is no similarity in the key feature; the melodic contour. Second, the role of the guitar in establishing tonality is too central. Third, the *Tarantos* can be seen far better as derived from the Italian *Tarantella* first and influenced by the Fandangos Grandes singing style only secondarily. This argument, however, is not within the bounds of this dissertation and will have to await its development elsewhere.

²⁴ I am using the term “tuning” here within the neurobiological model of Laughlin, McManus, and d’Aquili’s neurophenomenology as defined in Laughlin’s online tutorial: www.biogeneticstructuralism.com/tutindex.htm. Although the authors are dealing primarily with formalized ritual practices and their ability to “tune” the nervous system within certain parameters, I am considering the *juerga* as functioning very much like a ritual, within the overall ritual of the Andalusian *romerías* (again, El Rocío is just one of many *romerías*). The *juerga* can also be seen as ritualized formal behavior within Andalusian society in general, with its understood hierarchy of values and protocol. Whether it takes place in a village street or upon a stage, the behavioral aesthetics of the *juerga* are well defined and well understood by the participants. More important, its effects—the creation of communal aesthetics that are then embodied in behavior—closely follow the model that Laughlin, McManus, and d’Aquili present as being a potential and an objective of ritual.

²⁶ This poem was submitted anonymously to Rocío.com by a Rociero. The sentiment expressed is a common sentiment among Rocieros and is found in a number of songs. I chose to use this poem as an example precisely because it has never appeared in a recording by any well-known singer.

²⁷ A case in point is the archives and publications of the *Hermandades*. These historical documents are preserved, further researched, and published by the members of the brotherhoods.

²⁸ Although I have no first hand knowledge of this, I have often heard from aficionados of the Bull Fight, that spontaneous rhythmic clapping is an element of the spectacle. This would place the numbers of people in spontaneous rhythmic clapping in the comparable vicinity of an average NBA or NFL game. I think that the reader will agree that if that is in fact the case; that people numbering in the thousands, can all clap a rhythmic pattern (however simple) in unison, with the correct accents, and without any outside synchronizing agent (no conductor) that is of great interest to the field of ethnomusicology.

²⁹ What is particularly striking about this figure is that it is actually an average in itself. It represents the average BPM that the Rocieros were singing at as they entered the city. However, I took the measurements from my footage of the different wagons, *one by one*, as they passed into the field of my camera. Each wagon had anywhere

from three or four to as many as eight people singing out of the back of the covered wagons. I had to wait until a wagon passed by to catch the singers from the back, and then pan to my left to catch the wagon drivers of the next wagon as it approached who sometimes were also singing. What is so interesting about this is that each wagon was singing whatever song they happened to be singing. There was no possible means for any kind of synchronization. On the hand the tempo consistency cannot have been by chance, either.

³⁰ To any argument that might suggest the Tamborilero functions in a similar way to a conductor, the response is emphatically *no*. the Tamborilero is not a requirement to musical performance at all. He may play for the processional stop dances, or he may not. It doesn't matter one way or the other, the Rocieros, as I witnessed over and over, both at many processional stops, and or course at the juerga where there was rarely a Tamborilero present, dance, sing, and clap rhythm without directive and without requirement of any instrumental accompaniment. The fact that the Tamborilero functions musically almost entirely in a symbolic capacity is part of his enigma: What exactly does he symbolize? Another way to ask this question is: *What has been displaced by his symbolic function?*

³¹ Although the lyrics may seem a little trite and overly sentimental at first glance, consider the following: The Virgin's original name "Virgen de las Rocinas" (López Taillefert 2002, 22) had to do with Mares, or Nags, whose origins for the term "nightmare" are used in reference to an old Feminine goddess associated with horses (Graves [1948] 1975, 383–385). The area of la Doñana is famous for its history of horse culture (Muñoz Bort 1993)

³² Again, unless we consider the fact that she was expressing her own relationship to the horse culture there. There were many incidents wherein very direct allusions to older cultural inheritances were referred to. So it would not be at all surprising to find out that the lady was being very open about her own relationship to those inheritances. As Allen Joseph reveals; Andalusia is a very old, very deep culture that has absorbed much, but changed little.

³³ It is common knowledge among the Rocieros the members of this famous group are members of their Hermandad.. However, the information is also available at this biographical website <http://www.ediciones-senador.com/biografias/bioagines.htm> However, what is also revealed by their biography and by their lyrics, is a high degree of social consciousness and social activism. The song "El Adiós" presented above and on ST -13, although recognized by Pope John Paul II (see biography), it is not overtly religious and became an international success. This group, while very Catholic, is also very socialist in their political views, and very active. This is one of the many aspects of Andalusian culture seem to be paradoxical to so many sociologists, trapped within their own doctrinal, dogmatic, theories, and yet are actually so natural and commonplace when understood from the ritual foundation; *equality is cultivated* within the rituals.

³⁴ This is another case of how terminologies in regard to Andalusian ritual practices can be very inconsistent. What I have found is that in general today, regardless of the sources I have cited, the *Hermandades* are indications of a *romería*, and the *Cófradías* usually indicate a Holy Week brotherhood. However, as there are exceptions. The brotherhoods of the *romería* of La Virgen de las Cabeza, referred to in Chapter 2 for instance, are called *Cófradías*. Nonetheless, what is important is the delineation of the emotional modality that characterizes their ritual expression, and those are consistent: “de Gloria” for joyous glorification, and “de penitencia” for penitential practices.

³⁵ These observations are my own. Having been raised Catholic, I have participated in the Mass all my life. However, the liturgy of the Mass is verifiable in abundant sources, including the *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*.

³⁶ App. B includes the schedule and maps referring to the entries below.

³⁷ The concept of narrative as being the basic constituent, from which an individual derives a sense of self, is well developed in the literature of social constructionism, and well understood by the majority of readers in the humanities. Here is just one example of its ubiquity: Burr (1995) already cited a number of times in this work has as a title for Chapter 8; “What does it mean to be a Person; The self as constructed in language”(125), in which there is a subchapter entitled: “Harré and the grammatical self” (125), and another as “The Self in Narrative” (134). For better or worse, these concepts are now part of the mainstream literature and are a part of the general structuralism project begun by F. Saussure and C. Lévi-Strauss as I discussed in Chapter 11. Likewise the accompanying jargon, such as “language” as in a “language self” are also, for better or worse well instituted in the literature, hence the use of the term by Becker. We can only hope that like with many other buzz words and trendy verbiage of the past, with time they fall into disuse. However, for the time being they constitute a part of the working vocabulary.

³⁹ Interesting enough, the “language” of the Silba Gomero uses only four consonants and each of them is assigned a tone. As described in Chapter 4, there are four fundamental tones to the shepherds flute. I am in the process of comparing the intervallic relations between them, but as yet I have not come to any conclusions.

⁴⁰ Although I am not prepared to argue this point at this time, it may prove that symbolic thought itself is a product of the displacement of the religious experience into symbols; that is, symbolic drift.

Appendix A: Legend and Chronology

This legend and chronology of El Rocío is as related by the Hermandad *Matriz* (Mother, or Primary) in its “*Regla Directiva*” (Official Directive, or Pronouncement) published in 1758, and reprinted as a facsimile in 2003 by the Town Council of Almonte. The first section of the narrative is a brief, poetic rendition of the historical background to the legend itself. I have translated and summarized the sequence of events as they appear in the narrative into six main items, listed below. These items will be referred to again in the documented historical outline following the translation of the legend itself.

- 1) How God in His providence allowed the conquest of the land by the Saracens in the terrible eighth century.
- 2) Fleeing the sudden advancement of the Saracens, in order that the relics and statues not be profaned, they were hidden in the wilds. Over the centuries they were forgotten.
- 3) As the Christians advanced, statues and relics then re-emerged like “Flowers never before so appreciated in this land.” Eight are named including the Virgin of this Brotherhood (Almonte), that being the Virgin of El Rocío.
- 4) The Spaniards now enjoyed an “innocent” liberty after the “cleansing” of Andalusia from the tyrannical yoke of the “impure” Saracens.
- 5) God then placed a “House of Refuge” and a “Mystical Pool” wherein the newly liberated Spaniards could be cleansed of infirmities of the spirit and the body, and an abundant tree in whose shade they could find “respite from the strife and labors of the world.”
- 6) In this “paradise,” then called Las Rocinas, was found the miraculous statue of Holy Mary of the Rocinas, the object of their devotion and of which “there is no other as pleasing to Jesus Christ.”

In the following translation of the actual legend, I have maintained the capitalization that appears in the text because I believe the words were written as such

to draw attention to their symbolic references. Words within parentheses are the original Spanish terms, and words within brackets are my own comments or explanations.

Entering into the fifteenth century since the Incarnation of the Eternal World, a man who was either carrying game (o apacentaba Ganado), or was going out to hunt, entered into the limits of the Villa de Almonte, into an area called La Rocina [“the she-ass”?] [a place where the thick underbrush made it impractical for humans on foot, and only accessible to birds and wild animals] and became aware due to the vehement barking of the dogs; that something hidden within the thicket was exciting their instinctive response. He made his way into the thicket, although it cost him a great deal of effort, and in the middle of the Thorns he discovered an Image of that sacred Lily, intact from the thorns of sin, he saw within that Mystical Briar in the midst of the heat of the Original sin he saw an Image of the Queen of the Angels of natural height seated within the dry trunk of a Tree. [Here the word “tronco” was written as “trono,” or throne, but the mistake is pointed out at the end of the book within a list of mistakes]. She was of the dimensions, and the beauty, of a pilgrim. She was dressed in a tunic of white and green linen, and her marvelous beauty was attractive even unto the most libertine imagination (imaginación mas libertina).

Such a precious discovery as he had not expected to find, filled him with an unimaginable joy, and wanting to reveal this marvel to everyone, he took the image upon his shoulders and made his way with extreme effort through the thicket until he at last reached a clearing. Since it was his intention to install the beautiful simulacrum in the Village of Almonte three leagues away from the site, following his pious intentions he fell asleep along the way as a result of his exhaustion and fatigue. But upon awakening he found himself bereft of the sacred image, and pierced with pain, he returned to the site where first he had seen it, and there he found it as before. He went to Almonte where he related everything that had passed, and with this news set out the cleric, and the mayor (cabildo) of the village, where they discovered the image of Our Lady as the man had related, noting the undamaged beauty notwithstanding the long time the image had been exposed to the inclemency’s of the centuries, rains, sun rays, and storms. Possessed with devotion and respect, they took her out of the briars and put her in the main church of the said village while they erected here temple in the wilds.

They made, in effect, a small Hermitage ten varas in length, and there was built an Altar in which to place the Image of such a fashion that the trunk in which she had been discovered could serve as a pedestal (peana). There she was venerated by the name of The Virgin of the Rocinas [the title of which was changed with time, and not without admirable mystical allusion, to the

Rocío] not withstanding that upon the shoulder of the simulacrum is written Our Lady of Relief (Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios).

José Trujillo Priego relates that other chronicles and oral traditions give a slightly different variation. (He does not cite the sources, however.) In this version, the hunter is alerted by the dogs to the flight of a white dove that sought refuge within the hollow of a tree trunk. The hunter waited for the bird to come out but when enough time passed and she didn't emerge, he tried to scare her out, but this didn't work either. Finally, he stuck his hand in the trunk hollow and instead of finding the bird, he felt the figure of a stature. The rest of the story we presume to be the same. (Trujillo Priego 1995, 47).

What follows now is a compilation of historical data concerning the documented history of the Virgen del Rocío. I follow the basic outline as laid out by Trujillo Priego (349–353) and have added items and commentaries from the other Rocío sources.

Medieval

Thirteenth Century

1262

King Alfonso X “The Wise,” takes the city of Niebla. In a small Moorish temple of the Almohades, the king had a statue of the Virgin placed.

1270

“Historical documents and acts” give reason to believe that in this year a small hermitage had been completed which Alfonso X had previously commanded to be constructed from a renovated Moorish temple in an area called Las Rocinas wherein a gothic statue was installed that came to be called Our Lady of the Rocinas. [Rocinas may be translated as “nag,” work-horse]

1280

Shepherds and hunters from the villages of Muras and Almonte regularly visit the hermitage and attest to its existence.

1282

Alfonso X is dethroned.

Fourteenth Century

1335

A meeting took place between representatives of Sevilla and Niebla, at the tavern of Joaquín Fraile, close to a church named Santa Maria de Las Rocinas, for the purpose of fixing the boundaries between them.

1340

The hermitage of Santa María de las Rocinas is mentioned several times in the hunting book of King Alfonso XI .

1349

The Lady Urraca Fernández, from Niebla, has two maravedies for the construction going on at the hermitage of Sanata María de las Rocinas.

1388

The Brotherhood of The Huntsmen of Santa María de las Rocinas is founded.

Fifteenth Century

1400

Another meeting is held between representatives of Niebla and Sevilla to fix certain boundary disputes. This meeting takes place in the Church of Santa María de las Rocinas.

[Date unknown]

The legend emerges concerning a hunter or shepherd finding the image of Our Lady of Los Remedios.

[Date unknown]

The Duke of Medina Sidona buys the village of Almonte and its district, which includes the hermitage of Santa María de las Rocinas.

Sixteenth Century

1548

There exists an association in Almonte with its regulations that will eventually become the organization out of which today's Brotherhood of Almonte will arise.

1550

There also exists in the nearby town of Villamanrique some kind of organization that might have been the predecessor of today's first filial Brotherhood.

1551

Also in the village of Pilas, there is a group of people that come together to assist at the Hermitage, and they are the predecessors of the present-day Hermandad.

1571

A nobleman from the city of Niebla and the Duke of Medina Sidonia recondition the hermitage that had fallen into almost ruin and endowed it with a chaplain.

1574

In Almonte, the convent of *La Victoria* is founded by Franciscan nuns from the town of Mínimos. The nuns of the convent become the custodians of the hermitage for the next 20 years. In the city of Sevilla, members of the hermitage of

the Maeztrazgo de Santiago also act as custodians of the hermitage and tend to the image.

1580

There are references indicating that in this year, due to the ravishes of the plague, the Virgin of Santa María de las Rocinas is taken to Almonte. [This would have been a rogational act even though She is not officially the patron saint of the town.]

1586

In the town of La Palma del Condado, there is formed an association that visits the Virgin and will eventually be the origin of today's Hermandad

1587

Baltasar Tercero arrives from Lima, Peru, and endows the hermitage of Virgin of Santa María de las Rocinas with 2,000 gold pesos to support a chaplain in perpetuity for the recitation of special Masses and prayers in his behalf. [Baltasar III was among the Conquistadors of Peru (Taillefert 1991, 51)]. He left an endowment for Masses to be said in his name after his death. This practice is an example of the quintessential "Symbolic Mass," where no one need be present for it to be performed but the officiating priest.

Seventeenth Century

1607

There is documented proof that in this year there took place a “Coming of the Virgin” to Almonte [more than likely another rogational procession, but the reasons are not certain].

1638

The name of the Virgin is changed from the Virgin of Santa María de las Rocinas, to the *Virgen de El Rocío*, and the location of the hermitage is re-named, *El Rocío*. [It is not certain who ordered the acts to be carried out. The Hierarchy ratifies these decisions but does not instigate them.]

1640

The ancient image is transformed in order to conform to the then-current theological “postridentistas,” or conceptualizations. [The term refers to the Council of Trent (1545–1563) where, among many important political and theological issues, the proper décor for images was discussed and codified. Until then, the image had been dressed in a white-and-green robe, giving her a more biblical appearance, different to the current Gothic style She still wears].

1648

An epidemic of the plague desolates Europe and especially Andalusia. Miraculously, Almonte is free of the scourge.

1653

The Virgin del Rocío is proclaimed patroness of Almonte. The people of Almonte swear unto their Lady to defend her Immaculate Conception. [Notice that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which refers not to Mary but to her mother Saint Anne, is held strongly by many Europeans, including the Andalusians, and yet it was not accepted as Church doctrine until 1853 (New Advent).]

For the second time, the image is transformed according to the new theological doctrines of “postridentistas.”

The existing association takes the name of *Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rocío de Almonte* (Our Lady of El Rocío of Almonte). [This is the first official Hermandad, even though the distinctions of “de Gloria” and “de Penitencia” are not demarcated by the nomenclature yet. This may be also due to the fact that, at this time, She is very much a patron and rogational saint, as the romería to the image has not actually been instituted.]

1677

The *carboneros* (coal suppliers) from the town of Sanlúcar de Barrameda that frequented the *Doñana* (the large forested hunting reserve south of El Rocío) form an interested group and visit the Virgin of El Rocío in her hermitage. As with the other Hermandades, this is the origins of the present-day Hermandad.

Eighteenth Century

1718

In the town of Moguer, there is initiated what is today their Hermandad.

1730

Because of sickness and draught, the Virgin is transferred from the hermitage to Almonte. She arrives covered, at 8 a.m., to the Chapel, where the mayor unveils her. Miraculously it rains on the last day of the novena that the town had dedicated to her so that she would alleviate them of their suffering.

1738

On three separate occasions, due to the severe draught that wasted Almonte and the district, the Virgin is transferred to the town.

1755

The “Earthquake of Lisboa” destroys the hermitage and possibly caused some minor damage to the image, which was subsequently restored. The virgin is transferred to Almonte where the feasts of Pentecost are celebrated in the years 1756 and 1757.

1758

The vicar general of the Archbishop of Spain approves the *Primitivas Reglas* (founding regulations) of the Cofradía that has been in existence in Almonte dating back to 1548.

Nineteenth Century

1810

The men of Almonte refuse to form a civic militia as was mandated by the Prince of AreMBERG, the French commander of Napoleon's army of occupation, who at the time was headquartered in the town of La Palma.

1810

Following the death of the French Captain Dosau at the hands of the men of Almonte, Field Marshall Soult sends a small cavalry contingency to sack the town, raze it, and execute all the inhabitants. Miraculously, the 800 infantrymen who accompanied the cavalry never arrived, so the commander could only sack the town and detain the Mayor and his deputy, after which he let them loose in the town of Hinojos. When the commander was given notice that the infantry was in the town of Pilas, he ordered their recall and left without completing the orders from his superiors.

In response to the miraculous event, Almonte makes formal acts of gratitude and officiates that on August 19 of every year there is to be performed a sung Misa Solemne.

1812

Acts of gratitude are celebrated due to the expulsion of the French and the liberation of Andalusia.

1813

In remembrance of the *Voto eterno* for acts of thanksgiving, the first *Rocío Chico* (Little Rocío) is initiated on August 19.

1887

The nocturnal Rosary is introduced into the rituals of the Pentecost through the initiative of Francisco Bedoña, Elder Brother of the Hermandad of Villamanrique, who had proposed it to the Venerable Hermandad of Almonte and the other Brotherhoods.

In gratitude for having liberated their population from the cholera epidemic, the Virgin is transferred to Almonte. She is received by them with a triumphal arch and fireworks.

Twentieth Century

1913

The first centennial of the [*Voto de accion de gracias*], the Rocío Chico, is celebrated with a commemorative stonework placed along the left wall of the hermitage.

1915

For the restoration of the hermitage, the Virgins is transferred to Almonte.

1919

Canonic Coronation of Our Lady of El Rocío and Child.

1920

The Supreme Pontiff, Benedict XV, grants the title of Pontifical to the Hermandad of Almonte.

1932

The populace of Almonte transfer the Virgin to Almonte as an act of defiance against the city council for their having removed a ceramic image of the Virgin from a wall in the City Hall. The people would not tolerate this, there are arrests, but in the face of their determination, the ceramic is returned to its original place.

1948

In the town of La Palma del Condado, is founded the only *Hermandad del Pastorcito* (the Little Shepherd). This brotherhood is under the tutelage of the Hermandad of La Palma.

1949

The Virgin is transferred to her town for the celebration of their restored parish church. Even though it had already been going on, the dates for her transfers to Almonte are fixed to take place every seven years.

1956

The Archbishop of Huelva is opposed to the transfers of the Virgin to Almonte. The men of Almonte do not accept this, and the prelate is forced to go to Almonte to communicate his authority to the people

1963

The old hermitage is torn down, and the Virgin is transferred to Almonte by way of the *Los Llanos* (The Plains) route.

1964

Work is begun on the new sanctuary to be built in the Baroque style. The first stone is put into place by *don* Pedro Cantero Cuadrado, Archbishop of Huelva.

1969

The new sanctuary is blessed by don José María García Lahiguera, Archbishop of Huelva.

1975

The death of Franco initiates the exponential growth of El Rocío known as the “Masificación” (Murphy and Faraco 2000).

1984

Fences and wire mesh barriers are erected, the land is parceled out, and the path of Los Llanos is closed. Nonetheless, the Almontians pass through with the Virgin, cut the wire fences, and in the end the path is reopened.

1990

A flash flood destroys the braces of the *Olivares* bridge, over which customarily passes the Virgin in her “*venidas a Almonte*” (“Comings to Almonte”).

1992

To the *santuario* come the royal heads of Spain, Sir Juan Carlos and Dame Sofía, to attend the closing ceremonies of the Congress of Marianism and Marianology. The ceremony is also assisted by His Eminence, the Pontifical representative.

1993

His Holiness Pope John Paul II visits the *santuario*.

1994

The LXXV anniversary of the Canonical Coronation of Our Lady of the Rocío is celebrated, as well as the XXV anniversary of the Benediction of the New Sanctuary.

199?

Pollution of the river Quema—as recounted by the ladies of the *carreta* “La Curra.”

2004

Puente Ajoli is knocked down by car being washed away in a flash flood. There is a death. Recounted to me by Sebastián . New bridge built by military corps of engineers.

Appendix B: Itinerary and Maps

The entire pilgrimage can take four days for some, nearly two weeks there and back for others, depending on the distance and the particular itinerary. The Hermandad of Granada, with whom I went on the pilgrimage, takes a total of 13 days there and back. What follows is the basic itinerary of the route taken in 2003. I have included a few commentaries from the slightly different route of 2004 as well when something was particularly noteworthy. The red line in Fig. B-1, the map of Andalusia, traces the route taken by Granada. Each day of the itinerary begins with a map wherein the distance covered on that day is traced in blue.

Figure B-1 General map of Andalusia

The red line traces the route taken by the Brotherhood of Granada. It is only 120 miles from Granada to Sevilla. (All maps provided by the Centro de Estudios Rocieros, Almonte, Huelva, Spain)



Figure B-2 The town of Santa Fe
The first stop (2003) is only 16 miles west of Granada.

First Day

Saturday, May 31, 2003

- a. **11:00** Mass at 11 “Solemne Misa de Romeros” Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, sung by the “Coro Rocieros.”
- b. **14:00** Hermandad goes in procession: 47 decorated *carretas* pulled by tractors, around 20 people on horseback, and the rest walking down the main streets of Granada, to bring flowers to the patron Virgin of Granada, “Holy Virgin of Anguish” (*la Santísima Virgen de las Angustias*). The singing of the *Salve Maria* and the departure.
- c. **15:30** Stop for rest and food at the field (*esplanada*) of Sports Center.
- d. **17:00** Departure by highway (*vega*) toward Santa Fe. Our first experience of the Caballero family singing and dancing. Very revealing and powerful scene.
- e. **19:00** Arrival in Santa Fe, reception by the Brotherhood of Santa Fe, and flower offering to their patron saint. Singing of *Salve Maria* (*La Salve*).

The church and square. Sebastián .

The beautiful procession of both brotherhoods meeting under the archway. My first impression of the Tamborileros music. Two different musics approaching each other. The rose petals falling down.

I carry the Simpecado banner toward the encampment.

- f. **20:00 Arrival at the campsite** People come to send friends off. My new American friends arrive.

All-night singing by both Coro Rocieros (I didn't know this at the time), of mostly Sevillanas and Rumbas. Exceptionally good music.

- g. **24:00 Singing of the Rosary** It was a while before I even realized that this took place every night.



Figure B-3 The Day 2 campsite was on the outskirts of Osuna.

Second Day

Sunday, June 1, 2003

- a. **08:30 Leave Santa Fe, going to La Roda.**
- b. **12:30 Arrive at La Roda.** Offering of flowers to the Patron Virgin of the savannas [*Virgen de los Llanos*]. Walking behind the Simpecado for the first time, with the people singing and clapping Sevillanas. First hearing of Juan Crespo. The singing for the elderly rest home (*asilo de ancianos*), musicians and people crying, then for the nuns (*Siervas de Evangelio*).

- c. 14:30 **Arrival at the campsite.** Lunch.
- d. 16:00 **Departure for Osuna**—tractor problem?
- e. 20:00 **Arrive at Osuna**—campsite and gasoline stop. The ladies of “La Curra” invited us to join them in their carreta. Elvira sings her “mi borrachera,” and we have our first really intimate experience singing Sevillanas. Sebastián is with us also. Enter the transvestite going to the baptism. [Rocío I, #1, 04:55:11]. We walk at night and catch people singing to the Simpecado.

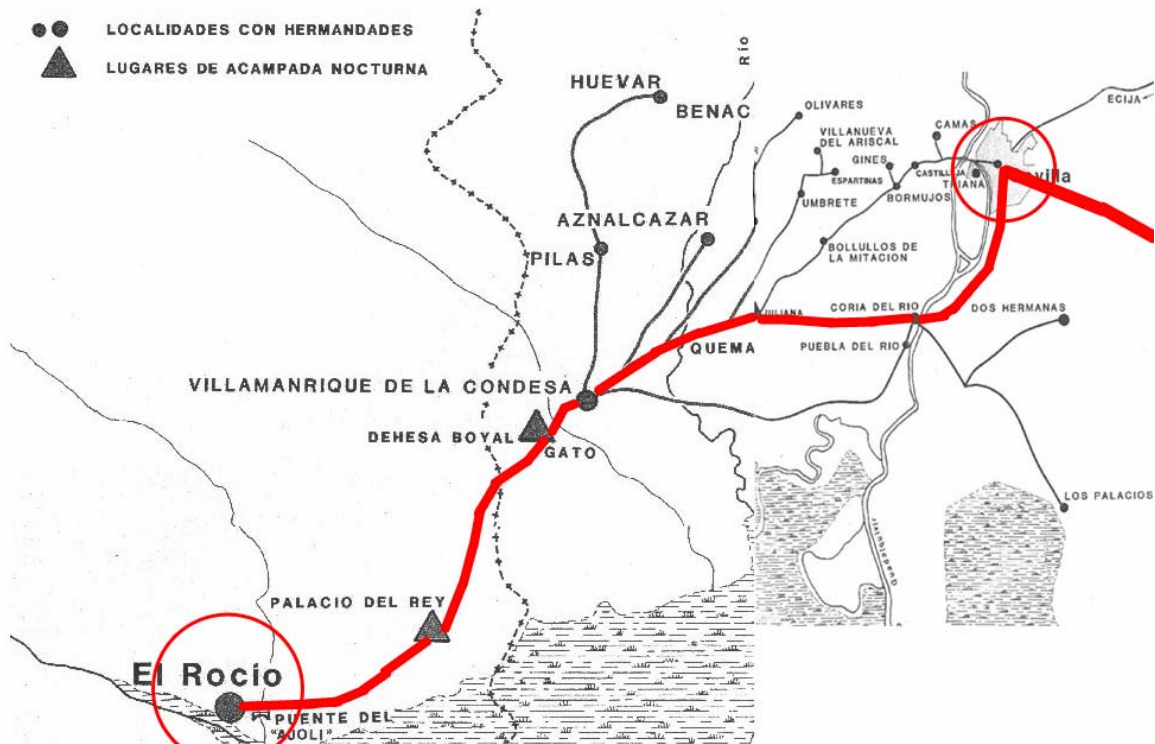


Figure B-4 The main pilgrimage routes as they converge toward El Rocío



Figure B-5 South to Sevilla, across the Guadalquivir River, and on to Coria
 We followed the highway south to Sevilla (not a stop) and then headed south to be ferried across the Guadalquivir River to the town of Coria.

Third Day

Monday, June 2, 2003

- a. 08:00** Leave for “La Corchuela”
- b. 12:00** Arrive at la Corchuela for lunch and rest.
- c. 15:30** Arrive at the Ferry of Coria [Embarcadero de Coria]. The Crossing of the Guadalquivir.

I see the Simpecado and the oxen for the first time. Very impressive. The two ferries took two carretas each at a time across the Guadalquivir. A large cargo ship moves upstream. Evidently the river is very deep.

There is some dancing and singing by a group as we wait to cross over. Takes all day.

At the other side we wait for the rest, by exploring the town.

The crossing of the ferry full of Horsemen.

The crossing of the Simpecado is very important event. Dense crowd and much clapping and music.

The procession to the Church of Coria and to the Brotherhood. The beautiful scene there in the square before the doorway of the Church.

The procession to the campsite. The family parked next to the Caballeros invited us to their table while they sang and ate.

(Third Day, 2004)

We became caught in a “traffic jam” of brotherhoods ahead of us that were still in the Church. We stopped several times along the way and people danced and sang.



Figure B-6 Route from Coria to Juliana

On Day 4, we left Coria by walking through the rice fields just west of it and then joined the major routes of the other Hermandades outside of the area called Juliana.

Fourth Day

Tuesday, June 3, 2003

- a. 08:00 Santa Misa**
- b. 08:30 Salida de la acampada de Coria direccion camino de los arrozales y venta el Cruze.** Noticing for the first time the animal husbandry. The campsite is actually a little Bullfighting arena. The walk along streets of Coria. Horses, carretas, pilgrims on foot. Lisa’s new boots and old man’s comments.

Walking through the rice fields, I thought they were swamps. Not nearly as attractive or romantic as the beautiful Santa Fe episode, and the crossing of the Guadalquivir. The crop planes landing and taking off, flying over head. **[above on Video Rocío I, #2]**

c. 12.:00 Rezo del Angelus. Rengue ofrecido por la carreta de las “Curras.”

Hot and dusty. I felt a little out of place. Still it was so interesting. The tapas and beer were a welcome respite.

The terrain changes to that of brush and trees and the dirt road gets a little sandy.

Lisa appears riding in a small carriage with a salty little fellow named Antonio and his feisty horse *Guapa*. Good luck. She suffers from the heat and the new boots would have made it impossible for her anyway. She would have had to have ridden in the carreta the whole way. I’m free to move about, film and take photos.

d. 14:00 Llegada a Dehesa del Abajo, “donde se volcó el Simpecado.” Comida y sesto. [Apparently some years ago the Simpecado had turned over somehow and into a ravine. Ever since then they mark the spot on the processions].

e. 17:00 Salida dirección Tornéro y acampada en ruta ecológica”Pata del Caballo.”

f. 18:00 Caminando junto al Simpecado rezo del Santo Rosario.

This was a hill top clearing where the carretas were arranged in a large circle with the Simpecado in the center of the field. That night was a sung Rosario that was very nice. Coro and soloists singing excerpts from Rocío Mass.



Figure B-7 From Juliana to the Quema River and Villamanrique
On Day 5, at the Quema River crossing, the baptisms took place. Next we stopped in the important town of Villamanrique de la Condesa, where our Hermandad joined others in paying respects. We camped along the route not far south of Villamanrique.

Fifth Day

Wednesday, June 4, 2003

- a. 08:30 Santa Misa.** Mass was celebrated without music; just rockets to punctuate the “Important moments.” It was curious. The horses didn’t seem to mind.
- b. 09:30 Salida acampada dirección “Vado del Quema”**
 Camp began breaking in the early morning with horses being hitched up to carriages or ridden through their paces. Whinnying and cock crows, carreta engines running, Simpecado hitched to Oxen.
 Hot, dry day. Stop at first horse watering trough. Simpecado and long train of people and carretas behind it.
- c. 11:30 Paso del Quema, rezo Angelus y bautizo rociero a neófitos.**

The arrival at the Rio Quema (actually Rio Guadalimar), is spectacular. This was one of the most inspiring moments in all the Rocío . The convergence of Hermandades allowed me to see different Simpecados for the first time, and different modes of travel-the wagon train. Sevilla Sur (I'm pretty sure), was before us and I watched them cross. The far bank of the river was covered with people singing and clapping Sevillanas. It was loud and glorious. The Simpecado of Sevilla Sur was silver with red pom-pom type flowers. It too had "promesas" holding on to it.

The wagon train before the Simpecado stretched out before it across the river and up the far bank was white with yellow and green trim (like our carreta-seems a common color at the Rocío). The wagons were pulled by teams of cows, some with their calves tied to them. Tall canopies for storage and sleeping on second level.

The flower petals flowed down stream falling off the backs of the oxen [all Simpecado's are pulled by oxen].

The horses in the river splashing during the singing of the "Salve."

Our Simpecado descends into river with Tamborilero playing and horsemen ahead along edges of river as the Sevilla horsemen had done. The pilgrims with *promesas* held on behind Simpecadao and other pilgrims followed.

Lisa and I were called down to be baptized. Our baptism by Sara was very beautiful. [She was responsible for it just as she was for my carrying the banner in Santa Fe, and later in Rocío .]

Following the Simpecado across and out of the river after the "Salve." My invitation by Compadre's friend, and subsequent faux-pas.

Rengue al salida del Quema ofrecido por la Carreta "Los Preocupados," "La Granaina," y "La Azalea." This was another part of this most memorable day. The rengue was a beautiful example of singing, dancing, pageantry (the crossing), and religious devotion. The dancers dancing in paired lines extending between the Simpecado and the beer truck.

The beautiful girl singing while dancing. The off-camera poet.

The "promesa" lady giving me the dance demonstration. As I was to learn next year, she was the wife of the doctor.

The sunflower field.

Entering the beautiful forest.

d. 14:00 Comida en Pinares de Villamanrique

Very nice campsite. Great lunch. The fellow that invited me for the drink is cooking. I explain why I didn't go have a drink with him but he wasn't totally mollified although his daughters were very friendly.

One of the oxen doesn't look right.

We leave campsite in La Curra. Carolina sings beautifully.

e. 16:30 Llegada a Villamanrique y presentación del Simpecado ante su Hdad. (Las carretas se desviarán a la plaza del polideportivo, esperarán al Simpecado y seguimos a la acampada por el camino de las "Chumberas.")

Because I was with Sebastián, He didn't think the Villamanrique Procession was of interest and I didn't get off at the right place. I missed everything but the procession leaving the church and going back to the *carretas*. Still, I made good photos, and Lisa caught the big moment at the church from a balcony overlooking the scene.

[A lesson about what's important to whom, when, etc.]

The following year I made a point to take part in the entire procession into the town of Vilamanrique. Very crowded. Several Hermandades paying their respects to the Hermandad and their patron saint by going through the ritual of having the oxen pull their (the visiting brotherhoods) Simpecado up the wooden ramp and into the entrance of the church. Long trains of wagons and the animals pulling them winding through the streets. The mounted members of each Hermandad lining the square outside the church. Bells ringing, crowds of people, rhythmically clapping, and "Viva!" shouts. Quite a spectacle.

f. 18:30 Caminando rezo del Santo Rosario. Walking and praying the rosary.

g. 20:00 Llegada a campada de Triana. (Arrive at campsite called Triana)

The Simpecado takes hours to catch up. One of the oxen fell ill and could not continue pulling. The pilgrims present had to replace it and pull the carreta through the deep sand. The compadre was very touched.

Lisa sang at the Rosario that night.



Figure B-8 From Villamanrique to El Rocío
 We descended the Dehesa Royal (“royal” downward slope) to the Palacio del Rey (Kings Palace), crossed the Ajolí river, and arrived at El Rocío.

Sixth Day

[Note: I include both years of Day 6 here because they had interesting contrasts within the similarities.]

Thursday, June 5, 2003

- a. 08:30 **Santa Misa**
- b. 09:00 **Salida de acampada dirección Palacio Real** [Leave camp]
- c. 12:00 **Llegada a Palacio, rezo del Angelus y rengue.** [Long walk in the dust of the sandy road within the forest. Hot but shady].
- d. 14:00 **Llegada a “Las Tejoneras.” Comida y sesto.** [Arrival to site within the woods for lunch and rest]
- e. 17:00 **Salida de las Carretas con dirección a Lentisquilla.**
- f. 19:00 **Paso emotivo del Puente del Ajolí, salve y plegarias, llegada a la Casa de Hdad.**

Crossing the Ajoli. Carolina sang spontaneously for the crossing of the Simpecado over the Ajolí. She broke down and couldn't sing. The brunette sang for her (I couldn't see her; only hear her and then the friend. Very intense singing for a Sevillanas). This event in general seems to be very emotional for everyone.

Thursday, May 27, 2004

- a. 08:30 Santa Misa.** I attended. Roughly the consistent 8-10 percent.
- b. 09:00 Salida direccion Palacio Real.** Good footage of tall pines with cluster tops, dusty route with other Hermandades on the road. Beautiful wooden Sinpecado with painted sides (more later). **[Beautiful footage of Granada Sinpecado and pilgrims, Video Rocío II, # 6, 0:06].** I briefly ride with "Guapa" and film from carriage. Lady in carriage sings a Sevillanas to friends, lady next to her is on cell phone. **[II,5, 0:07;34].** Stuck carreta **[0:08:49].** Mounted up on carreta "De mi Hermano" **[10:39:25].** I almost get hit by horse.
- c. 12:00 llegada a Palacio, rezo del Angelus y rengue ofrecido por las carretas 'La Zambra,' 'La Caña,'y 'La rocina.'** Young priest gives Rosary (?). Chorus accompanies. Two Simpecados close to each other. Both Hermandades sing and dance. Soloists. One from other Hermandad. Compadrae sings solo.
- d. 14:00 Llegada a "Las Tejoneras," comida y sesto.** On the side of the dirt road in the shade after much walking, Pepe Cabellero is hysterically funny telling stories and making faces. On the way here is when I spoke with the fellow who first told me about the Sevillanas Encyclopedia, and who days later startled me in the crowd at the Virgin's Salida with his crazed look-and whom at first I didn't recognize.
- Las que vayan al area reservada por la Hdad. (a 175 m. de Lantisquilla) también saldrán el el orden que le designe el Hermandad.**
- e. 19:00 Paso emotivo por el Puente del Ajoli, salve y plegierias, llegada a la casa de Hdad.** Confrontation with other Hermandad about crossing. Compadre sings "Salve." and lets them pass first. We wait and some come back across. Granada is positioned. Good singing before actual crossing. After I went briefly to the other side, there was Sebastián sitting on a rock by the river. He told me about the accident that had happened when the river flooded and drove a car into the old bridge and collapsed it. Some people died

in the trapped vehicle, and the Spanish core of engineers had to replace the old wooden bridge with a new military one. I returned across the bridge, and then Granada was summoned back because the other Hermandad was told to go first anyway.

The new priest is recognized as a “Cura Rociera.” [**Note the use of the word *cura* (healer) as opposed to *padre* (father)**].

Crossing. Kisses and hugging and emotions. The people are very emotional. Conversation with the doctor along the way to Hermandad house in the Rocío . [see notes]. “Ya segura que has notado que la gente te trata diferente esta vez...” [up comes a stranger to welcome me..].”La Virgen te engancha...experiencia de halgo mas que humano’.

Arrival at Hermandad. Bells ,singing, Compadre, birthday,soloists and Chorus.

Seventh Day

[Short entry from 2004 included]

Friday, June 6, 2003

- a. **The Streets of El Rocío** Overwhelmed by the number of horses and carriages and the constant music everywhere despite the intense heat.
- b. **Rociero Mass**
- c. **The Hermitage** See the image of the Virgin for the first time. Very Baroque, very beautiful and impressive.
- d. **The Arrival of Huelva.** The number of horses and riders was incredible, rumor has it there were over 1,000. The number of covered wagons filled with people singing was equally impressive.
- e. **At the Compound [Lentisquilla]** Another transvestite initiation for a carreta. This time it was for the Ajolí, the carreta that I came in.

Friday, May 28, 2004

Celebration at Hermandad. Different pockets of singers all in the same room. Raucous and noisy. First appearance of “El SEvillano” leading the crowd mostly with rumbas. El **Compadre dances** a Sevillana.

Ceremony with the new Priest in front of the cameras involving a ring and a lady. **Father Pedro dances a rumba.** Very well too.

Eighth Day

Saturday, June 7, 2003

- a. **The Procession of the Simpecados.** The most elaborate processional event of the pilgrimage. All day long the Hermandades, in order of seniority, go in procession before the gates of the Hermitage in homage to the Virgin where the officers of the Hermandad of Almote receive them. There are television cameras set up in a special spot on the roof of a building across from the hermitage.
 - i. **The arrival of Triana** They are the only Hermandad, since they arrive on that day, to go in procession with their wagon train.
 - ii. **The anniversary of Triana and Gines?**
 - iii. **The Albanicos of Granada**

Granada makes an interesting innovation while singing in procession. During the chorus sections of the Sevillanas songs, all the ladies flutter their fans in the air. The brilliant colors gives the impression of a mass of butterflies.

- b. **The Two Houses of Charro** Wonderful singing and dancing. A lady dedicates a Sevillanas to me, the third one of the pilgrimage
- c. **The Second Night at the Compound** More great music. Some of the best music of the entire pilgrimage. All performed by ordinary members of the Hermandad.

Intense singing of *Fandangos* by young lady and two young men trading off.

(Saturday, May 29, 2004)

The processions before the Virgin of the Rocío . What was most conspicuously different this year was the presence of the police, even on horseback with processions (Madrid bombings).

Ninth Day

Sunday, June 8, 2003

Misa de Tamborileros. There were around 20 Tamborileros. The sound was wonderful but at times the Sevillanas they were playing weren't at all clear. There was often a solo introduction followed by

the rest in rhythm. Everyone joined in to sing the “Salve Olé” (the same tune I heard so often at other times during the *romería*. They ended the Mass, not with the “Go in Peace” but with the “Viva!” litany. The crowds coming and going were as large as the one attending.

Misa del Obispo. The *Fandangos Grandes* featured prominently and there were some very good singers. Broadcast loudly. Crowds were dense in the streets but although the square was full the numbers proportionally were small.

Rosario. Around 9 pm the rockets start exploding in the night sky signaling the call to the Rosary in the grounds across from the house of the *Hermandad* of Granada.

Processions all through the town coming to the rosary.

Granada uses green flares as they set out and again when they return.

There are flares and rockets everywhere, as well as hundreds of horses and carriages through the streets.

Salida of Virgin. The *Hermandad* of *Almonte*, for whom the *Virgen del Rocío* is their patron saint, comes in procession to take the Virgin around 1:30 am. Nothing that has gone on before prepares one for the *Salida*. The bells, the sheer physicality, the emotional intensity, etc.

(Ninth Day, 2004)

I follow the procession almost till dawn. I experience the same “crunches” of the crowd as I did Monday of *Semana Santa* in Granada. But here the intensity is far greater; it can be frightening. I am knocked down a number of times. Emotions run high among the throng. A mass of humanity moving through the streets.

Tenth Day

Monday, June 9, 2003

At 10 am the *Salida* is still going on. Children are passed over the heads of the crowd in order to be placed upon the palanquin and briefly touch the Virgin. Some are barely toddlers. One would think they might be dropped; but none are.

Lisa sings an “Ave Maria” for an *Hermandad* that Granada is sponsoring.

Lisa and I take a bus for Sevilla. It is stifling hot.

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