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## Mimesis and Mediation in the *Semana Santa* Processions of Granada

Sari Kuuva

### Introduction: Enchantment of Granadian Holy Week

These past few years, out of commercialism, they have put on processions wholly devoid of the seriousness and poetry of the Holy Week I knew as a child. [...] In those days the entire city was like a slow merry-go-round moving in and out of fantastically beautiful churches that were both fun-houses and the apotheosis of the theater. [...] I would like to ask Granada to restore that old-fashioned Holy Week and have the good taste to hide that hideous procession of the Last Supper and not profane the Alhambra – which is not and never will be Christian – with the jangle of processions where false elegance mocks good taste and the crowd breaks laurels, tramples on violets, and urinates by the hundred on the illustrious walls of poetry.<sup>1</sup> (García Lorca 1998 [1918], 86–87, Transl. by Christopher Maurer.)

In his text ‘Semana Santa en Granada’ (1918), cited above, Federico García Lorca (1898–1936) describes the seriousness, poetry and beauty of the Granadian Holy Week of his childhood.<sup>2</sup> However, later in his text the poet criticizes the processions of *Semana Santa* that started in Granada in 1917. The poet considers the processions as false. While comparing the Holy Weeks of his childhood to the ones of his adulthood, García Lorca indirectly points out the problematics of authenticity. Besides the memories of his childhood, the rich history of Granada was extremely important for García Lorca who was fascinated by the presence of the Alhambra and the Islamic past of Granada.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the Holy Week processions in 1917, which occupied even Alhambra appeared as inauthentic for the poet. However, for the younger generation of Granadian people,

who has seen the processions disapproved by García Lorca in their own childhood, it may be exactly these later processions that represent authenticity.

Nowadays there are about 30 processions every year in Granada. The first procession starts on the afternoon of Palm Sunday (*Domingo de Ramos*) and the last one a week later on Easter Sunday (*Domingo de Resurrección*). The schedules and routes of the processions are almost similar every year. Usually processions leave from their home churches and return to same place later after visiting the Cathedral of Granada. The duration of a procession varies from four to twelve hours. However, the traditions of *Semana Santa* vary in Andalusia from region to region and town to town. As stated by Robert W. Schrauf, the Holy Week in Andalusia is celebrated officially in the church and unofficially on the streets. Regional Catholic parishes celebrate the prescribed liturgical functions on three days – Holy Thursday, Holy Friday, and Holy Saturday Night. In the official liturgies of the Church the principal events of Easter Week are Christ's passion, death, and resurrection. On the streets, in the liturgies organized by the confraternities, the story involves a far more dramatic enactment of the Passion – the devout, vicarious, imitative acts of physical penitence. (Schrauf 1997, 431–432.) In the processions of Granada the emphasis is in the themes of suffering, death and sorrow while the role of resurrection is more moderate.

The most Granadian *Semana Santa* processions have two pasos – one *paso de Cristo* commemorating some moment from Christ's passion and one *paso de María* featuring the suffering Mother of Christ under one of her titles as the Sorrowful Mother. There are almost 60 statues or figure groups, which are carried in the processions every year in Granada. The processions of different guilds and brotherhoods, each marching with their own statues, are linked together to form one mammoth demonstration (Barker 1957, 138–139; Mitchell 1990, 41–43). Some of the sculptures carried in processions have been made by Pedro de Mena (1628-1688) and José de Mora (1642–1724), the master sculptors from the seventeenth century. In addition to crucifixion one of the most popular themes in the processions has been Christ's journey to the Calvary through the

streets – the *Nazareno*. Sometimes the sculptures of Christ are accompanied by other Biblical characters. Some *pasos* represent wider scenes of the Passional drama and there are figures, such as followers and Disciples of Christ, angels, saints, rulers and soldiers. Frequently represented events in Andalusian *pasos* are, for example, the Entry of Christ in Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Prayer in the Garden of Olives, and the Kiss of Judas. Marian imagery and devotion is an essential part of Catholic imagination and Marian devotion has been extremely important in Andalusia. This phenomenon has been analysed in relation to, for example, with certain cultural aspects of Andalusia like the role of maternal care in a macho culture. Sometimes the emotional and sensual character of the Andalusians has also been stressed. (E.g., López-Guadalupe Muñoz 2013, 21–43; Mitchell 1990, 161; Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 2009, 45–46; Schrauf 1997, 432–433.) Virgin Mary is one of those symbols whose forms and meanings are not fixed but vary between different cultures and historical periods (e.g., Kuuva 2016, 9–14; Vuola 2010, 9–75).

Andalusian Semana Santa processions can be approached through a theoretical framework of lived religion, developed by Robert Orsi for his study *The Madonna of 115<sup>th</sup> Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (1985), and since adopted and discussed by numerous anthropologists and scholars of religion (e.g. Hermkens, Jansen & Notermans 2009; Mitchell 2010; Morgan 2010b). As defined by Orsi, within the framework of lived religion, religion is approached as lived experience and all religious creativity is situated within history and culture. In this context, the material world is an essential medium of cultural practice. The goal is to clarify what people do with religious items, how they use them, what they make of themselves and their worlds with them. The study of lived religion focuses on embodied practices and imagination, and thus investigates the ways in which humans exist in and move through their built and found environments. (Orsi 2010, xxxvii-xli.) In his definition of lived religion, Orsi emphasizes religious creativity: ‘As people pray to, worship, and plead with the gods, the culture acts on the imagination and the imagination works on culture, to the possible transformation of both.’ (Orsi 2010, xli.)

In this chapter, lived religion refers to the religious practices in the context of *Semana Santa* processions – both in churches and in public places like streets. It is assumed that materiality mediates belief and material objects and practices both enable and enact it. (Cf. Morgan 2010a, 12; Morgan 2010b, 18-19.) Key question of the chapter is: How does the materiality of the processions relate with the problematics of authenticity, mimesis and mediation? Particular attention is paid to the work done on the limits of materiality, which aims to maintain interaction with divinity. Material aspects of processions are analysed from three perspectives: authenticity, collectivity and the senses. The *Semana Santa* experiences of Andalusian people are discussed both through literature and observations made in Granada during Easter of 2014. The material dimensions of Andalusian *Semana Santa* processions are approached through the theoretical concept of mimesis. In general, the concept of mimesis refers to imitation or representation of certain aspects of the world – usually by showing or portraying objects, actors, actions or events. For example, *Semana Santa* processions can be understood as a mimesis of historical events relating with the Passion of Christ. In the context of ‘ontological turn’ in contemporary anthropology, however, the creative aspects of mimesis have been emphasized and the distinction has been made between active mimesis and the more passive imitation. Because performances have the capacity to create presence, they have been categorized as generative rather than merely representative. Mimesis has also been seen as a space between sameness and otherness or between identity and alterity. Mimesis also has close bounds with the bodily, the sensuous and the somatic through which mediation between human beings and divinity is approached. (E.g., Espirito Santo & Tassi 2013, 11-12; Flood 2014, 485; Mitchell 2015, 11-30; Taussig 1993, 78.)

*Semana Santa* processions in Spain and in Latin America have been studied by anthropologists, ethnographers and folklorists. George C. Barker (1957), for example, has compared the Spanish passional processions with those held in the American Southwest. Timothy Mitchell (1988, 1990) has analyzed the passional aspects of Andalusian *Semana Santa* processions. There

are also investigations that focus on the visual aspects of the religious statues that are carried along the streets of Andalusian towns during the Holy Week, on local histories of processions, and on the roles given to various actors in the processions (e.g., Bray *et al.* 2009; López-Guadalupe Muñoz and López-Guadalupe Muñoz 2002; López-Guadalupe Muñoz 2013; Schrauf 1997). Some authors have discussed *Semana Santa* as a part of their wider studies concerning Catholic cults (e.g., Hall 2004; Luengo Mena 2013). In addition to the literature directly focusing on *Semana Santa* processions, numerous authors have concentrated on the relationships between religion, performances and material culture (e.g., Bull and Mitchell 2015; Espirito Santo and Tassi 2013; Houtman and Meyer 2012; King 2010; Miller 2005; Morgan 2010a; Peña 2011). Of these more general studies, especially David Friedberg's analysis of spectators' responses to religious images bears importance for the present discussion. Friedberg notes that:

People are sexually aroused by pictures and sculptures; they break pictures and sculptures; they mutilate them, kiss them, cry before them, and go on journeys to them; they are calmed by them, stirred by them, and incited to revolt. They give thanks by means of them, expect to be elevated by them, and are moved to highest levels of empathy and fear. They have always responded in these ways; they still do. (Friedberg 1989, 1; on religious images see also Belting (1994).)

Many effects and actions listed by Freedberg are also important in the context of Andalusian processional statues. Another important viewpoint in regard to the present analysis of processional statues is presented by W.J.T. Mitchell. According to Mitchell, physical and material pictures can be created and destroyed, while mental and immaterial images are not similarly creatable and destroyable. While the concept or idea of Christ or Virgin Mary can be understood as an image in

Mitchell's sense, all physical manifestations of the image, like individual statues carried in processions, fall in the category of pictures. (Cf. Mitchell 2005, 85.)

In the beginning of the next chapter, a short excursion will be made into the Catholic and Andalusian visual culture and into the cultural and historical background of processions. After that attention will be directed to the Spanish tradition of painted sculptures, to the statues carried in the processions and to contemporary practices of Granadian *Semana Santa* processions. Material aspects of processions will be further discussed through the framework of lived religion and analyzed through the concepts of mimesis and mediation. In this context attention will be directed to the relationship between processional statues and authenticity, to the decoration of the statues as collective task and to the multisensory aspects of processions. As far as I know, Andalusian *Semana Santa* processions have not earlier been analyzed by combining the perspectives which open from the relationship of mimesis and mediation.

### **Cultural and historical background of Andalusian processions**

Although the visual culture of the Catholic Church is generally very rich and varying, in Andalusia it is excessive, even breathtaking. This can be observed, for example, in certain interiors of Granadian monasteries and churches, such as Cartuja, San Juan de Dios and Virgen de las Angustias. In the context of these examples, even a certain kind of 'horror vacui' – fear of empty spaces – can be observed. Every space imaginable is filled with decoration. One essential reason for the hyperbolic forms of Andalusian visual culture is probably the Moorish influence with its impressive ornamentation in places like the Alhambra.

Spanish art started to develop into its particular, extremely realistic, direction during the Catholic renewal after the Council of Trent (1545–1563). In this context, pictures were seen as pedagogic instruments used to communicate ideas in a largely illiterate society. The task of sacred

art was to stimulate emotions and to make the viewer see the immanence of the sacred in everyday life. The Baroque has been described as an art of transcendence where religion is combined with art, poetry and music. (E.g., Bray 2009, 15-17; McDannell 1995, 9; Mitchell 2015, 22; Moffitt 1999, 126-140; López-Guadalupe Muñoz 2013, 21-43; Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 2009, 45-47.) As Timothy Mitchell puts it, Andalusians still literally go for Baroque during the Holy Week to make sure their processions eclipse the others in both splendor and pathos. (Mitchell 1990, 1.)

Passional processions have their historical background in the activities of several different religious traditions. In Medieval Europe flagellant brotherhoods practiced processions. While the Brothers of Light carried light tapers, the Brothers of Blood either carried heavy crosses or whipped themselves. There were also flagellants who marched barefoot, stripped to the waist, and wore black hoods in order to avoid recognition by the authorities of the Church. Certain fanatical excesses finally led to a public reaction against the flagellants. Besides flagellants, the tradition known as *Via Crucis* (Way of the Cross) has also been connected to passional processions. In *Via Crucis*, crosses symbolizing the fourteen major events in Christ's Passion were erected in or around the church edifice. The tradition was brought to Spain by members of the Franciscan Order in the sixteenth-century when also mystery plays were performed on public squares in Spanish towns and cities. In the mystery plays biblical scenes were originally re-enacted on crude platforms or large moveable carts. Gradually they were formalized into the floats nowadays known as *pasos*. The word *paso* literally refers to 'step' and it derives from the notion that each *paso* represents a scene or sequence in the dramatic unfolding of the Passion of Christ. (Barker 1957, 138-139; Mitchell 1990, 41-43.)

Initially, the figures on the *pasos* were made of papier-mâché, because it was light and relatively inexpensive. When the number and size of donations increased, the statues in carved and polychromed wood started to be commissioned from the leading sculptors in Spain. This was done by the Spanish monarchy and non-monastic and regular clergy, and by associations of lay members



known as brotherhoods and confraternities. Statues were needed in cathedrals, churches, chapels, oratories and hospitals.<sup>4</sup> The members of confraternities organized their own religious services, for example in private chapels in parish churches and monasteries or in their own meetinghouses, where the images of their patron saints were also venerated. (Bray 2009, 17–21, 26; Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 2009, 45–47.)

The seventeenth-century was exceptional in Spanish art history because of the level of realism to which its artists aspired. The sculptors aimed to make their works as lifelike and realistic as possible. All young Spanish painters had to learn the art of painting wooden sculptures (*pintor de ymagineria*).<sup>5</sup> The technique of painting the flesh tones was known as incarnation (*encarnación*), which literally means, ‘made flesh’. There were two ways of painting the tones of flesh, *polimento* (glossy) and *mate* (matte). Later even real hair, ivory teeth, glass eyes and tears were used and the effect of coagulated blood was simulated. Andalusian masters of Passional images utilized many kinds of literature from Apocrypha to theoretical books on mathematics, geometry, architecture and perspective. There were also pious and devotional texts describing the scenes of the Passion in a lively and impressive ways as they paid special attention to the expression of emotions. The *imagineros* studied the agony of Christ carefully in order to combine aesthetic appeal with commonly held beliefs. They analyzed the details, like the size and shape of the crown of thorns, the folds of the shroud, the height of the column Christ was scourged at, the number of floggers, the number and length of nails required for crucifixion, whether the right foot should be on the top or underneath the left, how much blood was spilled, and so on. As we can see, the making of the *pasos* has always strived to achieve a certain degree of realism – to be as authentic as possible. Andalusian *imagineros* were in touch with the popular sentiments, tastes and beliefs, and so tried to impress the local audience. Every confraternity, both historically and nowadays, has been highly vigilant of the popular acceptance or the rejection of their processional statues. (Bray 2009, 17–26; López-Guadalupe Muñoz 2013, 21–43; Mitchell 1990, 139, 159, 161–163.)

## **Contemporary Semana Santa Processions: Mimesis and Mediation**

### *Processional statues and the problem of authenticity*

Although the roots of Spanish passionall processions can be traced back to the Middle Ages, processions in the contemporary form started in Granada only in 1917. The most Granadian confraternities were established in the beginning of the twentieth century, and the most recent ones in the 1980s. Nowadays new statues are made, for example when a new confraternity is established or when some patron has wanted to donate a new statue to his confraternity. In these cases the new statues usually follow the spirit of their predecessors from the Baroque era. The reason is that the Baroque has established itself as a style of processional statues because of its exceedingly expressive features, and Andalusian confraternities still want to follow the tradition. In other words, the statues still imitate the style, which is understood realistic in its modes to depict the emotions and suffering and thus authentic.

Juan Jesús López-Guadalupe Muñoz describes the Andalusian polychromic wood sculptures, carried in processions, as devotional nuclei, which are in the center of the celebrations of their confraternities (López-Guadalupe Muñoz 2013, 21–43). The idea of devotional nuclei resonates with Birgit Meyer's concept of sensational form. According to Meyer, sensational forms are relatively fixed models for invoking and organizing access to the transcendental. Sensational forms offer structures of repetition to create and sustain links between believers in the context of particular religious regimes. Sensational forms are transmitted and shared; they contain particular practices of worship and play a central role in modulating them as religious moral subjects and communities. (Meyer 2011, 29–30.) Sensuality and material glory, essential factors of contemporary Semana Santa processions, have thus firm tradition both in the Catholic religion and in the visual culture of Andalusia.

The idea of devotional nuclei also finds resonance in the notion of mimesis. According to Jon Mitchell, mimesis is an essential feature in human generative, practical and bodily encounter with their world through which lifeworld is constituted. Processional statues are mimetic artworks which bridge the material and the immaterial world, or the natural and supernatural, in ways that resolve the inherent tensions within Catholic theology concerning the relationship between immanence and transcendence and the closeness and distance of God and the Saints. The statues of saints are entities with their own ontological status. According to Mitchell, they both communicate and resolve duality, intervene in everyday life; involve themselves in people's lives by helping to solve problems or petitioning God on behalf of a particular person or group. (Mitchell 2010, 264-265; Mitchell 2015, 18, 29.) The notion of devotional nuclei and Mitchell's definition of mimesis have also connections with Orsi's concept 'media of presence'. According to Orsi, devotional images are used to act upon the world, upon others and upon oneself and thus act as 'media of presence'. It is believed that these objects 'hold the power of holy figure' and 'make it present' (Orsi 2005, 49). Also Granadian processional statues can be understood as such media of presence, as described by Orsi and Mitchell.

It seems evident that mediation of divinity is ensured by following the tradition. The extreme realism of the sculptures emphasizes the personhood of the saints and helps the audience to relate to them and their suffering and sorrow. The vivid emotional expressions of the statues are indeed important in order to provoke similar sentiments amongst the audience participating the processions. Especially in the Baroque sculptures the emotions are powerfully and unambiguously expressed and they mimetically show deeply human thoughts and feelings of Mary, Christ and the saints. Virgin Mary's body is in most cases rather static, yet her face is showing the deep emotional turmoil. The sculptures of Christ, on the other hand, express emotions by posture as well as facial expressions. The statues' mimetic expression of emotions is directly seen and felt by the audience,

people who mostly are familiar with the representation conventions of the Baroque. Thus, in this context mimesis is closely bound with recognition and mediation of religious emotions.

As stated by Mitchell, religious statues bring the saints into being by generating presence and power which are confirmed through the performance of ritual, in this case a procession. Therefore, the statues function in many ways like social persons. (Mitchell 2010, 264–266.) As Mitchell formulates it:

If the *potentia* of the saints' statues can be attributed to their agency, their *praesentia* is achieved through performance. Statues are not merely looked upon, but also engaged with. This engagement is accentuated during *festa*, when statues are removed from their daily position in a glass-fronted niche of the church, and processed around the parish. During this time, statues become animated. They are spoken to directly, touched and made to 'dance' along the streets – they are performed with, generating presence. (Mitchell 2010, 266.)

In general, it can be stated that experienced authenticity of the statues crucially influences the atmosphere of processions and the experience of power and presence of divinity. Therefore, processional statues can be described as 'media of presence', through which divinity is mediated. Through collective process of decorating, which will be discussed in the following section, the mediating power of the statues is further reinforced.

#### *Decorating of the pasos as collective task*

In Granada the members of confraternities use a lot of resources, such as time and effort, to the decorating of the statues in advance during the weeks before processions.<sup>6</sup> In this work, attention is drawn to key objects through ornaments and decoration, for example (e.g., Mitchell 2010, 268). The

*pasos* of Christ are usually covered in red or purple flowers, and there often are skillful flower arrangements also in the *pasos* of the Virgin. In the *paso* of the Virgin the flowers are normally white, but exceptions do occur. In addition to real flowers, there are also flower ornaments made of wax. Furthermore, in the *paso* of Christ there are often candles or lanterns in each corner, while in the *paso* of the Virgin, there are usually tens of candles before the statue. An important part in the ornamentation of the *pasos* is the dressing of the Virgin (e.g., Mitchell 1990, 120–121). During *Semana Santa*, the church doors remain open while inside the processional objects are polished and decorated. In the chapels of the churches, the equipment needed in the processions, like clothes, flags, candles, lanterns, crosses and other material objects, are carefully organized for the processions and presented for the audience.

The decorating of *pasos* is an important project in the social life of the confraternities. The organizing of a procession, as well as preparing the *pasos* and costumes for the processions, is demanding work, and includes tasks for every member of a confraternity. The preparation of the procession objects and setting the flowers on the *pasos* are usually done collectively, but there are also members of the confraternities who have specialized in the clothing of the statues. The decorating of *pasos* can be seen as one form of lived religion – as a work that is done on the limits of materiality to ensure the power of God and saints. The decorating makes the statues powerful and present, but the process of decoration is also a form of lay veneration of Virgin Mary, Christ and the saints. The collectivity of the people participating in this veneration make the statues to be present in an emphasized way; the statues' personhood gains strength all the time.

During the Holy Week, the Granadian audience has the possibility to see the statues being decorated for the processions in the churches. Unlike in other times, during the Holy Week processional statues are located in the churches in such a way that it is possible to walk around them. Before processions the members of Granadian confraternities meet each other in their churches near the *pasos* and interact with the statues (cf. e.g., Mitchell 2010, 267–268). In these

gatherings the statues are clearly treated as persons. For example, once during my fieldwork, when a tiny dog was brought into the Granadian church, this was loudly disapproved by the members of confraternity through the words '*El perro con Nuestra Señora*' – '*A dog with our Lady*'. These words showed the status of the statue of Virgin Mary as divine person concretely present in the church. As told by one Granadian informant, in the churches it can be easier to focus on the statues than in the processions, because during the latter, a multitude of things is happening on the streets simultaneously. However, the collectivity in preparing the *pasos* as well as spectating them serves the process of making the statues more 'alive' to the Granadians. Through collective efforts the divine power is mediating through the *pasos* both to individual people and to Granadian confraternities. The goal to make the statues alive through their realistic outlook, ornamentation of the *pasos*, interaction with people and movement in the processions. These all features emphasize the idea that the saints are present in their statues.

### *Multisensory processions*

Processional statues are animated when they are carried along Andalusian streets. Certain rituals are repeated when the *pasos* go by or reach certain stations on their long routes. For example, fireworks can be seen when the *paso* of 'Los Gitanos' is climbing back into its home monastery on the Sacromonte. Plenty of energy is used to ensure that everything goes well during processions. For example, the *costaleros* start to practice carrying the *pasos* already months before the Holy Week. If the performances of saints are done badly, their presence comes into doubt, and their power is diminished. This can also happen, for example, when bad weather prevents the procession from taking place. (Mitchell 2010, 270.) In general, the goal is to repeat processional acts the same way year after year. Repetition is closely bound with the questions of authenticity and mediation.

In processions, the *paso* is the most sacred object, associated with an aura of divine power. It is thought that proximity to the *paso* denotes privilege.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the senior Nazarenes have the

honor of marching very near or even alongside the *paso*. The *costalero* carrying the *paso* imitates Christ carrying the cross. Because the *paso* is understood as a sacred object and its proximity confers a kind of intimacy with the divine, the position of the *costalero* is understood as a privilege and it has been assumed that *costaleros* have special intercessory powers with Christ and the Virgin whose images they carry. Therefore, people commonly ask for *costaleros* to pray for a particular intention while they are underneath the *paso*. (Schrauf 1997, 433–435; see also Mitchell 2010, 270.)

In Andalusian *Semana Santa* processions, it is, thus, experienced that the material mediates divinity. As described by Jon Mitchell through his examples from Malta, the power of saint is believed to flow directly from the presence of the statue, established through performance. The power of saint is experienced by those who physically engage with the statue either by carrying it or by interacting with it in other ways such as talking, praying, touching or gazing. (Mitchell 2010, 270.) When the *paso* goes by in *Semana Santa* processions of Granada, people on the streets frequently make the ritual sign of the cross and parents carrying children tend to stoop toward the *paso* to guide the child's hand to touch it. Touch is one way through which the power of the holy person represented by the statue flows to the person who touches. Touch unbinds the power of the statue and lets it enter the person. It is a mode to be-in-touch, to interplay, with the transcendent that is present in the statues and thus this religious act does not merely 'happen in spaces and performances but as them', as David Morgan (2010a, 8) notes.

In Andalusia participation in a procession is considered as an act of penance in honor of the Passion of Christ. In processions, members of the brotherhoods march in uniform ritual garbs consisting of floor-length tunics, flowing capes and high, cone-shaped hats. Different brotherhoods use various significant colors and also other symbols of the brotherhoods can be seen in the processions. The penitents often wear a hood that covers their face in order to ensure anonymity. The idea is that God alone knows the sacrifice being made. Anonymity may help the participants of processions concentrate on the situation and on the power and presence of the statue. Because the

penitents march in the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, they are called *Nazarenos* (the Nazarenes). In processions, the Nazarenes are organized into cohorts. Some of them carry large processional candles and others carry life-size crosses in imitation of Christ on his way to Mount Calvary. Sometimes the marchers, even nowadays, go barefoot or drag chains attached to their ankles to increase their sacrifice. (Schrauf 1997, 432.)

In addition to *costaleros* and *Nazarenos*, there are also men dressed like Roman soldiers and women in dark dresses in processions, as well as horn players and drummers who march with the processions. While some *pasos* proceed in total silence, others are accompanied by marches. On their long routes, processions pass stations where the singers of *saeta*, a religious form of flamenco, perform. When the *paso* of the Virgin with the canopy is carried along the streets, leaves of flowers are frequently thrown on it from the balconies. Besides the scent of flowers and candles, the scent of incense can also be sensed during the processions, particularly when *saetas* are sung. During the processions that last for many hours, evenings tend to get dark and *pasos* take different positions around historical buildings. The historical city of Granada with its hills and narrow streets is essential element in the processions. One important goal of the processions is the exaltation, purification and sanctification of the profane, the everyday, by the divine and the supernatural. In the urban environment of processions, the urban space is sacralized through the ritual. Like the sacred art pieces of Baroque, processions make the viewer see the immanence of the sacred as a part of everyday life. (López-Guadalupe Muñoz, 2013, 21–43; McDannell 1995, 25.)

During their long routes heavy *pasos* are frequently laid down and lifted up and particularly the *paso* of Mary is sometimes rapidly raised, even thrown up and moved back and forth, causing the Queen of Heaven move as if she was dancing. Furthermore, when seeing the statue of Mary, people occasionally shout *guapa* (beautiful, handsome, vital). People both aim to conform Mary in her great sorrow, which can be seen, for example, in the lyrics of *saetas*, and feel empathy for her. In the processions of most brotherhoods, Mary is anxiously following her son in every step on his



way to the cross. It can be assumed that the statue of Mary functions as an essential figure through which to experience the torments of Christ, or the torments of human beings on a more general level.

As described by Sally M. Promey, in Catholicism a theory of incarnation mobilizes the material world –‘divinity assumes a material body, invisible grace is rendered in visible and tangible signs, and the most holy sacraments take shape as divine investments in multisensory communication’ (Promey 2014, 14). Multisensory communication is also essential in the context of Semana Santa processions where the *pasos* are not solely decorated by visual and tactile elements but also with sounds and scents. From this perspective the *pasos* moving in the processions could even be described as ‘multimedia of presence’. Recently, plenty of attention has been paid to problematics of senses in the fields like art history, anthropology and the study of religion (e.g., Bull and Mitchell 2015, 1–10; Di Bello and Koureas 2010, 1–17; Meyer 2011, 29–31.)

### **Conclusion: Motions caused by processions**

The themes of authenticity, collectivity and the senses discussed in this article through the concepts of mimesis and mediation can be seen as important threads in lived religion of Andalusian Catholicism. These threads essentially link with the mimetic work done on the limits of materiality to ensure mediation between man and divinity. The importance of these threads was already emphasized by García Lorca in his writings related to Andalusian Catholicism and they are still crucial in the context of contemporary Andalusian processions. Sensational forms for decorating the statues of holy persons ensure authenticity and allow the access to the transcendence (cf. Meyer 2011, 29-30). Through collective actions the spirituality of statues unbinds and they become alive for people.<sup>8</sup>

Also various motions can be understood as important sensational forms in the context of processions. As stated by Anna-Kaisa Hermkens, Willy Jansen and Catrien Notermans in the introduction for the book *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World* (2009, 8–10) Marian pilgrimages can be moving experiences in four different ways. Firstly, they contain physical movements of pilgrims both to and at sacred spaces. Secondly, pilgrimages often arouse emotional movements like experiences of transformations, healing or relief. Thirdly, the statues and icons of Mary are sometimes moving themselves from one place to another, and fourthly different kind of social movements can also be linked with Marian pilgrimage. These types of movements can also be observed in the context of Granadian Semana Santa processions: Both statues and people are physically moving, intensive emotions are experienced and people from various cultures, social groups and generations interact with each other. In addition to physical, psychological and social movements also certain kind of temporal movement can be associated with Semana Santa processions. Temporal motions related to processions enforce the work of movement as sensational form that connects the human and the divine. During the Holy Week the streets of Andalusian towns turn into the streets of Jerusalem. In this context the holy time of the past (Jerusalem) is brought into the present moment (Granada) and temporal gap is crossed.

As described in this article, the work that is done on the limits of materiality aims to mimetically ensure the success of processions. If the *pasos* are authentically decorated and if the processions proceed correctly the possibility of mediation is renewed. In this case materiality of statues and processions becomes unbound and enables interaction with divine. When the statues became animated, people can be empowered through them. From this perspective Andalusian Catholicism is closely bound with materiality and with the work done on the limits of materiality, such as decorating the *pasos*. Restrictions of materiality can be approached on more or less concrete level. For example, some processional statues are old and they need restoration. During processions the statues are exposed to weather and other external threats. If it is raining too much,

processions cannot proceed and the statues cannot be animated through processional acts. In Granada the statues are sometimes covered by plastic if the rain starts during the processions, which essentially influences on the aesthetics of the processions. Furthermore, there can be some idealistic restrictions when it comes to abundance of materiality. Some non-Catholic tourists found the abundance of vivid and rich decoration something that could interfere and even conceal the religious and devotional dimensions of the processions. However, the importance of materiality as inseparable part of Catholic religion has generally been recognized in recent study of religions (e.g., Hermkens, Jansen and Noterman 2009; King 2010). In Andalusian *Semana Santa* processions materiality is a multisensory surface between man and divinity. When several processions move simultaneously along the streets of Granada their sounds mix with each other, and the beats of drums arouse associations with the beating heart. The combination of visual, auditory, tactile and olfactory stimulus intensifies and stretches the experience of everyday environments and opens the possibility to collectively interact with divinity.

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#### Research profile

Sari Kuuva, Ph.D. (Cognitive Science, 2007 and Art History, 2010) is Post-Doctoral Researcher at the Department of Art and Cultural Studies, University of Jyväskylä. She has studied the relationship between art, aesthetics and psychology, especially the concept of symbol and the problematics of experiencing and creating visual art. Between the years 2011–2015, Kuuva has worked with her post-doctoral project *Dances of Life: Emotions in Art and Visual Culture*, funded by the Academy of Finland under Grant SA250800. In this project she has investigated both the components of emotional expression in visual art and culture and emotional experiences of the



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1 Estos últimos años, con un afán exclusivamente comercial, hicieron procesiones que no iban con la seriedad, la poesía de la vieja Semana de mi niñez. [...] Entonces toda la ciudad era como un lento tiovivo que entraba y salía de las iglesias sorprendentes de belleza, con una fantasía gemela de las grutas de la muerte y las apoteosis del teatro. [...] Yo pediría a mis paisanos que restauraran aquella Semana Santa vieja, y escondieran por buen gusto ese horripilante paso de la Santa Cena y no profanaran la Alhambra, que no es ni será jamás cristiana, con tatachín de procesiones, donde lo que creen buen gusto es cursilería, y que solo sirven para que la muchedumbre quiebre laureles, pise violetas y se orinen a cientos sobre los ilustres muros de la poesía. (García Lorca 1974, 942–943.)

2 In addition to García Lorca, the Andalusian processions of Semana Santa have been described by more recent poets and novelists such as Antonio Muñoz Molina (2001), Enrique Seijas Muñoz (2000) and Elena Soriano Martí (2012).

3 The Alhambra, which has been a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1984, is a fortress and palace complex in Granada mainly constructed under the command of Moorish Emirates between 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century. In 1492, after the conclusion of the Christian Reconquista Alhambra became part of the Crown's property and turned into the Royal Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. After that the Moorish palaces were partially altered to Renaissance tastes and new buildings were built. (e.g., Bermúdez López, 2010, 293-307.)

4 The monastic clergy contained old contemplative and mendicant orders of Benedictines, Cistercians, Hieronymites, Carthusians, Augustinians, Franciscans and Dominicans. Furthermore, there were both more recently founded orders, such as the Jesuits, the Theatines and the Oratorians and older orders that were reformed in the wake of the Council of Trent, such as the Barefoot or Discalced Carmelites, the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians. Each of these religious orders had their own distinctive characters. (Rodríguez G. de Ceballos 2009, 46–47.)

5 Francisco Pacheco's (1564-1644) *Arte de la Pintura* (1649) is the most important source of information about the production of sculpture and painting in seventeenth-century Spain.

6 In Granada there is a great variation in the amount of decoration among the pasos and processional costumes of different brotherhoods. While some processions are materially very moderate, others are even extravagant. For example, the procession called Silencio is only minimally decorated, while the materials of the costumes and other details in the Alhambra procession are very rich and expensive. While the former procession represents more traditional penitence culture, the latter procession has a different focus and aesthetics. While Silencio proceeds at night time, the

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procession of Alhambra starts at daytime and it is the only procession on Holy Saturday. Therefore, there is a tradition that most Granadian people aim to see Alhambra procession and many of them follow the procession when it proceeds on the streets and finally climbs back to the hill of Alhambra. The only *paso* of Alhambra procession is Pietà, Mary holding the dead body of Christ. Importance of the statue is significant as it combines the two key figures of the Holy Week.

<sup>7</sup> The *pasos* are usually carried on the backs of men who are referred to as *costaleros*. Traditionally the *costaleros* were hired but later the brotherhoods themselves have formed the teams of *costaleros* (*cuadrillas*). Two characteristic marks of the *costalero* are the *faja* and the *costal*. While the *faja* is a long cloth wrapped around the waist that acts as a girdle to support the back during the procession, the *costal* is a large, common bath towel rolled length-wise and bent into a horseshoe shape and then worn around the neck to protect the neck and back from the wooden beams of the *paso*. *Costalero* has become the image of an extraordinary penitent of the Holy Week as he carries the tremendous weight of the *paso* on his shoulders, anonymously, underneath the *paso*, for several hours during the nocturnal procession. (Schrauf 1997, 433–435.)

<sup>8</sup> Even the Pope has openly spoken in the support of Andalusian processions. For example, the comments of Pope Francis concerning processions were reprinted as a part of the Granadian official publication of Semana Santa, Gólgota under the title, ‘El Papa a los cofrades.’ The words of Pope were commented on by Ángel Henares Maldonado. The Pope has emphasized the correct understanding of catechesis and the Gospel and stated that religious pictures should help people to understand their heritage without giving causes for scandals. For Pope Francis, living Easter means learning to go beyond us and meet others in order to exit the periphery of existence. According to him, everyone participating in the Church’s life integrates the community. As interpreted by Henares Maldonado, the public worship is just reaching out to others, making public catechesis and carrying the visual Gospel. Through processions faith is transmitted to a wider audience. Therefore, the expressions of popular piety have an important task from the perspective of Pope and Catholic Church. (Henares Maldonado 2014, 18–20.)