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ANDALUSIAN CARNAVALEROS AND HERMANOS:
CULTURAL SCHEMATA AND RECONSTRUCTIVE RETRIEVAL
IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORY

by

ROBERT WILLIAM SCHRAUF

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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May, 1995
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We hereby approve the thesis of

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______________________________
Robert W. Schrauf
ANDALUSIAN CARNAVALEROS AND HERMANOS: CULTURAL SCHEMATA AND RECONSTRUCTIVE RETRIEVAL IN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORY

Abstract

by

ROBERT W. SCHRAUF

This study links research and theory on autobiographical memory from cognitive psychology with cultural model theory from cognitive anthropology. The argument is that retrieval of autobiographical memories is an act of reconstruction (instead of "playback") in which cultural event-schemata in the form of scripts and self-schemata based on typical roles and personal themes are used to retrieve and reconstruct individual memories and to fashion autobiographical memory narratives.

Fieldwork (1992-1993) was conducted in an Andalusian town on the Atlantic coast of Spain and focused on the groups of persons responsible for two of the major street festivals. Carnavaleros spend the better part of the year preparing the pre-Lenten festival of carnaval; hermanos annually prepare elaborate nocturnal processions during Catholic Holy Week. Traditional methods of participant observation and informal interviewing yielded a broad ethnography of the festivals. Oral life-story interviews were
collected from twelve carnaval directors and twelve Holy Week brothers (hermanos). These were analyzed through successive steps of transcription in Spanish, coding for type of memory performance, and extraction of cultural schemata, person-schemata, and self-schemata.

The worlds (mundillos) of carnaval and Holy Week are cognized as "Simplified Worlds" where typical sequences of events are expressed as scripts and typical roles are expressed as person-schemas. The elements of these scripts and schemas create expectations about how things should be in the real worlds of carnaval and Holy Week. Where such expectations from Simplified Worlds are violated, incidents are remembered. Thus, the schemata are seen to be operative in memory search (expectation violations trigger memories) and reconstruction (schemata serve as outlines of accounts).

Memory narratives from carnavaleros and hermanos show the influence of event-schemata (scripts) and person-schemata (typical roles) as well as idiosyncratic, personal themes in memory search and narrative construction.

Finally, comparison of carnavalero and hermano oral life-story accounts showed how contrastive cultural themes undergirding these two antithetical
"selves" in reconstructive retrieval of autobiographical memories and creation of autobiographical narratives.
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Map 3. Santa Ines: Urban Area
Following is a list of the principal sites in the town of Santa Ines. These places are important for the daily life of the community as well as for the celebration of its festivals. Practically, they serve as points of orientation. Numbers correspond to the map on the preceding page.

1. Plaza de España. Location of the principal and first church (Catholic) of the town, called simply La Prioral.

2. Plaza de Toros. The bull ring.

3. Plaza del Polvorista. Location of the Town Hall.

4. Plaza de las Galeras. Location of the former docks and shipyards. Currently, the dock for the ferry to nearby Cádiz.

5. Parque Calderón. Long, palm tree-lined park which runs between a portion of the town and the river leading to the bay. A favorite place of recreation on Sunday mornings.

6. Plaza de Abastos. The food market, includes outdoor stalls as well as a round structure with two floors of indoor food stalls.

7. Salón Moderno. The town theater/hall, usually reserved for civic functions.

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Map 4. Carnaval: Principal Sites
Following is a list of site significant for the celebration of carnaval. Peñas are clubs organized for the purpose of promoting carnaval. The Official Contest takes place in the Salón Moderne. The street festival takes place principally along Calle Luna and Plaza las Galeras.

1. Salón Moderne. The town theater/hall where the Official Contest is held for ten nights.
2. Peña los Mascá... "The masked ones..."

6. Peña Menesteo. The name comes from the ancient, mythic king of Athens who founded Santa Ines and named it Menesteo.


8. Calle Luna and Plaza las Galeras. The street which is the principal commercial district has been permanently closed to traffic and reaches to Plaza las Galeras.


(Not featured on the map are: (a) Peña los Bolaos, "crazies," which is located off the map above the bull ring, and (c) Peña Amigos del Carnaval, "friends of carnaval," which has no fixed location.)
Map 5. Holy Week: Principal Sites
Numbers correspond to the map on the preceding page.

1. La Prioral. Located on the Plaza de España, this is the principal Catholic Church of the town. Behind the church is a large patio where a number of brotherhoods keep their pasos in garages.

2. Casa del Santo Entierro. House of the brotherhood of Holy Burial of Our Lord Jesus Christ, located off the back patio of the Prioral.

3. Casa de Nazareno. House of the brotherhood of Our Father Jesus The Nazarene, located off the back patio of the Prioral.


8. Plaza Isaac Peral. All processions must stop at the ceremonial platform in order to present themselves to the Local Council of Brotherhods.


CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Autobiographical Memory

This study is based on fieldwork done in the port city of Santa Ines (pseudonym) which is located on the Atlantic coast of Southern Spain. The work focuses on oral-life stories of two distinct groups of Andalusian men. Carnavaleros are dramatic artist-directors of musical-theatrical groups which enact sung commentaries on Spanish life and which are performed during the secular and rowdy festival of carnaval. Hermanos (brothers) belong to lay religious brotherhoods responsible for preparing massive processions for the sacred season of Holy Week. For both groups, most of their free time throughout the year is taken up with their respective activities. These are very different activities, and the men associated with them have very different stories to tell about their lives. People speak of carnaval as a mundillo, "a little world," because it is a year-long activity involving stable social organizations and diverse activities. The festival world of carnaval shapes the carnavalero's memory and ultimately his identity. The same is true of the hermano. Holy Week is also a mundillo
comprising stable social organizations and diverse activities. The world of brotherhoods shapes the hermano's memory and ultimately his identity.

But how does culture or subculture shape memory and, ultimately, the identity of an individual? In this work I propose to examine oral-life stories of carnavaleros and hermanos, their autobiographical memory narratives, in order to shed some light on this question. In particular, I place the analytic focus on the moment of reconstructive retrieval wherein a person does a search in memory for particular events in his or her past and constructs out of these memories a narrative which situates the "self" in a particular social and cultural context. Carnavaleros spin a memory narrative to create a "self" in "the world of carnaval," and hermanos do the same from within their Holy Week Brotherhoods.

Within the cultural domain of festivals, these two provide particularly interesting dimensions of contrast because the spirit of each is rather at odds with the other. In Andalusian Catholic society, Carnaval is the pre-Lenten festival of license and indulgence while Holy Week is the culmination of the Lenten spirit of
self-sacrifice and discipline. The festival world of carnaval and the festival world of Holy Week are quite distinct.

Importance for Psychological Anthropology: Process and Product

The study of autobiographical memory pursued in this way is important for psychological anthropology for a variety of reasons. First, the approach employed here seeks some rapprochement between cognitive psychology and cognitive anthropology by pursuing a deeper understanding of the interweaving of cognition and culture. Second, this interweaving is accomplished by drawing current psychological theory on the reconstructive character of autobiographical memory into dialogue with current anthropological and cognitive theory on cultural models and schemata.

This study seeks to place cognitive psychology and psychological anthropology in dialogue. The approach adopted here seeks to deal as much with memory processes as with the memory product. Douglas Price-Williams pointed out some time ago (1975) that studies in cross-cultural psychology concentrated on
the processes involved in cognition, while anthropological studies focused more on cognitive products. While the field data of the present study are memory transcripts (products), the attempt is made to examine transcripts as embodying processes of retrieval. The narratives are, in a sense, "cognitive fossils" which, when placed in context, give clues to the processes underlying their formation. The study concentrates on clues in the narratives as to how cultural schemata are employed in the process of memory search and narrative production.

The process-product distinction is a crucial one in another sense. Psychological processes are made to seem context-free and universal; anthropological products are made to seem context-dependent and relative. Richard Shweder (1990) makes this point in distinguishing cultural psychology and general psychology. He critiques general psychology because it assumes a "central processing mechanism."

The main intellectually motivating force in general psychology is the idea of that central processing device. The processor, it is imagined, stands over and above, or transcends, all the stuff upon which it operates. It engages all the stuff of culture, context, task, and stimulus material as its content. Given that image, the
central processor itself must be context- and content-independent. (Shweder, 1990, p. 7)

Shweder argues that such a content- and context-free mechanism is not defensible cross culturally.

Instead, cultural psychology is founded on the concept of intentionality, the meaning constituting activity of persons.

Psyche refers to the intentional person. Culture refers to the intentional world. Intentional persons and intentional worlds are interdependent things that get dialectically constituted and reconstituted through the intentional activities and practices that are their products, yet make them up... (Shweder, 1990, pp. 25-26)

Cultures are intentional worlds constituted by intentional subjects.

Again, the central processing mechanism analogy focuses attention on the process. A study of autobiographical memory of this stripe, for example, would look for the universal features of encoding, encoding specificity, conditions of encoding, or the universal features of retrieval, search strategies, retention rates, forgetting. If carried out under the conceptual aegis of the central processing mechanism, such a study would assume that these processes are universal and generally context-independent. Culture
simply supplies the contextual content for the cognitive activity of the processor.

The notion of intentionality and intentional worlds, on the other hand, tends to focus on the product side of the equation, though Shweder wants to preserve the dynamic interdependence between intentional person and intentional world.

In this work, the attempt is made to demonstrate the interweaving of cognition and culture, process and product, from the very inception of the act of retrieval. Analyzing the narratives of carnavaleros side by side with narratives of hermanos makes it evident that there are some processes involved in autobiographical memory which function similarly regardless of cultural content. But such a comparison also makes evident that cultural factors (products) are constitutively part of autobiographical memory from the moment of encoding through the most recent retrieval and reconstruction (processes).

**Contributions to Psychological Anthropology:**

**Reconstructive Memory and Cultural Schemata**
The basic contribution which this study makes to psychological anthropology follows from its interweaving of process and product, central processing mechanism and intentional world. Here, work on memory in psychology is placed in interaction with work on cultural models (schemata) in anthropology and cognitive science. Or, rather, the chapters which follow place autobiographical memory research in dialogue with research on cultural models and schemata.

Current work on autobiographical memory in psychology favors a more activist than passivist view of remembering. Ultimately, remembering is an act of reconstruction.

Edward S. Casey (1987) traces passivism back to Aristotle:

On the one hand, in keeping with Aristotle's own primary bias, there emerged an entire tradition of what might be called "passivism," in which remembering is reduced to a passive process of registering and storing incoming impressions. The passivist paradigm is still very much with us, whether it takes the form of a naive empiricism or of a sophisticated model of information processing. (p. 15)

The passivist paradigm suggests that retrieval is largely a matter of going to the storehouse—which-is-memory and selecting from the shelf the sought-after—
item. Tulving (1983) refers to a nineteenth century version of this view in which "warehouse" provides the operative metaphor.

In 1807, a nobleman from Baden, M. Gregor von Feinagle, visited Paris in order to deliver a lecture on his 'new' memory system. The event was described briefly in the June 1807 issue of the Philosophical Magazine. The lecture included a description of Feinagle's model of memory, which in the Philosophical Magazine was rendered as follows: 'A methodological arrangement of the contents of such a repository enables its owner to find any article that he may require, with the utmost readiness.' (p. 5).

Since serving up the sought-after-memory in some fashion (verbal or behavioral) leaves the memory intact, retrieval must be some sort of "copying."

But copy theories founder on the rocks of veridicality, i.e. the question whether or not autobiographical memories are true. Or, rather,

In autobiographical memory, however, it is not usually the case that a memory is completely false but rather that a memory relates to an event which did occur but not exactly as remembered" (Conway, 1990, p. 9).

Such observation leads to the view that remembering personal events involves some interpretation.

And if the view is taken that autobiographical memories do not constitute veridical records of experienced events but rather are interpretations of events which are partly based on actual
occurrences and partly on some form of cognitive integration of events, then minor errors are only to be expected. Indeed, by this view, a feature of autobiographical memories is that they will never be wholly veridical but rather will (usually) be compatible with the beliefs and understanding of the rememberer and preserve only some of the main details of the experienced event. (Conway, 1990, p. 11, see esp. Neisser, 1981)

This leads to the activist or reconstructive theory of autobiographical memory.

On the other hand...there has grown up a countervailing tradition of "activism" according to which memory involves the creative transformation of experience rather than its internalized reduplication in images or traces construed as copies. (Casey, 1987, p. 15)

Thus, retrieval of a personal memory, whatever it might involve, is decidedly more than going down into the mind's archives, selecting an item, and making a copy of it to deliver to the Front Office. Or, on another metaphor, it is considerably more than simply rewinding a mental tape-recorder and pressing "PLAY."

It is at this point that work on memory in psychology can be placed in dialogue with work on cultural models and schemata in cognitive anthropology. Schema-theory states that knowledge representations take the form of prototypes (Rosch, 1977, 1978), schemas (Casson, 1983; Rumelhart, 1980), scripts (Schank & Abelson, 1977), frames (Minsky, 1975), mental
models (Johnson-Laird, 1980, 1981), and cultural models (Quinn & Holland, 1987). The notion of schemata has motivated a good deal of research in psychological anthropology. Here schemata are dealt with as cultural models.

Cultural models are presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternate models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it. (Quinn & Holland, 1987, p. 4)

Discussions of cultural models and language, cultural models and reasoning, and cultural models as representative of presupposed worlds are found in Holland and Quinn (1987). Discussions of cultural models and human motivation are found in a series of articles in D'Andrade and Strauss (1992). More recent reviews and critiques of the concept are found in Schwartz, White, and Lutz (1992). Janet Dixon Keller (1992) comments: "Comparative schematology is likely to be a predominant research direction in cognition throughout this decade" (pp. 59-60).

From within psychology much work has been done in autobiographical memory using the notion of schemata to explain the organization and retrieval of
autobiographical knowledge (see Conway, 1990; Rubin, 1986). Much of this work focuses on event-schemata (or scripts) and person-schemas. Scripts (esp. Schank & Abelson, 1977) package the typical scenes and activities involved in remembered events while person-schemas (Cantor and Mischel, 1979) collect the series of traits and attitudes which characterize a personality. Roger C. Schank deals extensively with schemata and memory (Schank, 1982, 1990). He explores in particular the role of schemata in memory for events and develops an overall theory of memory according to which event memories are organized in Event-Memory Organization Packets (E-MOP's).

Obviously, many of the schemata used in the organization and retrieval of autobiographical memory must come from one's culture (one doesn't start ex nihilo with the task of organizing experience) and the analysis which I perform on carnavaleros' and hermanos' memory transcripts seeks to demonstrate the role of cultural schemata in the retrieval of autobiographical memories.

The analysis seeks to bring together: (a) theory and research on the moment of reconstructive retrieval,
(b) work on cultural models in psychological anthropology, and (c) Schank's work on schemata in memory.

For this reason, oral-world story narratives (memory performances) of carnavaleros and Holy Week hermanos are of such value. In the narratives one can see the effects of the interaction of schemata and episode in the product of retrieval. Narratives from two different festival worlds (carnaval and Holy Week) allow a comparison of the effects of different sets of schemata. The retrieval environment also specifies the goals involved in executing retrieval and construction of a memory narrative: the carnavalero seeks to present his "self" as a major agent in the world of carnaval; the hermano seeks to present his "self" as a true devotee in the world of Holy Week brotherhoods.

Contributions to Andalusian Ethnography

This dissertation represents a contribution from the specific perspective of cognitive anthropology to Andalusian ethnography.

Anthropological investigation in Andalusia has its own local history (see Rodríguez Becerra, 1992) which
traces its roots back into folklore studies carried out in the latter half of the Nineteenth century. These concentrated on the collecting of legends, customs and beliefs. Scientific anthropology was introduced to the University of Seville in 1871 with the foundation of the Sociedad Antropológica Sevillana dedicated to deepening the insights of Darwinian thought and promoting a science of the human being.

With the Civil War (1936) and Franco's desire to make Spain's culture as uniform as possible, interest in folklore and ethnographic investigation ceased almost completely. Persons openly engaged in such projects were exiled or otherwise suppressed.

However, in 1959-60 the climate had changed enough so that in the University of Seville José Alcina Franch introduced a Seminar on American Anthropology and founded the chair of History of Prehispanic America and American Archaeology. From that point the key figures in contemporary Andalusian anthropology began their studies in Madrid, e.g. Isidoro Moreno and Pilar Sanchez, and some later pursued specializations abroad: Alfredo Jimenez at the University of Chicago, E. Luque
at Manchester (England), Salvador Rodríguez at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).

The center for Andalusian Anthropology is the Departamento de Antropología y Etnología de América of the University of Seville. For a few years there was an effort to initiate a department at the University of Cádiz. With the creation of the Comisión Andaluza de Etnología by the Consejería de Cultura de La Junta de Andalucía much impetus has been given to ethnographic investigation. (The Junta de Andalucía is the governing body of the Andalusian region).

Foreign anthropologists have done much work in Andalusia as well. Beginning with Pitt-River's study of Grazalema (1954) these studies concentrated largely on Andalusian agrotowns in the countryside (Gilmore, 1980; Brandes, 1985). More recently work is being done in larger population centers, e.g. in Seville (Murphy 1978), in Ronda (Corbin and Corbin, 1984).

The fieldsite of this dissertation research would qualify as a larger urban setting, more in keeping with the tenor of the latter works mentioned. The population of Santa Ines is around 70,000. Furthermore, the groups studied in this dissertation
are quite small subsets of that larger urban population: these are the festival groups of carnavaleros and Holy Week junta brothers.

Some ethnographic work has been done on both carnaval and Holy Week. The expert on Andalusian festivals is Salvador Rodríguez Becerra of the University of Seville. In 1981 the Junta de Andalucía commissioned a study of fiestas populares of Andalusia under the direction of Rodríguez. That commission confected a catalogue (Rodríguez Becerra, 1982) of some 3,000 local festivals, some no longer being celebrated. Rodríguez Becerra has numerous publications on Andalusian festivals (collected in Rodríguez Becerra 1985). He seeks to classify the various sorts of festivals celebrated in Andalusia and offer some reflections on their functions. In light of his work, it is obvious that Santa Ines has very typical festival calendar for the region.

As regards Carnaval in particular, the principal Spanish anthropologist who has studied the phenomenon is Julio Caro Baroja in El Carnaval: Análisis Histórico Cultural (1965). As the name suggests, this is a work in anthrohistory. Caro Baroja discusses the street
customs common to carnaval (e.g. wandering minstrels, dashing others with water), the agravios (open insults, laundering gossip), the masquerades, and typical foods. He analyzes three models of carnaval but surprisingly he does no work on the carnaval of Cádiz which is certainly internationally famous.

The central element in Cádiz' carnaval is the carnaval group raised to a practiced level of perfection by the goal of winning the concurso or Official Contest. Whereas in the rest of Spain, wandering minstrels (murgas) are groups thrown together a week or so beforehand for the street celebration of carnaval, in Cádiz the goal of winning the city contest has engendered a whole festival world of carnavaleros which is active throughout the year. To my knowledge, this group as a group has never been studied in anthropology, although the historian, Alberto Ramos Santana of the University of Cádiz, has written the modern history of carnaval in Cádiz, and there is much to be found in his work (1985).

To be sure, treatment of carnaval as a festival is standard in Andalusian ethnographies. Pitt-Rivers (1954) mentions it for Grazalema, Gilmore (1975, 1987)
studies it explicitly in Fuenmayor, Brandes (1985) studies it in Monteros, but in none of these places has there developed the festival subculture as it has developed in Cádiz and its surrounding towns. (I suspect this is so because they are smaller, rural, Andalusian agrotowns, whereas Cádiz and towns like Santa Ines are larger, port cities). Carnaval in Santa Ines looks always to that of Cádiz as the cradle (la cuna) of all Things Carnaval.

This dissertation brings to studies of Andalusian carnaval an emphasis on the carnavalero group and the life story of the carnavalero.

Holy Week is a different case altogether. Again there are a number of studies of Holy Week, mostly by Andalusian anthropologists. Unlike carnaval, however, where carnavaleros have been understudied, many of the Holy Week investigations have concentrated explicitly on the brotherhoods responsible for the processions.

The lion's share of this research has been done by Isidoro Moreno, head of the Department of Anthropology in Seville. Seville is the very heart of Andalusian Holy Week: whereas every town will have several brotherhoods, each with its Holy Week Procession,
Seville has fifty some such brotherhoods, each with its procession.

Moreno's work (1982, 1985a, 1985b) focuses on the tension between brotherhoods and dynamics of religiously symbolized social conflict. Oddly enough, these "vertical" brotherhoods are composed of persons from a variety of socioeconomic classes; the conflicts are therefore not rooted in economic class.

A number of studies have followed which treat of this theme in other towns. The subject of twin enemy brotherhoods in smaller towns has been studied by Gonzalez Cid (1984) for Setenil, and by Aguilar Criado (1983) for Castilleja de la Cuesta. Interestingly, in Santa Ines such tensions between brotherhoods is minimal. There is the usual pride in one's own and the occasional insult tossed at another brotherhood's procession, but in my experience there were no "twin enemy brotherhoods."

Other studies have sought to place Holy Week and the brotherhoods responsible for it in the context of popular religiosity. Such is the theme of the collections La Religiosidad Popular: III. Hermandades, Romerías, y Santuarios (Alvarez Santaló, Buxó i Rey,
and Rodríguez Becerra, 1989) and *Fiestas y Religion en La Cultura Popular Andaluza* (Gómez García, 1992).

Finally, Timothy Mitchell of Texas A&M has published a work exploring the role of culture and emotion in the Andalusian Holy Week (1990). He explores what he calls the "passionate fatalism" of the Andalusian Holy Week.

These are three current approaches to Holy Week and its attendant brotherhoods: (a) brotherhood social conflict and its explanation, (b) popular religiosity, and (c) culture and emotion. None of these places a particular emphasis on the individual brother, certainly none of them concentrates on his oral-life story. This dissertation makes that contribution to anthropological studies of Holy Week brotherhoods.

None of the ethnographies of carnaval or Holy Week take cognitive approaches. To my knowledge none of them depends on methods of discourse analysis.

This dissertation brings to Andalusian ethnography the perspective of cognitive anthropology with its methodological emphasis on discourse analysis. It examines the stable, year long group of *carnavaleros* responsible for an urban carnaval, a group hitherto
unstudied. And it's locus of investigation is the individual's oral life-story.

**The Argument**

Given the above, the thesis of this work is: retrieval of autobiographical memories is an act of reconstruction in which cultural event schemata in the form of scripts and self-schemata based on typical roles and personal themes are used to retrieve and reconstruct individual memories and to create memory narratives. The chapters which follow unfold these points through an examination of the oral-life story interviews of carnavaleros and Holy Week hermanos from Santa Ines in the Andalusian coastal town of Santa Ines.

Chapter Two presents the methodologies employed in gathering and analyzing the data. I studied the various festivals celebrated in Santa Ines over the period of a year (1992-1993) employing principally traditional methods of participant observation and informal and formal ethnographic interviews. I focused the memory research on a subset of twelve carnavaleros involved in preparation and
performance of the spring carnaval festival, and on another subset of twelve hermanos, members of brotherhoods responsible for the religious street processions of Holy Week. The analysis of oral life story interviews involved successive steps of transcription, coding for types of memory performance, and extraction of cultural schemata, person-schemata, and self-schemata.

Chapters Three and Four provide an ethnographic overview of the two festivals: Carnaval and Holy Week. Chapter Three explores how a typical carnaval group comes together and through some portions of narrative gives voice to one carnavalero who directs carnaval groups. Chapter Four shows how the governing council (the junta) of a brotherhood gets its Holy Week procession together and presents some of the reflections of a junta member on his own experiences. These chapters provide the sociocultural context for the memory narratives explored in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Five, therefore, examines the functioning of cultural schemata in the reconstruction of memories. It begins with a more nuanced theoretical presentation of schema (script) theory as it is
operative in memory and then offers several examples of how script-based memory is operative in three director's stories about their carnaval careers and in three junta hermanos' stories about their lives in the brotherhood. The chapter seeks to show how an event-schema, a script, is used for search and reconstruction. The script specifies typically sequenced moments in an activity. The "typical" sequence is drawn, of course, from experience and predicts what-should-follow-what—according to the "Simplified World" which schemata represent (D'Andrade, 1992a).

Where such predictions "fail" (i.e. where novelty appears), the expectation violation produces a memory episode stored at that prediction-juncture of the script. For example, carnavaleros should win their contests. Not winning produces memorable episodes. Reconstruction is the activity of producing a story out of the combination of script and episode. This chapter is largely an application of Schank's notion of dynamic memory to cultural material (Schank, 1982).

Chapter Six explores the influence of self-schema on the retrieval involved in narrative
construction for each of the three carnaval directors and three Holy Week hermanos. I argue that the self-schema is a composite of person-schemas (Cantor & Mischel, 1979; Markus, 1977, 1980) and a set of personal themes. Person-schemas are actually a set of expectations and stereotypical characteristics relative to a role in a particular cultural activity or event. "Carnaval-director" would be a person-schema: attached to it are certain role attributes and expectations. In the Simplified World of Carnaval, each director is a great director. Such a person-schema is operative in any carnaval director's story (presentation and evaluation of his experiences). Also operative is that set of themes and attitudes and symbols idiosyncratic to an individual: these compose the set of personal themes. Together, the person-schema and the set of personal themes are operative as self-schemata in the reconstruction of memories.

Chapter Seven returns to the discussion of the functioning of schemata in the moment of retrieval. For carnavalero and hermano alike, retrieval is an act of reconstruction whereby schema and episode are woven together with schema and episode in a sort of patchwork
quilt threaded by self-schemata and held to the light of the interview itself. The chapter offers some refinements of the relationship between schema and episode. This leads to a discussion of some weaknesses of schema theory.

Secondly, the chapter discusses the role of the self-schema and offers some reflections on the presented-self. The autobiographical remembering of the carnavalero evidences and creates personal worlds, emotional registers, and social aspirations different from those of the hermano. Each inhabits a festival world framed by the values and expectations of a Simplified World. Each constructs a festival-specific self with the social and cultural materials of that festival event and in light of its Simplified World.

Finally, this chapter closes with a discussion of the social character of autobiographical memory. Charlotte Linde (1993) points to the social utility of such remembering in the opening lines of her *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence* (1993):

In order to exist in the social world with a comfortable sense of being a good, socially proper, and stable person, an individual needs to have a coherent, acceptable, and constantly revised life story. (p. 3)
Neisser (1986) has also suggested that sharing memories of personal events exercises a strong binding element among interlocutors. This last section shifts the focus from memory studies modelled on a solitary remember-er doing something exclusively mental to studies modelled on story-telling.
CHAPTER TWO: METHODS

Introduction

This chapter presents the research design of this study; it describes the methods of data gathering employed in the field and it explains the methods of analysis used in drawing conclusions from the data. The general focus of fieldwork was ethnographic study of the festivals of carnaval and Holy Week in Santa Ines: traditional methods of participant observation and informal interviewing were employed.

The particular focus of field research was observation of reconstructive acts of retrieval in autobiographical memory, and such acts are available through subject reports: the data gathering method was therefore a structured, memory interview concentrating on the oral life-stories of carnavaleros and hermanos. The worlds of carnaval and Holy Week are contrasting worlds, one religious and the other secular, and they generate very different oral life-stories. The data generated were linguistic texts, i.e. recorded
interviews which were later transcribed for analysis. Analysis involved successive steps of (a) identification and classification of memory behaviors in the texts, (b) identification and extraction of schemata, both cultural and personal. A last step (c) involved elaborating the set of personal themes of interviewees.

Site

Santa Ines is a port town located in the Spanish province of Cádiz to the west of the Rock of Gibraltar along the southern Atlantic coast. Temperatures hover in the fifties during the winter (and rainy) season and climb to the eighties during August when the strong easterly Levant blows hot across the town. The following brief history is taken from Iglesias Rodriguez, 1985.

Legend has it that it was founded by Menestheo, the King of Athens known for his skill as a sailor. In this mythic past he successfully and harmoniously united the local population and Greek colonists. Archaeological sites in the area show that the Greeks did in fact settle in Santa Ines while the Phoenicians
settled in nearby Cádiz somewhere in the eighth century b.c.

During the Roman Empire Santa Ines remained a port city but began more intensive cultivation of vineyards and olive groves: products for which it is noted to this day.

The town and surrounding area were taken by the Moslems in 711 a.d. It played no particularly significant role during this period. Records indicate that Santa Ines and surrounding smaller concentrations of people were wholly rural in character.

Alphonse the Wise engineered the Reconquest of Seville in 1248 but was still battling the Moors for possession of the territory of Cádiz as late as 1255. In 1264 these territories were finally incorporated into the Christian Kingdom. But trouble continued in the form of later Moslem invasions to the west of the town, and in the interest of strengthening its defense, the crown alienated the territory and placed it under a Genoan navigator responsible for defending the Straits of Gibraltar. In 1368, it was incorporated into the House of Medinacelli.
With the discovery of the Americas, the town took on increasing importance and its wealth grew with colonial trade. A military and merchant aristocracy developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The city was invaded in August of 1702 during the War of Succession by English-Dutch armies supporters of the Archduke Charles of Austria. Santa Ines had declared itself for the Bourbon pretender Philip of Anjou. The city was sacked, but the English-Dutch force withdrew by September 26 of that same year.

It was again incorporated into the crown in 1729 by Philip V, and therefore passed out of the hands of the Duke of Medinacelli.

In the early nineteenth century, yellow fever claimed about 15% of the population. The loss of the American colonies were a loss to the local economy as well, but Santa Ines became a major exporter of sherry, the wine proper to the region. The Royal Family was exiled in 1808 and Spanish territories were invaded by Napoleon's armies but were defeated in 1812 at the Battle of Chiclana. A brief period of Liberalism followed during which time Santa Ines was under the Court of Cádiz. But Fernando VII returned in 1815 and
with him absolutism. He was ousted in 1820 and another brief period of liberalism ensued.

The French army again invaded to liquidate the liberalist government. Cádiz and liberalism fell. The Bourbon kings returned in the person of María Cristina and then Isabel II. In the Revolution of 1866 several liberal parties made a pact to end the monarchy of Isabel II. In Santa Ines the revolution took place in September of 1868 and a Junta Revolucionaria was set up to govern.

Meanwhile internal problems in the Junta resulted in the search for a king who would agree to rule according to a constitution. Amadeo I, Prince of Savoy, took the Throne, but his reign was short lived. The Senate and Congress in National Assembly accept his resignation and formed the First Republic. News of the event reached Santa Ines on February 12, 1873. The first republican town hall was elected by general suffrage in Santa Ines on May 18, 1873.

With the Restoration the Bourbons returned to the throne. There was a peaceful transfer of power from Alphonse XII to Alphonse XIII. There was a peaceful alternation of political parties as well for some time.
But parties began to proliferate, workers associations began to multiply, and there was social conflict. Formally, there was yet a democracy. Briefly, from 1923 through 1930 a dictatorship was established by D. Primo de Rivera, which coexisted with the monarchy.

In 1931 the Second Republic was declared. Elections were to be held to normalize the country after the dictatorship, but they came to be a sort of referendum on monarchy and republicanism (the compromise by the crown with the dictatorship was very unpopular). In the elections in Santa Ines, the monarchist candidates won. But the Second Republic was a time of economic crisis, layoffs and strikes plus political radicalization which prepared the country for the Civil War.

On July 17, 1936 on Spanish soil in Morocco, the army revolted against republicanism and on the same day the revolt spread to the peninsula. The fierce and bloody Civil War tore the country apart until Franco's victory and subsequent dictatorship. The international blockade against terrorism reduced Spain to poverty and misery.
Franco died in 1975 and in 1977 the first free elections were held since the Second Republic. Franco had attempted to quash all regionalism but with his death, regional feelings which had been long repressed translated into the political will to recognize Spain's cultural regions. In 1980 the creation of the Comunidad Autónoma de Andalucía was on the ballot and passed. The Andalusian parliament was elected later.

Santa Ines is a municipality comprising an urban area and outlying farm lands. It covers a surface area of 155.4 km². The present population is 69,663 and has been growing since the early years of the century: in 1900 total inhabitants were 20,120 (source: Cádiz Sur, 1992).

The population of the province of Cádiz is young compared to the rest of Spain. In Santa Ines, age of population breaks down as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Range</th>
<th>% of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-15</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-60</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fully 97% of the population declare themselves Catholic, and churches other than Catholic are not in much evidence. On the other hand, visible participation in Sunday services suggests that far fewer than 97% go to church. Some people say that they don't go now because during Franco they had to go to Church too much. Interestingly, I found that the word cristiano means "Catholic" in Spain.

The traditional economic bases of the town have been, and to some extent still are, fishing and wine-making. The majority of fishing is done off the coast of Morocco: the trawlers can be seen early each morning at five o'clock laden with the catch returning to Santa Ines and jockeying for position along the wharfs. Approximately 10% of the "active population" is involved in the fishing industry. (The "active population" is 29% of the total; this eliminates children, the retired elderly, the disabled, and those laid off--los parados)

The wine is "sherry." The grapes come from around Jerez de la Frontera to the north and are brought to the wineries in Santa Ines. Here the juice is added to barrels containing the "madre" (sherry already many
years old) which will work the new juice into Santa Ines' Finest. The brick streets of Santa Ines are lined with the high white walls of the wineries and the smell of sherry pleasantly wafts about. Of the active population, 25.6% is involved in wine-making.

Added to the traditional economic bases of fishing and winemaking, another 14% of the active population is involved in construction, either the direct construction of housing or the production of construction materials.

Only 2% of the population is presently involved in farming. Cereals, vegetables, sugar beets, sunflowers, cotton, but mainly grapes are all grown outside the city limits. These are not small farm operations: 10% of the landowners own 63% of the land.

Finally, for many years Santa Ines has been a tourist spot for Spain's wealthier families. A number of "urbanizaciones" (newer neighborhoods), almost exclusively touristic in character, are found outside the city limits and near the beaches. Tourism has been a major source of income for the city for many years.

Add to this tourist sector the rest of the service industry, including retail shops, and 47.3% of the
active population is in the service sector.

In summary, the working people of Santa Ines are found in the following occupations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>% of pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fishing</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wine-making</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>construction</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agriculture</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>service</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Residents of Santa Ines will say that one of the things which distinguishes the town from others is the festival calendar. Nearly every month some street festival focuses the town's attention for a day, two days, or a week and half.

- **September 8**
  - Festival of Our Lady of Miracles Patroness of Santa Ines
- **December**
  - Christmas
- **January**
  - New Years and Three Kings (Jan. 6)
- **February**
  - Carnival
- **April**
  - Holy Week
- **May**
  - Spring Wine Fair
  - Pilgrimage to Rocío
June 10          Corpus Christi
July 16          Our Lady of Mt. Carmel,  
                  Patroness of Sailors

Surrounding municipalities in Andalusia have similar
celebrations and are noted in particular for one or the
other, i.e. Holy Week is most famous in Sevilla,
Carnival in Cádiz is renowned in Spain, Corpus Christi
in Granada is the city's claim to fame. But Santa Ines
has it all.

The above list comprises the domain of festivals
in Santa Ines. From the perspective of classical
componential analysis it would be possible to
distinguish the various festivals according to
dimensions of contrast (see e.g. Spradley, 1979, 1980;
Tyler, 1969). Holy Week and carnaval have been
selected for this study because these two more than the
others involve stable social organizations which remain
active throughout most of the year. They share this
characteristic with the Pilgrimage to Rocío which is
supported by a Rocío Brotherhood, but the Pilgrimage
takes place at a three day trek away from town and
involves far fewer people than carnaval and Holy Week.
Furthermore, people identify themselves as caravaleros
or hermanos which makes it possible to compare festival "selves."

Both Holy Week and carnaval are popular festivals and it is difficult to specify the economic status of the participants. All of the twelve carnavaleros I interviewed at length were either laborers or in the service sector: seven laborers (five worked in construction and wine-making, two did maintenance for the city), three in the service sector (one waiter, one shop salesman, one taxi driver), and two were laid-off from wineries. The Brothers were less homogenous: of the twelve selected for intensive interviewing, seven were laborers (five in the wineries, one mechanic, one did maintenance for the city), two were white collar (one lawyer, one legal assistant), one was in the service sector (one postman), one was a university student, one was retired.

Space can be used as an indicator of the economic status of festival participants. In the case of carnaval, most ethnographers have found that in rural Andalusia (see for example, Pitt-Rivers, 1954; Gilmore, 1975) elites who live in the center of the towns abandon them for the period of carnaval. Carnaval is
then the moment when the lower classes take possession of the city. In Santa Ines, the wealthy live outside of the city in "urbanizations." Carnaval takes place in the center of town. But the carnaval parade which wends itself out to the perimeters never goes near the upscale urbanizations. Likewise, the various processions of Holy Week have many different routes but never touch the urbanizations.

**Sampling**

Two of the festivals have very long artistic traditions associated with protagonists who hand down their lore through the years: these are the festivals of carnaval and Holy Week. On the one hand, carnavalederos are those who preserve carnaval from generation to generation and who craft anew each year the distinctive musical-dramatic street pieces which are its hallmark, on the other hand, the hermanos are laymen who belong to religious brotherhoods whose foundations date back centuries. These brotherhoods prepare the Holy Week processions adhering strictly to baroque canons of religious representation. Interestingly, the mark of the carnavalero is his
artistic creativity, the mark of the hermano is his artistic conservatism. I gathered oral life-stories from these two groups.

Because the study focuses on autobiographical memory among carnavales and hermanos, I chose a purposive or judgment sample in order to maximize access to richness of personal memory account. In both groups I was looking for:

1. Persons who were highly committed to the respective festivals (who talked a great deal about the festival, who were present at festival activities nearly every day during the seasons of preparation, who took roles of leadership at certain points).

2. Persons who were recognized by others as key figures in the festival activity (who were frequently named by others, who were considered by others to be very talented or major competitors or principal figures).

3. Persons who had been associated with the preparation of the festival for at least ten years (carnavales who had been involved in carnavales at least three times in the preceding ten years, hermanos who could show membership in the brotherhood and participation in Holy Week processions for ten years).

Carnaval. There were twelve carnaval acts in Santa Ines in 1993. I chose twelve interviewees from among the directors and older more, experienced members
of the groups. I developed relationships with these people from November 1992 through July 1993 through informal conversations, one-on-one interviews, formal meetings of directors, formal meetings of carnaval clubs, rehearsals, dress rehearsals, contest performances, street performances, and post-carnaval activities. I audio-tape recorded oral life-story interviews with each of these twelve men. From among these twelve transcribed interviews, I chose three for extended analysis on the basis of amount of autobiographical material in the interviews. That is, in any interview a certain amount of material reflected memories in which the self was involved, while other material reflected memories in which the self was not involved (e.g. stories about other people or explanations for cultural phenomena). The three interviews chosen for further analysis exhibited higher concentrations of memories for the self than the other interviews. Methods of discriminating kinds of memory for the self and coding them according to kind is described later in this chapter under Coding.

Holy Week. There are eleven Holy Week brotherhoods in Santa Ines. I chose twelve
interviewees from among members of the governing boards (juntas) of the brotherhoods. These twelve men come from five of the brotherhoods; I favored these five brotherhoods for selection of interviewees because these five were the more active of the eleven brotherhoods and this increased the probability of locating highly active junta members. I developed relationships with these people from October 1992 through July of 1993 through informal conversations, one-on-one interviews, junta meetings, inter-brotherhood formation meetings, ritual celebrations, rehearsals of processions, activities of preparing the pasos (floats), the Holy Week processions themselves, and post-Lenten brotherhood activities. For in-depth analysis of the transcribed interviews, I chose three narratives from among the twelve available on the basis of higher concentrations of memories-for-self material (see above).

Thus, I did detailed analysis of six oral life-story transcripts: three from carnaval and three from Holy Week brotherhoods. I used the remaining eighteen interviews (nine for carnaval and nine for Holy Week) to assure that the behaviors I noted in the three fully
analyzed interviews were not idiosyncratic but rather characteristic of the group.

**Investigative Methods**

Participant observation, ethnographic interviews, and structured interviews comprise the investigative methods of this study.

**Participant Observation and Ethnographic Interviewing**

**Carnaval.** Rehearsals for carnaval begin in late October and, although carnaval itself will not be celebrated for another six months yet, the rehearsals signal that carnaval is already well under way. I did participant observation and engaged daily in informal ethnographic interviews among carnavaleros from October through the February Carnaval '93 and afterwards intermittently through the summer months. I attended monthly meetings of the governing boards of several of the ten carnaval clubs (peñas carnavalescas) whose goal is the promotion of carnaval, and monthly meetings of the umbrella organization of these clubs: the Federación de Peñas. I attended activities organized by the town Minister of Festivals in preparation for carnaval. There was an organization of Directors of
Carnaval Acts which met three times during my fieldwork.

It was always possible to take in a rehearsal or two each night of the week in carnaval clubs, back rooms of bars, or school auditoriums. Each of the twelve groups did semi-public dress rehearsals just before the town contest. I was able to join a group in the entire sequence of its presentation in the town contest, from peña to dressing room to stage back to peña.

The whole town turned out for the various street activities proper to Carnaval weekend, including dedicatory declamations, street performances, a town dance, and two parades. Finally, I was able to observe various post-carnaval performances on the part of several groups.

**Holy Week.** Holy Week brotherhoods are year-round organizations whose activities intensify in number and participation especially during Lent and Holy Week, but the first public activities of the brotherhood calendar occur during Christmas time. Again, I was able to engage in the activities of the various brotherhoods and informally interview many hermanos from October
through Holy Week itself (April 1993) and into the summer months. More formal situations were: weekly meetings of the governing boards (juntas), inter-brotherhood spiritual formation meetings, Christmas activities, e.g. presentation of the brotherhood's Christmas creche, and pre-Lenten rituals, e.g. Stations of The Cross in the streets, patronal feasts of the various brotherhoods, internal rituals celebrating the foundation of the brotherhood or renewal of vows on the part of the hermanos.

Lent is the season of Holy Week preparation par excellence: there are nightly street rehearsals for the teams of men who carry the pasos (processional floats), marching band concerts, and the preparation of the pasos in side-chapels and sanctuaries. Holy Week begins with a public declamation and the street processions are scheduled one or two a night for the duration of Holy Week. After Holy Week, life in the brotherhood returns to its private sphere in the House of The Brothers (casa de la hermandad).

Oral Life-Story Interviews

I conducted each of the twenty-four interviews on the informant's turf, e.g. carnaval rehearsal room,
brotherhood casa. The interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half (ninety minute cassettes). Using the queries listed below I simply attempted to keep the conversation focused on autobiographical memories. These questions were meant to be as non-directive as possible so as not to guide memory search beyond suggesting an account of the interviewee's involvement in the festival. I would at times ask for clarification or affirm the interviewee's opinions.

**Carnaval.** The interview with carnavaleros involved three basic queries.

1. Tell me how you got started in carnaval, what are your earliest memories of involvement?

2. What groups did you do over the years?

3. How did you get to the position you presently occupy?

**Holy Week Brotherhoods**

The interviews with hermanos involved three basic queries:

1. Tell me how you got started in the brotherhood, what are your earliest memories?

2. What roles did you have in processions, what offices have you filled in the brotherhood down through the years?
3. How did you get to the position you presently occupy?

Analysis

Analysis of the oral-life story interviews involved several successive stages: (a) transcription, (b) coding, (c) identification and extraction of cultural schemata and personal themes.

Transcriptions

From each of the twenty four interviews I prepared content logs which listed topics discussed by the interviewee for every one to two minutes of tape. For each of the six interviews selected for further analysis I did complete transcriptions in Spanish. From both content logs and complete transcriptions I did outlines which reflected the chronological and schematic structures of the interviews. The content logs and outlines served as checks against which material from the fuller transcriptions could be compared.

Coding

Coding the transcribed interviews for forms of memory representation involved: (a) description of
forms of memory representation, (b) isolation of basic discourse units, and (c) identification and coding.

The description of forms of memory representation relies on various taxonomies developed in the literature on autobiographical memory (Brewer, 1986; Conway, 1987; Ellis, 1988). Brewer provides a structural account of autobiographical memory and distinguishes kinds of autobiographical memories on the basis of acquisition conditions and forms of representation. "Two acquisition conditions are considered: exposure to a single instance of some input and exposure to input that is repeated with variation." (Brewer, 1986, p. 29). There is a difference between remembering the experience of meeting Julian Pitt-Rivers in November of 1992 (exposure to a single instance) and the experiences of meeting a friend for dinner once a month (exposure to input which is repeated with variation).

The first is and remains unique in memory, the latter experiences tend to blend together. The form of representation in memory is bidimensional as well: memories are either imaginal or non-imaginal. Imaginal memories preserve sensory representation: for example,
I can still see my brother getting off the plane after his tour in Vietnam, or I can still smell the sorghum in the granary at my grandfather's farm. A non-imaginal memory loses this "feel" and becomes an abstract representation. For example, I remember that I got good grades in high school, or I remember that I couldn't get the notion of sine and cosine.

Given these acquisition conditions and forms of representation, Brewer distinguishes various forms of autobiographical memory: personal memories, generic personal memories, autobiographical facts and the self-schemata.

A personal memory results from single exposure to an event and is imaginal in character.

When an individual experiences a single event of some type, the phenomenal aspect of the recall of the particular experience is a personal memory. Personal memories are experienced as a partial reliving of the original experience and typically have a strong visual imagery component.

The generic personal memory is imaginal and results from repeated exposures to input. I remember going from car dealership to car dealership last Fall when looking for a car.

An autobiographical fact is a non-imaginal memory of information about the self. Such information comes
from personal memories and generic personal memories.

The self-schema is a person's model of his or her "self" and it is used to organize and weigh incoming knowledge concerning the self. Brewer comments that it is a stable structure and resistant to change. It is non-imaginal and extracted from exposure to many inputs.

In this paper, the notion of self-schema is more detailed than Brewer's conception. In Chapter Six the self-schema is described as comprising person-schemata (schemas for roles) and a set of personal beliefs about the self. These latter are the stuff of Brewer's self-schema: stable, non-imaginal elements.

These are the basic dimensions along which autobiographical memories may be distinguished. There are other sorts of such memories. Dritschel (1991) adds the metamemory unit as when a person makes some remark referring to the act of memory itself, e.g. "I couldn't remember seeing her before." The prospective memory unit refers to my reminding myself of something for the future, e.g. "I told myself I was going to have to move the money into the checking account." Beyond autobiographical memory, there is, of course, semantic
memory for facts and general knowledge about persons, places, things, and events not specifically involving the self.

Given the above discriminations I developed a taxonomy of forms of memory representation with which to code the interviews. The completed table of eighteen forms of knowledge representation or mnemonic codes can be found in an appendix. For present purposes, I will distinguish only the broader categories.

-personal memory unit (PMU): a personal memory unit is a single instance of some event represented imaginally in memory. ("Imaginally" is meant to imply memory for sensation in general, as a memory of someone's calling my name is "imaginal" in this broad sense). Further distinctions in coding discriminated personal memories of activities (PMUA), emotional reactions or investment (PMUE), cogitations andblings (PMUP), and reported speech (PMUR).

-generic personal memory unit (GPU): the imaginal representation in memory of a repeated event. Again, the same refinements in coding were applied here as well.

-autobiographical fact unit (AFU): a fact about oneself or personal attribute whose representation requires no imaging.

-non-personal memory unit (XSEM and others): memories for persons, places, things,
and events which do not directly involve the self.

I coded for two further sorts of knowledge representation: sometimes interviewees would comment on current states of affairs (CURR) and sometimes they would offer opinions or values or their philosophy of life, etc. (OPIN).

The application of this coding scheme required breaking the discourse into fundamental units. Determining the boundaries of behavior is notoriously slippery business. Dritschel (1991) favors breaking the transcript into 'idea-units': "a clause consisting of a finite verb plus all of its modifiers" (p. 320). I followed this basic plan, but people do not always speak in whole sentences and some prudential discernment was necessary at times. For each fundamental unit I assigned one of the mnemonic codes as described above and listed in the appendix.

**Extraction of Schemata**

Schemata are the outlines of events or prototypical representations of people or things (or oneself, for that matter). I concentrated the analysis on (a) scripts or event-schemata, (b) person-schemata, and (c) the set of personal themes.
1. Event-schemata are suggestively called scripts by Schank & Abelson (1977). Schank has reworked the terminology of scripts (Schank, 1982, 1990) since this earlier work with Abelson. I borrow the concept and adapt the terminology. A script, then, is the outline of an event with typical roles, entry conditions, a series of goal oriented scenes, and a sequence of actions within those scenes. As a very simple example, consider how children make known their Christmas wishes. In the United States the script would be VISIT TO SANTA CLAUS (e.g. in a department store). In Spain, it is the Three Kings who bring the gifts on January 6, the feast of the Epiphany, and children make their Christmas wishes known by taking a letter to the Royal Mailman. The script is as follows:

Script: VISIT TO ROYAL MAILMAN

Roles: Royal Mailman, children

Entry Conditions: Children want to make known their Christmas wishes.

Goal Directed Scenes: Child writes letter to Three Kings

Child visits Royal Mailman

Sequence of Actions Within a Scene: (e.g. Child Visits Royal Mailman)
Child sits on Royal Mailman's lap.

Royal Mailman asks what child wants for Christmas.

Royal Mailman asks if child has behaved.

Royal Mailman puts letter in Royal Mailbag

Obviously, this script fits within broader scripts, e.g. the THREE KINGS BRING GIFTS would contain this script as one of its component sub-scripts. Scripts "contain" autobiographical memories in particular ways. The VISIT TO ROYAL MAILMAN script, for example, would be instantiated by a memory like the following.

I remember when I was four I wanted a trumpet with gold braids on it for Christmas. My mother got us that special stationery for letters to the Kings, you know, with the fancy envelopes. So anyway, there I am on the Royal Postman's lap and tugging at his turban and all. So suddenly the turban slips off his head. The guy's BALD!!! And I got scared and started crying and wailing on the guy, hitting him with my fists! I have no idea why!

Note that not every element of the script must be instantiated. Some elements are left unmentioned and function as background knowledge. The rememberer never says he actually wrote the letter, but there is no doubt that he went to see the Royal Mailman with letter in hand.
The mnemonic codings make it possible to isolate events fairly simply: these are the personal memory units and generic personal memory units. Schemata are located by addressing the following questions to isolated units. What are stories common among carnavaleros and among hermanos? Which elements are necessary to a story so that it is considered complete? Which elements are variable? What assumptions are made about background knowledge when someone relates a story? Which scripts contain other scripts? Scripts are then elaborated by identifying typical roles, entry conditions, a series of goal oriented scenes, and a sequence of actions within those scenes.

2. Person-schemata are actually descriptions of roles. The Royal Mailman is a person schema. Characteristics typically associated with Royal Mailman are: he is black (connected for some reason to Melchior, the black king), he is dressed as an Arab (turban, scimitar), he's nice to children, he shows up on street corners during Christmas time. Person schemas may be more or less complex: wife, editor, receptionist, saint, physicist, etc. Again, the festival worlds of carnaval and Holy Week are replete
with such person schemata. They are discoverable in the ethnographic data by looking for agents (and "patients") in scripts. Carnavalero and hermano are both person-schemas.

3. The set of personal themes is a notion closely related to what Claudia Strauss terms a "personal semantic network" (1988, 1992).

Personal semantic networks are the idiosyncratic webs of meaning carried by each person, linking individually salient verbal symbols to memories of significant life experiences and conscious self-understandings. (Strauss, 1992, p. 211)

The central element of a personal semantic network is the set of beliefs one has about oneself. These too shape memory.

There are two sources for assembling the themes of a carnavalero's or an hermano's set of personal themes. One source is the informal and unstructured interviews (conversations) which I held frequently with these individuals and the content of which is found in my fieldnotes. The other source is, of course, the oral life-story transcript. Particularly relevant here are all of the codings for autobiographical facts. Such self-revelation is conscious and articulated. But the interviewees also express important personal themes in
evaluating their experiences and in communicating their emotional reactions to or investment in the events of their lives. The more refined codings of personal memory units (e.g. PMU's for emotional reaction/investment, cogitations/planning, and reported speech) were sensitive to these themes in the transcripts.

The successive stages of analysis of the oral life-stories of the men in the sample proceeded through (a) transcriptions and content logs of the interviews, (b) menemonic coding, and (c) extraction of the schemata. Once the schemata are extracted, it is possible to view the mechanics of retrieval and the interweaving of culture and psyche in the construction of memory narratives.

Since the weight of the argument of this dissertation rests on the vailidity of the schemata extracted both during fieldwork and from structured interviews, some comments regarding this methodology are in order. As indicated in the first chapter, the study of the structuring of local knowledge in terms of cultural models (schemata) is fairly extensive in cognitive anthropology at this time.
Interestingly, Daniel Touro Linger has recently completed a study of Brazilian carnaval employing the cultural model approach: *Dangerous Encounters: Meanings of Violence in A Brazilian City* (1992). It is a study of Brazilian carnaval in the city of Sao Luis in the northern Atlantic state of Maranhao. Within the broader context of carnaval, Linger places the focus on briga which is a form of street violence particularly frequent during the festival. Briga is a culturally patterned yet spontaneous confrontation of two persons escalating step-by-step in violent intensity and usually ending with the death of the one of the participants.

The investigative methodology of Linger's work is quite similar to that employed in this dissertation. In the first place, Linger searches for the cultural models underlying both carnaval in general and briga in particular. Secondly, he makes explicit use of Robert Abelson's (1976) and Roger Schank's (1982) theory on event schemata. He provides some reflections on his methods in an appendix: "A Note on Methods."

Describing events like Carnivals, though not always easy, was usually fairly straightforward: an exercise in careful, patient, informed observation aided at times by reliable personal or
archival sources. Deriving cultural models, however, was a trickier venture. I had to infer the invisible, constructing conjectural representations of what I thought sao-luisenses might be thinking and feeling (my models of what I imagined to be their cultural models) and testing those conjectures informally against any evidence I happened to generate or encounter, until I was satisfied that I had identified a construct consistent with what I could see going on around me. (p. 256)

As with all cultural model work, the initial steps are rather simple: (a) infer to tentative cognitive models, and (b) proceed to test those conjectures against further evidence from participant observation and informal interviewing.

But Linger points out that extracting cultural models can become quite complex. Some events, like carnaval, are readily available to participant observation, and informal interviewing in and around the festival is relatively easy. Testing the models generated is therefore fairly straightforward. The fieldworker asks such things, as: are events occurring which correspond to my conjectural model? Do interviews confirm the expectations which the model generates?

But other events, such as briga, are not so readily available to observation. Their occurrence is
spontaneous, and systematic observation is rendered more problematic. For these events, Linger relied especially on the stories people would tell about brigas.

A story is not the same as an actual experience, and a genre's stylistic demands conceivably distort the presentation of cognitive structure. Brigas stories are told for dramatic effect: peril is sometimes exaggerated and humorous aspects are often embellished. Nevertheless, a brigas story purports to produce a piece of actual experience: it is a realistic genre, a bit like journalism or autobiographical (or some anthropology). A brigas story guides its listeners through the event, striving to create the effect of a meticulous, blow-by-blow replay, encouraging identification with the storyteller as a participant or witness. If, as happens, details are exaggerated, reconstructed, or falsified, the underlying structure and emotionally crucial aspects of the event are nevertheless highlighted and emerge clearly in story after story. (p. 257).

These distinctions in kinds of events and the evidence for cultural models underlying them parallels closely the phenomena investigated in this study of autobiographical memory. Andalusian carnaval and Holy Week (like Brazilian carnaval) are public events, readily observable. Access to these events is not difficult. But a carnaval director's account of a highly successful performance or miserable failure in the past is no longer available except as his story. When a Holy Week brother tells the emotional story of
his conversion to the brotherhood during the late night suffering of a penitential procession, he relates an experience which is inaccessible except through the story itself. Reporting these latter experiences are more like reporting Brazilian briga.

Linger's approach to studying briga was therefore twofold. One the one hand, there were those rare moments when he had the opportunity to witness such events, but for the most part he relied on the stories told by people he interviewed. He arranged such interviews between himself and persons from Sao Luís. He structured the interviews broadly around questions meant to prod briga accounts without in any way suggesting a framework. He taped and transcribed those interviews in order subsequently to compare accounts. This latter made possible checking and cross-checking for commonalities and variations. In this way, he extracted cultural models and was able to check them as adequate to the commonalities and variations present in the interview corpus.

The character of anthropological fieldwork also lends itself to other sorts of checks in this cultural model study. Linger notes that models are always
checked against events experienced by the anthropologist via participant observation, informal interviewing, and other cultural products, e.g. newspaper accounts, fiction, popular music, movies, etc.

In the same way, this study of autobiographical memory relies on the extraction of cultural models from fieldwork data. As did Linger, in the field I inferred how festival participants must have been constructing their knowledge in cultural models (schemata) and proceeded to test those conjectures against further participant observation and informal interviewing.

I treated the taped, transcribed autobiographical narratives in much the same way Linger treated his taped briga accounts. Twelve narratives from carnaval and twelve from Holy Week allowed for comparison, checking, and cross-checking in such wise that it was possible to extract the schemata and check them against other accounts by noting variations and commonalities.

As did Linger, I checked these models against my own fieldwork notes plus other cultural artefacts available to me: particularly newspaper articles about the festivals, local histories of carnaval in Santa
Ines and Cádiz, publications by brotherhoods such as books of devotion, statutes, and collections of lore, etc.

The question in this cultural model work, as in all such work, is: how do we ultimately know if the model as it is extracted is precisely the model shared by the locals? Linger comments:

But can it be said that differentially articulate persons have the same model in their heads? Insofar as something that walks and quacks like a duck is a duck, the answer is yes. Given that this particular duck (the cultural model) is intrinsically unobservable, all we have to judge by is how it walks and quacks. If sao-luisenses had a shared cultural model of briga in their heads, I think they would say and do the things they said and did. To the extent that the cultural models gives us clues about those things we call knowledge and motivation...the construct has at the very least explanatory value. (p. 260)

My argument in this work is that schema-concept is the key to the explanation of the role of culture in acts of autobiographical remembering.

The next two chapters are ethnographic in character. They are explorations of the world of carnaval and the world of the Holy Week brotherhood. Subsequent chapters take up the issue of the role of culture in the retrieval of autobiographical memories.
CHAPTER THREE: THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF CARNAVAL

This chapter and the following chapter present ethnographic and interview material regarding the two festivals of carnaval and Holy Week. This chapter is devoted to carnaval, the next covers Holy Week. This first section is an expository treatment of carnaval. It is a presentation of the things a director of a carnaval group would take for granted in the process of his getting a group ready for the concurso or Official Contest in Santa Ines. The second section sets out some portions of an interview with one director: a man named Pablo who has been involved in carnaval for many years. Pablo's narrative gives some access into one man's life as a carnavalero.

Preparing A Carnaval Group

Introduction: Carnaval and Carnavaleros

Carnaval is celebrated in February or March, or before Ash Wednesday which traditionally begins the
Catholic penitential season of Lent, marked particularly by fasting and abstinence from meat on certain days. Carnaval is thus carnal feasting which precedes the spiritual discipline of Lenten fasting. At any rate, that is its rationale since the beginning of the Christian era. But the roots of carnaval reach back into the Greek Bacchanalia and Roman Saturnalia; the festival took a long time in evolving. In Santa Ines, carnaval lasts for ten days and closes with a Saturday "all-nighter" in the streets and with a Sunday parade--just before Ash Wednesday, "else the priests yell at us." But the roots of each year's carnaval reach back into August and into corner bars and back rooms. It is the purpose of this chapter to follow a carnaval group from its quiet summer inception in the mind of its director to its wild irruption in the Parade which marks the culmination of the season.

There are many perspectives from which to view carnaval. This treatment follows the formation of a formal carnaval group because such a group is the focus of all the psychic energy of the director, and carnaval directors are the subjects of this study in memory. It is not that there is one personality type which fits
every director. Rather, carnaval appeals to the creative side of many sorts of personalities. Some directors are brooding and introverted, others are flamboyant and charismatic, yet others are plodding and hesitant. What distinguishes the person who gets involved in carnaval as a director is in part the desire to create and to envision, to fascinate and to entertain. Every director believes in his personal genius, his own configuration of personality traits and artistic talents, such that he will craft a winning carnaval group. He works within a tradition yet from within that tradition he fashions anew. He is an artist.

Types of Carnaval Groups

Carnaval is a world unto itself. People speak of it in those terms: el mundo de carnaval. Like any such world it has its fanatics and devotees and experts, on the one hand, and its sympathizers and spectators and critics on the other. The devotees, fanatics, and experts identify themselves as carnavaleros, and they insist that, for them, carnaval is a year round passion. Many have special names in the world of carnaval, nicknames which capture their characters or
exploit their idiosyncrasies: for example, Loro is the word for parrot and Bigote is the word for moustache, and both are names of carnavaleros.

The carnaval group may be formal or informal. Informal groups are called charangas or murgas. They are composed of family members or neighbors, they are prepared in January or early February, they usually involve writing lyrics to last year's carnaval tunes, they are done for fun (cachondeo: "fooling around"). Informal groups are meant for the street and do not enter the town's Official Contest. There are many more murgas than formal groups. They represent what carnaval was in its beginnings and they reflect the popular spirit of carnaval: one puts on a mask and says (sings) in public what he or she feels. Carnaval is the folk forum for denouncing oppression, lamenting loss, and laughing at life. The songs are coplas, the Andalusian lyric expression of feeling. At carnaval, for example, the coplas let the mayor know what the folk think of putting in that parking garage, coplas let the merchants know what the folk think of rigged scales, coplas let Morocco know what the folk think of its immigrants, coplas let the Pope know what the folk
think about the Church's rules on sex. Coplas mock the
great, deflate the proud, and tease the inept. As one
carnaval director put it: "Carnaval is the people's
politics." Informal groups of family and neighbors
prepare their murgas and entertain one another as they
find a voice and take to the streets.

Formal groups are more prepared, more disciplined,
more practiced, more inspired, more creative, and, of
course, more competitive. They enter the town's
Official Contest and they enter to win. The town
hall's Ministry of Festivals has statutes for the
Contest which strictly determine the character of these
formal groups. There are in fact four classes of
carnaval groups: comparsas, chirigotas, coros, and
cuartetos. These have evolved over the years from the
more informal groupings.

A comparsa is a musical-theatrical piece which
takes up events from the past year and recounts them
with the intention of criticizing those in authority or
with the intention of communicating something of the
pathos of human life. A well-executed comparsa should
touch the hearer's heart. Take, for example, this
piece called "Simulating A Trial" written by Angel
Garcia from Carnaval '93. During the spring, the news was full of the tragic story of a repeat rape. A man convicted of violating a young woman had been freed from prison on parole and while free had again violated a young girl. The lyrics of the pasodoble (the proper composition of the comparsa) are as follows:

Vamos a simular un juicio
pero visto al contrario,
donde el tribunal es el pueblo
y el juez el acusado.

Señores, la sesión da comienzo;
cierren el auditorio,
silencio, se abre en este momento
el interrogatorio.

Señor Magistrado, ruégole, por favor,
diga al pueblo llano, aquí presente,
porque dejó un día en libertad a un violador.

Pues no comprende, Señor letrado,
como se puede dejar
en libertad a un criminal degenerado,
que siempre debió de estar encarcelado.

Dígame Usted, Señor Juez,
quién devuelve ese clavel a esos padres.

Aunque su buena intención
le pueda servir, Señor, de atenuante
y haya una ley que le ampare,
este tribunal le declara culpable.

(Let's simulate a trial,
but seen turned around,
so that the court is the public
and the judge is the accused.

"Gentlemen, the court is in session;
close the hearing room.
"Silence, at this moment the interrogation is begun.

"Sir Magistrate, I implore, please: tell the plain folk here present, why one day you set free a rapist.

"See, they don't understand, Mister Learned One, how a degenerate criminal can be set free, one who ought to be in jail.

"Tell me, Judge, who will return this precious flower to her parents.

"Even though your good intention might serve you, Sir, as an explanation and even though there's a law that gives you refuge, this court declares you guilty.")

A comparsa has ten to fifteen members who must sing in two voices. Instruments include the carnaval whistle, a sort of jew's harp called a pito, which must be used to intone the beginning of each piece, three Spanish guitars, a base drum with cymbals, and a snare drum. All members of a comparsa wear the same costume which represents the "character" (or tipo) of the group.

The second form of carnaval group is the chirigota. A chirigota is a musical-theatrical piece which takes up events from the past year and recounts them with the intention of mocking and joking. A chirigota is meant
to make people laugh; it is marked by double entendres, tongue twisters, picaresque jabs, and foppish imitation. The musical piece characteristic of the chirigota is the cuplé. Following is an example, again taken from Carnaval '93, which complains broadly about the mayor of Santa Ines. The genius of the lyrics lies in a play on words: mea culpa is Latin for "My fault, my fault" taken from the Catholic act of contrition said before Sunday mass, the Spanish verb mear means "to piss."

Siempre quiso ser alcalde.  
Parecía que buena persona iba ser.  
Y cuando salió, en las elecciones  
a los ciudadanos, le echaba melones.

El todo lo cambió.  
Y a todo el mundo denunciaba.  
Siempre metiendo la pata.  
Y la Plaza Toros Techo de Hormigón  
le importa un comino.

Que la oposición hable  
aunque todos digan  
se equivocó el alcalde.  
Y siempre que se equivoca  
"Mea culpa, mea culpa"  
nos viene a decir.

"Déjate ya de mea culpa  
y baja la pata  
Mea to' las culpas  
que quiera  
pero no me mees a mi.

(He always wanted to be mayor.  
It seemed he'd be quite a good person.
And when he won the elections, he threw melons to the citizens.

Everything changed. He denounced everyone. Always sticking his foot in his mouth... And the roof for the bull ring, to him didn't matter a whit.

"Let the opposition talk."
Even though everyone says
the mayor made a mistake.
"Mea culpa, mea culpa"
he comes saying to us.

That's enough "mea culpa, mea culpa"
and put your leg down.
Piss on all the culpas you want,
but don't piss on me.)

A chirigota has seven to fifteen members. Instruments include at least two Spanish guitars, bass drum with cymbals, the snare drum, and the carnaval whistles described above. Costumes are not uniform but represent from various perspectives the "character" (tipo) of the group. The informal groups (murgas) described above are always chirigotas.

The coro is a third type of carnaval group. Like the previous two forms, the coro is a musical-theatrical piece which takes up events from the past year to recount them variously: to criticize, to mock, to mourn, etc. The musical piece that marks the coro is the tango. Following is an example of a tango from
Carnaval '93. Earlier in the year a boat laden with illegal Moroccan immigrants headed for Spain went down in the Strait of Gibraltar. The tango laments Spain's hard policy on Moroccan immigration.

Un morito de Marruecos
se embarcó en una patera.
Quería llegar a España
con la caída del sol
huyendo de la ruina
y de la "jambre" de su tierra.
Pero a la costa española el morito no llegó.

Cuando la patera navegaba
por el Estrecho, por el Estrecho,
cuando rumbeaba la penumbra
de la sombra de Gibraltar,
otra mala sombra se le vino
encima de su rumbo,
y fue tragada por el mar.

El morito de Marruecos
ya no pasará más hambre,
ni más ruina, ni más miseria,
ni más miedo, ni vergüenza.
Entre Marruecos y España
quedó su alma de musulmán
suplicándole a los cristianos
que le echaran una manita
con una mano.

El morito de Marruecos
nunca supo que en España
no lo dejaban entrar
aquí...aquí...
aquí los moritos pobres
son ilegales, son ilegales
y en la playa lo esperamos
con fusiles.
¡Qué pena de Marruecos!
Me da pena de Marruecos,
pero de España mucho más.
A moor from Morocco
embarked in a raft.
He wanted to get to Spain
before sundown,
fleeing the wreckage
and the hunger of his land.
But to the Spanish coast
this moor never arrived.

When the raft sailed
through the Strait, through the Strait.
When he set his course for the penumbra
of the shadow of Gibraltar,
another evil shadow came upon him,
came upon his course,
and the sea swallowed him up.

The moor from Morocco
will know hunger no more now,
no more ruin, no more misery,
no more fear, no more shame.
Between Morocco and Spain
his moorish soul was left
pleading with Christians
to take his hand.

The moor from Morocco
never knew that in Spain
they'd never let him in.
Here...here...
here the poor moors
are illegal, are illegal
and we await them on the beach
with guns.
¡What a pity, Morocco!
I pity Morocco,
but all the more I pity Spain.)

Coros are much larger affairs than comparas or
chirigotas. There are between fifteen and forty-five
members in a coro divided into three voices. There
must be between four and ten musicians playing Spanish
guitars, bandurrias, and lutes. Usually costuming is uniform according to voice. Because of the size of the undertaking, there are usually fewer coros than other groups.

The last sort of carnaval group is the cuarteto. The cuarteto is composed of four members (variants are trios of three persons and quintetos of five) who do not sing but rather speak their parts, though a sort of sung refrain (the estribillo) must be intoned with the carnaval whistle. The characteristic form of the cuarteto is parody and its sole purpose is humor. The following comes from Carnaval '91.

I can't explain why
there are people so proud
that we turned back Napoleon.
It wasn't that way in history.
If he didn't get to Cádiz
it was simply because
on the day of the invasion
there was a traffic jam on the bridge.

(Napoleon's armies invaded Cádiz and surrounding territories in 1808 and remained in Southern Spain until 1812). Costuming is various in the cuarteto but seeks to represent the "character" (tipo) of the group.

For purposes of the Official Contest these four modalities are further subdivided into age groupings: (a) children between the ages of six and fifteen, (b)
youth between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, and (c) adults over the age of eighteen. In Santa Ines in 1992-1993 the groupings were as follows:

Comparsas

3 adult groups
2 youth groups
2 children's groups

Chirigotas

3 adult groups
2 children's groups

Coros

1 adult group

August-September: The Search for A Character (Tipo)

Each of these groups is the brainchild of the director who begins to make plans for doing a group in August or early September. His first task is the elaboration of a tipo. One of the directors whose oral life-story is found later in this dissertation did a chirigota once called "Napoleon and His Court." The figures were, of course, Napoleon and his aids. A comparsa took the name "Enchantment" while the Disney movie Beauty and The Beast was popular. Members dressed as storybook gentlemen with face masks of beasts. Another comparsa called "I'll Tell You with My
Hands" had every member dressed in the black and white stripes of the pantomimist. The group must prepare a presentation piece which explains the tipo. Usually another song or two and perhaps the refrain which links the musical pieces will reflect the tipo. The rest of the songs in a group's repertoire depart from the tipo and take up other themes. Favorite and traditional themes for every group regardless of the tipo are: praise for the group's home town and celebration of the magic of carnaval itself.

The director settles on a tipo and talks it over with people he has worked with in the past. He begins to recruit members for the group, usually from among members of his group from the previous year. Word gets around the world of carnaval that this or that director is going to do a comparsa or a chirigota and people begin to ally themselves with projects which interest them. The supposition is that members will be loyal to their directors of the previous year but this is often not the case. Membership and loyalties are fluid. The director must concern himself particularly with finding musicians: guitarists are essential, drummers are often trained anew each year.
Directors, members of groups, lyricists, and composers are almost universally males. Santa Ines had no female carnaval groups in the 1993 carnaval and as yet has had no female groups. In past years a coro has been mixed, but no comparsa or chirigota has been mixed. In other towns in Andalusia there are instances of female comparsas, but the phenomenon is remarkable for its rarity. One teenage girl from Santa Ines complained, "Carnaval is machista."

Next the director must find himself a músico which is the person who writes the music for the group. Sometimes the director himself is musically gifted and writes his own music, or the músico is another member of the group, or outside the group completely. One músico may write music for more than one group. Once the music is finished the director takes it (usually taped on a cassette) to his poeta. The poeta is the lyricist. Obviously the lyricist and the director need to have the same vision for the carnaval group. Again, sometimes the director writes his own lyrics, or another member of the group or someone from outside the group writes them. Directors often develop very close relationships with their composers and lyricists and
will work with them for years. But in a world of artists rifts and rows develop and teams split up. Theoretically the lyricist has all of the lyrics written before the group begins practicing but more often than not lyricists are writing new pieces as late as January and even February. The reason for this is that a group which enters the Official Contest will go through as many as three tiers of competition and must have enough pieces for three twenty-minute shows. Groups may enter contests in their home town and other towns in the Province of Cádiz, so there is great need for a variety of pieces.

Having chosen his tipo, begun work with the composer and lyricist, and recruited his members, the director must next find a rehearsal room (cuarto de ensayo). Here he will meet with his group nightly (except for Saturdays) to practice the act from September through late February. There are several possibilities open to him. Carnaval has a long history in Santa Ines and several bars are traditionally associated with carnaval groups. Backrooms or storage spaces are used for rehearsals. Members sit on boxes and crates surrounded by old broken chairs or bar
equipment with dusty posters from past carnavales hanging on the walls. Other spaces are available as well: the stages of local schools, warehouses on the docks, bus garages. However, the stereotypically ideal place for carnaval rehearsals is the peña.

Technically, in Spanish the word peña signifies a circle of friends. Practically, in Andalusia a peña is a small organization whose members have some common interest. Every peña must have a place (also called a peña) for its meetings. It is unthinkable that such a place be without a bar, so every peña has a bar where soda, beer, liquor, and wine are served. Proceeds go to the peña. A peña usually has a television, various tables for cards or dominoes, often couches and easy-chairs. There are peñas taurinos whose members are fans of bull fighting, peñas deportivos whose members are dedicated fans of one or the other of the major league soccer teams of Spain, peñas flamenco whose members are dedicated to the art of flamenco, and, finally, there are peñas carnavalescas which are dedicated to carnaval. Such peñas carnavalescas have a small stage where rehearsals take place. Certain directors become associated with
certain peñas and they rehearse in those places year after year. But, again, politics in the world of carnaval are volatile and divorces are common. Carnaval peñas usually have other activities for animating carnaval, such as pre-carnaval street festivals or annual awards banquets honoring major figures in carnaval. In Santa Ines there were ten peñas carnavalescas in 1992-1993.

October-February: Rehearsals

As indicated above, rehearsals are scheduled for every night of the week except Saturdays, usually from around 7:00 or 8:00 in the evening until 9:00 or 10:00 at night. Members and musicians drift into the bar or peña and order a beer or glass of local wine. Some watch television, and small groups of three or four gather to converse. Guitarists tune their instruments. Soon the director calls the group to begin. Rehearsals involve harmonizing voices, adjusting music and lyrics, learning the pieces, and blocking the act.

Early on, group rehearsal is often interrupted as directors consult with guitarists about music and lyrics. Later in the rehearsal season the director works on the choreography with the group. The
director's job is a difficult one: he must animate and discipline his group over a period of five months or so. Withal, the atmosphere of rehearsal is one of expectation and enjoyment. The group breaks periodically from its practicing and members get cold beers and swap jokes and stories. Wives or girlfriends hang around together in the peña or bar and watch the practices. Particularly later in the season, members from other groups will stop by to watch a rehearsal. There is talk of styles of chirigota or comprasas which certain directors have. Comparisons are made and groups are evaluated and re-evaluated in light of the upcoming contest. At the end of the rehearsal members of the group will mill about around another glass of wine and talk of their chances this year. By midnight at the latest the last of the group will hop on their mopeds and roar off.

During this time the group has other tasks besides rehearsal. Members of comprasas and chirigotas say that total costs for a group (costuming, props, etc.) run around $2,500, while costs for a coro can be as high as $10,000. Fund-raising is therefore an important activity during these months. Money for
carnaval groups comes primarily from three sources: (a) members' donations, (b) raffles, and (c) advertising. Members contribute indirectly in many subtle ways to financing a group: donating items for props or costuming, buying guitar strings or running off lyrics. By far, however, the majority of funds are generated via raffles. Spain has a variety of national and provincial lotteries with very large cash prizes. It is common for organizations to buy large quantities of the numbers and print their own tickets to be sold at a higher prices. The difference, of course, is the profit for the organization. Chirigotas, comparsas, and coros print up tickets with figures of their tipos on one side, calendars and lottery numbers on the reverse side and sell them to raise funds. Every rehearsal involves people buying raffle tickets from another for different organizations, but members sell tickets to friends and family members as well.

Members of carnaval groups also go to merchants to ask for donations in exchange for advertisements in little books containing the copies of the group's lyrics. These cancioneros are sold during carnaval itself. There is always some tension around this
practice. Some members don't feel comfortable approaching merchants, others are very good at it. Merchants often feel that they are asked for donations by too many organizations; carnaval organizations counter by saying that carnaval season itself generates a lot of business.

As carnaval approaches the group must begin to assemble the costumes and various props they will use in their acts. Costumes are always home-made ensembles varying in quality of design. The comparsa named "Enchantment" (based on Disney's Beauty and The Beast) bought pigs' snout masks from a costume shop and attached crab claws alongside the noses to simulate tusks. A chirigota critiquing the removal of palm trees from a town plaza bore the name "Deep Roots" and chose to dress all of the members as dentists complete with blue smocks and drills and hospital identification cards.

Another chirigota represented a beauty contest in hell and had the title "Miss Dead." The all male group dressed as dead women (which required no little make-up). Costumes are designed and made by members of the groups, their friends, and wives and girlfriends.
Materials are bought or collected and costumes elaborated in January as carnaval nears in February.

January: Carnaval Season Begins

In January carnaval is in the air and a number of other preparations are made for the festival which is still two months away. The celebration of carnaval is also marked by the selection of the town's beauty queen who figures prominently in the carnaval parade. The town hall's Ministry of Festivals begins accepting registrations during January. Individual women may submit their names as candidates and peñas carnaualescas choose their own beauty queens. These latter become the peña candidates for the town contest. Each peña will organize a festival during late January-early February to present its beauty queen. These are essentially carnaval events in which formal groups preparing for the Official Contest do their acts in a kind of dress rehearsal (though the unofficial proviso is that no group may wear costumes before the Official Contest begins). Depending on the practice of the peña, these are also events in which the peña bestows its annual award for excellence in carnaval or some other service to the community. These events are more
formal in character and take place in large halls owned by local wineries. They are held in the evening and last well into the morning.

January is also the time for ensayos generales which are public rehearsals of carnaval acts. These are done on weekends in bars or discotheques, or a peña will open up its rehearsal room to the public for an evening performance. Again, no costumes may be worn during these pre-carnaval appearances. Often a group will have sweatshirts made which bear the name of the act. These events are rather well attended, particularly by members of other groups: the world of carnaval turns out rather faithfully. As is obvious, these events also serve to fuel a carnaval atmosphere through town.

Meanwhile, of course, the nightly rehearsals continue. Raffle tickets are sold. The group starts to collect material and props for their costumes.

**February: Carnaval Month in The Province of Cádiz**

Carnaval is celebrated in the provincial capital of Cádiz as in no other place. Cádiz is the fons et origo of all things carnaval. It is frequently referred to as the "cradle" (cuna) of the festival.
In the first place, carnaval's deepest roots are in the festival of Cádiz. During Franco's era carnaval was banned throughout Spain with the exception of carnaval in Cádiz where the name was simply changed to Fiestas Típicas, which meant that something folkloric was occurring. Secondly, the carnaval of Cádiz is the biggest of Southern Spain. Whereas there were thirteen carnaval groups in preparation in Santa Ines during the 1992-1993 season, there were some fifty-nine groups in preparation in the city of Cádiz. As one carnavalero of Santa Ines said, "In Cádiz every other house is a peña." Thirdly, the carnaval of Cádiz draws many groups from all over the province to its Official Contest. In 1993 there were 139 groups competing in the Gran Teatro Falla, built explicitly for carnaval. With that many groups in competition, several tiers of elimination rounds are necessary. Groups come from other towns in the province accompanied by their supporters. They have high hopes of winning here because winning fourth place in Cádiz is better than winning first place at home.

Carnaval in Cádiz lasts for three weeks. In the afternoons and evenings the elimination rounds are
held. The gaditanos and people from around the province line up daily at the Falla to purchase tickets to see the groups.

The city decorates plazas and designated streets with lighting displays and every night sees mayhem descend on the city. Murgas wander the streets stopping on corners to sing one or the other of their pieces. Often two groups will face each other from opposite sides of the streets and alternate their pieces in a sort of informal competition. Costumed spectators gather around and laugh and shout encouragement or derision. Everyone throws confetti on everyone else and the streets are covered with confetti and bottles and litter. Night after night trains arrive from around the province and the launch to Santa Ines scuttles to and fro as revelers disembark for an evening of carnaval and embark again for home.

Meanwhile in Santa Ines some peñas organize pre-carnaval street festivals on the weekends of February. The street on which the peña is located is simply blocked off by placing a platform across it. From roof to roof on one side is hung a large tarpaulin and a stage is created. Along one side of the street a bar
is built from which beer and wine and soft drinks are sold. These street festivals bear the name of the free food which the peña serves for the day. The Gran Camaroná boasts shrimp baked into deep fried cakes. The Gran Mantecá features an orange dyed pig's lard (a sort of butter) topped off with a piece of sausage. All of the local groups preparing for the contest make an appearance at these affairs. People pack the streets and sit on the roofs to watch the groups and sing along with the refrains.

As the dates for the Official Contest approach, the Ministry of Festivals schedules the drawing to determine the order of acts in the contest itself. This takes place at the offices of the Ministry. The order of appearance is a matter of moment to directors who during any one session of the contest want to be scheduled with groups considered weaker than themselves. The results of the drawing are published in the local paper and tickets to the sessions are put on sale.

**Last Two Weeks of February: The Official Contest**

For the Official contest in Santa Ines a panel of judges (called the jurado or "jury") is appointed by
the Ministry of Festivals. Carnavaleros who for one reason or another are not involved with a group for that year are asked to serve as judges of one of the modalities: comparsas, chirigotas, corsos, and cuartetos. Groups compete within their modalities and within their age grouping.

Santa Ines has the biggest carnaval of the province after Cádiz and numerous groups from around the province also compete in Santa Ines. The 1993 carnaval season saw seventy groups inscribed in the Official Contest. Thus, in both children/youth and adult categories a preliminary elimination round was necessary. Awards are further split into local and provincial prizes. Thus, local groups compete solely with local groups (which narrows the field considerably when there are only thirteen groups further subdivided by modality and age). Groups from around the province compete with other groups from around the province. First, second, and third prizes are awarded in each modality and in each age group.

On the night of its performance the group meets in its rehearsal room in bar or peña or warehouse to get costumed and made up. Naturally, an air of expectation
and tension attends these ceremonies. Once ready, the
group marches on foot singing and shouting through the
streets to the town theater. They enter by a backstage
door and climb the three flights of stairs up to the
dressing rooms where final adjustments are made, some
sherry passed around, and words of encouragement
shared. The director patrols the pandemonium making
sure that no one drinks too much. Members remind each
other of points of which they are yet unsure.
Guitarists tune their guitars for the thousandth time.
Nervous fingers put cigarettes to lips caked with
greasepaint. There are other groups milling about in
various stages of undress after having had their moment
on stage. From below come the sounds of the group
presently performing and the shouts of the audience
calling for encores. The director gathers his group
for a final pep talk: "Slower, stay close to the
microphones, lotta movement during the refrain, let
loose, pay attention to the music, watch for my signal
in the second cuplé."

The moment arrives when the regidor de escena
(stage manager) comes upstairs for the group. A
reporter from the town radio station interviews the
director on the way down the stairs. The stage manager lines up the group just off stage as the curtains close to the applause for the group that has just finished. In passing, both groups swap words of encouragement. Tension mounts for the group about to perform. They position themselves on stage behind the closed curtain; the air is charged. Suddenly the curtains are opened and the comparsa is at full tilt. A pasodoble laments the poverty of sailors in a bad fishing season, and the audience soaks in the feel of the piece in reverent silence only to erupt wildly with roaring applause as the group moves into the refrain and next pasodoble. People chant, "Esto es carnaval! Esto es carnaval" ("This is carnaval!")

Or a chirimota whose members are costumed as cross dresser police officers is greeted by expectant shouts of "Chirimota! Chirimota! Chirimota!". Each transvestite cop cavorts about the stage during the refrain in crazy choreographed positions. A cuplé lampoons the chief of police who last summer wrecked his cruiser while ogling a tourist. The audience claps in time to the music and sings along with the refrain, by now well-known from so many public rehearsals. At
the end of the performance the crowd calls for an encore by yelling: "Tipo! Tipo!" The drummer gives the beat and the group capers about wildly as the whole theater sings the refrain. Every local group can be expected to do at least one encore and most often two or three.

The curtains close to thunderous applause and the members of the group yell excitedly to one another and embrace happily. Meanwhile the stage manager is shooing them off stage and up the stairs toward the third floor. Again, another group on the stairs awaits its moment on stage. Once in the dressing rooms the group opens more bottles of wine. Some hard liquor appears surreptitiously. Members begin to take their costumes off as they recount to one another the electric moments of the performance. Legends of mistakes successfully covered over are born in these few minutes after a performance. Eventually the members of the group remove enough of their costumes and make-up to return to the peña where they finish the job of cleaning up.

Once in the peña, the group unleashes its post-performance party. Friends of the group and supporters
gather around. The group does not return to the theater on the night of its performance. They listen to the rest of the night's program on the radio or watch it on television (if the local station is carrying the event). Members talk incessantly about the quality of competing groups and what the judges might do. On the final night the judges finally take the stage after the last performance and announce the winners. Groups gathered in peñas or bars or garages fall silent as the radio is turned up full blast so that all can hear the judgment on their five months of work. In the local competition, anything other than first place requires an explanation, or perhaps excuse. Carnaval judges fare no better than referees in a sporting event. Groups that place first can look forward to a summer full of engagements. In reality, groups that place second and third will do the same, but for several days now they are quiet in public about prizes and in private they lick their wounds and explain to one another what exactly it was that caused this misfortune.

Saturday of Carnaval
There are temporary outdoor stages, called tablaos, set up in various plazas and parks throughout the city. On Saturday afternoon one of these is the site of a contest for best carnaval popurrí. While every group must come up with original music for its act, one piece of the repertoire is composed of music already available (música conocida, "known music") for which original lyrics are written. This is the popurrí. At this contest and in all subsequent public appearances, groups wear their carnaval costumes. The event is sponsored by a local radio station and begins at 2:00 or thereabouts in the afternoon.

The Saturday evening of carnaval gets started in the plaza nearest the wharf where one can catch the launch to Cádiz. Here a stage has been erected, its back to the water. On the stage sits a huge ship's trunk and a piling with nautical rope strung from it plus the usual microphones and sound equipment. The night is very cold (perhaps mid 40's) and a strong Levant is blowing. Food stands are erected and street vendors wander through the crowd with carnaval paraphernalia (popcorn balls, slices of fresh coconut, hats, wigs, moustaches, face paint). Carnaval begins
at around 10:00 p.m. with a longish poem declaimed from the stage by some famous carnavalero of the past. This poem is the pregón and usually recaps famous pieces from past acts. The person declaiming is the pregonero and the tone he wants to set is twofold: (a) there is no place in the world better than Santa Ines, and (b) carnaval is the most humorous, magical, and fun event of the year.

The pregón is followed by the presentation of the winner of the beauty contest. The new beauty queen and her ladies in attendance are given sashes and bunches of flowers to mark their honor. There follows a dance in the plaza. Nearly everyone is costumed in some way or other: some in shlock together costumes, with wigs or colored cloths draped over shirts. Others have gone to great lengths to portray Arabs, Sailors, Clowns, Soldiers, Floozies, Princes, Nuns, Dead People, and on and on.

Meanwhile, at the street stages, both informal groups and formal groups present their acts. For instance, a murga presents a pasodoble and dedicates it to one of their number who is off to do his military service. The formal groups who have won any
distinction in the Official Contest must present their act at each of four of the stages designated by the city, otherwise they forfeit their awards. With thirteen groups and four such stages (plus murgas) this insures a constant flow of acts through each of the stages spread about town. Carnaval in the streets lasts well into 4:00 and 5:00 in the morning.

Sunday of Carnaval

Sunday of Carnaval sees two parades. The first is the Parade of Coros. Because coros are so big, they do not march in a parade but rather move about in floats pulled by farm tractors or four wheel drive vehicles. Any coro that participated in the Official Contest (from any municipality) is invited, and in fact expected, to form part of the Parade of Coros. The floats stop periodically and the coro sings some pieces to people who gather round. Men and women associated with the groups move through the crowds selling the books of lyrics (cancioneros) of the group.

The second parade is the one which defines Carnaval because without it, no carnaval is considered to have taken place. This is La Cabalgata de Humor, The Comedy Cavalcade. It starts at the bull ring where
the floats are strung around with carnaval groups between them. Peñas design floats, other organizations design floats, the city sponsors a few. Naturally, there is a contest to determine the best of them. This year there are 22 floats.

In 1993, as the parade began, a drizzle also began, but this was greeted with "Esto es carnaval!" That perhaps captures the essence of the festival: life is crazy, contradictions abound, laugh and let loose, be somebody else for awhile, do things you don't dare, and say things you just wouldn't.

Again people accompany the parade in costume—not to be costumed is to be aguafiestas, a "party-pooper." Bottle after bottle of sherry is opened and passed about. Comparsas and chirigotas sing their acts over and over until members are hoarse. It is an explosion of color and creativity.

A murga was formed in which all the members were giant sunflowers and one member was dressed as a farmer with an oversize watering can used to bring the sunflowers to life. One man made for himself a Quasimodo costume and walked with a lantern to and fro through the crowd. The chirigota representing the
beauty contest of dead women in hell named its winner
over and over again.

Everyone throws confetti on everyone else,
everyone dusts off their victims with carnaval dusters.
The parade begins at around 3:00 in the afternoon and
ends at around 8:00 in the evening.

Street crews are sent out by town hall and by
10:00 in the evening, the streets are again cleaned.
Carnaval is laid to rest for another year.

Summer

During Lent and through the town's Spring Wine
Fair (late May), no carnaval events take place. A
group might perform at a wedding reception or baptism
party, but no public performances are scheduled.
Translated, that means: no contracts are accepted for
public appearances until after the Spring Wine Fair.
With the coming of summer, however, groups accept many
contracts. They sing at bars, restaurants, beach
kiosks, neighborhood summer festivals, promotional
events. One man commented, "In Santa Ines, anybody who
wants a party hires a couple to dance flamenco and a
chirigota and ala! there's a party." The fact that it
has become so common for carnaval groups to hire
themselves out like this has generated a lot of controversy. Some people accuse the carnavaleros of being in it for the money. Carnavaleros say that the amount of time it takes to put a group together is in no way offset by the money made in summer appearances. At any rate, such appearance grind down in number at the end of August. At corner bars and at domino tables directors begin to muse about new tipos for the next carnaval.

**Interview With A Director**

Two portions of an interview with a carnaval director are presented here. The narrative comes from a man named Pablo who was 43 years old at the time of the interview. He is married, has four children, in their teens and older. His trade is construction but he now works for the city of Santa Ines in town hall as a receptionist/telephone operator/errand runner. He is one of Santa Ines' most famous carnavaleros and has reputation for chirigotas.

In this first portion of narrative material he divides up his experience as a carnavalero into being a (a) member of a group, (b) director, and (c) spectator.
From there he talks about his earliest memories of carnaval. He became a member of a group at eight years old and has been involved in carnaval ever since.

The narrative is printed with as little editing as possible (except for the editing which occurs in translation) and without explanatory interruption in order to give some flavor for Pablo's character. He is voluble and frenetic and a true carnaval devotee.

Some clarifications are necessary before introducing the narrative itself. The Vapor is the boat that ferries people back and forth from Santa Ines to Cádiz. A duro is a five peseta piece. (In 1993, a peseta was worth one cent). The Pryca is a large discount store recently constructed just outside Santa Ines. The Spring Fair is a reference to Santa Ines' wine festival which occurs towards the end of May. It features Santa Ines' own finest wine, much sevillana dancing, and equestrian events.

I can talk about my being a member of groups. I started off as a member of groups and from experience I learned...years and years...so I decided
to do it myself. I'll explain that.

I...well...I...the músico...I go to the músico. "Give me the music." He's a professional. Antonio González, you've heard of him? Antonio González? //R.

Yes, yes.// He's got a school there and he gives classes in the peña at seven in the evening...guitar classes. So I go to the músico and he gives me the music and later I go to the poeta and I say, "Look, I've got this, write me this, let's go." So the poeta does the words, the músico does the music, and I do all the rest of it, get the thing going, see? So that's different from being a member, no? Being a member is helping out with your ideas, understand? So we can talk about being a member and later... //R. Later, being a director...// Later being a director and then as a spectator...from outside, too. I'm an aficionado, see? Like when I went to hear Arturo's group in the
ensayo general and I saw the chirigota of Arturo... I saw the chirigota of Arturo and I expected more, looking in from the outside, I expected more. He's got better people than me, three guitars, one of them sings too. I stuck a guitar in just a little while ago. I had to teach the bass drum. I expected more.

You have to appreciate it. I follow the carnaval in Cádiz, I follow it. The finals...I spend the whole night taping it on video and watching the finals at home...little glass of whiskey...little coffee...some snacks. Spend all night at it. The first day off I take every year is in February so I can see the finals. So I see it as a spectator, as an aficionado, from the outside...eh? Of course when I start my rehearsals it's another world. And later when the Official Contest...the performances make
you...it's another world. Being director is another tangle.

R. Let's begin with your being a member of a group. When was the first time? Do you remember?

P. Well, it was a very beautiful experience because I liked it, I've always liked it...since I was child. I was eight years old and I'd go to listen to the snare drum and the bass drum. The old days, when the comparsas would go...the old ones, when they played on a drum with skin of...skin, primitive. That has to be already...I'm 43 years old now, well, I was eight years old, pretty young, huh? So I'd listen to a snare drum and a bass drum and I'd go running after them. The chirigota and the comparsa...to get to Cádiz to hear the comparsa and the chirigota you had to take the Vapor. I'd get there, hear
a snare drum and a bass drum and go running after them. It attracted me when I was eight nine years old.

I've got a picture of me playing the bass drum at ten years old. What happened was that I started going out only when I was older. An anecdote I can relate that happened to me. My mother had sent me to get five or ten pesos of sugar, I don't remember, and I heard the Los Pillos de Alí Babá. Los Pillos de Alí Babá was a very old comparsa. The majority of its members would be forty fifty years old now but then they were kids. So I went running after them and forgot to buy the sugar when I heard that comparsa singing around the bars. At that time they weren't bars but tascas. There was no terraza nor tables nor umbrellas, they were called tascas. Common in Santa Ines, La Colmena, all those typical
tascas of Santa Ines. They served seafood...and so on, and you drank a bottle of wine. The typical tascas of Andalusia. So we'd go and, before we knew it, five hours had gone by. I get home and first I get beat. Said I was lost. Everybody searching for me. And I was following a chirigota. See, I'm telling you, I've always been this way.

So I started to go out when I was older. The first time I was twelve years old. In the cattle fair where Pryca is, in front of Pryca, where those industrial warehouses are there's a lot of businesses there. So there was the cattle fair, the old days when it dealt with cattle. So it was the cattle fair, not the Spring Fair that we have up there. The one that Juan Galan treats this year in Oju! Que Arte! So eh there I went out in a group when I was twelve. We were called Los Pistoleros. The
snare drum was a tambourine... the
tambourine of Christmas Eve, and the
bass drum was a barrel of arengues
sardines, you know them? Sardines,
they're arengue, they're yellow. They
come salty and dry. A barrel like this,
this wide, just like a bass drum but it
was made of wood.

So when the tambourine broke we had to
go running from the cattle fair which
was pretty far away... to La Victoria.
Today it's not so far, you can do it all
straight. But then it took us... and we
had to go to the Centro and to where the
Hospitalito is on Calle Ganado and Calle
Cruces, where the Peña de Los Majaras
is. There was an Englishman... the house
of the Englishmen. We went to buy a
tambourine. So, "Off we go!" And,
"It's broke. Come on!" () That was
the first time.
Afterwards.... I continued. I remember Paco Alba, and others, I'ld listen to the radio. I was working and I'ld buy my Coke or Caserita or gin, my things, and I'ld listen to carnival on the radio till 3:00 in the morning. Times of Los Majaras, and El Cote, this year's pregonero.

But I didn't go out again till I was 21 years old. It was Los Ciegos de Bartolo Vago. Paco El Misterio did it. And I was a member of the group. For me it was the greatest in the world. Nothing like it. At that time everything was new. It was phenomenal.

Interestingly, childhood memories of running after groups in the streets is a common sort of origin story for carnavaleros.

He goes on to talk about each of the groups he has been involved in as a member. Later when he turns to his role as director of groups he proceeds in the same
fashion. All of the interviews with directors followed this pattern. They talk of each group they directed, recall certain details about the group, and talk about their fortunes in the Official Contest. In the next portion of narrative taken from the interview, he talks about one of his chirigotas (Napoleón Y Su Corte) followed by a cuarteto called Buenas Noches based on the television news and then another cuarteto done with his son and some friends. His experience with Napoleón Y Su Corte was marred by rejection on the part of the judges. It is Pablo's opinion that they expected a certain style from him, and when he branched out into other things, the judges were unsympathetic.

So after Choti, we get to Napoleón y Su Corte. By now they had me boxed in, pigeon-holed, see? They were gonna teach me a lesson but good. We didn't even make it into the finals, not even the finals. That hurt quite a bit. Since then I've got as a goal at least getting into the finals. I push the group to get into the finals. I push
myself first. Me. Then the group. If they don't do their part, we don't go anywhere. But it'll never happen to me again like that year. Covered my face at eight in the evening and cried till I could cry no more... A grown man with three children, four, seems to me I had four by then, yeah, four. Covered my face so nobody'd see and cried and cried, closed up in my room like a little kid. That was tough. Nobody knows.

But I hadn't done anything for five years, and I said to myself, "I won't play the fool...I've got to..." And I finally committed myself to it again. And I committed a group to it. Lot of them, members in the group that year, with no experience. "Come on, come on! Even if you don't know how...you, you sing, you've got an ear." They had no idea. "Listen, I'll give you the tune
on the whistle." And the whistle goes TU-TU-RU-TU. It's not like a formal instrument that... But anyway... So things worked out, and we enjoyed ourselves that year. Didn't get anywhere but... So that was Napoleón Y Su Corte. I had my helmet. Arturo got the helmets from the traffic police that year. I had on big medals on my chest...like Napoleón...huge things...part of the role. And some cats. Napoleón had cats. I made them dance.

At night we'd give them turron, long live the cats of Napoleón.

Well, the people didn't like it. We went to Cádiz to sing too. And we came home defeated. That's the risk you run going to Cádiz. You go to Cádiz...if they like you there you get into semi-finals and you're in with the list of
the ten best.... And from there you won't get anywhere because there you'll never win...never...and even less since there aren't divisions now between provincial and local prizes. (...) They just didn't like anything about Napoleón Y Su Corte. Hurts, you know?

But from there...the cuarteto Buenos Noches. I don't know if you've met Ratón, you know him? He's another personage that...that you should meet. //R. Right, right, right.// His cap, his cane. In the Casa de Cultura I've got a painting...if you want to take a picture for whatever reason. He's a popular character here in El Puerto nowadays. //R. Right, I saw him...// The classical...eh? You know him... So there was Ratón. And so Buenos Noches was the TV News. We made a television with your desk, like this (gestures), your television, and we were inside.
"Good evening." //R. (laughs)/// Three desks (laughs), three desks: one here (gestures), another here (gestures), another here (gestures). "Channel Sur, Spanish Television, and The Daily Roll...which was...was...was Ratón. The Daily Roll. He had toilet paper in a roll. The Daily Roll. So the whole nine yards. "Buenas Noches, Ladies and Gentlemen," talking to the people and making them laugh. And seated, seated it's hard to make people laugh. Making people laugh standing up is tough but seated it's worse. So that was the year that...we did the vote of censure...to throw out the communist mayor. Juan Manuel Torres, the socialists wanted to remove him from power. We did the vote of censure, pretty ugly, you know, politics. So I put that...that scene in. That's when they started calling me a communist around here. Because they said I defended Rafael more than the
other one, so...well, he was a laborer
and maybe I defended him more...because
he was a laborer. To give him more
support with the people, eh? So "Let's
go!" and "More parody!" and "Bum!" And
"I will not sell myself!" because Rafael
was saying he wouldn't sell himself, in
all this. "I will not sell myself! For
as much as the PSOE wants to buy me, I
will not sell myself!" So I put
(yelling): "RAFAEL WILL NOT BE SOLD!"
As the refrain of the cuarteto. Really
good, I've got it...taped, I don't have
it videotaped, but I've got it taped.
So...great...they gave me third prize.
Another super-success. But then, "This
one's a chirigotero, this one's a
chirigotero, he's not a cuartetero."
When they saw it was a cuarteto, "What
does he know about it?" Because, what's
more, there's vicious tongues (laughs),
in this business, there's vicious
tongues. We snipe at one another, it's
the law... The law of these things. Maybe it won't be like this in the future, I don't like it. I like bull-fighting, but my bull-fighter is the best, well, maybe you gotta eliminate the others, same thing. Same thing. So...the cuarteto wasn't worth a thing because...because: "He's a chirigtero and not a cuartetero," "What's he getting himself into this?" "He just wants to get ahead..." So I kept my mouth shut and for a year I didn't do a thing...

And my oldest son, the one doing the charanga now, he was 17 years old. He says to me, "Papa, why not lend us a hand because we're in the middle of this thing." They were three kids from the high school--fourth year. They had organized this, and I had no idea. "Give us a hand, we got a problem here and here." "You all wrote this
yourselves?" "Well, yeah, Papa, we..." 
"Okay so come on." And I stuck them in my house. Because I'm not going looking for a place: "This is busy already," "Can't go here." I'm not getting into those fights.

Look, I like carnaval, I enjoy it. I tape it, right up to last year, I've got it taped. I never stopped taping my Carnaval from Cádiz or anything. And before I die I'm going back to Cádiz. Maybe not this year, but before I die I'm going back there.

So, "Come on kids, we're not getting involved in all that trouble." So I put them in the kitchen, the house is like this (gestures). There we were with the stew pots and the kids rehearsing. In my kitchen. We were there five months. They wrote the stuff. In the end we looked for a poeta and he did a couple
of cuplecitos for us. I didn't think of Juan Rincón then, I don't know, I didn't think of it. Because he could have helped us. And the cuarteto was great, a shot! Revolution!

In the estribillo we said to the judges, "And to the judges we just want to say: 'Fewer shrimp and more points, and fewer shrimp and more points." (laughs). And the whole theater picked it up, and they sung it in the streets. Impressive. I triumphed. Again, I triumphed. With them. They triumphed. I've got it taped, I'll let you see it. You're coming to my house one day, eh? So...so it was a shot, this cuarteto! I enjoyed it. Satisfied with my work.

We were six months rehearsing in the kitchen. There with a cup a coffee. From 8:30 till late. I'd come from work all wet from cement and stuff, like a
mule. I'd go to the kitchen, "Come on, let's go." I'd drink my coffee with them. "Come on, the parodia" (because it's all spoken, the whole thing). And it was Bueno, Bonito, y Barato, no, Bueno, Bonito, Barato y Conmigo Cuatro. There was the moor. There was the shah selling those trinkets the moors sell. (yells:) "Cheap" ("Barato!"). It was a theatrical style. A shot!

Again, it is a common narrative pattern for directors to list in their oral life-stories the groups they have done year by year and comment on each one. This repetition of units (i.e. the story of each group for each year) suggests the presence of schemata for group formation, performance, etc. Also, it is arguable that structuring the carnavalero oral life-story in this overall way is a higher level schema.

Pablo's narrative reflects his outgoing and excitable personality. He is a well-known person in Santa Ines and a fixture in carnaval. His personal narrative lends color and life to the description of
carnaval. Other directors have other strengths and foibles and tastes, but what is interesting is the commonalities in their stories.

The Spirit of Carnaval

Carnaval has its origins in the Catholic world where the springtime celebration of the Resurrection of Christ was preceded by forty days of fasting and penitence. Carnaval was the festival in which people gave free rein to their impulses before the discipline of Lent (for a fuller discussion of the origins of carnaval, see Caro Baroja, 1965). Lent is not so demanding these days, penitence is not much talked about, but this is the usual explanation which the person in the street gives for carnaval.

I want to point out three characteristics of carnaval, and the first of these flows from this classical origin of the festival: it is a time of indulgence. One of the most frequent comments made to me about the spirit of carnaval was that people act crazy during the festival and do things they would never do during the year. This "acting crazy" is cachondeo, "fooling around," "acting informally,"
"being silly." A person dons a costume and allows himself or herself to be someone else. It is a moment where the usual social norms and structure are lifted and people act out of character without fear of social sanction. One man summarized the spirit of carnaval in one word: desinhibirse, "to get uninhibited."

This sense of license extends beyond the intrapersonal and interpersonal to the political sphere. Carnavaleros see themselves as the voice of the people whose complaints are not heard. They take the stage and publicly lampoon the government and bureaucracy and social conditions, etc. Society itself seems to go crazy; it is a time of inversal, ritualized rebellion, a liminal time (Gluckman, 1963; Turner 1967, 1974a, 1974b).

Finally, in a town famous for its brand of sherry, there is widespread consumption of large quantities of wine throughout the festival. There is much talk of drunkenness and much drunkeness.

A second characteristic of carnaval, intimately related to the first is the exhibitionism of the festival. This is obviously the case for members of carnaval acts, but the issue of the disfraz (costume)
is a major element of conversation for weeks before the festival. Ideally costumes are anything but generic; home-made is best. Sexual role reversals are common in costuming; men dressing lasciviously as women is by far the more frequent occurrence (see Gilmore, 1987 for a discussion of sexual license during carnaval). Some costumes accentuate genitalia, others are suggestively homosexual.

The greatest sin in carnaval is not participating. Sitting by the sidelines is considered unpardonable, and the mark of participation is the disfraz (costume). Frequently, people say, "Even if all you do is paint a slash on your cheek, you must have a disfraz." A person must appear publicly and he or she must be costumed. In a festival where the rules are suspended, this one is absolute. Not everyone does dress up, of course, but such aguafiestas, "party-poopers," are mocked and criticized.

A third feature of carnaval is its creativity. Directors of groups are the more famous for their creativity, costumes are more praiseworthy where they are more creative. Certainly there are traditions; for example, a comparsa is a set form. But these forms
channel energies toward laughter (chirigotas) or pathos (comparsas) and still require genius on the part of directors.

Indulgence, exhibitionism, and creativity are the spirit of modern carnaval. Above all, the festival must be "fun," cachondeo is king. There is a different spirit about Holy Week. The next chapter is a description of the world of Holy Week Brotherhoods and the nocturnal, penitential processions which follow six weeks after the celebration of carnaval.
Catholicism in Andalusia is a particularly dramatic affair and nowhere is this more evident than in the processions of Holy Week. This chapter is an ethnography of the brotherhoods responsible for the nightly processions during Holy week which commemorate the moments of Christ's passion and death. The brotherhoods are lay movements dating back into the sixteenth century. They are essentially conservative in the sense that they jealously guard their traditions and customs. Processions are a "baroque" moment, unchanging from year to year.

Like the previous chapter, this one is divided into two sections. The first is a presentation of how the governing board (or junta) of a brotherhood goes about preparing and executing (or perhaps "performing") the annual nocturnal procession during Holy Week. The second section gives voice to one of the members of a junta by presenting portions of an interview with him. That interview, like all the others in this study,
concentrated on his memories for his life and his brotherhood.

Preparation of the Holy Week Procession

Introduction to the Junta of the Brotherhood

A brotherhood (hermandad) is formed by a group of persons around the cult of a particular sacred image (imagen). Holy Week brotherhoods are devoted to an image of Christ in one of the moments of his passion and death, e.g. Christ in the garden of Gethsemane, Christ carrying his cross, Christ dying on the cross, Christ in the tomb, etc. Each of the brotherhoods also has a devotion to the Sorrowful Virgin Mary under some title, e.g. Our Lady of Surrender, Our Lady of Bitter Suffering, Our Lady of Grace and Hope, etc. These images are life size statues carried on floats during religious processions during the nights of Holy Week, but the images are also found in pictures, on holy cards, on calendars, and in statuettes. The image is the defining characteristic of the brotherhood. One belongs to a brotherhood out of devotion to its image.
All brotherhoods must be officially sanctioned by the hierarchical church, i.e. their foundation and statutes must be approved by the local diocesan bishop.

Holy Week brotherhoods are Brotherhods of Penitence, and there are ten of these in Santa Ines. But there are other sorts of brotherhoods as well. Brotherhods of Glory are also devoted to an image of the Blessed Virgin but without connection to Holy Week. The Brotherhood of the Patroness is dedicated to the Miraculous Virgin Mary, patroness of Santa Ines, whose feast day is September 8. The Brotherhood of Our Lady of Mount Carmel is a brotherhood of sailors: Our Lady of Mount Carmel is patroness of sailors and fishermen. Her feast day is July 16. Finally, the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Rocío (The Dew) makes an annual pilgrimage of a week's duration at the end of May to the shrine of Our Lady of Rocío to the west of Santa Ines.

Of Holy Week Brotherhods, the oldest in Santa Ines was founded in 1505, the most recent was founded in 1960. Age is no indicator of vibrancy, however, the oldest group happens to be one of the smallest and weakest, the most recent happens to be the largest and most active. The membership of brotherhoods is largely
male, though for some time women have been welcomed as members and have formed part of the Holy Week processions. No brotherhood statute exists which excludes the participation of women in the life of the brotherhood, but full and equal participation is far from the norm. For one thing, the work of women in a brotherhood is usually the equivalent of traditional housework. For another, only recently have attempts been made to change brotherhoods' statutes to allow women to take positions of leadership.

Every brotherhood has the same internal structure. A governing board called the junta de gobierno directs the activities of the group in accord with its customs and its statutes. At the head of the brotherhood is the Hermano Mayor (literally, "Older Brother"). He, in fact, is the plenipotentiary: all other offices are exercised at his disposition. In fact the most common procedure is the election of an Hermano Mayor after which he appoints the members of his junta. The junta then is composed of the Hermano Mayor and the following offices. The Teniente Hermano Mayor, Lieutenant or Deputy Older Brother, is the second in charge. The Mayordomo, Steward or Majordomo, takes care of the
brotherhood's property and directs the preparation of the Holy Week pasos (processional floats). The Secretary keeps records, of course, and handles correspondence, etc. The treasurer keeps track of the group's funds. And finally, every junta has four vocales or council members who fulfill various functions, e.g. one might direct the youth group of the brotherhood. Elections are held once every four years for the whole junta.

It is common for one man to be hermano mayor for several terms. Slates are determined and the bona fides of the hermano mayor must be submitted to the Bishop of Jerez for his approval. A plenary session of all the brothers (called a cabildo or chapter) is convoked for elections. As an indication of the conservative spirit of these baroque brotherhoods, it is interesting to note that a candidate for hermano mayor ran on the following platform: 'defense of the style and tradition of Holy Week in Santa Ines and the eradications of modernisms.' One such modernization he opposed was the loss of the traditional practice of heading up the procession with a guión con bandera
granada, a very large processional flag of the colors of the brotherhood.

This chapter follows the formation of the Holy Week procession from the viewpoint of those most involved in its confection: the members of the junta. There are many perspectives from which to view Holy Week in Andalusia. This treatment follows the process from the viewpoint of the junta members because these men spend the lion's share of their spare time and energy for six months out of the year preparing the processions.

As with directors of carnaval groups, there is no one personality type which is drawn to such a project. Members of junta's can be gregarious or withdrawn, carefree or intense, deeply religious or superficially pious.

Their motivations are likewise varied. What is universally true of them is that they are committed to replicating as faithfully as possible a baroque religious drama according to centuries old traditions. There is something of the antiquarian about them; they are sometimes criticized for being simple folklorists.
This is perhaps the most eloquent symbol of the deeply committed religious brother: his intention is to disappear into a religious drama scripted a few centuries ago.

Nine persons comprise the junta. From September through May some number of them will meet informally every night (except Sundays) in the casa de la hermandad, house of the Brotherhood. Sometimes the brotherhood literally owns a building which is its casa. Such a space would include a meeting room, a living room with TV and refrigerator, and storage space for the many items used in the processions. Pictures of the brotherhood's images of Christ and Mary along with processional banners adorn the walls. Usually table tops are covered with processional paraphernalia in the process of being mended or polished. Other brotherhoods have an office located on church grounds somewhere.

Around 7:30 or 8:00 some members of the junta along with other brothers will drift into the casa and linger about. One hermano mayor commented, "We come here every night to talk about the same thing." Sometimes they busy themselves with little tasks. As
time draws nearer to Holy Week, of course, they become quite busy. Usually at around 9:30 or 10:00 the group disperses. Often the same group just moves down the block to a corner bar for a glass of wine or beer while the conversation continues. Bars near brotherhoods often have pictures of the images prominently displayed.

The junta and a handful of other brothers are the year round active element of the brotherhood. During Lent the number swells into the hundreds. The brothers say: "When the smell of wax is in the air, the bee draws near." ("Cuando huele a cera, se acerca la abeja").

The principal activity of the Holy Week brotherhood, its raison-d'être, in fact, is the salida ("going out"), i.e. the procession. It is the junta's responsibility to coordinate this project every year. The following paragraphs trace the efforts of a typical junta to prepare the brotherhood's salida.

**September Through December: Christmas**

During the summer months many of the inhabitants of Santa Ines either take their vacations or do extra jobs in the tourist trade, or both. Very little
happens around the casa of the brotherhood until September. September 8 is the feast of the town patroness, the Miraculous Virgin Mary, and this day marks the end of summer. Members of the junta and others begin to hang about the brotherhood casa each night again, and they begin to talk about the salida, still at least six months off. Usually the junta will meet officially once a week to begin to treat these matters.

Financing a procession is a huge task and the members begin to think of fund raising once again. The greatest costs are (a) "wax," (b) "flowers," and (c) "bands." Hundreds of penitents will carry large processional candles during the six to eight hours of the procession. The paso (float) of Mary carries banks of candles. "Wax" is a big expense. A small procession requires about $1,000 in candles. The pasos are covered with flowers, mostly red and white carnations. Again, without getting extravagant a group will spend about $1,600 in flowers. Finally, a Holy Week marching band must be hired to accompany each of the pasos. Two bands (one per paso) cost in the
neighborhood of $4,000. In sum, getting the brotherhood out on the street costs around $6,300.

Brotherhoods have different ways to raise money. Some set up casetas to sell food and wine at the Spring Wine Fair. Some sponsor neighborhood Summer Fairs. All of them sell raffle tickets. Each brotherhood also charges monthly dues for membership, but the amount is minuscule: between two and five dollars monthly. But it is not uncommon that members be delinquent in payment of their dues.

The junta will also begin contacting marching bands for the pasos. Interestingly, the majority of these are found in small towns around Seville. In this regard, a dynamic not unlike that of carnaval and Cádiz is operative. Just as Cádiz is the cradle of carnaval, so Seville is the cradle of Holy Week. Santa Ines has ten Holy Week brotherhoods, Seville has fifty-three. It is common for members of brotherhoods in Santa Ines to travel to Seville for at least one night of Holy Week to see the processions there.

Finally, as Christmas draws near, many brotherhoods design and display a large, intricate nativity scene, called a Belén or Bethlehem. One of
the more artistically inclined brothers executes the task. These are placed in churches or the casa of the brotherhood, if it is big enough, for the edification of the people of Santa Ines. It is a Christmas custom to go about visiting the various nativity scenes erected by local artists in churches, brotherhood casas, and the meeting places of neighborhood associations.

January: Gathering The Costaleros

In the latter part of January the junta turns its efforts to preparing the Holy Week salida (procession) with greater intensity. The centerpiece of the procession is the paso. A paso is a large float which is shaped like a table of sorts. On top are arranged the brotherhood's images. The paso de Cristo carries the life-sized Christ in whatever Holy Week mystery the brotherhood venerates. The paso de María carries the Sorrowful Virgin. These are the titulars of the brotherhoods. In Santa Ines, they are:

1. Entrance of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem and Our Lady of Surrender.

2. The Most Holy Christ of The Flagellation and Most Holy Mary of Bitter Suffering.

3. Our Father Jesus of The Afflicted and Most Holy Mary of The Rosary in Her Sorrowful Mysteries.
4. Most Holy Christ of Mercy and Our Lady of Compassion.

5. Our Father Jesus The Captive and Most Holy Mary of Suffering and Sacrifice.

6. The Sacred Prayer of Our Lord Jesus Christ in The Garden and Most Holy Mary of Grace and Hope.

7. The Most Holy Christ of Humility and Patience and Our Lady of Grief.

8. Our Father Jesus the Nazarene and Most Holy Mary of Sorrow.

9. Most Holy Christ of The True Cross, Our Lady of Supreme Suffering Mary of Consolation and Tears.


The sides of the paso de Cristo are surrounded with intricately carved gold plated wooden panels. The image of Christ, a statue elaborated and painted by a master carver, sits on the center of the platform. These images are frequently hundreds of years old. Sometimes the four corners of the paso are adorned with huge candelabra. The surface of the paso is covered with red and white carnations. The paso de María is more often called the paso de palio because over the statue of Mary is a tent-like canopy (palio) with skirts overhanging the twelve poles on which it is
erected. The image of Mary is placed in the center of the paso. Before her there are banks of candles which light up the image during the procession.

The pasos are carried by costaleros. The word indicates that they carry a weight on their shoulders or back, and that is precisely what they do. There are some 40 costaleros underneath the paso de Cristo and 30 underneath the paso de palio. Each costalero carries some eighty pounds a piece. The pasos are surrounded by carved wooden panels and cloth skirts which reach to ground level, the effect of which is to render sightless the team of costaleros underneath. They are guided through the streets by a man called the capataz or foreman who shouts out orders from in front of the paso.

Costaleros are males from between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. A procession lasts some six to seven hours in the streets, so a good deal of physical endurance is necessary. Their motives are diverse. The cultural ideal is that one carries the paso out of devotion to the image. Certainly that is part of every costalero's motivation. Most often they carry in fulfillment of a promise made to Christ or
Mary, sometimes in order to plead some favor (e.g. the health of a parent), sometimes simply for devotion's sake. Other motives enter in as well: to show one's endurance and virility or to engage in an activity valued by one's circle of friends.

In the latter half of January the capataz (foreman), often a member of the junta sends word around to his costaleros from the previous year to call them to begin street rehearsals with the pasos. The majority of costaleros are veterans, but each year some five or six may be new. One evening they gather with the capataz and take the pasos out in front of the church onto the street. Costaleros are lined up side by side and a long plank of wood is laid across their shoulders to determine common heights. Lines of costaleros are thus selected and placed underneath the pasos. The pasos are not yet decorated in any way, the images are kept on side altars in the churches until Holy Week itself. Rather, the costaleros place large sacks of cement and other weights on top of the pasos, simple wooden platforms, to simulate the weight of its adornments.
Once the teams have been put together, it is common to see paso practice in the streets during the evenings of February and March until the week before Holy Week. Practice typically begins at 9:00 in the evening. Costaleros arrive with gym bags containing their equipment. The shoulders are protected from the hardness of the beams underneath the paso by the costal: a cloth rolled to three or four inches of diameter and pulled into a horseshoe shape and worn around the neck. When a man becomes a costalero he is said to "take up the costal," likewise when he stops carrying, he is said to "leave aside the costal." The back is protected by the faja which is a long band of cloth, around twelve inches in width, which is wound around the lower back and waist. One costalero winds the faja around the lower back of the other. At the beginning of rehearsals, teams of costaleros can be seen applying the fajas to one another: one holds an end of the faja while the other jumps and twists himself around like a spool taking on thread. The faja is said to "protect the kidneys." Finally, costaleros wear white tennis shoes as part of their gear.
The costaleros gather underneath the pasos and the capataz begins the rehearsal. On the front of each paso is located an instrument like a door-knocker used to signal orders to the costaleros underneath. There is a scripted conversation of sorts which takes place between the capataz and the team leader underneath the paso (called the hombre de confianza).

**Capataz:** (strikes once on the knocker, yells name of team leader): Rafael!

**Team-Leader:** Call when you will!

**Capataz:** Everyone together! Courage! (strikes the knocker once again, the costaleros lift the paso up).

The capataz gives all the instructions for lifting the paso, turning it, negotiating overhanging wires, making it "dance" to certain marches, and making it sway to others. All of this requires many practices in the streets.

The costaleros practice on deserted and darkened streets where they encounter little traffic, but every so often the paso must be hugged against a wall to let a car inch its way past. Rehearsals are quiet affairs except for the shouts of the capataz and the team leader underneath. The massive form of the paso moves
around in the dark streets to the sound of many feet shuffling on the pavement. Even when the paso is stopped but not resting on the ground the men maintain their rhythmic shifting from foot to foot. Because of its weight, the paso can only be carried a short distance each time it is lifted: these intervals of carrying are called chicotás or levantás ("lifts").

At the end of an hour of practice, the huge ghostly form slips again into the garage where it is kept, and costaleros emerge from underneath. The capataz gathers them together, talks about the necessity of practice and the measure of devotion, and sets the schedule for future practices.

Costaleros occupy a privileged position in the drama which is Holy Week. Theirs is understood to be the most penitential act of the procession. One brotherhood featured a pregón del costalero to motivate the men, and the pregonero said: "Were Christ to be part of a procession he would take no other part than that of the costalero." The sacrifice of the costalero is the greatest of Holy Week and they are sometimes asked by townspeople to pray for particular petitions from God while underneath the paso.
Ash Wednesday and Lent

Lent for the Church begins, of course, on Ash Wednesday, six weeks and four days before Easter Sunday. The first celebration on the part of the brotherhoods, however, is a street ceremony commemorating the events of Jesus' carrying his cross from Jerusalem to the hill of Calvary where he was crucified: The Way of The Cross. This is an effort coordinated by the Council of Brotherhoods in Santa Ines. The priest of the main church of the town leads the procession out of the church, through designated streets, to the accompaniment of hymns and the ritual prayers of The Way of The Cross.

Every brotherhood has two principal feast days: (a) the day of its salida or Holy Week procession, and (b) the day which commemorates its institution, called the Principal Function of the Institute. According to statutes and from the internal perspective of the brotherhood, the most important day of the calendar is this Principal Function. The day for this ceremony is fixed by the statutes and is usually set for sometime in Lent. It is preceded by a triduum, i.e. for three days before the Principal Function, mass is celebrated
in the evenings followed by devotional prayers proper to the brotherhood. A special priest, usually from outside Santa Ines, is called to do these masses and the Function.

The Principal Function itself involves, again, the celebration of the mass, usually on a Sunday morning, during which all of the brothers renew their commitments. Surrounded by flowers and candles the images of Christ and Mary are set up to the left of the main altar. The brothers are dressed in dark blue suits, each wearing around his neck the large medallion which signifies membership in the brotherhood.

After the priest reads the gospel of the day, he positions himself before the main altar and the hermano mayor comes up to the pulpit to read the Protestation of Faith. After he finishes it, the teniente hermano mayor goes to the front of the altar with a ritual staff. Both men place themselves in front of the image of Christ on either side of a kneeler. The priest comes down from the altar to place the book containing The Protestation of Faith on the kneeler. One by one each of the brothers comes up, kneels down, places his or her right hand on the book, holds the ritual staff
in the left hand, and repeats a simple formula which assents to the Protestation of Faith. After the assent, each one kisses the book and returns to his or her pew. After this, the mass continues as usual.

After the mass, the brothers crowd around the image of Christ to perform the bésapies. In this simple ceremony, each member of the brotherhood kneels before the image of Christ and kisses its feet.

A reception follows. Sometimes it is a simple affair featuring sherry and finger-food: sausages, cheeses, potato chips. Sometimes, all those present go out to a restaurant reserved explicitly for the event. A sort of family atmosphere prevails because those who attend the Principal Function are usually only those who are active in the brotherhood year round. Thus, while the Principal Function is the most important feast of the brotherhood, only the truly devoted attend it. With ten Holy Week Brotherhods, there are numerous Principal Functions going on during the six weeks of Lent.

On the Sunday before Palm Sunday, the brotherhoods gather for the Pregon de Semana Santa. This pregón proclaims the Holy Week of Santa Ines. The pregón
takes place in the auditorium of a hotel converted from an ancient monastery. The auditorium was the former monastic church and has a fitting interior for this religious act. Red tapestries with gold borders hang against the stone walls. All of the hermanos mayores are seated on stage, and to the left of them stand their staffs of office. A Holy Week marching band opens the proceedings.

The pregonero is introduced and he talks about the vocation of the brothers, their interior life of prayer and sacrifice. He talks of the history of this Lent, beginning with the Way of The Cross and coming to this moment; he explains how each of the pasos of the brotherhoods will place the mysteries of Christ before the eyes of the faithful of Santa Ines. The whole pregón is structured around mentioning the various brotherhoods and the mysteries of Holy Week which each represents. He addresses himself explicitly to the costaleros and asks them to pray for all the people of Santa Ines. He ends by meditating on Mary under the various titles given her by the brotherhoods.

A well patterned pregón alternates between prose parts and poetic parts: the prose leading to a poetic
crescendo greeted by applause from the crowd and the speaker's return to prose. Persons with long involvement in the world of brotherhoods are selected by the town Local Council of Brotherhods to declaim the pregón.

During this last week before Holy Week intensive preparation of the pasos commences. Where pasos are kept in a place other than inside the church of the brotherhood, a traslado (transfer) is necessary. For some groups this is a question of getting enough costaleros together on a given evening to carry the paso from its garage to the church and up the stairs. For others there is some ritual involved.

Five of the brotherhoods in Santa Ines have storehouses for their pasos and storage rooms for their equipment which let onto the very large, walled back patio of the town's main church. These groups also have lateral chapels in that church where their images of Jesus and Mary are kept year round. These groups must move their pasos from the storehouses into the church through some back streets. Other brotherhoods are connected with other churches, but all must bring the pasos into church so that the images can be mounted
on them and the pasos prepared for the procession. This is the traslado: the paso goes to the church, the image goes onto the paso.

Once the images have been placed on the pasos, activity around them becomes intense. All day there will be members of the brotherhoods working on them. The gold plated sideboards must be placed on the paso de Cristo, the silver plated sideboards around the paso de palio. The poles must be mounted on the paso de palio and the canopy erected. Banks of candles are melted into place before the place of the Virgin. Cloth skirts must be hung and tears sewn up.

Paso practice now takes place inside the church, and on any given night during the week before Holy Week, there will be two or three pasos moving about the mayhem of the interior of the grand baroque main church: capataces shouting orders and beating the door-knockers, costaleros executing swaying turns and negotiating tight passages while yelling encouragement to one another. The same is true in other churches in town where other brotherhoods have their pasos.

Also during this last week before Holy Week, each junta schedules the papeleta de sitio. Times are set
for the members of the brotherhood to stop by and sign up (papeleta) for their place (sitio) in the procession. There are many offices in a procession, but for the majority of members there is one of three choices: (a) Nazarene, (b) penitent, (c) costalero. The Nazarenes carry large processional candles or perhaps other insignia (flags, staffs, banners). The penitents carry large life-size crosses in the procession, in exactly the way Christ is pictured to have carried his cross. Often these penitents will intensify their sacrifice by making the whole procession barefoot. Costaleros have already been described.

During the papeleta de sitio the members stop by to indicate what part they want to play in the procession, and they pay an offering to help offset the costs of the procession. Offerings start at twelve dollars. Interestingly, the expected offering is higher as one marches more closely to the paso; it is a sacred object and it is a privilege to march near it. A maniguetero on the corner of the paso might make an offering of forty dollars.
Finally, during the week before Holy Week, the Local Council of Brotherhods, composed of all the hermanos mayores, meets in a special chapter (cabildo de toma de sitio) in which they decide on which day of Holy Week each brotherhood will march and what will be the route of the procession. These are not in any sense up for grabs; the chapter is largely a formality. The day for a brotherhood's procession is set by tradition, sometimes of several century's duration. The route is likewise traditional, but minor adjustments are allowed in the case of street repairs and other imponderables.

Holy Week

Processions are scheduled throughout Holy Week.
The brotherhoods are scheduled as follows:

**Palm Sunday**

5:00 p.m. Entry of Christ into Jerusalem
7:30 p.m. Most Holy Christ of The Flagellation

**Holy Monday**

8:00 p.m. Our Father Jesus of The Afflicted

**Holy Tuesday**

8:15 p.m. Most Holy Christ of Mercy
10:00 p.m. Our Father Jesus The Captive

**Holy Wednesday**
8:30 p.m. Sacred Prayer of Our Lord Jesus Christ in The Garden

**Holy Thursday**

8:00 p.m. Most Holy Christ of Humility and Patience

**Good Friday**

3:00 a.m. Our Father Jesus The Nazarene
7:30 p.m. Most Holy Christ of The True Cross
8:30 p.m. Holy Burial of Our Lord Jesus Christ

The mysteries of the Passion of Christ represented by the pasos do not follow the historical order of occurrence of events, e.g. historically, the prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane took place before the flagellation. But these things do not matter in the Holy Week of the brotherhoods. Positioning in the week is by tradition and seniority.

On the day before the procession members of the brotherhood busy themselves about the pasos like bees on honey. All the processional paraphernalia must be gathered and organized. Each person in the procession (with the exception of the costaleros) will carry something. The majority carry either processional candles which measure about three feet in length or crosses in imitation of Christ on his way to Golgotha.
But there are many other implements involved in a procession: ceremonial trumpets, flags, banners, lanterns, incensers, staffs of office, and crucifixes. Vestments must be organized as well.

Organizing these things is a formidable task: a smaller procession in Santa Ines involves about one hundred and fifty people, the larger ones involve more than four hundred.

The head of a procession is not the hermano mayor, rather another member of the brotherhood is appointed diputado mayor, chief delegate. Brothers comment that in the street there is no greater authority than the diputado mayor, not even the hermano mayor.

On the day before the procession this man and other members of the junta meet in council to organize the procession. Papeletas de sitio are counted: there are this many "candles," that many "crosses." These are grouped into sections: e.g. thirty persons carrying candles are placed in parallel lines of fifteen. Each of these sections is managed by a delegate who carries a staff of office. Each section is preceded by certain insignia, e.g. a banner of the Blessed Virgin flanked
by lanterns. There are special appointments of persons who surround the paso to protect it: these are manigueteros. Persons must be appointed who carry incensers and who periodically incense the pasos. When members sign up (the papeleta de sitio) they indicate whether they wish to carry candles or crosses. This council chooses persons from among them for these other offices. The meeting ends with a discussion of arrangements to be made in the church for the mass just before the procession takes to the streets. Precautions must be made to retrieve all of the candles, crosses, and insignia after the procession.

On the evening before the procession some few brothers spend all night into the wee hours of the morning arranging the carnations on the pasos. The flowers must be fresh for the procession, therefore arranging them is left to the last moment. People drift in and out throughout the night. Breaks are frequent: liters of beer are passed around and sandwiches squirreled away earlier make their appearance. The atmosphere is enjoyable and anticipation is high. It is a night for telling stories about past processions and digging up curious
and miraculous legends. Brotherhoods, their cults, and processions are thick with lore.

Parenthetically, semantic and content analyses of such lore, both for carnaval and Holy Week, instead of schematic analyses, offer a very different "take" on the memory material on which this dissertation is based. Such an approach would be more akin to the social memory mentioned in Chapter Seven. Compare also the work of Albert B. Lord on the mnemonic structuring of Yugoslav epics by the singers who declaim them (1960).

The long awaited night of the salida finally arrives. All over Santa Ines can be seen persons walking toward the church of the brotherhood; they are already dressed in the long tunics they wear for the procession. Everyone who marches in the procession also has his or her face covered by a hood which reaches down around the shoulders. Usually the colors of the brotherhood are contrasted in the tunic and the hood, e.g. white tunic, blue hood. The hood of the Nazarenes extends into a conical headpiece which comes to a point and which, to Americans, gives them the appearance of the Ku Klux Klan. Penitents wear the
same hood but they do not insert the cardboard cone which gives form to the head covering: the cone would complicate carrying the processional cross over the shoulder. Both penitents and Nazarenes walk quietly to Church carrying their hoods with their faces uncovered.

Meanwhile people are still signing up for the procession and making their offerings to the brother-official in charge. As marchers arrive they receive their processional candle or cross or insignia. Inside the church the pasos are placed side by side. On the paso de palio, one of the brothers begins lighting the banks of candles in front of the Blessed Virgin and the lanterns on the corners of the paso de Cristo.

An altar is set up in front of the pasos and people move pews in front of it. Whole families dressed in tunics are seated in front of the altar. Children run about, mothers take pictures. Last minute preparations are made for the mass to be celebrated. The priest is off in the sacristy getting vested, the diputado mayor, Chief Delegate of the procession, shouts out pleas for silence. Finally the doors are closed and locked and mass before the pasos begins.
The candlelight gives the church a warm, soft glow. Men and women dressed in tunics hold their hoods folded across their arms; the face is not covered during mass. The priest addresses them and talks of the witness of faith they give by performing the act of penitential procession. At the communion of the mass, only a few participate and this captures symbolically the gap between official catholicism and popular devotion.

As soon as the priest gives the final blessing and mass is over, a buzz fills the room and the diputado mayor begins shouting out instructions. People push the cardboard cones into their hoods and fit the hoods onto their heads and shoulders. Costaleros pair off. Near the pasos they can be seen jumping and winding their fajas around their waists. Repeatedly the diputado mayor shouts for silence and reads out the rules governing behavior in the streets: marchers are to maintain silence, no one is to identify himself or herself, faces must remain covered, and no one may accept food and drink from passers-by.

Outside the church a crowd gathers. Finally the great doors are thrown open and the first hooded
penitent with a large processional flag emerges from darkened church into the evening light. Behind the flag comes a brother carrying before him a processional crucifix, he is flanked by two more brothers carrying ornate lanterns. Brothers bearing sectional insignia follow them and row upon row of Nazarenes with lighted candles pour through the doors. The knocks and shouts of the capataz are heard as the costaleros under the paso de Cristo shoulder the paso into the air.

As the paso appears in the doorway and inches down the ramp into the street, the marching band which will accompany it throughout the night strikes up the National Hymn of Spain and the onlookers applaud. The capataz dressed as a paisano (in suit and tie) walks backwards before the paso shouting out orders and encouragement to his costaleros. The paso moves slowly down the street, marching band in tow. More Nazarenes with lighted candles file out of the church, their conical headgear bobbing about in the air. They are followed by hooded penitents dragging their crosses. Some of the penitents go barefoot to intensify their acts of sacrifice, some drag chains from around their ankles. Once more from within the church, the shouts
of another capataz can be heard and another team of costaleros lift the paso de palio. The banks of candles lighting up the Virgin fill the great doorways with a blaze of light. Another band plays the National Anthem and the crowd roars. The Suffering Virgin is the symbol of all life's suffering and Holy Week is a celebration of suffering.

The procession winds through the streets. Conversations are hushed as the pasos pass by. People bless themselves and reach out to touch the pasos or mothers hold their babies to touch them. The paso is sacred. But the paso is heavy and costaleros can carry it only so far before rest is needed. These periods of carrying are called levantás, "lifts." The night is one long series of levantás.

Two stops are of special significance. The procession must pass before a rostrum erected in one of the plazas by the Council of Brotherhods. Here the Book of Statutes is presented to the hermano mayor of another brotherhood and signed. Testament is made that the brotherhood made its processional act of penance that year. Some brotherhoods have signatures for hundreds of years of processions. A second stop is
made in the principal church of Santa Ines. If the brotherhood is one that does not have its seat in the main church, it is expected that the procession, pasos included, will make a visit there, called an estación de penitencia.

The procession is in the streets for six to seven hours. Thus, if it leaves its home church at 7:00 in the evening, it returns there at around midnight or 1:00 in the morning. The levantás become shorter and more frequent as the procession draws to a close; costaleros seem unwilling to see the night end. As Nazarenes and penitents enter the church they gather around the inside of the doors to watch the pasos move into the church and come to rest. The diputado mayor takes the microphone and says a prayer of thanksgiving. He gives instructions regarding candles and crosses and insignia. People mill about in their tunics, hair matted from wearing the ceremonial hoods. Conversation is lively and people seem loathe to leave. Some brother pays off the leaders of the marching bands and their buses leave. At some point a last straggler pulls the church door shut behind him.
By Saturday of Holy Week the pasos must be completely disassembled because no remains of Holy Week can be left over during Easter Sunday. But the day after the procession is a day in which members of the brotherhood return to the church and house of the brotherhood to reminisce fondly about the night before. The task of collecting and packing and storing is left to the next day. All the preparation and anticipation of an entire year have once more found fulfillment.

After Holy Week

After Holy Week, the picture returns to that of September–December. The members of the junta plus a few more brothers will frequent the house of the brotherhood each night until summer begins. They will repair things broken in the procession, organize closets, plan for more major reparations to the pasos, and begin thinking about next year's Holy Week. As summer approaches fewer and fewer members will come around. Whole nights go by with the house empty and dark. But by the end of August, things pick up again, and soon they are contacting marching bands, selling raffle tickets, and planning a nativity scene for Christmas.
Interview With An Hermano Mayor

Two portions of an interview with an hermano mayor are presented here. The hermano mayor is named Ignacio. At the time of the interview he was thirty-five years old, married, with one little boy. He works as a laborer in one of the many wineries of Santa Ines. His brotherhood is named Most Holy Christ of Mercy or simply Misericordia (Mercy). The popular name is Los Cerillitos. Cerillitos means "taper" and refers to the slender candles which brothers use to light their processional candles. He joined his brotherhood when he was in grade school. It is one of the more lively brotherhoods in Santa Ines. The junta and active circle comprise between twenty-five and thirty persons. That number swells, of course, during Lent. There are some 350 members listed in the rolls.

In this first portion of interview material, Ignacio recounts the story of his entering the brotherhood when he was twelve years old. The narrative is presented in uninterrupted fashion and with as little editing as possible in order to allow something of Ignacio's character to emerge. He is an
intense individual who speaks carefully. The SAFA which he mentions is the Jesuit grade school and high school in Santa Ines.

Well, I signed up for the brotherhood, I entered the brotherhood when I was twelve years old. Eh, why? At twelve years old it's hard to give sensible explanations for entering a brotherhood. It's more a visual attraction which the brotherhood has. Here in Santa Ines almost all kids like brotherhoods. From real young almost everybody likes the brotherhood. You saw yourself how many children there were in the procession, lotta children dressed as Nazarenos. Because it's something about this place, it's difficult to explain, it's a feeling, so... It's normal that every kid likes the processions. So then comes a time when a man has to decide for himself, when adolescence comes, you either stay with the brotherhood or
choose another way, go somewhere else. When you begin to, as we say here, "apabellar" or going out with your girlfriend, and that stuff. Then comes the moment when you have to decide about the brotherhood. But from childhood it's really very normal that everyone belong to a brotherhood. The vast majority.

So I started maybe a little late when I was twelve years old, because...certain circumstances. I'd go to my father lotsa times and say that I wanted to sign up for a brotherhood. //R. He was a member too?// No, since little he was a member of another...of the oldest brotherhood of El Puerto, the True Cross.

Eh...I like the Cerillitos because they would go right behind my house. I lived...there close to the fish market.
So by Calle Caña is the back of my house, where I was born. So I remember from little that my father at night...it was late for me, I was just a child...he'd take us to see the procession go by there. So I remember my brotherhood from childhood.

But I signed up, I entered the Cerillitos because they were more at hand. I studied in the SAFA and there was this Antonio Marques there and so...at that time... So Antonio was a saint and brotherhood. He was a teacher and still is a teacher. So he was there as secretary of the faculty, as well as my professor too.

So it was more at hand...just a question of talking to him. And he...he'd sign me up as an brother. But like every other kid I was a little afraid, so we waited till there were three or four of
us that wanted to enter. The four of us went together and talked to him, no? We said that we wanted to sign up for the brotherhood. And I remember this anecdote...because he was surprised that four kids wanted to enter the brotherhood, and that struck us as strange, because it'd be normal to want people to sign up for the brotherhood, no? Struck us as strange, eh?

It happened that the brotherhood was going through a difficult time. Practically....that year it was almost sure that the brotherhood was not going to do the procession in the streets. Economic problems. And besides for economic problems, problems with personnel. There were very few people in the brotherhood. It was sort of abandoned. For a variety of reasons...that's the history of the brotherhood.
So he said, "Well, if you want to... what do you want? just to march as Nazarenos? or do do want...?" And us: "We want to enter the brotherhood, we want to work in the brotherhood." So he goes, "Let me finish taking notes here and later we'll talk."

To top it off this was....I figure it must have been two months two and a half months before Holy Week. So he called us one day and said, "Go and get the keys to this place..." (he told us how to get there...) "where the brotherhood keeps its implements, and clean it up a bit." So he tells us what to do. Look, we had no idea what it was to be in a brotherhood, no? Because we weren't in it, you know? So we go and get the key and, imagine our surprise when we got there and there was no door! We had gone to get a key and there wasn't even
a door. Imagine a room like where we keep the pasos but with no doors! Totally open, all year, open! With all that was there...most of it was broken. A disaster! The first day we went, Antonio came by and shook his head and said, "Look at this...See what you can do." And when he came back two weeks later, he came back and it wasn't the same. He was surprised. The difference was like night and day. We had worked there like mules. So we were pretty happy. That's how we got started in the brotherhood.

And I remember that year that...when...I think, and besides he's told us, that he struggled more to find money for the procession, to take the brotherhood out, because of the hopes of us four working there.
So it happens that, again unbeknownst to us...at the time there were no brother costaleros but rather the costaleros were paid. And one of the jobs of the costaleros was to move the pasos into the church too. And they put the image of Cristo on top. The costaleros would put it on top. It wasn't the brothers like now. So one day the costaleros show up...not knowing any of this...and said, "We're here to move the pasos inside." We shrugged our shoulders and said, "Yeah, yeah, we know. They told us to be here." "Okay," they picked up the pasos, put them inside, placed the Cristo on top. And us asking from brotherhood to brotherhood we began to prepare a paso de palio. We put...got the palio together. And I remember Antonio arrived again and shook his head, "My God, what have you done?" And we were... He had come to say that the brotherhood wasn't going to take the
procession out, there was no money. And there were the pasos all ready. So he says these words, "Well, we're going to take this procession to the streets. Now, we're going to do it." And he left. And he found the money so that the brotherhood could take the procession to the streets.

And another thing happened. In the middle of all this mess about getting the brotherhood ready....the day before the brotherhood was to process, well, not one of the four of us had a túnica to march in the procession. And that man ran all over heaven and earth to find a túnica for each of us--from people who weren't going to march. And finally, he found a túnica for each one us.

And to top it all off, Holy Tuesday comes and it's raining! Raining
buckets, Roberto. From the morning on, eh? Water like oceans! And I remember us crying like the children we were. For all the work and high hopes we had and on the day of the procession it's raining! I had such high hopes, years asking my father to sign me up in a brotherhood, and the first year...it rains. So the time to start comes and it's still raining. So the Hermano Mayor then was Juan Ortega and that man said that the procession wasn't going out. And Antonio fought with him. Said, "Look, here there are four people who've worked like slaves (legos)! And I have walked all over Puerto looking for money. And we don't have anything valuable here...so even if it's raining." And the Hermano Mayor, "You're crazy! How can we march in the rain?" And they opened the doors of church and the brotherhood started to process out into the streets. And it
stopped raining. We did the whole route and not a drop of rain, Roberto. I remember it like yesterday. So that year I went out with the Standard, dressed as A Nazareno.

So since then I've done a bit of everything. I carried the Guide Lantern once, I carried the Standard once, I carried the flag once, that very grand one that opens the procession. I've been a Processional Deputy, keeping order in the sections of Nazarenos. I've been the capataz of the paso de Cristo. I've been a costalero, I'm that right now. As far as positions in the brotherhood...there was created this youth group in the brotherhood...I was responsible for the youth group. And...on the junta I've been a voting member, mayordomo, that was four years, and then hermano mayor.
He has very clear memories of the events surrounding his entrance into the brotherhood. He has a great deal of affection for the group and a long history in it.

This next portion takes up again the story of his roles in the procession. He starts out as a Nazareno, marching with processional candles, lanterns, standards, flags, etc. He becomes a costalero later on. His reflections about the emotional experience of being both Nazareno and costalero says a great deal about the religious meaning he attaches to these penitential practices.

When I went dressed as a Nazareno...it's an experience. Each one to his own, I suppose. I know that there are many Nazarenos who go for fun. Or because it's pretty to dress up as a Nazareno. So, once in the street, they chatter with people or... I...I would isolate myself. I'll tell you what I felt and I felt more than I can tell. I isolate myself totally and enter into myself. I'm not exaggerating: I would talk with
God. In those six hours in the streets...well, those hours gave me the chance to say a lot of things in a way I can't do any other time in my life. I think that you as a Catholic, I think you've felt in certain moments the need to be alone and...well...I...I'd go to church and I'd sit there. I tried to find answers to lots of things. I'd have a lot of questions. And it was hard for me. Where it was easiest was marching as a Nazareno. Even though there is noise in the procession... People talking in the street, the marching bands playing. You've been through all this. But even so I managed to isolate myself and pray and talk to God. I could do it there. That's why it was so hard for me to give up my tunic. Underneath the paso de Cristo I can't do it because I just don't have the time.
Underneath the paso it's a completely different experience. You have to make tremendous efforts underneath the paso. And what gets you through it is knowing or thinking, at least for me, that in this moment, making this effort... (his voice breaks) that it's something just a little like the effort Christ made carrying his cross. I interpret it a little like Simon of Cyrene who helped Him in that moment to carry the cross. I've had really good moments underneath the paso when I've thought, in those moments when it weighs so heavy that you think you can't take another step, I've thought He had worse moments than me and this man Simon was there to help Him. That's what consoles us costaleros. At that moment we think that we are a little like Simon of Cyrene and try harder. But you don't have much time to talk to Him (God) underneath the paso. You have to be paying attention to the
music, to the rhythm. It's different, very different. It's an incredible experience. All these different classes of people: laborers, students, lawyers, doctor's, construction workers...all underneath the paso, all working at the same thing, all for the same cause. That's something pretty big, no? You become strong underneath the paso, because you're next to...it happens that the next one over is a lawyer and you're a simple laborer. And the person next to you gives you a hand, or you give him a hand because he's having a tough time, and you say, "Lemme give you hand." These are incredible moments

Juan Antonio, he was hermano mayor, a lawyer, and this guy, already older, no? ...well to be carrying the paso. Not that he's old. He carried when he was 44 years old, for the first time...he carried. He carried for two years.
Then the doctors told him he had kidney problems and it wasn't good to be straining himself like that. And you just can't imagine how this man cried...the next Holy Tuesday, when he went to put on his tunic because he couldn't go out as a costalero. Right there in the door of the church, when the paso went out the door, this man cried like you can't imagine...bitterly, behind the paso...because he couldn't go out as a costalero. And he only carried for two years. And this year, he's almost fifty...when we moved the pasos out of the side chapels to arrange the flowers on them on Palm Sunday, he asked me if there was a place for him underneath. He wanted to help move the paso. There was a place. And we gave him a costal. And the whole time that paso was moving, like five or ten minutes, he was crying underneath that paso as he moved it. Those feelings are
so deep that...that...it's hard to say.

The narratives of junta members generally involve two stories of advancement in the brotherhood. Ignacio refers to both at the end of this piece the first narrative presented above. On the one hand, there is a movement through the ranks from simple brother to junta member. On the other hand there is movement to increasing symbolic importance in the procession itself, gauged by the sort of insignia one carries. Too, there is the transition from Nazareno to costalero for some. This latter narrative speaks to the motives and feelings of Holy Week brothers as they do their "act of penance" in the procession.

The Spirit of Holy Week

Holy Week and the Brotherhoods are characterized by three themes: spirituality, anonymity, and conservatism. Since Holy Week is so intimately tied to the Lenten period which precedes it, and because it is the celebration of the ultimate sacrifice, i.e. Jesus' death on the cross, the sense of spirituality is decidedly penitential. As noted above, costaleros
carry the pasos as acts of penitence and self-denial. Even the name of the marchers is indicative of this spirit: penitentes.

The brother's spirituality is ideally shaped by devotion to the brotherhood's images of Christ and the Virgin. His acts of penitence are motivated by love of these images.

Finally, junta brothers frequently talk about the necessity for proper spiritual formation. There are conferences on spiritual themes and congresses devoted to brotherhood topics. Brotherhood statutes all state that the brotherhoods exist to make brothers holy.

A second characteristic of the spirit of Holy Week and brotherhoods is anonymity. Every marcher in the procession with the exception of the capataz and the parish priest wears the antefaz, or hood which covers the head down below the shoulders. Brothers explain that penitence must be done anonymously: no one is to be identified. In fact, numbers are assigned to marchers and those numbers are supposedly affixed to their processional candles or crosses so that processional leaders can identify trouble-makers. Individual personalities are hidden away, smoothed over
in the uniform of the brother. His or her only social standing is that of being "brother." Differences of class, even gender, are muted by the processional robes.

Furthermore, no contact is to be made with onlookers in the streets. Brothers in procession are to maintain complete silence. They disappear into their brotherhoods.

Thirdly, Holy Week brotherhoods are characterized by conservatism. It is not that brothers are necessarily politically conservative, but the spirit of brotherhoods in Andalusia is frozen in a Baroque moment. Practices which have been handed down for centuries are to remain unchanged. Practices which have been lost should be restored. The style of pasos and all ornamentation is unchanging. Certainly, there are innovations, the color of the Virgin's mantle might be changed from green to red, or extra candles might be added to the paso de palio. Every brotherhood is in a constant state of improving its pasos and processional paraphernalia, but these improvements simply involve adding baroque pieces to the set.
The brothers are responsible for conserving what has been handed down to them. A truly successful brotherhood is one that cherishes its traditions and is able to do a procession in grand style.

Spirituality, anonymity, and conservatism are the principal features of the spirit of Holy Week and the brotherhoods. These themes are graphically symbolized in the processions, but they are equally evident in the organization and activities of brotherhoods outside of Holy Week.

The next chapters analyze Holy Week brothers' and carnavalesco's narratives in detail. Chapter Five focuses on the manner in which event schemata or scripts are used to search memory and produce narratives. Chapter Six examines more closely the self-schemata of the carnavalescos and brothers. Taken together, both chapters provide the material for a cultural theory of autobiographical memory. Chapter Seven develops that theory and indicates avenues for further research.
Scripts: Basic Elements

Some consideration was given in Chapter Two to the schematic or script-like organization of memory, and Chapters Three and Four provided a more detailed description of the festivals (carnaval and Holy Week) in which these schemata are operative. This chapter begins with a more nuanced presentation of just how schemata or scripts function in the reconstruction of memories and then proceeds to examine this functioning in autobiographical narratives from three carnavaleros and three Holy Week brothers.

A script is an event-schemata: a sort of outline in one's head for a typical sequence of actions proper to a particular activity. In Schank's (1982) terminology, a script presents a series of typical scenes. One person can tell another person a story
(relate a memory) without filling in every single detail because both persons share the same script for the event. Both persons unconsciously assume that the typical sequence of scenes has occurred unless the story spells it out otherwise. In fact, scripts are found in narratives by looking for what the narrator assumes as typical, i.e. what he or she believes needs no explanation.

As an example of searching for scripts, consider the following narratives taken from two different Holy Week brothers. Recall from the preceding chapter that all of the energies of a brotherhood are channeled toward the day of its public procession during Holy Week. Much excitement and considerable anticipation attends the dawning of this day. The prospect of rain is worrisome to all and fearsome to some. According to the rules of the brotherhood, it is the junta and ultimately the hermano mayor who make a definitive decision about the procession in the case of rain. The hermano mayor must concern himself with the safety and condition of the pasos, particularly the wooden image of the Christ and the flowing cloth robes of the Virgin. It is better to err on the side of
safety in any given year. But there has developed among the brothers in each brotherhood the same legend of going against the hermano mayor's explicit command in the case of rain--with miraculous results.

The first comes from a Holy Week junta member named Jorge whose oral life-story is explored in more detail later in the chapter.

R. Has it ever happened...that it rained? I mean, on the day of the procession?
Jorge: That it's rained? I've never seen it, thanks be to God, eh? I've never seen it. But the older ones have. It was raining and...the decision was made not to go out. Curiously though, it cleared up in the later afternoon and it stopped raining. And at 8:00 when the brotherhood was supposed to take to the streets it looked like rain again but it wasn't really raining. So what happened? Well, the junta had already decided not to go out. And there were two people who said, "Why not? Why can't we go out? We're going out." They opened the doors and put the brotherhood on the street.
The hermano mayor was furious and went home furious, but the brotherhood went out. And at the end of the procession, no sooner was the paso de palio back in the church and down came the rain. Huge downpour! Thanks be to God, it didn't catch us in the street. If it catches you in the street, it would destroy the paso de palio.

This second narrative is from an hermano mayor named Ignacio. He is relating the experience of his very first procession as a brother when he was a teenager.

To top it all off, Holy Tuesday comes and it's raining. Pouring down water, Roberto, since morning, eh? Just pouring down. And I remember we cried like little kids, eh? Because after all that work and all those dreams, and what happens but we can't go out because it's raining. The first year we were going out, and I had such high hopes...years of asking my father to sign me up in a brotherhood, and on the first year, it rains. So the time comes for the brotherhood to go
out, 8:00 in the evening, and still it was raining. At that time Juan Ortega was hermano mayor, and he said, "No!" The brotherhood was not going to go out in the streets. And this Antonio, the one I told you about, fought with him, "Look, here we got four persons who have worked like pack animals, and I've trudged all over Santa Ines scraping up money, and we don't have enough guts to go out in a little rain?" And the hermano mayor said, "You're nuts! How can we go out in the rain?" But they opened the doors and the brotherhood started out. And at that moment it stopped raining. And we did the whole procession and not a drop fell on us, Roberto. I remember it like it was yesterday.

Again, a script is a series of scenes. Each of these narratives involves the following series of scenes:

-Raining On The Day Of The Procession.

-Junta/hermano mayor Decide To Cancel The Procession.

-Some Brothers Dissent.
- The Procession Takes To The Streets.

- It Stops Raining While The Procession Is In The Streets.

For the purposes of comparison, the narrative material of the two Holy week brothers is arranged under the script-elements or scenes and placed side by side. On the left is material from Jorge, on the right is material from Ignacio.

**Raining On The Day Of The Procession**

R. Has it ever happened...that it rained? I mean, on the day of the procession?

Jorge: That it's rained? I've never seen it, thanks be to God, eh? I've never seen it. But the older ones have. It was raining and...

To top it all off, Holy Tuesday comes and it's raining. Pouring down water, Roberto, since morning, eh? Just pouring down. And I remember we cried like little kids, eh? Because after all that work and all those dreams, and
what happens but we can't go out because it's raining. The first year we were going out, and I had such high hopes...years of asking my father to sign me up in a brotherhood, and on the first year, it rains. So the time comes for the brotherhood to go out, 8:00 in the evening, and still it was raining.

*Junta/hermano mayor Decide To Cancel The Procession*

...the decision was made not to go out. Curiously

At that time Juan Ortega was hermano mayor, and he said,
though, it cleared up in the later afternoon and it stopped raining. And at 8:00 when the brotherhood was supposed to take to the streets it looked like rain again but it wasn't really raining. So what happened?

Some Brothers Dissent

And there were two people who said, "Why not? Why can't we go out? We're going out."

And this Antonio, the one I told you about, fought with him, "Look, here we got four persons who have worked like pack animals, and I've trudged all over Santa Ines scraping up money, and we don't have enough
guts to go out in a little rain?" And the hermano mayor said, "You're nuts! How can we go out in the rain?"

*The Procession Takes To The Streets*

They opened the doors and put the brotherhood on the street. The hermano mayor was furious and went home furious, but the brotherhood went out.

*It Stops Raining While The Brotherhood Is In The Streets*

And at the end of the procession, no sooner was the paso de palio back in the church and down came the rain. Huge downpour! Thanks And at that moment it stopped raining. And we did the whole procession and not a drop fell on us, Roberto. I remember
be to God, it didn't catch us in the street. If it catches you in the street, it would destroy the paso de palio.

Script elements are of two kinds: Scenes, and within scenes, Sequences of Actions. Each of the underlined headings above represents a scene. When a narrative provides material corresponding to script-elements, these elements are said to be instantiated. Not all of the Scenes of a particular script are necessarily instantiated. Sometimes all are instantiated. In fact, in the case of these two narratives, each of the Scenes of the script is instantiated.

However, note the variation of instantiation regarding the Sequence of Actions within the Scene: Some Brothers Dissent. In both narratives explicit mention is made of the junta or hermano mayor's decision to cancel the procession. The Sequence: Some Brothers Dissent includes the following elements:
- Brothers Argue With The Hermano Mayor
- He Reiterates His Decision
- Brothers Ignore Him and Open The Doors.

Compare the two narratives with regard to instantiations of these elements. Again Jorge's material is on the left, Ignacio's on the right. Script elements are again underlined.

**Brothers Argue With Hermano Mayor**

And there were two people who said, "Why not? Why can't we go out? We're going out."

And this Antonio, the one I told you about, fought with him, "Look, here we got four persons who have worked like pack animals, and I've trudged all over Santa Ines scraping up money, and we don't have enough guts to go out in a
little rain?"

**He Reiterates His Decision**

[uninstantiated] And the hermano mayor said, "You're nuts! How can we go out in the rain?"

**Brothers Ignore Him And Open The Doors**

They opened the doors and put the brotherhood on the street. The hermano mayor was furious and went home furious, but the brotherhood went out.

Note, on the one hand, that Jorge's narrative on the left leaves uninstantiated the element He Reiterates His Decision. On the other hand, no mention is made of the hermano mayor's changing his mind. He
remains adamant that the procession remain indoors. Since this is not explicitly stated, the person who hears this narrative unconsciously supplies this detail. This script element is left assumed or unconsciously supplied. A default value is operative.

Note secondly that the schema of Some Brothers Dissent differs in degree of instantiation in either narrative. It is not simply a question of the left-hand narrative (Jorge) leaving uninstantiated one of the elements, rather the right-hand narrative (Ignacio) is more concrete, has more detail, seems more of a specific memory. There is nothing accidental about this. Current theory on the microstructure of memory holds that schematic search and retrieval is exercised on actual memories (Conway, 1992; Conway and Rubin, 1994; Schank, 1982). The schema provides a sort of outline of the event, and where the outline is filled in, there are actual memories.

These two narratives tell a story which proceeds in script like fashion. Details are variously given for particular scenes and sequences of actions within those scenes. One narrator fills in a certain script-element with much detail. The other narrator leaves
the same script-element uninstantiated, and the hearer supplies the detail. But such is possible only because both narrator and listener share the same script.

These stories of taking the processions out under the threat of rain and miraculously encountering no rain are common in brotherhood lore. The typical series of scenes forms a script. Recall that a script must have typical roles, entry conditions, a series of goal oriented scenes, and a sequence of actions within those scenes. This script will be called TAKING THE PROCESSION OUT IN THE RAIN. The format for presentation of scripts is as follows. Note that for one of the scenes (Some Brothers Dissent), there is provided the more detailed Sequence of Actions within that scene. Technically, each of the scenes could be further broken down into Sequences of Actions.

Script: TAKING THE PROCESSION OUT IN THE RAIN
Roles: Junta and/or hermano mayor, dissenters, brotherhood

Entry Conditions: Brotherhood wants to process in the streets

Goal Directed Scenes:
- Raining On The Day Of The Procession
- Junta/hermano mayor Decide To Cancel Procession
- Some Brothers Dissent
- The Procession Takes To The Streets
- It Stops Raining While The Procession Is In The Streets

Sequence of Actions: Within a Scene, e.g.
Some Brothers Dissent
- Brothers Argue With hermano mayor
- He Reiterates His Decision
- Brothers Ignore Him and Open The Doors

Scripts are reflective of the typicality of a Simplified World. In this case, the script reflects a typical occurrence in the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoods.

**Expectation Violations and Simplified Worlds**

Why are some script elements left uninstantiated while others receive a bare mention and still others are floridly filled in? The answer lies in the microstructure of memory and in how memories are generated through reconstructive retrieval. There is some consensus among researchers on the microstructure of autobiographical memory (for reviews, see Conway, 1990; Conway and Rubin, 1993).

First of all, autobiographical memories are represented in hierarchical knowledge structures (Barsalou, 1988, Conway and Bekerian, 1987, Linton, 1986. This has already been apparent in this study:
certain script elements are obviously subordinate to others.

At the base of this hierarchy of schemata used to organize knowledge and access memory lies what Conway calls, in one instance (1990) the base, where specific autobiographical memories are stored, and in another instance (1992), the phenomenological record.

The retention in memory of fragmentary knowledge of past phenomenal experience and, perhaps, associated processing sequences I shall refer to as the phenomenological record. This record is conceived as a discrete memory store which contains individual records or units that retain knowledge which is strictly event specific. (p. 169)

In Conway's conception this store of "fragmentary knowledge of past phenomenal experience" is accessed through thematic knowledge.

Associated with the phenomenological record, but separate from it, is a body of thematic knowledge which is structured in various ways. Thematic knowledge indexes the phenomenological record. (p. 169)

Memory is a thematic assembling of "fragmentary knowledge of past phenomenal experience."

This way of understanding the microstructure of memory parallels the view taken by Roger Schank in his work on modelling memory in artificial intelligence (Schank, 1982, 1990). For Schank, memory is also a
reconstruction which combines schematic retrieval and episodes. Schemata are the equivalent of Conway's thematic knowledge, episodes are "fragmentary knowledge of past phenomenal experience" (or the phenomenological record). Schank's formulations inform the view taken in this paper.

For Schank, a script, the typical sequence of actions of an event, is built up by repeated exposure to that event. The script is useful precisely because it makes predictions about experience: it tells us "what should come next." A script, therefore, is loaded with expectations. As long as experience occurs in concordance with the script, there is nothing remarkable about it—nothing really memorable. But where expectations are violated, we take notice and we remember these deviations because our predictions about "what should come next" fail. Thus, real memories are stored at precisely those junctures where the predictions inherent in script elements are stymied.

Such structures (scripts) contain predictions and expectations about the normal flow of events in some standardized situation. In such a structure, whenever an expectation derived from that structure fails, its failure is marked. Thus, any deviation from the normal flow of events, in a structure whose task it is to encode expectations about the normal flow of events, is remembered by
indexing that structure with a pointer to the episode that caused the expectation failure. (Schank, 1982, p. 28)

Therefore, Schank argues that memory is "failure-driven," i.e. real memories are stored because of prediction failures in the applications of schemata. These memories are stored as episodes. Episode refers to the actual, real live memory found at the violated script juncture. Episodes are the stuff of the phenomenological record.

Schank points out that the notion of failure alone is not sufficient to account for what people in fact remember, and he suggests that the notion of the unusual might be more serviceable. He then defines unusual in terms of expectation failure: "Unusual is then defined in this sense: any event that differs significantly from our expectations is unusual" (1982, p. 173). Where experience does not conform to our expectations, we remember the experience.

Such non-conformity may run in either of two directions. Either something expected does not take place or something expected occurs in a remarkable way. In either case, what happens does not conform to the expectation, but in the first instance some sort of
failure occurs and in the second a success beyond expectations takes place.

In the example from Holy Week given above, the whole Sequence of Taking The Paso Out In The Rain has developed in brotherhood lore because it violates the expectations proper to the world of Holy Week brotherhoods. It violates the dictum that the hermano mayor has the last word and must be obeyed. Furthermore, it violates natural law because the rain miraculously stops during the procession. The event is remarkable, it is memorable because it is an expected event that has not occurred. Thus, there is a detailed instantiation of corresponding script elements.

On the other hand, instantiations of particular script elements also occur because expectations are singularly or abundantly fulfilled. Instead of instantiating a script element because an expected event did not occur, it is instantiated because much more than the expected took place. In the Holy Week example above, the second narrative preserves the heated conversation between the hermano mayor and the man named Antonio.
At that time Juan Ortega was hermano mayor, and he said, "No!" The brotherhood was not going to go out in the streets. And this Antonio, the one I told you about, fought with him, "Look, here we got four persons who have worked like pack animals, and I've trudged all over Santa Ines scraping up money, and we don't have enough guts to go out in a little rain?" And the hermano mayor said, "You're nuts! How can we go out in the rain?" But they opened the doors...

The script elements instantiated here are:
- Brothers Argue With The hermano mayor.
- He Reiterates His Decision.
- Brothers Ignore Him And Open The Doors

In this case, there is clearly a more detailed instantiation of the script elements. Rather than simply noting the argument and the hermano mayor's decision, the whole conversation is reported. Ignacio remembers the reported conversation because its aggressive tone and angry words fulfill the script expectations in a remarkable way.
What drives the encoding of episodes as expectation violations? I believe that expectation violations are remarkable against the backdrop of the Simplified World.

Fillmore (1977) argued persuasively that it is the social world that gives words meaning. A bachelor is an unmarried man, and yet the word "bachelor" would seem to be inappropriately applied to the pope or a thrice married divorcée, though both of these are unmarried men. The word "bachelor" therefore takes on meaning only in a Simplified World where (a) men are marriageable at a certain age, (b) they marry at that age, and (c) they stay married to the same person.

D'Andrade (1992a) equates such a Simplified World with schemata. I would say rather that schemata are elements of and presuppose a Simplified World. Thus, schemata are not simply typical event sequences or outlines of expectable features of objects or places, they also contain implicit values about how things "ought to be." When all of the schemata of a particular cultural activity or event are taken together, they constitute the Simplified World of that event. Thus, there is a Simplified World of carnaval,
and there is a Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhods.

These "worlds" are constituted by typical places, peopled with typical roles, and enlivened by typical events. As carnavales prepare and celebrate carnaval, and as Holy Week brothers prepare their processions, they manage and are managed by the festival-specific schemata which they commonly possess. When the values or expectations of the Simplified World encoded in schemata are violated, something memorable occurs. Memories or episodes are stored away.

To return to the question posed at the beginning of this section, why are some script elements left uninstantiated while others receive a bare mention and still others are abundantly filled in? Script elements are filled in by episodes (real, live memories) because they are expectation violations in Simplified Worlds. Simplified Worlds describe what is typical of objects, places, and activities in a particular domain. They describe idealized roles. They prescribe appropriate affect and they specify goals to be attained.

The Schematized Autobiographical Memory
An autobiographical memory narrative is thus a combination of script elements and episodes. This reflects the underlying structure of autobiographical memory but not in the sense that there are scripts and episodes stored within them all shelved away somewhere in the storehouse of the mind. This violates the notion that retrieval is reconstructive and invalidly reintroduces a passivist approach to memory. A memory is a present tense production in which certain schemata selected by the rememberer activate episodes in the act of retrieval. The end product is a narrative which in its structure and content bears the traces of the schemata used in search and the episodes activated. In order to demonstrate script elements and episodes, narratives will be written out in the following form.

SCRIPT: TAKING THE PROCESSION OUT IN THE RAIN

**Raining on The Day of The Procession**

It was raining and...the decision was made not to go out. Curiously, though it cleared up in the later afternoon and it stopped raining. And at 8:00 when the
brotherhood was supposed to take to the streets it looked like rain again but it wasn't really raining. So what happened?

Junta/Hermano mayor Decide to Cancel The Procession

Well, the junta had already decided not to go out.

Some Brothers Dissent ()

Brothers Argue With Hermano mayor

And there were two people who said, "Why not? Why can't we go out? We're going out."

[He Reiterates His Decision]
(uninstantiated)

Brothers Ignore Him and Open The Doors

They opened the doors...

The Procession Takes To The Streets

...and put the brotherhood on the street. The hermano mayor was furious and went home furious, but the brotherhood went out.
It Stops Raining While The Procession is In The Streets

And at the end of the procession, no sooner was the paso de palio back in the church and down came the rain. Huge downpour! Thanks be to God, it didn't catch us in the street. If it catches you in the street, it would destroy the paso de palio.

For purposes of demonstration the subscript sequence Some Brothers Dissent is parsed in the text.

Brackets indicate script elements which are not instantiated but presupposed. For example, no explicit mention is made of the hermano mayor asserting his authority. Thus, He Reiterates His Decision is bracketed in the text.

Narrative portions may be simple and unadorned instantiations of script elements--practically just "mentions," as in "Well, the junta had already decided not to go out." Other narrative portions may be more detailed, as in the following.
And at the end of the procession, no sooner was
the *paso de palio* back in the church and down came
the rain. Huge downpour! Thanks be to God, it
didn't catch us in the street. If it catches you
in the street, it would destroy the *paso de palio*.
He remarks on the amount of rain ("huge downpour")
and the timing ("no sooner was the *paso de palio* back
in the church"). These are more detailed
instantiations of the script element *It Stops Raining
While The Procession is In The Streets*. In the
Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoods this
narrative reaffirms the sacred character of a
procession so that even the laws of nature are
temporarily suspended for it.

Finally, some instantiations are *expectation
violations*. Note how this piece of narrative
contradicts the expectation of the script element
*Raining on The Day of The Procession*, i.e. the
narrative says that it wasn't raining.

It was raining and...the decision was made not to
go out. Curiously, though it cleared up in the
later afternoon and it stopped raining. And at
8:00 when the brotherhood was supposed to take to
the streets it looked like rain but it wasn't really raining again.

In the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhroughs processions can be canceled for rain, and processions are presumably so important that only rain in significant amounts can cancel them. This is an odd detail since it reports a cessation of rain well before the procession, as well as the strange determination of the hermano mayor to keep the procession indoors. Note that these two things are odd or unusual and remembered as such because they are expectation violations. The schema would predict rain at the time of the procession and the hermano mayor's decision to remain indoors. Here it stops raining and he still refuses to send the procession into the streets!

This manner of analyzing schematized memories will be employed in the rest of this paper. The next two sections of this chapter explore autobiographical memory narratives of carnaval directors and brotherhood junta members in order to demonstrate the functioning of festival-specific scripts in the retrieval of memories and construction of narratives.
Script-Based Memory in The World of Carnaval

The Basic Carnaval Script: DO A GROUP

From the perspective of the director of carnaval groups the most comprehensive script is DO A GROUP. The basic decision every director must make each year is whether or not to do a group. Carnaval directors tell the story of their carnaval careers by listing the groups they have done. Directors are evaluated on the number and quality of groups they have done. DO A GROUP is the fundamental script for a director. The ethnographic material relative to carnaval presented in the last chapter followed the process of formation of a group. The schemata is as follows.

Name: DO A GROUP

Typical Roles: director, poeta, músico, members, crowd

Entry Conditions: Director wants to do a carnaval group for the town contest.

Scenes (with Sequences of Actions subordinated):

Get The Idea (tipo)
Tipo occurs to director
Someone does a sketch (boceto)

Coordinate Músico and Poeta
Director finds músico
Músico writes music for poeta
Director finds poeta
Poeta does lyrics

Assemble Group Members
Get members of last year's group
Recruit talent noticed in other groups
Assign roles

Do Rehearsals
Get rehearsal room
Practice two hours a night

Prepare For Official Contest
Inscribe group in town hall
Do general rehearsals
Prepare and assemble costume

Go To Official Contest
Perform program
People react
Judges decide

Do Carnaval in Streets
Saturday performances on street stages
Sunday parade performances

Do Summer Acts
Contract for weddings, baptisms, restaurants, beach parties, etc.

The script DO A GROUP represents an outline of the
essential elements of the carnaval process as a
director would advert to them. Obviously, the process
would look different to a group member or the town hall
minister of festivals or the local police chief. The
script also sets the expectations involved as a group
would develop in the Simplified World of Carnaval.
Expectations are myriad and range from blatant to
subtle. Examples of some of these expectations would be:

1. Every director is talented enough to win first prize, every músico does an excellent piece of music, the poeta writes biting or hilarious lyrics, etc.

2. Members who worked with the director on last year's group will of course return, people will find the comparsa incredibly moving or the chirigota really funny, judges will award first prize, etc.

3. Costumes will be pieces of genius, the staging will be creative and artistic and inspired, etc.

Sometimes groups fulfill these expectations in exemplary fashion and sometimes groups do not meet these expectations. Memory narratives are formed of such expectation violations.

**Narratives Instantiating The Go To Official Contest Scene**

Within the larger DO A GROUP script there are a number of subordinate scenes. One of these is Go To Official Contest which itself contains subordinate action sequences. Its basic elements are:

- Perform program
- People react
- Judges decide
Narratives from three directors (Pablo, Alfonso, and Arturo) are selected to demonstrate the functioning of schemata in reconstructive retrieval in the world of carnaval.

**PABLO**

At the time of the interview, Pablo was in his early forties and had been involved in carnaval since childhood principally through murgas (informal groups). He did not join an official group till he was twenty-one years old. Since then he has been involved as a member of several groups and he has developed a reputation as one of Santa Ines' best chirigota directors. He is married and has four children. He is employed by the town hall as a sort of errand-runner and receptionist. By trade, he is bricklayer and he always has several contracts he is completing.

The narrative is a story which is structured loosely on the Go To Official Contest scene (within DO A GROUP) but the majority of the material emerges as an instantiation of the action sequence Perform Program. In the text below, the narrative material is arranged within script elements. Scene titles included in
brackets are not explicitly instantiated and may be presupposed in the memory as background material—but this need not be the case. The **activator** introduces the narrative.

**Activator of DO A GROUP/GO TO OFFICIAL CONTEST**

But from there...the cuarteto **Buenas Noches.**

**Go To Official Contest:**

**Perform Program**

I don't know if you've met Ratón, you know him? He's another personage that...that you should meet. //R. Right, right, right.// His cap, his cane. In the Casa de Cultura I've got a painting...if you want to take a picture for whatever reason. He's a popular character here in Santa Ines nowadays. //R. Right, I saw him...// The
classical...eh? You know him... So there was Ratón.

And so Buenas Noches was the TV News. We made a television with your desk, like this (gestures), your television, and we were inside. "Good evening." //R. (laughs)// Three desks (laughs), three desks: one here (gestures), another here (gestures), another here (gestures).

"Channel Sur, Spanish Television, and The Daily Roll...which was...was...was Ratón. The Daily Roll. He had toilet paper in a roll. The Daily Roll. So the whole nine yards. "Buenas Noches, Ladies and Gentlemen," talking to the people and making them laugh. And seated, seated
it's hard to make people laugh. Making people laugh standing up is tough but seated it's worse.

So that was the year that...we did the vote of censure...to throw out the communist mayor. Juan Manuel Torres, the socialists wanted to remove him from power. We did the vote of censure, pretty ugly, you know, politics. So I put that...that scene in.

People React:

That's when they started calling me a communist around here. Because they said I defended Rafael more than the other one, so...well, he was a laborer and maybe I defended him more...because he was a
laborer. To give him more support with the people, eh?

So "Let's go!" and "More parody!" and "Boom!" And "I will not sell myself!" because Rafael was saying he wouldn't sell himself, in all this. "I will not sell myself! For as much as the PSOE (the Spanish socialist party) wants to buy me, I will not sell myself!" So I put (yelling): "RAFAEL WILL NOT BE SOLD!" As the refrain of the cuarteto. Really good, I've got it...taped, I don't have it videotaped, but I've got it taped.

**Judges Decide:**

So...great...they gave me third prize. Another super-success.
But then, "This one's a chirigotero, this one's a chirigotero, he's not a cuartetero." When they saw it was a cuarteto, "What does he know about it?" Because, what's more, there's vicious tongues (laughs), in this business, there's vicious tongues. We snipe at one another, it's the law... The law of these things. Maybe it won't be like this in the future, I don't like it. I like bull-fighting, and my bull-fighter is the best, well, maybe you gotta eliminate the others, same thing. Same thing. So...the cuarteto wasn't worth a thing because...because: "He's a chirigotero and not a cuartetero," "What's he
getting himself into this?"
"He just wants to get
ahead..." So I kept my mouth
shut and for a year I didn't
do a thing...

The episode contained under Perform Program is a
detailed instantiation of that script-element, included
here because it goes beyond the expectation of the
Simplified World which predicts successful productions
and describes a work of particular genius.

The same is true of the People React episode: it
points to just how good the cuarteto really is. It is
memorable for that. This, plus the instantiation of
Judges Decide, sets up the expectation violation which
follows. In the Simplified World of Carnaval, it is
judges who are expected to render judgment, but here
the "they" which is doing the criticizing are other
carnavaleros. He explains such behavior by saying that
it is just part of human nature. Expectation
violations require explanations. It is obvious,
however, that he intentionally leaves the impression
that the "they" are simply wrong.
Here is a case where expectation violations involving *not* meeting expectations and *exceeding* expectations play off one another and cue a lot of detailed memory. The schema predicts that the Judges Decide (and ideally their decision is to award a win). This in fact happens. The cuarteto wins third place. What is nowhere predicted is that Pablo will be so criticized by the carnaval community after the judges had declared him a winner. This is clearly an expectation violation where an expectation is not met.

It sets up an odd opposition between the carnaval community and an alliance of the People and the Judges. That the cuarteto was so great is a clear memory for him; there is abundant detail about it. It exceeded good and was great! It was clearly a piece of high humor: he remembers the gags and that people liked them. It made a political commentary, which is so much a part of the spirit of the festival: he remembers the refrain about the communist mayor. He remembers the crowd reactions: "More parody!" Such detail point to an episode corresponding to an expectation violation. But in this case, the expectation is met and then some; it is remarkably and notably fulfilled.
ALFONSO

At the time of the interview Alfonso was in his early thirties, married with three children. He has been involved in carnaval since childhood. He is a very good guitarist and is much sought after for his musical abilities. He became a director early on, he has concentrated primarily on children and youth groups.

Again the narrative concentrates on the scene Go To Official Contest.

Activator of DO A GROUP/GO TO OFFICIAL CONTEST:

I've done things, like the Mexican thing, Little Nightingales, a marvelous thing.

Go To Official Contest:

Perform Program:

A thing, understand, children like I have this year, maybe a little older... just a little older, no more. But better block of kids, better block,
better qualities, no? Of the little ones. Singing. In tune. The lyrics, you could understand the lyrics. Perfect.

Well, like I was telling you before, the one group doing the drumming, with the snare drum, TA-TA-TA-TATA-TA, lotta noise, lotta this and that, and the people (makes a yelling sound).

[People React:] (uninstantiated)

Judges Decide:

First prize. You get...this you have to see...the critique in the press...bad... and everybody was...flabbergasted. Something never heard of. No one could understand it...how
could this happen? Everybody was for the Mexicans, for example, and...the first prize...eh....the children of the other group just figured on getting second and would have been perfectly happy. All this I've got stored, all that story, the whole thing reflected in the press, I've got it.

So they...it seems they're always saying to me, "This is not your thing, Pedro. Carnaval is just not your thing." And, like that.

So anyway, that year; the year of the Mexicans, they said, "It didn't win first prize because it's got...the comparsa has the name of a
bird." Just imagine. The judges said that.

Because...look...there are moments, no? in which you rebel. I've never argued, I've never said, "Why have they done this, why have they done that?" Never in my life. Thanks be to God. Nor will I. So the defiance I felt that year... that there was such a huge difference... made me want to say to the judges...

I waited by the exit, no? A certain Joaquín Roso, musician, musician, no? He's got a band, directs a band of, music of tambores. Musician, he understands. So, "Explain to me, simply, plainly (I didn't get angry, I talked
calmly) the reason why those others won over mine, since to win you have to have points, a certain quality, tuning, lyrics. If you can't understand what is sung, you can't assess the lyrics, because if you don't understand it, you can't judge it. You can listen, then yes, but if you don't understand, then no. "No, no." The excuses start, "it's that...it can't be...it's because your comparsa has the name of a bird." Because it was called The Little Nightingales. So I said to him, "Look, two things and two things only I'm going to say to you: a nightingale is a bird that sings very beautifully, and nobody can sing more beautifully than
these little ones. They are nightingales, they have voices of nightingales, because they sing very well, or no?" And he said, "Yes, yes, I admit that." "And what's more, Joselito (I don't know if you ever heard of him, Joselito, a Spanish boy who has the voice of a nightingale) did a film called the Little Nightingale, and he was Mexican, the kid was Mexican. This was the tipo I was portraying in this." Well, they had no idea. They were like, "No, no..." Another story, huh?

So, like that, well, every year. //R. Because of the name?// Because it had the name of a bird.
The majority of material here is an episode stored at the juncture Judges Decide. It is one large expectation violation. Alfonso goes into the contest assured by everyone of victory (which, of course, reflects the expectations of the Simplified World) and the unthinkable happens. The judges deny first prize to Alfonso's group for what seems a trifle, and award his group second place. Note again that, as with Pablo's narrative, the expectation violation requires an explanation. When things don't occur as they are expected according to the Simplified World, some explanation is necessary. Here, the explanation of the group's failure to place first is that the judges act according to a cavalier criteria. Alfonso sees an irrational prejudice directed against his character and his work. This is a theme related to the self-schema which will be taken up in the next chapter. Here it functions to explain the violation of the Simplified-World-expectation that directors win first prize.

**ARTURO**

At the time of the interview Arturo was in his mid-thirties and a taxicab driver. He was married and had
two children. Unlike the previous two men, he had not been involved in carnavales since childhood. He entered his first group as an adult, and in fact became director of that group. The following is a memory constructed from the script DO A GROUP with instantiations of the scenes Get The Idea and Go To The Official Contest. Since this memory calls up more than one scene of DO A GROUP, it illustrates well the fact that script elements are activated only as needed.

Activator of DO A GROUP:

The next year I started to work with Pan Pan Lucky Luck.

Get The Idea

Tipo Occurs to Director:

There's a friend of mine who stops in Bar Triana, he's identical to those cartoon figures of Lucky Luck. So...then...after eating we were watching...on Saturdays they have that show...so we were watching it. And I said,
"That's it! That's the tipo
I'll do for this year. Pan
Pan Lucky Luck." So I did the
Fat Brothers, the four who
were real bad, prisoners...I
did the Banker. I did the
Undertaker. The Drunken
Sheriff, I played the role of
the Drunken Sheriff. And
Lucky Luck, that cartoon,
Ramon Gil, a good friend of
mine played the part.

[Someone Does Boceto:]
(uninstantiated)

Go To Official Contest:

Perform Program:

That year there was a problem.
That year we did choreography
that made it look like the
group was finished with the
act...and...but it wasn't
over. We'd go offstage and
then come back out again. So we told the Stage Manager before beginning, before it began, how it was to go, so he wouldn't shut the curtain. So we put one of the group, the father of one of the group members right next to the Stage Manager because the father knew when the curtain had to be shut. So that he wouldn't shut it before he was supposed to.

**People React:**

So the people were on their feet...because...everybody said we'd win first prize...a winner. And on the balcony everybody yelling and applauding. "Olé!" "This is Carnaval!" "Chirigota!" "Chirigota!"

**Perform Program:**
And the guy shuts the curtain. And since I'm the Drunken Sheriff... I had a bottle of wine in my hand, and I went to hit him on the head with the bottle of wine, to break his head. But I couldn't do it. A guy like that, a guy like that wasn't going to send five months of work down the drain. And what's more, I liked the group.

**Judges Decide:**

So they disqualified me: for attempted aggression on the Stage Manager. So... I asked mercy, my group wasn't at fault for any of it, and the Stage Manager had screwed up. Because I even went so far as to get this father of the one the group members and he was
grabbing the guy's arm, and said, "NO!"

So it looks like somebody had something against me. Or against my group, I don't know. The only thing I know is that they disqualified me, and I wound up out in the street.

So we were in various contests in the province and in every one we won first prize. Others had won here, others had won in Cádiz, and we beat them all in contests in the province, in various places, Sanlúcar, Jerez, others.

The episode at the juncture Tipo Occurs to The Director describes the moment of artistic insight (directors are, after all, artists according to the Simplified World) which occurs in a bar while he watches TV. There is something of the expectation
violation here as well: one doesn't think of going to a bar to search for artistic inspiration.

The episode preserved at the juncture Perform Program is a dramatic expectation violation of what should be the orderly task of doing an act on stage. A complicated piece of dance leads to a false ending. The group is to go offstage, but the curtain is to remain open. But despite Arturo's best efforts to avoid misunderstandings, the stage manager mistakenly closes the curtain. Arturo threatens him with a bottle and his act of aggression makes for a memorable episode. In the Simplified World, stage managers do what they are told.

In the Simplified World, directors do not attack stage managers (indeed, don't have to). Arturo is disqualified, which, to Arturo, is against reasonable expectations. An explanation is required: he suggests that someone has it out for him, and he supports this view by providing details of awards won in other town contests in the province. These added details highlight the excellence of the group which is justly recognized elsewhere.

Formation of A New Subscript: Group Splits Up
Repeated exposure to the same event causes the formation of a script: the pattern of an event is captured in a set of expectations called script elements. When an expectation violation occurs an episode is produced, usually accompanied by some explanation. If an expectation violation repeatedly occurs, a new script may be formed.

Deep down inside the guts of a script, we find links to every unique memory experience we have that has been processed in terms of that script. (These pointers can be obliterated when a previously unique episode recurs. At that point, a new script may be formed that is independent of the original). (Schank, 1982, p. 40)

Again, expectation violations occur against the backdrop of the Simplified World.

In the DO A GROUP script, the Scene Assemble Group Members should involve three actions. The director must (a) contact the members of the group he did last year, (b) recruit talent he noticed in other groups last year, and (c) assign roles to group members. In the Simplified World of carnaval, members recognize the talent of their director and remain loyal to him year after year. In the real world, such an expectation is rarely met. The reality is that members' loyalties are fluid at best. They may switch directors because they.
want to work in a comparsa instead of a chirigota, they may switch directors because they want to play a different role in some other group, they may switch directors because they feel one is tyrannical and another reasonable. There are many reasons for moving from director to director.

Note too that a contradiction exists even within the Simplified World: members should stay loyal to their directors from year to year, but directors are to recruit talent from other groups as well. At any rate, groups split up. They should not, but they do. Thus, a subscript is formed which depicts the patterning of this group splintering. It is found within the scene Assemble Group Members and has the following elements:

Group Splits Up

- Group Is Successful One Year

- Next Year Some Significant Talent/Portion of the Group Goes -- With Some Other Director

- Some Significant Talent/Portion of Group Stays with Original Director

In a sense, the formation of a script which predicts that groups will split up lessens the pressure on directors to have to defend their losses. That there is such a script at all tends to establish the
phenomenon of groups splitting as part of "the way things are." But directors still feel the damage to their reputations or their roles as these exist in the Simplified World, and instantiations of this subscript are usually accompanied by a good deal of explanation.

Arturo and Alfonso both have interesting stories to tell about their groups.

**ARTURO**

**Group Splits Up**

[Group Successful One Year]

(uninstantiated)

**Next Year Some Significant Talent/Portion of the Group Goes With Some Other Director**

So after that group...it ended with problems. We had problems, because everything in Carnaval is controversy. You're involved in Carnaval, you know what I'm talking about, lots of problems.
So we split up, the group, we split up. They went off with another group.

Some Talent/Portion of Group Stays with Original Director

Some came with me, let's say "the loyal ones." Loyal to me. Because my way of directing is pretty tough in a rehearsal room. When they don't behave anyway. Because this for me is my second job. Despite that it's a sort of hobby, but to me it's a job. Because anybody who's going to present himself to the public...that public deserves respect. They might like you, they might not like you, whether they like you is up to them. But at least a professionalism up there on stage. They pay to see the group. So if you charge for
it, then at that point you're a performer (artist). If the people have to pay to get in, you're a performer. And so you have to keep your end of the bargain. If not, don't enter the contest! It's one of those things you have to think about.

Anyway, we split up. I wound up without a rehearsal room. Two or three of them came with me. //R. Where were you?// I was in Bar Cama. So I talked to the guy at Bar Triana and we made that rehearsal room. So I did Perrito Caliente.

Two script elements are instantiated in Arturo's narrative:

1. Next Year Some Significant Talent/Portion of The Group Goes With Some Other Director.

2. Some Talent/Portion of The group Stays With The Original Director.
But neither instantiation is very detailed. Actually, only mention is made of the occurrences.

"So we split up, the group, we split up. They went off with another group."

... 

Some came with me, let's say the "loyal ones" (...) Anyway we split up, I wound up without a rehearsal room. Two or three of them came with me."

Not much detail is given except for the fact that he lost his rehearsal room. The length of the narrative is a result of Arturo's explanations for the events: carnaval is controversial and political, and he is a demanding director. Expectations of the script elements are met: the group splits up according to script. But that the script has been activated at all requires explanation because as a whole the subscript is itself an expectation violation. In the Simplified World, members are loyal and groups don't split up.

At the end of this narrative he introduces the next element of DO A GROUP: Do Rehearsals.

ALFONSO
For Alfonso, it is a regular occurrence that groups split up or leave him wholesale. The following two narratives are schematized in terms of two Group Splits Up subscripts but the narrative is in fact continuous. He starts by telling of a group with which he had won third prize in Cádiz. This group deserts him for another director. He forms a new group and wins second prize. He recaps the groups he did in those years and tells another story of a group deserting him.

**Group Splits Up**

**Group Successful One Year**

So the next year, the group that I had all squared away (and which won third prize in Cádiz),

**Next Year Some Significant Talent/Portion of the Group Goes With Some Other Director**

[Some Talent/Portion of Group Stays with Original Director]

that group went off with someone else. He was inspired, inspired by his
experience in my group. My group. Well, in the group there was this kid named Luis Galán. After a couple of years he became an autor, a carnavał autor. So that year and the following year, the same story all over again. I start with fifteen kids new. The others in the group I had done the year before formed another group. I was lucky enough to win second prize. //R. In Cádiz?// Right, right, there was no contest in Santa Ines before.

Group Splits Up

Group Successful One Year
So in this stage there was... '78... there was Los Maritos, I told you about them, the first children's group in Santa Ines, third prize in Cádiz. In '79, La Caleta, second prize in Cádiz. In '80, I did Fantasías Andaluzas, first prize in Cádiz,

Next Year Some Significant Talent/Portion of the Group Goes With Some Other Director

[Some Talent/Portion of Group Stays with Original Director]
(uninstantiated)

So...in '81...the same thing happened as three years before. In this group there was another kid who became an autor of Carnaval. Riverita, he's still an autor. Took the whole group. Again. Completely formed, all
together, no? So all over again I start from scratch to get fifteen kids together. New ones.

//R. It didn't get you angry?// No, no. It's all the same to me. I don't think twice about it. So that year, in '80, the group that had won first prize with me the year before, Fantasias Andaluzas, they went with Riverita and one of Los Majaras, Manuel Albiceta. He's singing this year with los Majaras—a beautiful voice. He was an adult by then, in the world of carnaval he was... So he did the music, this Manuel Albiceta, and Riverita wrote up his stuff. They did it. They went to Cádiz and they lost.
And me, with those new kids, I won third prize. Competing against all of Cádiz. Again, the same thing, eh? I've been lucky, no? So by then I was completely hooked by Carnaval.

In both narratives the script element Some Significant Talent/Portion of The Group Goes With Another Director is instantiated. In fact Alfonso loses the whole group to another director. This builds up the contrast to the next script element Some Significant Talent/Portion of Group Stays With Original Director which is left uninstantiated. The script element hovers unmentioned in the narrative.

This is another case in which an episode corresponds to a schema-expectation which is violated in the sense of excessive fulfillment (instead of contradiction). The sub-script predicts that some of the group will go off with another director and some will stay. When the whole group leaves, there is excessive fulfillment of a schema expectation.
In the explanations Alfonso is making two points about himself. First, in accord with a theme developed later in the interview, he shows himself here a founder of a sort of Carnaval school where young directors (autores) get their start. Secondly, the odds are stacked against him but they show him in his best light. He is forced to start from scratch with untrained voices, while the group he had trained the previous year is now competing against him. Even so, he wins in Cádiz and they lose.

**Summary: Carnaval Scripts and Memory**

Three narratives are drawn from three directors schematizing the DO A GROUP script. The narratives represent directors' memories for groups that did not win the Official Contest. The script DO A GROUP is an explicitation of expectations and values of the Simplified World of Carnaval. Groups which fail violate (in the sense of contradict) the simple expectation that "groups win" (else, why do one?). On the other hand, as with Pablo and his cuarteto Buenas Noches, that very expectation ("groups win") may be violated in the sense that it is an "expectation
excessively met," something truly remarkable, notable, and **memorable**.

The director who spins a memory narrative of such a group employs the standard script in constructing his narrative and at specific script elements (scenes or sequences of actions) he produces episodes or real, actual memories. The combination of script elements and episodes becomes the narrative. These narratives show how memory is motivated by expectation violations of the values of the Simplified World. In Schank's words, memory is "failure-driven" because at points where script elements are violated, real, actual memories are stored.

Likewise two narratives are drawn from two of the same directors concerning the phenomenon of groups splitting up. In the Simplified World, members of a group stay loyal to a director from year to year because of his particular talent or genius. But in the real world members move from group to group. Because this is a common occurrence a subscript is formed. These narratives show how an entire subscript comes into being as a result of an expectation violation of the values of the Simplified World.
The directors provide autobiographical memories in the form of schematized narratives corresponding to the subscript Group Splits Up. The directors want to offer explanations for the whole subscript since the ideal director-member relationship would be one of loyalty and faithfulness.

One director explains the split in light of his character as a tough director. The other takes the splits in stride and demonstrates that he is sufficiently talented to consistently start from scratch and win contests.

This introduces themes from a self-schema ("I'm tough," "I'm sufficiently talented that...") which are operative in the construction of memory narratives. That is, memory is driven not only by expectation violations and elaborations against the backdrop of the Simplified World, but also by self-schemata. That will be the issue explored in the next chapter.

*Script-Based Memory in The World of Holy Week Brotherhhoods*

*The BECOME MEMBER OF THE JUNTA Script*
As indicated in the last chapter, there is a smaller subset of every brotherhood which is dedicated to its projects on a year round basis. These are usually members of the junta plus some others. The number of men who actually "hang around" all year varies from brotherhood to brotherhood. For example, the larger brotherhoods of Santa Ines, like El Huerto (The Garden) or Misericordia (Mercy) may have as many as ten to fifteen members coming around on a nightly basis to the house of the brotherhood even at the leanest times, e.g. early summer. Smaller brotherhoods, like Los Afligidos (The Afflicted) or La Flagelación (The Scourging) have groups of five to seven who gather each night for a while.

Brothers who dedicate most of their time and energy to their brotherhoods usually become members of the junta. Each brother has his own story for how he became a junta member, but the script is a common one.

Name: BECOME MEMBER OF THE JUNTA

Typical Roles: Brother, Hermano mayor, Junta

Entry Conditions: Hermano mayor chooses brothers for his junta.

Scenes: (with sequences of Actions
subordinated):

Brother fills ordinary responsibilities in the brotherhood.

Polish the silver.  
Work around the brotherhood house.  
March in processions

Brother chosen as member of the junta.

Some brother runs as candidate for hermano mayor  
Hermano mayor chooses members for his junta

Brother exercises particular office on the junta

Brother is assigned a junta role  
Brother fulfills obligations of that role  
Brother attends junta meetings

This script represents an outline of a brother's more intimate involvement in the life of his brotherhood until he becomes a member of the junta. The script also implicitly contains the values and expectations of the Simplified World of Holy Week brotherhoods. As regards the member of the junta, some of these are:

1. Junta members are seasoned brothers who have been in the brotherhood for many years and whose wisdom is rooted in their many experiences.

2. Junta members are deserving of special respect for their authority, particularly the hermano mayor whose power in the brotherhood is absolute.
Ignacio, Lorenzo, and Jorge are the three brothers who are also members of juntas and whose narratives are analyzed below. Interestingly, each of the three elaborates a different script element from the same script.

IGNACIO

At the time of the interview Ignacio was hermano mayor of his brotherhood. He is a married man with two children. He works at one of the major wineries of Santa Ines and is in his mid-thirties. He joined the brotherhood while a high school student.

The narrative is Ignacio's story about his becoming Hermano Mayor of his brotherhood. It follows the BECOME MEMBER OF JUNTA script with the majority of material emerging as a memory stored at the juncture Hermano Exercises Particular Office on Junta.

Activator of BECOME MEMBER OF JUNTA:

I remember the day I took over as Hermano Mayor. For me it was one of the greatest days of my life and at the same
time one of the most
worrisome. Because it was
unbelievable to me, no?

Hermano Fulfills Ordinary Responsibilities
in the Brotherhood.

Here I am, I entered at twelve
years old, the child among the
Higher-Ups. I was the kid who
polished the silver, who
answered the door, all that
stuff.

Brother Chosen as Member of The Junta

Then I became a simple vocal
on the junta.

Brother Exercises Particular Office on
Junta

From there I became mayordomo,
which is an important position
in the brotherhood because he
governs the brotherhood within
the house a bit. And
afterwards, becoming hermano mayor was something pretty big.
I'm really proud... //R. At twenty-nine.// At twenty-nine, no? I am proud to be hermano mayor of my brotherhood. It's something I'm very proud of. That day I felt an immense happiness because I had arrived at becoming hermano mayor of my brotherhood and a great concern too. I had wanted this all of my life, it was so far away.
I'd see the hermano mayor and the hermano mayor wouldn't even know me. I was just the kid who polished the silver, but he had no idea who it was polishing the silver. He didn't know me.
The activator introduces the schematized memory which Ignacio is about to relate. The instantiation-elaboration of the first script element (Brother Fulfills Ordinary Responsibilities) is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, by mentioning that he entered at twelve years old, Ignacio affirms one of the values of the Simplified World: junta members are experienced brothers. Secondly, "I was the kid who polished the solver" is a stock reference in the world of Holy Week brotherhoods to a humble beginning in the life of the brotherhood.

The majority of the narrative is an instantiation of Brother Exercises A Particular Office on The Junta. After being chosen a member of the junta a brother would logically fulfill some particular office. Ignacio does so: first he is made mayordomo, later hermano mayor. But here is the expectation violation. In the Simplified World an Hermano Mayor would be an Elder, a person with long experience and wisdom. Ignacio accentuates the fact that he was only twenty-nine years old. It is an expectation violation of the Simplified World, but it is also a point about the self.
LORENZO

At the time of the interview Lorenzo was a member of the junta of his brotherhood. He was in his early thirties and engaged to be married. He worked for the post office in Santa Ines. He joined the brotherhood as a child.

Lorenzo tells the story of his becoming a member of the junta. In contrast to Ignacio's story, the majority of Lorenzo's material is located at the juncture Brother Chosen As Member of The Junta.

Brother Fulfills Ordinary Responsibilities in Brotherhood.

So, ever since I was little, I had a growing awareness of what a brotherhood really is. The problems, the internal problems of a brotherhood. Since then, as they say, I've been climbing a little at a time the jobs in the brotherhood.
Brother Chosen As Member of The Junta

Till the year '82, I was never an official member of the junta. Even though before that I was always there without official position or recognized by the bishop, but I always had some responsibility. I was someone they trusted, since I had been here so many years. I knew how things were, and they always gave me responsibilities, even though it wasn't officially recognized by the junta. So till '82 I didn't belong to a junta.

With Enrique Garcia Maiques, another older brother of the brotherhood, and afterwards Eduardo Ruiz, and the present junta...so I'm now three
candidatures of junta, with
different hermanos mayores.
What more can I tell you?
//R. So you started in Holy
Week as a Penitent, and
later...?// Well, I started
climbing, you know, from
polishing the silver, no?
Doing the jobs that nobody
wanted to do. That's where I
started.

[Brother Exercises Particular Office on
The Junta]

Like Ignacio, Lorenzo instantiates Brother
Fulfills Ordinary Responsibilities by mentioning how
young he was when he started. The major memory is
produced at the next element: Brother Chosen as Member
of The Junta. The memories of being an unofficial
member of the junta are stored at this juncture
precisely because it is an expectation violation of
what should be the case (Simplified World), i.e. older,
wizened persons, knowledgeable in the ways of
brotherhoods, become members of the junta. But here is Lorenzo attending junta meetings as a youth. Note that the last element of BECOME MEMBER OF JUNTA is not instantiated and left unmentioned. Note also the occurrence of the phrase "polish the silver" in this narrative and in the previous narrative: "Well, I started climbing, you know, from polishing the silver, no?"

JORGE

At the time of the interview, Jorge was a single man in his middle twenties who worked as a legal assistant in a law office. He had joined the brotherhood as a youth.

Jorge's narrative follows the script BROTHER BECOMES MEMBER OF JUNTA and surfaces memories about his learning his favorite craft: preparing cults.

Activator:

Right now I'm a vocal on the first junta I ever belonged to.

Brother Fulfills Ordinary Responsibilities in The Brotherhood
And I'm just the same as when I wasn't on the junta. Being on the junta's not relevant. Look, it's all the same to me. It doesn't influence my attitude. I'm always working....on everything. I work in the Spring Wine Fair caseta. If I have to paint, I paint; if I have to paste, I paste; if I have to cut, I cut; but my thing is...everybody knows it...my thing is cults: the bésamanos in front of the Virgin, the bésapies in front of the Christ, masses, the pregón, talks, any of that stuff, all that. I arrange the flowers. You've seen the bésapies of the Christ this year. I arranged those flowers, I do the bunches, I prepare them, I
arrange them. I do whatever needs to be done, with the others, of course, but I direct a little...it's what I like...

Ramon Romero used to arrange the flowers, on the pasos, for Holy Wednesday. And he always did the bésapies and, of course, I was always there helping him. I was learning and learning and learning, until now I'm the one who does the bésapies. And naturally I've stolen a lot of ideas (laughs). I go to Sevilla, Jerez, Cádiz, Sanlúcar, San Fernando. I see things and I remember things that I like.

**Brother Chosen as Member of The Junta**
Juntas are dedocráticas, no? Dedocráticas. The hermano mayor is elected, he is presented: Tom, Dick, Harry, whomever. And this hermano mayor selects his junta de gobierno. Your teniente hermano mayor, your mayordomo, your secretary, your vocales, your treasurer, your...your...your... And that's why we say that it's dedocrática. Jesús chose me as vocal, no?

[Brother Exercises Particular Office on The Junta]

The narrative uncovers an episode at the juncture Brother Fulfills Ordinary Responsibilities in The Brotherhood. This is the story of Jorge's getting involved in preparing cults, something which is obviously very important to him. Jorge's episode is
consistent with the picture of the "seasoned brother" who generally becomes a member of the junta. But Jorge goes beyond the expectation that he fulfill ordinary responsibilities and becomes the man in charge of cults. This is a significant position in brotherhoods because it brings a person into constant contact with the sacred images of Christ and the Virgin.

Most of the material that gathers around the element Brother Chosen As Member of The Junta is not explicitly memory material except for the brief report, "Jesús chose me as vocal, no?" Rather, he explains here that the hermano mayor chooses his junta according to his own lights. Dedocracia is an idiomatic word constructed on the model of democracia: dedo is finger. The implication is that power is exercised by pointing one's finger.

Note too that the last element goes uninstantiated: Brother Exercises a Particular Office on The Junta.

All three of the narratives schematized by Brother Becomes Member of Junta (Ignacio, Lorenzo, and Jorge) show instantiations at different script junctures. The same script is used by all three brothers in their
telling the story of becoming members of the junta but each one preserves specific memories at different points.

**The NAZARENO BECOMES COSTALERO Script**

One of the most dramatic changes in a brother's role as a member of the procession itself is the passage from nazareno to costalero (and back again). Every brother begins marching in Holy Weekprocessions as a nazareno, that is, he (or she) wears the tunic of the brotherhood along with the hood which covers the face. The phrase **hermano de túnica** (brother of the tunic) captures this role in the procession. Nazarenos carry candles or insignia of the brotherhood. Technically, those who carry the life-size crosses and also dress in the tunic and hood are Penitents and not nazarenos, but in light of this transition from nazareno to costalero the distinction is moot, and Penitents are lumped together with nazarenos. Costaleros are the men who carry the pasos from underneath. At a certain age, around eighteen, a nazareno can request to become a member of a crew of costaleros underneath either the paso de Cristo or the paso de palio. If he carries the paso faithfully, he
will usually retire at around thirty or thirty-five years old because age begins to limit his physical endurance. The script for this change of processional role is as follows.

Name: NAZARENO BECOMES COSTALER0

Typical Roles: Nazareno, Costalero

Entry Conditions: Nazareno feels desire to carry paso.

Scenes (with Sequences of Actions subordinated)

Brother Marches in Procession as a Nazareno

Wears tunic and antefaz (hooded face covering)
Carries candle

Brother Decides to Become a Costalero

Leaves aside the tunic
Takes up the costal

Brother Carries Paso as A Costalero

Joins the team of carriers
Wears faja and costal
Goes underneath the paso
Carries the paso

Brother Must Give Up Being A Costalero

Leaves Aside the costal for medical reasons
Longs to carry the paso.

The script NAZARENO BECOMES COSTALER0 reflects again the values of the Simplified World of Holy Week
Brotherhoods.

1. Brothers who become costaleros do so after having marched as Nazarenos or Penitents for several years.

2. The motive for choosing to become a costalero is religious: a desire to show greater devotion to the Cristo or the Virgen, the desire to do greater penance, or the fulfillment of a promise made to the Cristo or the Virgen.

3. The only reason a costalero ever stops doing his penance and carrying the paso during his brotherhood's procession is that he can no longer physically do so and the doctor forbids his doing so.

4. Costaleros who no longer carry pasos return to their roles as Nazarenos in the procession.

Again, schematized memory search unearths distinct memory episodes at script junctures where expectations are violated or particularly validated. Scripts are themselves expressions of that Simplified World.

The three brothers whose junta stories were related above are all persons who are also costaleros. Their schematized memories for the transition from nazareno to costalero are presented below. Two of the narratives concentrate on the scene Brother Decides to Become a Costalero. The third concentrates on Brother Carries The Paso As Costalero.
IGNACIO

This story of Ignacio's passing from Nazareno to Costalero is the account of his decision to begin carrying the paso, a decision made in the context of being capataz. The capataz is the man who directs the paso from the street. He walks backwards in front of the paso. Ignacio's experience of seeing how costaleros suffer underneath the paso causes him to become a costalero himself.

SCRIPT: NAZARENO BECOMES COSTALERO

Brother Marches in Procession As A Nazareno

For me, it cost me my very life to leave aside the túnica. I was in the procession as a Nazareno...

Excursus: Explanation for How The Brotherhood Came To Create Its Own Crew of Costaleros

...when the crew of costaleros was created. It was an
economic necessity. See, at that time...our own crew went out in '79. So in '78 it was costing...for each paso, maybe 150,000 pesetas. Each paso, for the costaleros. So, some 300,000 pesetas. And the brotherhood didn't have that kind of money...to take the pasos into the street. //R. This much for paying costaleros...// Just to pay costaleros, and you still had to pay the bands and buy the flowers and the candles. At that time, it was simply impossible to maintain all that. So, out of pure necessity the brotherhood of the Afligidos started in '75...it was the first time. And as a result one brotherhood after the other
started forming crews, and in '79 our crew was created.

Brother Decides To Become A Costalero

And I did not become a costalero the first year nor the second mmm... The year '79 was the first, in '80 it was the...the second year. Wait, '78 was the first year, '78 was the first year, '79 the second, and the third year I became capataz. Eh.... There was this need in the brotherhood to find a capataz for the Cristo, and the junta...at that time I didn't belong to the junta...they decided on me. I had no idea. Absolutely no idea what I was doing. //R. You had been a costalero.// Nor had I been costalero
either, no... when they made me capataz. So, well, I took it as just another need which the brotherhood had. And we took them out together, me and Manuel Galán, who is capataz now, the heavy one, and me. I talked to the junta and said that I wanted to to take it out along with Manuel. And we took them out together. And it produced in me a sensation so difficult to explain, Roberto. I see myself on the street directing this paso... I saw how the costaleros suffered underneath the paso and I had this feeling of powerlessness outside that paso. And it put me in a predicament since I was the one giving them orders
while they suffered
underneath.
So before we got back to
church I had decided. I
couldn't go in front of the
paso seeing how the costaleros
suffered underneath. So that
was the decision I made when I
committed myself to carrying
the paso.
And when I had to leave aside
the túnica, it was... The year
I was capataz, I wore the
túnica. I didn't go out
dressed in a jacket. I
decided to wear the túnica,
mistakenly
because...mmmm...you can't see
well as capataz. Because you
can't see well with the hood
over your eyes. The Capataz
needs to have his eyes open in
order to direct.
So when I became a costalero, I had to leave aside the túnica. And I loved my túnica. It delighted me to go as a Nazareno. [...] So I made the decision to leave aside the túnica and it cost me a lot. It cost me a lot to leave aside the túnica.

[Brother Carries Paso as Costalero]

**Brother Must Eventually Give Up Being Costalero**

And now it's costing me a lot to leave aside the costal. I figure that pretty soon I'll have to leave aside the costal and take up the túnica and it's hard for me to consider that. I remember...it must be thirteen fourteen Holy Weeks, thirteen, thirteen Holy weeks as costalero. So after thirteen years you get to love things underneath that paso,
love for your own costaleros, who have been your companions for so many years. It costs me... I have to think about taking up the túnica and I think, "The day is coming." I don't even want to think about it.

This narrative includes an Excursus which explains how brotherhoods came to form their own crews of costaleros. Formerly, costaleros were hired. They were the gallegos, or Galicians, which was the stereotypical term for dock workers. These men were not members of the brotherhoods and were paid for carrying the pasos. Brotherhods came universally to a moment of economic hardship in the late 70's and were unable to pay the dock worker crews. Thus, members of the brotherhoods began forming crews of costaleros.

At the juncture Brother Decides To Become Costalero he goes into an explanation of his being named capataz because usually a brother becomes a capataz after he has served as costalero. In the
Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoads, the experience of carrying the paso is seen as a prerequisite to directing the crew. In this regard, there is a saying: you have to be a cook first, then you become a monk ("antes monje, cocinero"). Thus, the memory episode is found at this juncture because it violates one of the expectations of the Simplified World. Some explanation is necessary.

The other episode he relates at the Brother Decides To Become Costalero juncture of the script has to do with the decision itself. It is his emotional reaction to the suffering of the costaleros while he is directing them that convinces him that he should share their suffering. Ideally, costaleros suffer for penance or devotion or promise. In the narrative he focuses on their suffering in itself and the powerlessness he felt as a result of it. This is an emotional instantiation of the script element: the episode recalled is vivid and still felt intensely.

Note, too, that he focuses particularly on the symbolic actions: "leave aside the tunic" and "take up the costal" and, finally, "leave aside the costal." These
are dramatic phrases which capture the decision to pass from nazareno to costalero.

He is careful to explain that he had worn the tunic of the nazareno uninterruptedly until the moment he became a costalero, even though he had served for one year as capataz. Usually, the capataz dresses in a suit, but out of devotion to his tunic Ignacio served as capataz wearing the tunic. This little detail is memorable because his decision to wear the tunic as capataz violates the expectation of the Simplified World. But he succeeds in making a point about his devotion to the role of nazareno as well.

LORENZO

As in Ignacio's narrative, this story of Lorenzo's passing from Nazareno to costalero is interwoven with another story, the story of the brotherhood's formation of its own crew of costaleros.

NAZARENO BECOMES COSTALERO

[Brother Marches in Procession as A Nazareno]

Brother Decides To Become A Costalero
So in the year, the year
I went out as a costalero, in
the year 1980, seeing the
youth we had, seeing that the
brotherhood didn't have enough
funds to pay the brothers...to
pay the brothers of...to pay
the gallegos --costalero
brothers as we called them.
They weren't costalero
brothers but anyway, the
gallegos.
So anyway we decided at
fourteen years old, fourteen
fifteen years old, the
majority of us, the oldest was
seventeen years old, we
decided to put together a crew
because we figured that our
image did not deserve to go
out on wheels. It ought to go
out on the shoulders of its
brothers. So we decided at sixteen seventeen years old, you know, the oldest was seventeen, we decided to form a crew.

And that year, in '81, was the first crew belonging exclusively to the brotherhood. We took out the Cristo which was... at that time the mayordomo was the now deceased Antonio Diaz, Carlos' father, Carlos Diaz. He was founder of the brotherhood. He was violently opposed because he said that we were too young... Of course, they were used to the brotherhood having a crew of people forty, forty-five years old, older people, people...

And seeing a bunch of kids, as they say, that just a couple
of days ago were getting their diapers changed or getting their teeth pulled... Well, they just shook their heads, no?
So, then, that year it was like dropping a bomb since the news ran through the brotherhoods like fire, "The Flagelación is going to form a crew of persons fourteen fifteen years old." It spread right to Jerez and even to the Bishop. "This is craziness, one of these kids is going to break his back." So we were just as determined that the Cristo was not going out on wheels. So all the older brothers were against us, the junta, everybody, but we said, "No!" ...that so long as we were around, the Cristo was
not going out...would never again go out on wheels. We were determined to carry it ourselves.

**Brother Carries Paso as Costalero**

So in '81 despite it all we took out the Cristo on our own backs. So from '81 on, I was part of the crew of costaleros of the brotherhood.

That year everything worked out great. All the brotherhoods congratulated us. They couldn't believe it. And from that moment on...we were like the pioneers of the crews of costaleros here in Santa Ines. All the rest of the brotherhoods started copying little by little until...until now all the brotherhoods have
their own crews. That year
was a huge success.
So from '81 was when I
started...I left aside the
túnica, I hung up the túnica
and went as a costalero.
Right till now. This year
it'll be twelve years carrying
the paso, twelve years.

[Brother Must Eventually Give Up Being
Costalero]

Again, the instantiated juncture is Brother Decides To
Become A Costalero. Obviously the formation of the
brotherhood's own crew of costaleros is the stored
episode. What makes this episode so memorable and so
remarkable is that, on the one hand, it is a clear
expectation violation of how things ought to work out
in the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhods. In
the Simplified World, pasos should be carried by
professionals (gallegos) and, if not by them, then by
strong, healthy, male adult brothers--certainly not by
teenagers. Yet the brotherhood's first crew of
costaleros is a crew of teenagers. On the other hand,
there is a confirmation of ideal values as well: the teenagers are insistent that the paso be carried by its own brothers-devotees. It is not to suffer the indignity of being pushed about on wheels. (When a brotherhood could not pay the gallegos, it was forced to use pasos mounted on classes with wheels and pushed by brothers, one of whom steered from inside). In this case, therefore, the teenager's motivation for carrying the paso is their devotion to their Cristo who deserves better than this insult of being pushed about on wheels. This detail confirms the value of the Simplified World, where motivations for carrying the paso are religious, and it also says something about Lorenzo as well: his motivation is religious.

JORGE

This narrative follows the NAZARENE BECOMES COSTALERO script but instead of selecting episodes for Brother Decides To Become A Costalero as in the previous two narratives, it concentrates the majority of the material on the third goal-directed scene Brother Carries Paso. Jorge talks long about his career as a costalero.
SCRIPT: NAZARENE BECOMES COSTALERHO

Brother Marches in Procession As A Nazarene

Right. When I started, I started as a Nazarene, as a penitent. I went out the first year with a processional candle and all the rest of the time with the insignia of the Youth Group Flag. Since I was part of the Youth Group I'd carry either the Flag or the insignia. I went every year. And during...I don't know how many years...but anyway always in the same place with the flag of the Youth Group.

[Brother Decides To Become A Costalero]

Brother Carries The Paso As A Costalero

Later in the year 1985 when the brotherhood celebrated it's twenty-fifth anniversary,
I carried the palio. It was the first, my first year as costalero. It had always been my dream. It was...everything I could want in life was being a costalero. And I had the honor to carry the paso of my Virgen. I carried that year. It was the twenty-fifth anniversary, several really beautiful ceremonies, really solemn, really very good. And the 18 of August of the year 1985 we took out the palio, without the palio (canopy), only the Virgin--the paso and the Virgin alone...in a Rosary at Dawn. We started at 7:00 in the morning and we went through town reciting the holy rosary in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the brotherhood.
And that year I carried the paso. So I've carried the paso for nine Holy Weeks but ten times. Well, from then on I switched to the paso of Cristo. I switched to the paso of Cristo and I've been under the paso of Cristo eight years. Eight years carrying, eight in a row. In the same place...this is curious...I've been carrying for eight years in the same spot as Adolfo Ortega. Adolfo Ortega carried the paso and I'm carrying in the same spot as him. Of these eight years, five I've carried under Eduardo Galán, the previous capataz, and these last three with Pau, Jesús Vaca.

And since two years ago I am the Voice of the paso of
Cristo. The Voice is the one who says, "Look, a little faster" or "A little slower."
//R. Right, the Trusted One.// Right, the capataz's Trusted One underneath the paso. So for two years, that's been my job. I like to carry the paso.

**Brother Must Eventually Give Up Being Costalero**

It's... I don't do penance on Holy Wednesday. I don't do penance on Holy Wednesday. Anybody who says they do, well, I doubt it... At least the ones who are there with me, because I go and enjoy myself. Doing penance is doing something you don't like, you make a sacrifice. But this isn't any sort of sacrifice. True, you've got
this heavy burden, you're
exhausted, you can't take any
more, your back hurts, your
neck hurts and hurts bad. All
that stuff, you're suffering.
But you're not doing penance
because you're doing something
you like to do. I enjoy it.
I'll suffer, I'll do penance
in the year that my Cristo
says I can't carry anymore.
The year that I have to stop
carrying, that year I'll
suffer and have a bad time of
it. Because I really want to
be underneath my paso. Like
we were saying before, people
in front of the paso might
look good or might look bad,
but...() I'm going to tell
you something: the year that I
have to stop carrying, you're
going to have to call a Legion
of the Guardia Civil to drag me out from underneath my paso. Inevitable. I'll get in front of it and yell and cry, whatever, but nobody will take me from in front of my paso. You'd have to kill me. It's been so many years.

He begins his history as an active costalero by pointing out that the first time he carried the paso in procession was outside of Holy Week which is extremely rare. Pasos are only taken out in procession during Holy Week; here the paso is involved in a procession outside of Holy Week. The episode is memorable and worthy of narration because of this expectation violation of the ordinary sequence of events assumed in the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhods. Here he carries for the first time in the Brotherhood's Twenty-fifth anniversary celebration. Note that this affects the way he tallies his carrying: "So I've carried the paso for nine Holy Weeks but ten times."
He also gives other details. Concerning his place underneath the paso, he comments that he is carrying in the same place as some of the Brotherhood's Founding Fathers. He lists the capataces he has served under. And he explains his present position as the Voice or Trusted One underneath the paso: he is a sort of crew sergeant who relays commands from the capataz to the crew.

Though it is not specifically memory material, note the strength of feeling associated with Brother Must Eventually Give Up Being Costalero.

Summary: Memory and Holy Week Brotherhoods

Three brothers' accounts demonstrate schematized narratives corresponding to the BROTHER BECOMES MEMBER OF THE JUNTA script. Each one employs the same script but produces episodes around different script elements. Two of these are particularly interesting in showing a subtle interplay of kinds of expectation violations. Ignacio produces an episode at the juncture Brother Exercises A Particular Office on The Junta. He goes beyond the expectation of exercising an office on the junta and becomes hermano mayor, which is itself an expectation violation because he assumes the office at
a very young age (twenty-nine). In the Simplified World, the hermano mayor is a seasoned Elder.

In Lorenzo's account, he instantiates a different element: Brother Chosen As A Member of the Junta. His episode reveals responds to an expectation violation because he is allowed to participate in junta meetings unofficially from a very young age. Only later does he become an official member of the junta. Again, in the Simplified World, members of the junta are older, experienced brothers. Both accounts show that a script element can tease out an episode in a complex interplay of expectation violations.

Three further narratives taken from the same three individuals employ the script NAZARENO Becomes COSTALERO. The first two (Ignacio and Lorenzo) are particularly interesting. Both produce longer episodes at the juncture Brother Decides to Become A Costalero. The Simplified World would stipulate that the appropriate motive for choosing to become a costalero would be religious, and both men chose to carry the paso for this noble motive.

But in Ignacio's case, it is also a strong emotional reaction to the penitential sacrifice of the
costaleros which motivates him to become a costalero. In Lorenzo's case, it is the desire to do justice to the dignity of the image (carry it rather than allow it to go out on a cart). Note that this memory construction is also motivated by the presentation of self. Again, the next chapter takes up this more subtle motivation in memory.

The Motivation of Memory By Cultural Schemata

It has been the argument of this chapter that an autobiographical memory is a reconstruction of a past experience where a schema or script provides the outline of the event. Elements of the script are expressions of typical sequences and values of the Simplified Worlds from which they come. At the moment of reconstructive retrieval, some of these elements are instantiated while others are left as assumptions. Instantiation occurs either because the expectation described by a script element has been violated (its prediction contradicted) or because its expectation has been confirmed in some particular (and memorable) way. The instantiation is a real, actual memory (something of the phenomenological record). These are termed
episodes. The combination of the script and episodes creates a memory narrative. In this sense, autobiographical memory is driven by expectation violations against the backdrop of the Simplified World.

Carnaval is one such world. Schematized narratives from three carnaval directors were recounted according to two event-schemata: the script DO A GROUP and the subscript GROUP SPLITS UP. Holy Week Brotherhoods comprise another such world. Schematized narratives from junta members demonstrated autobiographical memories according to two scripts: BROTHER BECOMES MEMBER OF THE JUNTA and NAZARENO BECOMES COSTALERO. For both festival events, the accounts examined show how a narrative is a construction involving the combination of scripts and episodes against the backdrops of the Simplified Worlds of Carnaval and Holy Week.

Placing carnavaleros' and Holy Week brothers' narratives side by side show that, at one level, the dynamics of reconstructive retrieval are the same despite festival-specific differences between carnaval and Holy Week. In both cases, outline-like scripts
touch on the idiosyncratic phenomenological record and actual, real memories or episodes. On another level, it is apparent that festival-specific cultural schemata (the scripts) are intimately involved in the functioning of memory from encoding through retrieval. Schemata are constitutive of the act of memory.

At the same time it is apparent from these narratives that there are other factors at play. The construction of memory narratives is driven by expectation violations and elaborations, but this sort of memory account is true of the memory for past experience in general whereas these are stories of a specifically personal past. They are autobiographical memories. It is not enough to explore retrieval in terms of expectation violations of predictions and values of the Simplified Worlds. Retrieval and reconstruction are also subtly motivated by the representation of a self in the narratives.

This was already the case, for instance, where directors of carnavaI groups provided explanations for why a group failed or why a group split up. Their retrieval of episodes obeyed the logic of expectation violations within Simplified Worlds, but their
explanations were also clearly motivated by themes of self-presentation. Brothers who have risen to become members of juntas or who relate their motivations as costaleros also interweave themes of self-presentation into their narratives.

The next chapter takes up the functioning of the self-schemata in the reconstructive retrieval of autobiographical memories. It is precisely the interplay of self-schemata and festival-specific cultural schemata that make a memory autobiographical instead of simply memory for an event in the personal past. Moreover, where self-schemata and festival-specific cultural schemata interact it is possible to see how the Simplified World of carnaval makes carnavalero selves and how the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoods makes brother selves.
CHAPTER SIX: SELF-SCHEMATA AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MEMORY

Searching Self-Schemata in Narratives

Self-Schemata: Basic Elements

This chapter takes up the functioning of the self-schema in the act of reconstructive retrieval of memory. The following initial considerations are devoted to the fundamental concept of the self-schema. It is used to organize and arrange information about oneself.

Brewer (1986) provides a description of the self which is useful in setting the self-schema in a larger context. His conception of the self includes four components: (a) the experiencing ego, (b) a self-schema, (c) a set of personal memories, and (d) autobiographical facts. The experiencing ego is "the conscious experiencing entity that is the focus of our phenomenal experience" (p. 27). It is the subjective "I."
He describes the self-schema as containing generic knowledge about the self, some of it private, some of it public. The self-schema develops slowly over time and is resistant to change. It acts as any other schema in organizing knowledge (more on this in the paragraphs that follow).

In this paper, I adopt this view of the self with two exceptions. Within the self-schema I discriminate person-schemata and the set of personal beliefs. This has the effect of locating Brewer's autobiographical facts within the self-schema, but I believe that this is more appropriate because personal beliefs function in schematic ways, i.e. they are as much expectations as descriptions of the self.

What grounds this division of the self-schema into two parts? It quickly becomes apparent that members of a culture attend variously to different facets of that same culture: persons become proficient in different cultural activities. Thus, it is useful to analyze the self-schema as comprising two parts. On the one hand, there are self-schematizations corresponding to particular festivals: "I'm a carnavalero," or "I am a member of the brotherhood, Los Afligidos." This is the festival-specific person-schema. On the other hand,
there is that whole web of purely personal themes and beliefs which make an individual truly individual even within his or her allegiance to a particular festival world. This part of the self-schema is the set of personal themes.

These general considerations of the character of the self-schema are necessary before turning the discussion to the matter of searching out self-schemata in narratives in order to see its functioning in reconstructive retrieval.

A self-schema is like an event-schema (script) in that the self-schema describes the typical or the to-be-expected, except that in the case of the self-schema, the typical is the typical of oneself (see Barclay and Subramanian, 1987; Bower and Gilligan, 1979; Brewer and Nakamura, 1984; Cantor and Mischel, 1979; Keenan and Baillet, 1980; Klein and Loftus, 1993; Rogers, Kuiper, and Kirker, 1977). According to Markus (1977)

Self-schemata are cognitive generalizations about the self, derived from past experience, that organize and guide the processing of self-related information contained in the individual's social experience. (p. 64)

Self-schemas are the "reflections of the invariance people have found in their own social
behavior" (Markus, 1977, p. 64). Such self-knowledge ranges from the mundane to the sublime. For example, a person who never belonged to a carnaval group says, "I just can't be in front of people on a stage and all." That same person may be a grade school teacher with infinite patience for fifth graders: "They seem to just listen to me." Such knowledge about oneself, whether conscious or not, is important for charting one's course in everyday situations and in life itself, viz. it allows for predictions. It creates expectations, the very stuff of schemata.

Usually such self-descriptions are made on some dimension in which one stands out from others (Markus, 1980). This implies that comparison with others has taken place. For example, one carnaval director knows that his particular talent lies in managing groups because he's seen other directors who cannot manage groups so well.

These comments point to the fact that the self-schema corresponds to certain dimensions of behavior and is activity-specific. For example, one who knows nothing about music is "aschematic" for self-descriptions regarding musical ability. Such a one would not make the autobiographical statement, "I can
attune voices, I can just hear what goes with what, you know?" The self-schemata is activity-specific: carnavaleros are schematic for carnaval, Holy Week brothers for brotherhoods. On the other hand, neither one, for example, may be schematic for the equestrian arts.

The concept of self-schema implies that information about the self in some area has been categorized or organized and that the result of this organization is a discernible pattern which may be used as a basis for further judgments, decisions, inferences, or predictions about the self. (Markus, 1977, p. 64)

A person categorizes (unconsciously) his or her behavior, and he or she experiences others categorizing his or her behavior, and slowly builds up a self-schema. In fact, because the self-schema may vary in degree of development from cultural activity to cultural activity, it is better to speak of self-schemata (i.e. in the plural).

Like other schemata, self-schemata influence memory both at the moment of encoding and at the moment of retrieval. At the moment of encoding, the self-schema acts as a selective mechanism and influences what information in the surrounding sociocultural environment is to be attended to, how that information will be integrated into the self-structure, how much
importance is to be given that new information, and what happens to it afterwards (Markus 1977, p. 64; Stillings, 1989, p. 34).

At the moment of retrieval, the self-schema plays the same selective role. There is nothing surprising about this: it is a common experience that memory is somewhat selective. How I remember my own past is determined by what I believe about myself now and my present convictions about how things should be.

Other knowledge structures which represent beliefs about the self and the current version of the self may act to reconstruct the past so that it is compatible with the present. (Conway, 1990, p. 101)

The self-schema is revisionist in the sense that its present form is used to make "past selves" congruent with the present, i.e. memories are altered, given different contexts and meanings, sometimes forgotten wholesale. Obviously, the self-schemata play a major role in reconstructing the past.

The Festival-Specific Person Schema and The Retrieval of Memories

Again, the culturally shaped self-schema in any particular cultural activity is composed (minimally) of an activity-specific person-schema and set of personal themes. The former describes roles proper to a
particular activity, the latter takes up the idiosyncratic themes of an individual.

This study has pursued ethnographic descriptions of carnaval and Holy Week and their respective "worlds" because these worlds are contrastive in spirit and practice. More importantly they engender different sorts of selves. At this point, it is instructive to turn to an explicit comparison of carnaval and Holy Week. In particular, each festival world supplies quite different role expectations. They generate distinct person-schemata. The following discussion takes up the points of similarity and contrast in the festivals. These themes are operative in the person schemata proper to the carnaval director and Holy Week junta brother.

There are curious similarities between carnaval and Holy Week. Both are essentially dramas and provide the vehicle for the public expression of sentiment. Both are street festivals. A carnaval group may do a dozen staged performances but it was never meant to be a professional theatrical production. Indeed, no professional equivalent has evolved because carnaval is a people's street festival. Holy Week may be celebrated at its purest and most official in churches
by ordained clergy, but it is the street procession which commands the greatest outlay of energy and religious expression in Southern Spain. In 1993 the Pope was planning a visit to Seville, and there was some question as to whether it might be appropriate for him to visit during Holy Week. Knowing that such a plan would mean some serious adjustments in Seville's Holy Week, one priest commented that the Pope had best not come at that time: "Tinker with Holy Week? Not even the Pope!" Like carnaval, it is a people's street festival.

But the differences between carnaval and Holy Week are equally interesting. They are two distinct events in the larger, cultural domain of festivals. The thematic descriptions of the spirit of carnaval at the end of Chapter Three and the spirit of Holy Week at the end of Chapter Four provide the bases for contrasting the festivals, particularly as regards their protagonists of the two festivals. Carnaval is characterized by indulgence, exhibitionism, and creativity. Holy Week is characterized by spirituality, anonymity, and conservatism. These may be arranged as dimensions of contrast for the festival domain, as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carnaval</th>
<th>Holy Week</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indulgence</td>
<td>spirituality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exhibitionism</td>
<td>anonymity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creativity</td>
<td>conservatism</td>
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The spirit of carnaval is *indulgence*, mayhem let loose. It is mischievous and mocking, it is foolishness and fun. Holy Week is the opposite. It is fundamentally *spiritual*: a serious moment of self-sacrifice in identification with and adoration of a deity dying on the cross. It is grieving, even weeping, with the Sorrowful Virgin Mother. It is all order and silence and self-inflicted pain.

Carnaval is *exhibitionist*. This is true in general, but nowhere more so than in the person of the carnaval director. The stage is his home, he delights in notoriety and applause. The spirit of the Holy Week brother is at the opposite end of the spectrum: *anonymity* is the goal. The brother disappears into the brotherhood behind the hood and within the tunic. True, the procession is a public spectacle, but it is as if it had no identifiable agents. Rather, the
brotherhood is itself the agent and no individual stands out.

The spirit of carnaval draws out the creativity of the carnavalero. It provides him an opportunity to hold his genius to the light. He attempts to capture artistically something of the pathos or comedy of daily life and render it plastic and remarkable. The spirit of Holy Week is other. Holy Week looks back to the historical event of Christ's suffering and his Mother's sorrow. It relives these moments by hearkening back to a baroque representation of them. It has all the drama of carnaval but the script has already been written—centuries ago. The Holy Week brother conserves the script as faithfully as possible.

These contrasts are not lost on the participants of the festivals. Interestingly, in Santa Ines, during the Spring of 1993, there were no directors who were also junta brothers, and only one junta brother who was involved in carnaval as a member of a group. To be sure, some members of carnaval groups are also penitents or costaleros in the processions of Holy Week. But at the level of deepest commitment (director for carnaval and junta brother for Holy Week brotherhoods) there is practically no crossover. There
is, in fact, among some carnavalesco directors open hostility to Holy Week processions ("They take the dollies out in the streets") and among some junta brothers clear rejection of carnavalesco ("I stay home and play Holy Week marching band music at full volume"). But this is not common. The majority of junta brothers simply express a lack of interest in carnavalesco. The same would be true of carnavaleros were it not for the fact that the town hall was subsidizing Holy Week more than carnavalesco during the period of my fieldwork. There was a fair amount of complaining about inequitable distribution of funds. But, in general, there is little antagonism between the groups.

Themes proper to carnavalesco (indulgence, exhibitionism, and creativity) and the themes proper to Holy Week (spirituality, anonymity, and conservatism) are present to one degree or another in the roles proper to each festival.

In some ways, directors capture the very essence of carnavalesco and Holy Week brothers capture the essence of Holy Week. They are "social cynosures" as La Barre (1946) develops the concept in general and Gaines and Farmer (1986) develop it for the Mediterranean Culture Tradition. Gaines and Farmer investigated "visible
saints": persons who publicly model life as suffering misfortune and enduring misery. The key is that these persons display publicly in their social behavior the culture's understanding of the value of suffering:

"Misfortune and suffering are inexorably linked with saintliness and goodness constituting a central structure of ambivalence in this culture area." (p. 305)

And far from suffering in silence, they engage in the "rhetoric of complaint."

One verbalizes a social life of problems or mundane developments which try one's patience. This presentation of self seeks not to tempt others or make the self fall victim to the envy of others. One does not talk of glowing possibilities, plans and goals, and how well things are going; one complains. (p. 305, see also Gaines, 1982)

Thus, "visible saints" capture the essence of what the painstaking suffering of life is all about.

In the same way, the Holy Week brother in his penitential procession focuses the cultural themes which are refracted through Andalusian Holy Week: spirituality, anonymity, and conservatism. And in the antics of the carnaval director, the themes of indulgence, exhibitionism, and creativity are displayed and celebrated. Both are social cynosures, both are selected by the culture to make plastic the themes and tensions of the culture.
These themes, then, are operative in the festival-specific person schema which refers to typical characterizations of identities or roles in a cultural activity.

Each time a script was introduced in the last chapter, a slot was left for Roles, e.g. in the case of the carnavalesque script DO A GROUP, there were: director, poeta, músico, members, crowd. To each of these corresponds a prototypical exemplar which unites regular features and expectations of the identity against the background of the Simplified World of Carnaval.

In the case of directors of carnavalesque groups, the corresponding person-schema may be entitled and thematized as TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALERO. Keep in mind that an exemplar is being described; following are some of the typical characteristics of the TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALERO director as his identity emerges in the Simplified World of Carnaval:

1. The director is eminently creative and he is an artist. Every director is an inspired and accomplished artist.

2. In the case of chirigoteros and cuarteteros, they are riotously humorous; in the case of director of comparsas and coros, they explore the pathos and plumb the depths of the human spirit.
3. Directors are at once musical geniuses, inspired choreographers, team leaders, cheerleaders, and set designers.

4. Directors win first place.

Directors are special beings in a sense. The notion that they are inspired artists suggests that they are persons set apart from the run-of-the-mill, the merely common. They are characters in the popular sense of that term; they are public personalities. They are expected to have foibles and whims. They are on stage, literally during the celebration of carnaval, figuratively throughout the year in the world of carnaval. Thus, the exhibitionism of the festival is made concrete in its principal role.

The genius of the director lies in his ability to speak for the masses. He gives voice to the muted complaint and the hidden hurt, or, alternately, he exposes the comic element of life and inspires the laughter. His drama invites the public to indulge in a moment's release from the strictures of custom and proper behavior.

Obviously, no one person meets all of these requirements, but in the Simplified World these are elements of the personage of the director.
As with the schemata described in the last chapter, these person-schemata function in the retrieval of autobiographical memories via expectation violations. Sometimes a director may not have all of the talents described above. Perhaps he is not a good choreographer or set designer. Or perhaps he knows nothing technical about music. These expectation violations require explanations. Obviously, the most flagrant expectation violation for the ideal director is losing contests. This too requires explanation. On the other hand, sometimes memory narratives show that a director exceeds expectations of person-schemata from the Simplified World. For example, a director describes in much detail the singularly popular response to his tipo.

In relating his life story the carnaval director employs the schema in the retrieval and reconstruction of memories and the schematized narrative reflects the director as himself an instantiation of the person-schema TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALERO.

The last chapter explored the cultural schemata proper to the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoods and in particular developed some scripts of Junta Brothers. The identity of the brother who
remains active and faithful to his brotherhood as a year-round member of the junta may be thematized as TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. Some of the elements of this person-schema are the following:

1. Brothers have an intense devotion for the images of the Cristo and the Virgen of their brotherhoods. These images are the focus of their loyalty and piety. This devotion to a particular image is the principal reason for being a brother of a this brotherhood rather than another. Costaleros carry the pasos out of religious devotion to the image they carry.

2. Brothers are devoted to the brotherhood itself and are willing to make any sacrifice to enhance its honor and position. The ideal brother is one who evidences long association with the brotherhood (ideally, since childhood) and who is recognized by others as integral to its functioning because of his loyalty and experience.

3. Anonymity and the greater valuation of the brotherhood (than the self) are important to the brother.

4. Brothers are concerned to preserve the customs and traditions of their brotherhood.

These are elements of the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER as they emerge in the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhods.

Clearly, the themes proper to the junta brother differ from those of the carnavalero. His spiritual motivation contrasts with the invitation to indulgence
proper to the carnavalero. His desire to efface his identity behind his hood is at odds with the carnavalero's cultivation of a public persona. He is concerned with conforming this year's procession to a model from a pristine past; the carnavalero wants to do something fresh, something new, something novel.

The person-schema makes predictions or expresses the expectation of the Simplified World and expectation violations occur. Perhaps the junta brother has only been in the brotherhood a short time; he is not an elder. Such an expectation violation requires some explanation. Or perhaps a brother has a particular memory of sacrificing himself well beyond reasonable expectations for the sake of his brotherhood.

In relating his life story, the junta brother combines schemata and episode in the retrieval and reconstruction of memories. The schematized narrative reflects the brother as himself an instantiation of the person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER.

The narratives explored later in the chapter show precisely the sorts of weavings in and out of expectation violations of the person-schemata proper to carnaval and Holy Week.

**Personal Themes and The Retrieval of Memories**
Each person who inhabits a particular cultural activity as an agent within that activity adopts perforce its schemata. In the case of these festivals, each person adopts event-schemata (scripts) and person-schemata (roles). But every individual is unique and has a unique history of involvement in the festival. Each one has an idiosyncratic set of themes or beliefs about himself which further serve to facilitate and constrain the process of retrieval in memory. This set of personal themes comprises the second part of the over-all self-schema.

As I use the notion in this study, the set of personal themes is closely related to the personal semantic network as developed by Claudia Strauss (1992). She employs the concept in order to account for the varying strength of cultural models in providing motive force for behavior.

Personal semantic networks are the idiosyncratic webs of meaning carried by each person, linking individually salient verbal symbols to memories of significant life experiences and conscious self-understandings. Everyone I interviewed had a different cognitive network of this sort. Each man’s personal semantic network has directed him towards an idiosyncratic pattern of self-defining goals and styles of behavior. (p. 211)

Strauss found that, although schemata are organized hierarchically, sometimes top-level schemata
were less motivating than middle level schemata. Sometimes top-level schemata are held more weakly by an individual, in which case the schema has less directive force than more strongly held intermediate schemata. Sometimes higher level schemata are held in a bounded way, i.e. not strongly interconnected with schemata at other levels. This too lowers the directive force of schemata.

The vagaries of the strength of possession or the degree of interconnection of schemata point to the fact that different individuals employ schemata for different purposes. When schemata are used to search memory for episodes and for the reconstruction of memory into narratives, a further set of influences can be discerned in the very selection and combination of schemata. This further set of influences are proper to each individual and comprise a personal network of meanings. According to Strauss, this is the personal semantic network. Embedded in the personal semantic network as its core element is a set of personal themes. This latter set of personal themes has an influential role in retrieval of memories and construction of narratives.
In the world of carnaval, one director may see himself as the political voice of the silent majority. This is certainly one of the themes in carnaval, but one particular director may understand his whole career in terms of this theme. His search in memory and construction of narrative will be guided by this theme. He may relate troubles with authorities or personal demagoguery. Alternately, another carnaval director may see himself as the tortured artist. His search for episodes and construction of narrative will be guided by this theme. He may relate persecution by judges or long nights of agony over dramatic meanings.

It is arguable that some of these personal themes are like Obeyesekere's (1981) personal symbols: "cultural symbols operating on the levels of personality and of culture at the same time." Thus, "Tortured artist" might be one such example, but the intersection with deep motivation (and psychoanalytic theory!) here is quite complex.

Holy Week Brothers are diverse as well. One may emphasize his complete anonymity and immersion into the identity of the brotherhood. This is certainly one of the themes of the person-schema of the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. But in this individual the theme is used to
search for episodes relating extraordinary measures of self-concealment. Another brother may emphasize the identity of the brotherhood over against other brotherhoods, or he may emphasize the value of all brotherhoods against other sorts of religious organizations. His narrative construction is a display of agonistic situations.

The set of personal themes functions as a schema, albeit a purely personal one. Its influence is pervasive and unique to each individual. Such networks are discovered by tracing repeated emphases through narratives in three ways. Firstly, a theme may be discoverable in repeated Autobiographical Fact Units, e.g. a carnavalero who says over and over again, "The judges have never understood my work, my style is beyond them, my meanings too subtle," is developing something of a UNRECOGNIZED GENIUS theme. Secondly, a theme is present when a series of episodes make the same point. For example, the brother who tells story after story of his especially fervent religious motives for doing the things of brothers is appealing to something of a PERSONAL HOLINESS theme. He may not explicitly say: "Unlike the others, I am motivated by devotion" (as in an Autobiographical Fact Unit) but the
repeated stories certainly make the implication clear.
Thirdly, repeated use of key words indicates the
presence of a self-theme. One of the brothers whose
narrative is explored below repeatedly used the term
sentimiento to describe his motivations and those of
his colleagues. He is one who FEELS DEEPLY.

**Self-Schema Based Memory in The World of Carnaval**

**The Person-Schema: TRULY TALENTED CARNALERO**

Directors' memories are searched, in part, under
the influence of the person schema TRULY TALENTED
CARNALERO. That is, the narrative should present the
director as a fulfillment of this schema. As indicated
above, the schema has a variety of features: the
director is creative, an artist, a consummately
humorous chirigotero, or blazingly insightful
comparsista, etc. One of these features, obviously
directly reflecting the Simplified World, is that
directors win first place, or at the very least second
or third. Each group the director does tests this
expectation. In fact, a good portion of directors'
autobiographical narratives is the recital of the list
of groups they have done, plus comments on the fate of
these: celebrations of victories, explanations of failures. In particular, directors must explain the odd occurrence of failure. An expectation violation has taken place and some explanation is necessary.

Each of the directors interviewed in the last chapter have had such moments and it is instructive to turn to their narratives. It is apparent in each case that the director feels the need to explain his failure to instantiate the person schema with his own carnaval history.

PABLO

Pablo did a group whose tipo was the person of Napoleon and his aides-de-camp. Napoleon is an important historical figure in the history of the area because he invaded Cádiz in the early years of the nineteenth century. This chirigota did not make it into the final round in the Official Contest. In the midst of explaining the costuming and design of the chirigota (which he obviously enjoyed immensely), Pablo makes two brief comments about not getting into the finals:

After that, I did Napoleón Y Su Corte, and by now they had me boxed in, boxed
in...
So we got to the theater and they didn't like Napoleón Y Su Corte at all.
Meanwhile, of course, there are groups with half your talent and there are the judges waffling. It hurts a lot.

Here the implication is that the judges were prejudiced. They expected a certain style from him and would not give him credit for efforts outside that style. But the judgment of these judges in no way undermines his instantiation of the Truly Talented Carnavalero schema. They refuse to recognize the talent he has. He is more versatile than they will allow.

**ALFONSO**

Alfonso's narrative related in the last chapter is an excellent example of a director dealing with failure in the Official Contest. Alfonso's group Little Nightingales loses to another group in the contest against "everyone's" expectations. He waits by the stage door to query one of the judges. He remembers plainly this conversation in which he is told that his group lost because it had the name of a bird. This is,
of course, absolutely absurd, and Alfonso's point is that it is prejudice pure and simple on the part of the judges which explains his failure.

So they...seems they're always saying to me, "This is not your thing, Pedro. Carnaval is just not your thing." And, like that.

It is not uncommon for carnavaleros to mention persecution, or perhaps put more mildly, prejudice in these contexts.

Another of his groups loses because some kids are nervous and go off key. This is a group he took to the Official Contest in nearby Cádiz.

The year after Los Primaverales, I did Mis Tanguillos de Cádiz. There's a photo of that, too. It was controversial...where to put the kids, no? Half of them were new, the other half were from last year's group. Some had gone off with another group. So...half...circumstances, you see? Nerves. Three or four of them went off key on me right there in the Teatro Falla. (Whispers, hoarsely, holding his
throat): "I can't sing." It was a disaster. In '77. A disaster. So that year I didn't even get into the finals.

Again, the failure does not impugn his Truly Talented Carnavalero schema. He does not win first, or even second or third, but it is not his fault.

**ARTURO**

The narrative dealt with in the last chapter is an example of an occasion when Arturo does not win in the Official Contest. Recall that the Stage Manager closes the curtain inopportuneely and Arturo threatens to hit him over the head with a wine bottle. The group is disqualified because of this act of aggression. But as he relates the story, it is clear that he sees his loss of temper as quite reasonable in the circumstances. The group did not lose because of lack of quality or lack of talent on Arturo's part; it lost because the Stage Manager pulled the curtain at the wrong time. Note this also from the narrative:

> So it looks like somebody had something against me. Or against my group, I don't know. The only thing I know is
that they disqualified me, and I wound up out in the street.

Again this sense of prejudice or the suggestion, even, of something more intentional and premeditated.

Explaining the fate of another group, Arturo says:

So on the night of the finals...everybody said we'd win first prize. And we blew it in the finals. At the beginning of the popurrit we blew it, we went off key, and it took us awhile to get it back. So the judges analyzed the group because...look, given what happened, we didn't even deserve third prize. Not that it was all that bad, no? But the chiri...the judges saw that there was a normal case of nervousness. To me, they trusted me. So they gave us second prize. Another second prize.

Again the reason for the loss (of first place) was a case of stage fright--something out of his control. But in this somewhat more complex story, the judges award second prize because they realize what happened and had compassion, or rather, knew what sort of work
Arturo was capable of and "trusted him." The person-schema Truly Talented Carnavalero is not actually challenged but is, as a matter of fact, confirmed by this story. They recognize his talent despite the unfortunate occurrence and award him second prize.

In each of these cases (Pablo, Alfonso, and Arturo) the directors deal with an expectation violation of the Simplified World of Carnaval. The expectation is that TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALEROS win in the Official Contest.

Each director has specific memories of not winning and these, of course, are marked in memory as episodes precisely because they are expectation violations of the person schema. But the selection and reconstruction of memory material surrounding these episodes necessarily includes for the directors explanations for the failure. Each must, in a sense, overcome the expectation violation by showing that it is not really a violation of his personal instantiation of the person schema TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALERO.

Pablo, Alfonso, and Arturo all suggest that prejudice on the part of the judges is operative. Alfonso relates an experience of losing in the Official Contest because his inexperienced members went off
key--no reflection on his abilities or talents. And Arturo relates the experience of losing due to the mistakes of a stage manager--again, no reflection on his talents or abilities. Each director remains a valid instantiation of the person schema TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALERO. Each director constructs a memory narrative which makes this point.

**Personal Themes of Directors**

A second component of the self-schema is the set of personal themes. Again, each individual weaves together his various schemata and episodes according to personal themes and beliefs about himself or herself. He or she creates a sense of coherence in this way; indeed, this seems to be the point behind the narrating of the oral-life story (see Linde, 1993).

Each of the directors exhibits a number of themes in drawing together his schematized memories. A brief example or so is given for each director.

**PABLO**

A cornerstone in Pablo's view of himself is that he is a genuinely FUNNY GUY, not a clown, but a person who knows how to make people laugh. Pablo has always
worked with humorous acts in carnaval, with chirigotas and cuartetos.

This bit about getting on stage...that's my genius--reaching people. I'm serious, I have that gift. I know that the music gets inside me, touches me, and mixes around in me, I get quiet. And when they're singing, I say, "No, no, that's not it." If you have to change the pasodoble, you change it. Because I know. I know how to reach people. And I have the sort of character that makes people laugh. I move around every department in Town Hall, "Hey, Pablo" they say. And they're always telling me things and I'm telling them... When they see me sad, they say, "Pablo, you...what's up?" And even if I get up half ticked off already in the morning, well I can't stay that way because people know me. So I know how to reach people.

Explaining the cuarteto, he says,
So with the cuarteto everything's gotta be funny. I like it because I like making people laugh, no? See? I feel at home in it.

His ambition at some point is to perform in a play. In fact, the poeta who writes lyrics for Pablo's carnaval acts is a playwright and Pablo wants to get written into a play someday.

I tell him all the time: "when you write your next play, I'm your comic." "Don't worry," he says. Before I die, before I die I want to act in a play, a drama, you know. Making people laugh, no? It's good to make people laugh.

His narrative is, in a way, the performance of this talent as he laughs his way through the chain of stories which make up his carnaval career. In his own estimation and in the eyes of others, Pablo is a FUNNY GUY.

Another of Pablo's self-themes is that he is NOT A JOINER (in American English). He is NOT A JOINER in the sense that he does not find himself at home in organizations. To him, they are inevitably too
controversial. Talking about the carnaval clubs (peñas) which sponsor carnaval groups...

It's like the peñas. To me they're all the same. But I can't get involved in peñas, and I don't like them because rivalries get started...contests. I don't like that, I don't like that. It would be nice, it would be nice, they pay for your costuming, the pena does. No problems. But they turn on you. So I don't belong to any of them.

Pablo finds peñas constricting. He has belonged to a few, was a member of carnaval groups and a director of carnaval groups sponsored by peñas, but his experiences left him sour.

This dissatisfaction with organized groups goes beyond peñas. One year, he received a letter from the Minister of Festivals, a councilman from Town Hall, inviting him to participate in the organization of carnaval.

They sent me a letter one year, and I'm telling you I didn't go. They sent me a letter and I didn't go. I just didn't go. I can't say if they're doing good
or doing bad. I won't go. I just won't go. I stay in my rehearsals, I work with my people, with my own thing.

Yet, on the other hand, he was instrumental in suggesting the foundation of carnavales in Santa Ines in 1982 (after the prohibitions of Franco had been lifted) and was somewhat involved in organizing the town's first carnavales since 1936.

That first year (1982) I didn't do a group, but there were seven local groups from Santa Ines. So I was a pioneer. And, from then, carnavales has grown and grown till it is what it is today. [...] I helped organize it, and I got out of it...out of the organization of it, eh?

This perception of himself as NOT A JOINER is interesting given his obvious gregarious and social nature. It extends particularly to situations which he perceives as controversial, and carnavales, according to carnavalescos, is notoriously controversial (polémico).

Note that personal themes are variable in extension. FUNNY GUY is fairly pervasive and Pablo uses the theme to search and relate memory episodes from work situations as well as carnavales situations.
On the other hand, NOT A JOINER is more limited in scope and he uses the theme to search and reconstruct memories primarily from the realm of carnaval. His overall understanding of city politics and himself as an employee of the city probably includes higher schemata in a hierarchy which would locate NOT A JOINER as a subsidiary theme, but this narrative focused on carnaval only hints at that. Personal themes are hierarchized as well, but the data on which this study rests allow for the discovery and elaboration of self-themes only within the festivals of carnaval and Holy Week.

These self-themes guide and constrain the retrieval process and production of memory narrative as a subtle interweaving of event schemata, person schemata, and self-themes. FUNNY GUY is a self-theme partially implicated in the person-schema TRULY TALENTEO CARNIVALERO—in the case of Pablo because he is a chirigotero. Both are used in his reconstructive search of various groups he has done according to the DO A GROUP script. The result is a narrative which schematically frames a concatenation of episodes which, in turn, presents Pablo as a successful carnaval person.
ALFONSO

Alfonso's narrative, too, is held together by some major themes which are revelatory of his self-understanding. One is that carnaval was an ADDICTION, it blinded him to other things. The narrative has all the character of the story of one's addiction to something.

As a youth, he resists getting involved in carnaval. An older relative who is already involved prods him and prods him and finally, to make peace, he agrees to join a group. Carnaval "hooks" him.

"Okay, I'll go...to make you happy and to make me happy." And I got so hooked...

He joins another and begins to direct children's groups. The experience overwhelms him.

So from that point on, even being so young, imagine it, I was sixteen, my head was in the clouds.

and

I got in so deep, I don't know how to say it but it made me crazy...carnaval
did...so that now I lived only for carnava

carnaval. It has been my one sin.

Even marriage and family seemed secondary: .

So in '80 I got married, no, I got married in '79. But I was still in so deep. Not my wife, nothing could turn me back...

and

The very day my wife went into labor...with our oldest...the morning she went into labor, I was off in Chipiona at a rehearsal.

He and his family lived with his grandmother in the early years of the marriage.

I was living...where my grandmother lived...where she lived before. It was a farm yard, just a farm yard, that they were building there. Put up the roof. Like gypsies (laughs). Maybe it was better then. But I was into carnava so deep that I didn't see any of it. Carnaval was all there was for me.
These passages suggests a kind of blindness brought on by his totalizing concern with carnaval. It is the language of obsession or ADDICTION.

On the other hand, there is the SACRIFICE of everything dear to him for the sake of carnaval. The earliest example he relates was his giving up a promising career in flamenco guitar in order to do carnaval groups. He learned to play the guitar as a very young boy and nurtured the dream of accompanying flamenco singers.

I was on my way to becoming a flamenco guitarist. I played pretty well, for my age at the time, anyway. I had the clear goal of becoming a soloist...of flamenco guitar. Flamenco singers would accompany me. They seemed old and strange to me then. Or I was accompanying them. Anyway I had my guitar, my music, my creations, but carnaval became everything to me. Like it made me say, "Mmmm, here I belong."

The involvement in carnaval swept away the dream of flamenco guitar.
Another example reflecting this SACRIFICE discourse is this passage.

After a while, you say, "I've done the craziest things in the world." I'll never do it again, eh? Carnaval doesn't deserve it, Santa Ines doesn't deserve it... all that I've lost. I've lost nearly seventeen years of my life. Lost all that's most beautiful about marriage, kids, watching them grow up, no? Now I'm getting a chance to see the youngest, Silvio. Getting a chance to enjoy it. But the older ones I never saw. It's not normal, you know?

This SACRIFICE theme as expressed here also implies something of I WAS A FOOL and is meant to invite others to pity him. Obviously this SACRIFICE theme is related to the ADDICTION theme. There are, of course, other themes coursing through the narrative, but these two stand out as themes which serve to organize and link components of his story. They are self-themes which give coherence to the various episodes he relates. Both of these pieces of self-schema (ADDICTION and SACRIFICE) are fairly pervasive
in the narrative, they provide the glue that holds together the majority of the stories related.

ARTURO

One of Arturo's themes is his conception of himself as a DEMANDING DIRECTOR linked closely to his conviction that he KNOWS HOW TO HANDLE PEOPLE. Arturo started his carnaval career as a director (which is rather strange). He was a member of a group and in the midst of things was appointed its director. The next year, the director of another group comes to him and asks him to take over a group already in formation. The director effectively retired as director in favor of Arturo. In relating this instance, Arturo evidences these two views of himself: DEMANDING DIRECTOR and KNOWS HOW TO HANDLE PEOPLE. The other director's name was Raúl.

Raúl had this problem, he couldn't... He had the idea but he couldn't get it focused. It got away from him, and he couldn't deal with the group. Besides handling these people... So I said I'd think about it, and I stopped by the next day. And here was this fight going
on. I could see that it wasn't a group of friends and there was bad blood between them. [...] So I said I'd take it over but on my conditions. Things had to be done my way. I was the boss. It was dictatorial because with those people you had to be dictatorial.

Recall from the last chapter the schematized narrative GROUP SPLETS UP wherein Arturo explains some members leaving his group because he is too demanding.

Some came with me, let's say "the loyal ones." Loyal to me. Because my way of directing is pretty tough in a rehearsal room. When they don't behave anyway.

Towards the end of the narrative, he returns to the story about taking over the group and says, "My talent is handling people."

As in the case with Pablo, it is possible to ferret out the interweaving of these schematic influences on retrieval of memories. The self-themes DEMANDING DIRECTOR and KNOWS HOW TO HANDLE PEOPLE are personal schemas which interact with the person-schema of the carnaval director TRULY TALENTED CARNIVALERO. As these are put in play with event-schema (script) DO
A GROUP, an actual narrative emerges with specific memories of his being asked to take over a group, laying down his conditions, walking out on them when they would not cooperate, and ultimately winning second prize with them. Personal themes, person schemata, and event schemata (scripts) form a memory search dynamic which issues in a schematized narrative.

The Self-Schema in The World of Holy Week Brotherhods

The Person-Schema: TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER

As indicated earlier in this chapter, in the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoods, the person schema proper to the junta brother is best captured as TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. The schema includes a number of features: e.g. such a brother would be deeply devoted to the brotherhood’s particular images of Christ and Mary, such a one would be willing to make great personal sacrifices for the brotherhood and its images, such a one would be interested in maintaining his own anonymity while fostering the reputation of the brotherhood itself. The schema also specifies either or both of the following:
1. The brother has long and active association with the brotherhood (ideally since childhood). In a sense, seniority is the credential.

2. The brother exhibits his devotion for the brotherhood through energetic and passionate involvement with the brothers and their projects throughout the calendar year (and not solely during Lent and Holy Week: hermanos de cera or "wax brothers," or "cuando huele a cera, se acerca la abeja"--"at the smell of wax, the bees gather.")

Two qualities of the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER are at issue here: he has been around a long time (longevity and seniority), and he's around all the time (regularity). These belong to the person-schema expressive of the Simplified World. They are characteristics any brother seeks to exhibit in his oral life story because he is himself an instantiation of the person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER, and they are qualities used by other brothers to evaluate the standing of one another. Each of the brothers whose narratives have been presented in the previous chapter seeks to instantiate this person schema, each in his own way. In particular, the following extracts concentrate on the expected longevity, seniority, and regularity of the ideal junta member.

IGNACIO
Ignacio becomes an active member of the brotherhood at twelve years of age, but before recounting the story of his entering the brotherhood, he locates his interest much further back in his childhood. In fact, he sees twelve as somewhat old for starting out.

So I started maybe a little late when I was twelve years old, because...certain circumstances. I'd go to my father lotsa times and say that I wanted to sign up for the brotherhood. //R. He was a member too?// No, since little he was a member of another...of the oldest brotherhood of El Puerto, the Veracruz.

Eh...I like the Cerillitos because they would go right behind my house. I lived...there close to the fish market. So by Calle Caña is the back of my house, where I was born. So I remember from little that my father at night...it was late for me, I was just a child...he'd take us to see the
procession go by there. So I remember my brotherhood from childhood.

Note that he seeks not only to show that his interest dates from childhood but that it is an interest in this specific brotherhood. Furthermore, from the age of twelve, he was interested in being more than just a brother who would be involved in the procession (hermano de cera or "wax brother") but wanted to be fully active. He and three friends approach a teacher at school who is a brother-member of Los Cerillitos.

So it (the brotherhood) was more at hand...just a question of talking to him. And he...he'd sign me up as an brother. But like every other kid I was a little afraid, so we waited till there were three or four of us that wanted to enter. The four of us went together and talked to him, no? We said that we wanted to sign up for the brotherhood. And I remember this anecdote...because he was surprised that four kids wanted to enter the brotherhood, and that struck us as strange, because it'd be normal to want people to sign up for the
brotherhood, no? Struck us as strange, eh?

It happened that the brotherhood was going through a difficult time. Practically....that year it was almost sure that the brotherhood was not going to do the procession in the streets. Economic problems. And besides for economic problems, problems with personnel. There were very few people in the brotherhood. It was sort of abandoned. For a variety of reasons...that's the history of the brotherhood.

So he said, "Well, if you want to... What do you want? Just to march as Nazarenos? Or do do want...what?" And us: "We want to enter the brotherhood, we want to work in the brotherhood." So he goes, "Let me finish taking notes here and later we'll talk."

The brotherhood is in bad shape. These four youths come with much enthusiasm and energy to become brothers. The narrative establishes at one and the
same time Ignacio's longevity, seniority, and regularity. Recall Ignacio's account of becoming the Hermano Mayor of his brotherhood (last chapter). There he provides the same picture of dedication since youth.

Here I am... I entered at twelve years old, the child among the Higher-Ups. I was the kid who polished the silver, who answered the door, all that stuff. Then I became a simple vocal on the junta. From there I became mayordomo, which is an important position in the brotherhood because he governs the brotherhood interiorly a bit. And afterwards, becoming hermano mayor was something pretty big.

Note in the following excerpt the intensity of his feeling at becoming Hermano Mayor.

Anyway, the day arrived and I was weighed down by this feeling that I was taking over this brotherhood and its seventy years of history and in my hands it would either continue or be lost...because it was within my power to carry it forward or...I would be the one
responsible for its loss. To me it was a heavy responsibility that weighed me down. I am the one writing the history of the brotherhood. It will all be written down, for good or for bad. What happens in those years is my fault, good or bad. [...] I remember making a petition in the Prayer of The Faithful (part of the Catholic Mass) and that petition was... I asked my Cristo de la Misericordia (the brotherhood's image of Christ) to give me the strength necessary to at least maintain what was placed in my hands.

He re-caps these years of effort and devotion.

After twenty-three years of coming to the brotherhood, I've done it all, no? From polishing the silver to being Hermano Mayor. I've been through it all.

Again, twenty-three years of active service to the brotherhood reaching back into his childhood amply makes the point that he is a TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER.
The following is not memory material, but in this comment he points to defective instantiations of the person schema. The issue is costaleros who do not wish to return to being Nazarenos when they can no longer carry the pasos. In the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoods, the truly devoted brother would take his stint at costalero but then, when physically incapable of carrying the paso, he would willingly (and devotedly) return to marching in the procession as a Nazareno. Such is often not the case.

Nowadays you get a lot of costaleros who've never worn the tunic of the Nazareno. Rather they've entered the brotherhood to be costaleros. So they don't feel the brotherhood as one feels it who has come since he was little...who's worn the tunic of the Nazareno. For the latter there came a moment when he laid aside his tunic, got under the paso, and who later on took up the tunic again when he stopped being a costalero. Nowadays there are cases of costaleros who say: "The year I can't carry any more, I'm not going as a
Nazareno." This I just don't get! It doesn't make sense! If you belong to the brotherhood, you feel the brotherhood, your brotherhood, as much being a Nazareno as underneath the paso.

The TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER person-schema finds an apt instantiation in Ignacio's case and he provides commentary on cases where the expectations of the schema are violated. His narrative displays his personal instantiation of the person schema: he has been involved since childhood (longevity, seniority) and he has been an active member (regularity). Longevity in a penitential brotherhood also implies a longer period of religiously motivated suffering and consequent higher value as a person (for the social value of suffering in the Mediterranean culture area, see Gaines and Farmer, 1986). Ignacio decries the attitude among some contemporary costaleros who refuse to return to being Nazarenos when they cannot carry the pasos anymore. They do not exhibit qualities of the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER.

LORENZO
Lorenzo dates his interest in the brotherhood to age five. The following is a longer account which serves also to show the familial origins of his interest.

In brotherhood life I was never in any brotherhood except this one. I didn't participate in any other, now I participate in many. But living the brotherhood, the brotherhood is this one...the Flagelación, I was never active in any other except this one here.

Start, I started....I'd say that...mmm...I was born in the brotherhood. It's like I was raised in this. Since I was very little, I remember, you know, I was five years old, something like that, four years old, four five years old. Already I had an idea of what a procession was and the rest. //R. Because of your family?// Because of the family.

So my grandmother, my Grandmother Luisa, my mother's mother, lived with us. My
grandmother had a lot of devotion to our image, to our Cristo, our Cristo, because on the facade of the church, you've seen it, there's a mosaic. So my grandmother, when she was fifty-five years old was disabled in the legs. We lived on the second floor and she couldn't go down the stairs. So at fifty-five years of age she couldn't go down the stairs, till eighty some years old, when she died. Thirty years without going down the stairs. She stayed in the house, never went out, nothing. So she had a lot of devotion to our image. So her way of communicating with the image, her way of praying was the balcony of the house. Our balcony, you've seen the balcony of the first house on the corner, that was the place she sat every afternoon. So every afternoon she'd sit on the balcony, she'd look at our mosaic, she'd pray to our Cristo.
And in the afternoon when I'd come from school and so forth, when I'd go out to play and so forth, she'd grab me and give me two or three pesetas...at that time two or three pesetas was a duro...and "Paco, son, take this to the Cristo for me." So every afternoon I'd come home, she'd give me a little money, and I'd take it to throw in the basket for the Cristo. Then every year for Palm Sunday, before the procession would go out, she'd send my mother to go and buy a bunch of flowers from the market, and she'd take me, since I was the one in charge of transmitting her devotion...let's put it that way... So every Palm Sunday she'd give me a bunch of flowers that my mother had bought on Saturday in the plaza and I'd bring it to the brotherhood here. And this was her way of praying, expressing her devotion to our Cristo. So since I was young she
was transmitting to me this devotion to the brotherhood.

When he was a little older he just started "hanging around" the brotherhood.

They always called me Paquito el Chiquitito, "Fatty," because since I was little I was like a little sausage (laughs). We always hung around the church every day.

When Holy Week came I'd help. "Hey, I'll help you." I was always helping, underneath the pasos. I always liked to be looking around, and "How do you do this or that?" So since I was really little they considered me a person in the brotherhood. See what I'm saying? They considered me like one more brother. "Hey, where that guy that always holds this for me?" and, "We need more of those little nails." So since '72, I started to march in the tunic (as a Nazareno). I belonged to the youth choir that the brotherhood had. I worked in cielos ("Heaven") which is the
task of organizing and selling raffle
tickets. And I'd help to polish the
silver.

Like Ignacio in the previous narrative, Jorge
locates his beginnings in the brotherhood in his remote
(but fondly remembered) childhood. This establishes
longevity.

Recall that in his account of becoming a member of
the junta (last chapter), Lorenzo emphasized that he
was an unofficial member of the junta since he was a
youth.

Till the year '82 I was never an
official member of the junta. Even
though before that I was always there
without official position or recognized
by the bishop, but I always had some
responsibility. I was someone they
trusted, since I had been here so many
years. I knew how things were, and they
always gave me responsibilities, even
though it wasn't officially recognized
by the junta. So till '82 I didn't
belong to a junta.
Later on, of course, he becomes an official (and constant) member of the junta. These passages dealing with his progression from unofficial member of the junta to official member serve to display seniority for Jorge. The TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER can point to many years of membership and activity in his brotherhood.

Lorenzo recognizes that there is some distance between the ideal brother and the reality of the situation. In the following he refers to the first interview I had with him about his brotherhood.

When you got here, you asked me how this thing worked, and I told you. I told you the truth but I made it all very beautiful. Really, how it should be. In other words, I explained as it it's in the statutes. //R. The model./ The model, exactly. But in reality it's not like that. You realize that we are three hundred, three hundred and ninety brothers but practically speaking we are seven who come here every day.

Enthusiasm...you see enthusiasm in the majority of the brothers "when you can
smell the wax," as we say. "At the
smell of wax, the bees gather."

The comment serves to accentuate the feature of
the person-schema which prescribes regular, active
participation in the brotherhood. This comment on the
difference between the intense participation of the
junta brother and the rather flaccid participation of
the "wax brother" echoes Ignacio's same complaints.

Lorenzo too provides a good instantiation of the
person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. The schema
guides his selection of memory episodes recounting his
earliest years in the brotherhood, and his
participation from youth in junta activities. He
establishes longevity, seniority, and regular
participation. He contrasts this picture of himself
with the less devoted members of the brotherhood.

JORGE

Jorge recaps the person schema themes rather
succinctly. At the time of the interview he is twenty-
six years old.

I started pretty young. I became an
hermano in the year 1980. I'm here
fourteen years in the brotherhood. So really it's not that long.
I signed up because I liked it, liked it more than the street. And I became a brother, and I started coming here.
//R. How old were you?// Well, I was twelve, twelve, thirteen years. I was... thirteen years thirteen years old.
So I started coming here little by little, little by little. The brotherhood was a little different than it is now. I started coming when they were putting up the Belén (Christmas time). I started coming, just to see. I was a kid. In the beginning a kid isn't so involved, you watch things. So little by little I started gaining confidence and trust, making friends, little by little till, well, till now I'm in everything, I'm involved. Now I belong to the junta. I'm always... In those fourteen years, 365 days a year I come here. In the summer, in winter, Holy Week, always, all year.
He locates his beginnings as a brother in his youth. This latter comment about being around the brotherhood house 365 days a year emphatically and dramatically makes the point that he is a very active brother. Coming to the house of the brotherhood is an important symbol of commitment to Jorge. He is the instantiation of the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. Later in the interview he says:

In the summertime we take advantage to do the things that we don't have time to do during the year. Maybe fix up the house or one of the pasos. In the summertime....one summer we painted the house. Three or four of us...painted the whole house. I'd come every day, and of the other three, well, one would come one day, another would come the other day. So the house got painted. Maybe eight years ago.

Again, the memory of painting the house has been selected in a search guided (in part) by the person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. A TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER comes around to the house of the brotherhood
even in the summertime (against expectations, even in brotherhoods) and works at projects.

Further, the person schema dictates that brothers will make extraordinary sacrifices for their brotherhoods and its images of Christ and Mary. The following is another memory episode selected in a search guided by the person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER.

All males in Spain must fulfill a compulsory military service (called the mili) of nine months duration. Jorge's period of service in nearby Jerez made it impossible for him to be present for his brotherhood's Holy Week procession.

Obviously you can't get permissions like you can when you're a veteran...when you've been in a while. So I go and ask permission for Holy Wednesday and they didn't give it to me.

[…]

So I said to myself, "Well, on Holy Wednesday, I'll leave the base at 6:00 in the evening to take a walk (you could leave at 6:00 to take a walk around Jerez, but at 10:00 you had to be back
for roll call). And I knew they would put me in jail for five days. [...] So I took a taxi to Santa Ines and I figured on five days in jail when I got back. I came here on Wednesday at 6:00, I marched in the procession, I didn't return to the barracks, and when I got back they said, "You're under arrest." But to me it didn't matter. I've done my Holy Wednesday...

The episode is a dramatic elaboration of the person-schema expectation that the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER will make sacrifices for his brotherhood. He exceeds the expectations of the Simplified World by getting thrown in jail for his brotherhood. Again, the person-schema is plays a role in retrieval; there are memory episodes which instantaneous it.

Jorge's instantiation of the person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER is particularly salient in that his narrative shows him to be regularly participative in the brotherhood throughout the year (episode: painting the house in the summertime) and even during his military service when he went AWOL in order to participate in the brotherhood's procession (episode).
All three junta brothers relate narratives schematized by the person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. Under the influence of the schema they select different episodes which show each of them to have been involved in the brotherhood for many years (longevity and seniority) and which show that they are active participants year-round (regularity).

**Personal Themes of Junta Brothers**

Each brother has a set of self-themes tying together significant episodes and creating a sense of coherence. These are unique or idiosyncratic to each person.

**IGNACIO**

One of the more powerful symbols for Ignacio is that of sentimiento ("feeling"). That is, he is passionate about his being a brother, it is something which moves him emotionally. He FEELS IT. Over and over and in varied contexts he stresses the importance or role of "feeling" in the brotherhood (and in Andalusian life in general). For example, he talks about moving up the ranks of the brotherhood. In general a brother who commits himself over many years as an active participant in the brotherhood "moves up
the ranks" in two senses: on the one hand, he takes on more and more responsibility till he becomes a member of the junta and then advances through positions on the junta itself; on the other hand, he assumes positions of higher and higher authority in the street procession itself. This latter is a symbol of his standing in the brotherhood. Older and more advanced brothers become directors of sections of the processions and carry Staffs of Command as signs of their authority. Ignacio speaks of the occasion upon which he first received the Staff of Command.

I was proud of it, an achievement, giving me this staff because...because...to me it was like meriting it. They gave it to me because I had merited it...for the work I had done. So for me it was something pretty big. Nowadays just anybody takes up a Staff of Command. They don't think much of it, but that's not true. To go among the Nazarenos to keep order, well, that's no nothing, eh? But it has a "feeling" part that doesn't exist today.
Before it was really valued. It was seen with much more feeling than now. He FEELS the experience of being given the Staff of Command.

As noted above, Ignacio complains about costaleros who say that they will not return to being Nazarenos when they can no longer physically carry the pasos. He sees a lack of "feeling" for things in these men.

Nowadays you get a lot of costaleros who've never worn the tunic of the Nazareno. Rather they've entered the brotherhood to be costaleros. So they don't feel the brotherhood...

Nowadays there are cases of costaleros who say: "The year I can't carry any more, I'm not going as a Nazareno." I just don't get it! It doesn't make sense! If you belong to the brotherhood, you feel the brotherhood, your brotherhood, as much as a Nazareno as underneath the paso.

Recall from the last chapter that Ignacio chose to become a costalero himself because as Taskmaster (capataz) of the paso de Cristo he felt the suffering
of the costaleros and decided that he had to share their suffering. In the passage cited above he talks of the "feeling" that came over him on the day when he took over the brotherhood as its Hermano Mayor.

During the interview there were other members of the brotherhood preparing foodstuffs for the brotherhood booth in the Spring Wine Fair. In the following extract he refers to them working in the hallway outside. In these comments he extends his sentimiento theme to Andalusian life in general.

The Andalusian knows that the Andalusian people know how to live better than anybody. Maybe other people are more pragmatic, more responsible, and they live more for the future. The Andalusian doesn't live so much for the future. [...] It's a feeling that we Andalusians have. You can hear the brothers out there getting the food ready and you hear them singing and dancing, because...because it's a feeling in our souls. We are more given to feeling than anybody. And we like to express our feelings.
"Feeling" is, in fact, his explanation for the dramatic form of the Andalusian Holy Week.

So, what happens in Andalusia? We profess to be Christians. And we feel being Christians like the Andalusians we are. And we express it different than any of the rest of the world. We go out in the streets. And we take our images out in the streets. We express it more publicly because the life of the Andalusian is more public.

The reason that the pasos are carried by teams of costaleros instead of rolled along in wheels is, again, a question of feeling.

In other places the brotherhoods go out on wheels and here in Andalusia we carry the pasos. We ourselves carry them. We do. Because we feel bad if...because....it's a question of feeling.

Why do the brothers spend hours and hours preparing the brotherhood booth for the town's Spring Wine Fair? Feeling, nothing more. The theme runs throughout Ignacio's understanding of his motivation,
the motivation of the brothers, the very raison de'être of the brotherhood, and finally the very character of his people. This cover term for complex emotional experience and commitment serves as a frame for the various memory episodes he pulls together in constructing his own story. It is one of the key themes in his set of personal themes as a Holy Week brother. These themes function as a schema in memory search and reconstruction. It interacts with the person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER in the sense that the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER is also one who FEELS his commitment to his brotherhood and its images. Such schemata in memory search makes him think of expectation violations: e.g. those people who receive a Staff of Command these days and who think nothing of it, or those costaleros who refuse to return to the tunic when they can no longer carry the pasos. These schemata also select the episode from his past when the Staff of Command was first entrusted to him. It was something he FEELT.

The same FEELS IT theme can be seen in his narrative (related in the last chapter) of becoming hermano mayor of his brotherhood.
I remember the day I took over as Hermano Mayor. For me it was one of the greatest days of my life and at the same time one of the most worrisome. Because it was unbelievable to me, no? I'm really proud... //R. At twenty-nine.// At twenty-nine, no? I am proud to be hermano mayor of my brotherhood. It's something I'm very proud of. That day I felt an immense happiness because I had arrived at becoming hermano mayor of my brotherhood and a great concern too. I had wanted this all of my life, it was so far away.

This is no mere recounting of facts but rather a recall of moving moments. The FEELS IT personal theme interacts with the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER person schema and the script BECOME MEMBER OF JUNTA and a schematized memory narrative is produced which tells the story of his becoming hermano mayor at twenty-nine.

LORENZO

For Lorenzo a particularly powerful personal theme regarding his dedication to his brotherhood is the
notion that it is a Vocation in the traditional Catholic sense of a calling from God. Usually priests and nuns are said to have vocations: God calls them to this particular way of life. Lorenzo explicitly understands being a brother as a vocation in the same way. This is a sort of extension of the person-schema elements emphasizing long association with the brotherhood but goes beyond even this by saying point blank that one is born to it.

Even me...lotsa times, I mean lotsa times, finding myself here with the infinite number of problems that we have, and you know what I'm talking about... You start to think to yourself, "Let 'em all rot. I've got enough problems of my own and I come here...for what? More problems. I've had it and that's that." Forty-thousand times I've thought that. "I'm going and that's that." But there's something inside that tells you, "No, you are called to be here. Just like a priest is called to the altar, to say mass. You are called to be here." I have my devotion.
See, something speaks to me interiorly. "Look, you are here. You have no reason to be in the streets, you have to be here, struggling here, for this." Lotsa times I say to myself, "I'm going." But something inside me says, "Fine, and if you leave, what will happen to the brotherhood? There are people who'll worry about it, but if you can bring your little grain of sand every day, better yet, eh?

Lorenzo's faithfulness to his brotherhood is rooted in the response to an interior sense of call. Recall his account of his earliest days:

Start, I started....I'd say that mmm I was born in the brotherhood. It's like I was raised in this. Since I was very little, I remember, you know, I was five years old, something like that, four years old, four five years old. Already I had an idea of what a procession was and the rest.

He was "born in the brotherhood."
People outside the brotherhoods sometimes criticize the brothers' devotion to the large processional images of Christ saying that these are just "hunks of wood." Later in the interview he explains that he knows perfectly well that the images are in reality "hunks of wood," but they are still more to him: "Perhaps it is because I was raised in this." Again there is this notion that his identity was forged as a brother in childhood and perhaps earlier. It has all the marks of the traditional Catholic theology of VOCATION.

VOCATION is a salient symbol in his set of personal themes and interacts with the person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER in his production of a schematized narrative about his origins as a brother. In the schematic search he produces episodes about his memories of his grandmother nurturing in him an affection for the brotherhood and his early days hanging around the house of the brotherhood during Lent.

JORGE

The most salient personal theme in Jorge's narrative is the notion that his brotherhood is a
FAMILY and that he is a member of that FAMILY. For him, it is what makes his brotherhood different from the rest. It is what grounds his own experience of loyalty. Summing up his earliest memories of the group of kids with whom he'd come to the house of the brotherhood, he says:

Well, some people have left the brotherhood or are gone, so now it's a little different. But we are the same family. That's maybe what El Olivo's got over any other. That we have created here...we've created here a group of persons since we were little. Now we've got the same idea, the same concept of brotherhood. Luisito, Navarro, Paul, Javier, we all grew up in the brotherhood. We're like a...like a family...united. We've been together for a lot of years, doing the same stuff. I don't know if you've noticed that it's always the same ones who get things going?

The two persons most responsible for his own formation as a brother are father figures.
For me, Adolfo and Luis are two fathers for me, just like my real father. I trust them and love them greatly. Well, sometimes I fight with them because, well, that's to be expected. You fight with your father, too, because you have different points of view. You're not in agreement about this or that. But, as I say, Adolfo and Luis, I would do anything for them. I'd give my life, without thinking twice. For those two, no doubt. They're really special.

Referring to the group that started off together as kids way back when, Jorge now says:

It's one of those things I told you about before: that the brotherhood keeps working itself out. There was a group of youths that knew how to maintain itself over the years. That was maybe what worked out, we had this youth group that stuck together through the years. Let me explain. A lot of brotherhoods have youth groups: they get together, maybe this week, maybe next, maybe not.
Here, no. Here, we managed to do a youth group that... It was formed by Pablo, it was formed by Lorenzo, it was formed by Navarro, it was formed by Luis... I was the littlest, like always. This youth group got formed, and now it's on the verge of taking over the reins of the brotherhood.

Again, at the very end of the interview he returns to this family theme and says:

The good thing about El Olivo, El Olivo is one big family. Okay, so sometimes there are disagreements, but not fights. We get into arguments but it's for the good of the brotherhood. I always say, "If you could see the family of El Olivo." The people who come here. I've been to everybody's house... for one reason or another. Javier, Paul, Julio, Adolfo, Luis, everybody...

From start to finish it is Jorge's conviction that the "in-group" in El Olivo has been together since they were all kids together and is now coming into
possession of the brotherhood. And Jorge himself is one of them. This FAMILY theme governs his retrieval processes and frames the episodes which make up his narrative. This personal theme interacts with the person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER which features longevity and seniority in the brotherhood. As the FAMILY schema guides his reconstructive retrieval, he calls up specific memories of other brothers who are also instantiations of the TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER person schema: they too have been around a long time (longevity) and are now members of the junta (seniority).

Each of the oral life stories from Holy Week Brothers is a collection of schematized narratives in which a memory narrative is assembled from various schemata which themselves interact. Personal themes are idiosyncratic, personal symbols proper to each individual. These interweave with other schemata. The narratives set out above show interactions with the person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER, which in turn interacts with event-schemata (scripts) from the Simplified World of Holy Week Brotherhoods. Where instantiations take place, expectation violations (against the backdrop of expectations and values of the
Simplified World), real, actual memory episodes are produced. Together, schemata and episodes are woven into the schematized memory narrative.

The Motivation of Memory By Self-Schema

It has been the concern of this chapter to demonstrate some further subtlety in the reconstructive retrieval of memories. The last chapter explored event schemata or scripts proper to the two festivals of carnaval and Holy Week. These scripts contain predictions about how things are in the Simplified Worlds proper to festivals. When expectation violations of script elements occur, these elements are instantiated with actual memories, episodes grounded in the phenomenological record. The oral-life story is then a schematized narrative composed of schemata and episodes.

But already at the end of that chapter it was obvious that more is at work in reconstructive retrieval. The narrator is in the constant process of presenting a self, fashioning a protagonist in his account, showing himself or herself an effective agent in the cultural activity in which he or she is involved. In short, there is a self-schema guiding
retrieval as well. A self-schema is composed minimally of (a) person-schemata proper to the cultural activity in which the narrator is an agent, and (b) a set of personal themes which specifies salient personal symbols and beliefs about the self.

Person schemata are drawn from the Simplified Worlds corresponding to cultural activities. Agents in these activities employ the person schema in searching their memories and essentially treat their self-stories as instantiations of that person-schema. In the case of carnaval the person-schema of the director of a carnaval group is TRULY TALENTED CARNIVALERO. As usual, it is easiest to see schemata operative where predictions fail. The narratives recounted above, for instance, showed directors struggling with maintaining their images as TRULY TALENTED CARNIVALEROS in the face of real memories of failing in the Official Contest (expectation violations). They advance various explanations for these expectation violations and the expectations serve to show that each director really does instantiate the person schema TRULY TALENTED CARNIVALERO despite appearances to the contrary. The schemata predicts success in the Official Contest. Schematically guided retrieval produces episodes which
contradict the person schema expectation. Explanations are necessary.

The same dynamic is at work in the case of Junta brothers from Holy Week Brotherhoods. Here the person schema for a junta brother is TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. It predicts longevity, seniority, and constant active participation in the brotherhood. The oral life stories examined show each brother making the case that he has been around a long time and has been quite active since his youth. The junta brother's memories show him to be an instantiation of the person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER.

Each carnavalero is unique, however. Each has his own particular way of being in the world of carnaval. Each has his own set of personal themes which also guide retrieval. One, for instance, sees himself as a DEMANDING DIRECTOR who KNOWS HOW TO HANDLE PEOPLE. These personal schemata are used in interaction with the person-schema TRULY TALENTED CARNIVALERO and the script DO A GROUP to develop a schematized memory about his taking over a group, taking it to the Official Contest, and winning second prize.

Each junta brother also employs personal symbols and self-themes in reconstructive retrieval. For
example, for one hermano mayor a powerful personal symbol is the FEELING of his brotherhood, his devotion, his sacrifice, etc. This personal symbol interacts with the person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER and the script BECOME MEMBER OF THE JUNTA to produce a schematized narrative about his becoming hermano mayor at twenty-nine years of age (an expectation violation in itself; hence the episode).

The oral life stories from these two festival worlds show some fundamental unities or parallels between carnaval and Holy Week. In narratives drawn from carnaval directors and from junta brothers, the processes of reconstructive retrieval evidence the same dynamic. The set of personal themes interacts with festival-specific person schemata and event schemata (scripts) in the act of search and reconstruction. In the light of expectation violations against the backdrop of the Simplified World real, actual memory episodes are encountered in the phenomenological record and schematized memory narratives are formed.

Examination of the two different festival worlds also allows for some insight into the depths of the pervasive effect of culture and personal symbol system in reconstructive retrieval. There is no moment in
retrieval which is not dependent on cultural schemata. Remembering, in fact, evidences an interweaving of highly content soaked or permeated schemata at various levels: minimally, event and person schemata plus that whole matrix of idiosyncratic, personal themes.
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The argument of this work has been that: retrieval of autobiographical memories is an act of reconstruction in which cultural event schemata, in the form of scripts and self-schemata based on typical roles and personal themes, are used to retrieve and reconstruct individual memories and to create memory narratives. The major finding of the research is that Simplified Worlds operative as schemata are the specifically cultural factor in retrieval. Where expectations suggested by schemata from Simplified Worlds are not met, specific memory episodes are found. Retrieval of individual memories is dependent on cultural schemata. The first part of this chapter summarizes this dynamic, offers some refinements from schema theory, and presents some of the limitations of schema theory.

The second part of this chapter takes up the role of the self-schema in retrieval in memory, primarily because of its influence on the coordination of
material in the construction of narratives. Narratives, in turn, are a presentation of the self.

A third part suggests that further research into autobiographical memory must go beyond the intrapsychic account given in this dissertation and must include a discussion of the specifically social emergence of autobiographical memory. Schemata or cultural models, again, provide a bridge between these accounts.

A Cultural Theory of Retrieval in Autobiographical Memory

Expectations about the world flow from schemata. In this study, I have discussed event schemata or scripts and person-schemata or typical roles. Roger Schank (1982) identified the role of violations in memory indexing. Where expectations are not met, actual memory episodes are stored and indexed by the schema element which was violated. This is actually the moment of encoding. They are accessed again as remembered violations of schema expectations. This is the moment of retrieval. Thus schemata have a pervasive role in memory. They are active in encoding in memory experiences which run counter to the
expectations they contain. They are used in indexing those already encoded experiences. Finally, the memory narrative produced is a combination of schema or script elements and those experiences (episodes).

Schank casts the whole of memory as "failure-driven." Once more, the relevant passage is as follows.

We want to argue that memory is failure-driven. We expect our predictions about other people's behavior and processes to be accurate. When they are not, we make note of our error so that we can make better predictions when we encounter the same situation next time. This notation has the form of a link to the failure from the episode which caused the failure, indexed in terms of the failure. (Schank, 1982, p. 46)

Despite the negative tone of the phrase "failure-driven," Schank argues that success, too, produces episodes.

If we do not learn from our successes as well as our failures, we are not behaving intelligently. But a success that went exactly according to plan is not one that needs to be learned from. The knowledge that should be applied in the future with respect to the successful goal was already there prior to the successful experience. It is unexpected success, or success by unexpected means, that involves expectation failure, and hence has a greater potential for learning. (1982, p. 174)

Thus, when expectations are exceeded, "unexpected success or success by unexpected means," the experience
is memorable.

As pointed out earlier in this paper, the common element in all expectation violation is non-conformity to the expectation: either the expectation is not met or it is met in a remarkable way. Schank settles on the notion of "unusual" as the element present in all expectation failure.

Expectation violations are the key to memory encoding, indexing, and retrieval. This is generally the case in memory, and specifically the case in the subject of this study: autobiographical memory.

But schemata are eminently cultural. This present work examines schemata from two distinct events within the cultural domain of festivals. These are, of course, the carnavaleros and carnaval, and the Holy Week brothers and their Brotherhoods. Each of these may be explicitated as a Simplified World where the standard events and roles and values proper to carnaval comprise the Simplified World of Carnaval, and the standard events and roles and values proper to Holy Week Brotherhoods comprise the Simplified World of Brotherhoods. Such Simplified Worlds are expressed in event schemata (scripts) and person-schemata (typical
roles). Previous chapters have presented a few of these schemata for each festival.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CARNAVAL</th>
<th>SIMPLIFIED WORLDS</th>
<th>HOLY WEEK BROTHERHOODS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DO A GROUP/GO TO OFFICIAL CONTEST</td>
<td>EVENT-SCHEMATA (scripts)</td>
<td>BROTHER BECOMES MEMBER OF THE JUNTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUP SPLIT UP</td>
<td></td>
<td>NAZARENO BECOMES COSTALERO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALERO</td>
<td>PERSON-SHEMA</td>
<td>TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These few event and person schemata are examples of the many complex and hierarchically related schemata which make up carnaval and Holy Week. Such schemata express the goals and the values and the typical sequences of events proper to the Simplified Worlds of which they are the expression. They make predictions and create expectations. They are used as guides through the Real World of Carnaval and Holy Week. But in that Real World predictions sometimes fail. That is
in itself remarkable and memorable and requires some explanation. Likewise, in the Real World expectations are sometimes fulfilled in notable ways. That, too, is remarkable and memorable and may require some explanation.

This is most easily seen in the case of event schemata or scripts. When a carnavalero tells his story, he employs schemata in the act of searching his memory. Where schema predictions failed in his experience he has stored episodes or memories for those events. If his group lost a carnaval contest, he remembers how and why. An expectation generated by the event-schema GO TO OFFICIAL CONTEST has been violated. It is memorable. Alternately, if he wins the contest and the group becomes so popular that they have post-carnaval engagements every weekend through the following September, his success is remarkable and he remembers how and why all of this occurred. An expectation generated by a schema has been exceeded in fulfillment and an the experience (episode) has been stored in memory.

But there are predictions and expectations relative to roles in each of the festivals as well:
these are the person schemata. When a junta brother searches his memory for an account of his history in the brotherhood, he is guided, in part, by the schema which describes the ideal brother. This is the person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER. The schema carries with it certain expectations. Ideal brothers have been in the brotherhood since childhood, they show up at the house of the brothers almost every night, they have a particular devotion to the brotherhood's images, etc. The person schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER is used to search memory episodes which show these particular traits.

These event and person schemata continue then to frame the episodes gathered up in a memory narrative. Again, schemata play a complex role in the act or process of remembering ("reminding-oneself") and narrative construction.

In autobiographical remembering, schemata play a dual role. On the one hand, the sort of "reminding-oneself" which takes place relies on the indexing function of schemata. A person who is telling his or her story is going through a process of reminding himself or herself of events from the personal past.
Actual memories are episodes found as expectation violations of schema elements. In a sense, schema elements act as a "trigger" for episodes.

On the other hand, the actual narrative produced, the story-as-told, is schematically constructed: it is a spoken combination of schema-as-outline and episodes. Thus, the schema acts as an "outline."

This twofold function, schema-as-trigger and schema-as-outline corresponds in fact to how schemata are understood in general as "models-of" and "models-for" (Geertz, 1973). Work on cultural models (schemata) in anthropology has demonstrated their interpretive and directive force. Finally, Neisser (1976) distinguishes the functioning of schemata as format and plan in perception. Each of these pairs provides some insight into the understanding of schema as trigger and outline in autobiographical remembering.

Geertz (1966) deals with the notion of culture patterns or symbol systems and notes that frequently these are spoken of as "models."

The term "model" has, however, two senses--an "of" sense and a "for" sense--and though these are aspects of the same basic concept they are very much worth distinguishing for analytic purposes. In the first, what is stressed is the manipulation of symbol structures so as to bring them, more or
less closely, into parallel with the pre-established nonsymbolic system, as when we grasp how a dam work by developing a theory of hydraulics or constructing a flow chart...

A "model-of" is patterned on something in the environment and facilitates interpretation of it.

In the second (sense), what is stressed is the manipulation of the nonsymbolic systems in terms of the relationships expressed in the symbolic, as when we construct a dam according to the specifications implied in a hydraulic theory or the conclusions drawn from a flow chart.

In this second sense, the "model-for" is used to introduce pattern into the environment.

Quinn & Holland (1987) discourage the division of cultural knowledge into "models-of" and "models-for" because cultural models can be employed simultaneously in interpreting the environment and guiding action. Still the distinction is a useful one, if only analytically, and, in fact, anthropological studies employing the culture model concept often accent one or the other. Initial research on cultural models focused largely on how people employ them to understand the world: e.g. folk physics (Collins and Gentner, 1987; Kempton, 1987), marriage (Quinn, 1987), anger (Lakoff and Kovecses, 1987). But from the beginning schemata or cultural models were seen not simply as models-of
but also as models-for (see Quinn and Holland, 1987); that is, they are inherently goal oriented. They provide motive force (D'Andrade, 1992b); e.g. schemas for American romance (Holland, 1992a), schemas for parenting (Harkness, Super, and Keefer, 1992), and schemas for moral prescriptions (Mathews, 1992).

The same sort of dynamic is at work in Neisser's (1976) understanding of schemata as format and plan in the act of perceiving. On the one hand, a schema is a format.

In one sense, when it is viewed as an information accepting system, a schema is like a format in a computer programming language. Formats specify that information must be of a certain sort if it is to be interpreted coherently. (p. 55)

On the other hand, a schema functions as a plan. "Perceptual schemata are plans for finding out about objects and events, for obtaining more information to fill in the format" (p. 55). They direct the act perception on the basis of expectations contained in the schemata. Neisser says that a schema is simultaneously a pattern of action and a pattern for action.

It is tempting to arrange these various distinctions in pairs along with schema-as-outline and
schema-as-trigger.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outline</th>
<th>Trigger</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>model-of</td>
<td>model-for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interpretive</td>
<td>directive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>format</td>
<td>plan</td>
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Thus schema-as-outline borrows from Geertz's "model-of" the notion that it is a patterning of experience. It is interpretive in the sense that it facilitates understanding. It is a format because it arranges and orders experience.

The schema-as-trigger borrows from the notion "model-for" the idea that intervene and actively structure. Schemata have directive force: the expectations they generate actually guide. An expectation suggests a plan for what-should-come-next.

But this is all too clean, and Quinn and Holland are correct in resisting these divisions of function precisely because of the simultaneity of their occurrence.

In autobiographical remembering, schemata act as both trigger and outline. It would be quite simple if schemata functioned as trigger in retrieval and outlines in reconstruction, but these moments cannot be
separated. An event schema, for example, functions in retrieval by triggering recall of episodes at points of expectation violation generated by the schema. But it is only in the context of the outline that triggers are effective. And the construction of the memory narrative is dynamic interplay of trigger and outline. Retrieval is a moment in reconstruction and is guided by reconstruction. Given these considerations, it is probably wiser to speak of autobiographical remembering (an act) rather than autobiographical memory (a state).

Schema theory is therefore, very useful in ferreting out the influence of culture on autobiographical remembering and the construction of narratives. Considering schemata as flowing, at least partially, from Simplified Worlds suggests the source of the motive force of expectations and provides a rationale for triggering episodes. Finally, a closer examination of the functioning of schemata as trigger and outline exposes the complex and dynamic interplay of schemata functions in the act of remembering.

But schema theory has its limitations and this discussion would not be complete without at least
adverting to these. There are three limitations in particular that merit discussion at this point.

The first is what I call the Levels of Magnification Problem. Presuming that schemata are hierarchically related, so that the DINNER schema includes the FESTIVAL DINNERS schema which includes the THANKSGIVING DINNER schema, and presuming that there intersections with other hierarchies like VISITS, VISITS TO RELATIVES, VISITS TO GRANDMOTHER'S, how can the cognitivist determine which schema is operative on any one occasion? What level of magnification is the proper level for viewing what is going on right now? Obviously multiple schemata are operative simultaneously.

Related to this problem is the "messy worlds" criticism which Holland (1992b) levels at schema theory. Her criticism has to do with multiple interpretations.

Unfortunately for schema theory as presently applied, the world does not seem to be laid out so that only one schema or only one package of schemas nicely applies, without discord, in every case. (p. 71)

She refers to the the problem as "vulnerability to imperfect fit and multiple interpretations."
Lastly, there is the problem of "psychological reality." This problem has dogged cognitive anthropology for some time. Anthony F. C. Wallace asked in 1965, during the heydey of ethnosemantics, how the anthropologist knows that his componential analysis of a native term actually represents the native speaker's cognitive world? The best articulation of the problem is this:

Cognitive anthropological analyses typically claim to present the calculus used by informants, rather than some operationally equivalent calculus. Since there are always alternative calculi that are equally effective in accounting for the observed behavior, how can we tell that we identified the one used by the informants. (Rubinstein, Laughlin, and McManus, 1984, p. 7)

Considering schemata as the calculus in question, how can the cognitivist ever be sure that his articulation of operative schemata are in fact operative in the person or persons he studies?

It is my conviction that schema theory or something very much like it must be the case. It accounts for the economy of thought in powerful ways. These criticisms are not lethal, but they require attention. It is tempting to suggest that focusing on the anomalies will shift the paradigm and some better conception than schema theory will emerge (Kuhn, 1962)
but in my opinion there is yet much to do within schema
theory which may solve its problems. In particular, I
believe that combining the experimental methods of
cognitive psychology with the discourse-centered
methods of cognitive anthropology would yield better
results.

Self-Schema and The Presented-Self in Narrative

In the last section, the mechanism of memory
retrieval was identified as expectation violation and
elaboration flowing from schemata or Simplified Worlds.
Episodes are unearthed, as it were, from the
phenomenological record. These are then set in the
framework of the schemata and emerge as memory
narratives. From this viewpoint, memory is decidedly
reconstructive since narratives represent an
interpretation of an episode, that is, a schema frames
the episode. But there is a larger sense in which
narratives are creations or constructions.

As has been evident from the discussion of self-
schemata in the last chapter, autobiographical memory
has as one of its hallmarks the fact that such memories
make a point about the self. The memory may contain
much information about states of affairs in the world, but the purpose of the memory is to make a point about the self.

The narratives of the carnaval directors and Holy Week brothers examined in previous chapters show the influence not only of event schemata (scripts) and person schemata (typical roles) but of personal themes and beliefs about the self as well. In fact, narratives are as much shaped by the self-schema in general as they are by scripts. When a carnavalero or brother tells his story he makes points particularly about himself—besides for relating information about the world of carnaval or Holy Week. This is what makes the memory specifically autobiographical. Narratives are constructed out of the self-schema as well.

The self-schema is composed of the person schema proper to the festival world (carnaval or Holy Week) plus the set of personal themes. Person schemata and personal themes considered in previous chapters are the following.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>CARNAVAL</th>
<th>SIMPLIFIED WORLD</th>
<th>HOLY WEEK</th>
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In using the person schema TRULY TALENTED CARNIVALERO to search memory, the carnaval director seeks episodes which instantiate the elements of the schema. The schema postulates that directors of comparsas are capable of plumbing the depths of the human of the human spirit and expressing something of the pathos of life. The comparsa director searches memory to find episodes which cast him in this light. In essence, he treats his own experience as an instantiation of the person-schema TRULY TALENTED CARNIVALERO. Where he finds episodes that vary with the schema expectations, he frames them in such a way that they still do not tarnish his image. He provides
explanations for the appearance of contradictory evidence in an episode. This was apparent in the directors' narratives dealing with failures at the Official Contest. The same dynamic applies in the case of the Holy Week brother and the person-schema TRULY DEDICATED BROTHER.

Again, both carnavalero and Holy Week brother are instantiating schemata drawn from Simplified Worlds by unearthing episodes with the spades of expectation violations and elaborations. They engage in the act of retrieval in order to make a point about themselves or about their narratives. That point is: I am a significant agent in this particular festival world. Carnavaleros show that they are talented artists and performers, Holy Week brothers show that they are fervent, loyal, and devoted members of their brotherhoods. This is what makes the narratives explicitly exercises in autobiographical memory. Points are made about the self.

At a deeper level yet, personal themes and particular beliefs about the self exercise an influence on what is remembered. These function, too, as elements in a schema, except that in this case the
schema is purely personal and idiosyncratic. Examples in the last chapter, as regards Holy Week brothers, showed that one brother understands his activity in the brotherhood as resulting from a call from God, or VOCATION, another characterized his involvement as a member of the FAMILY of the brotherhood. One carnaval director threads his narrative pieces together with the theme: It's like I am ADDICTED to carnaval. Another carnavalero pieces his narrative together around the personal theme KNOWS HOW TO HANDLE PEOPLE, i.e. the episodes he selects show him as a good manager of personalities. It is these purely personal themes, these idiosyncratic qualities which mark out one carnavalero from another. The same is true of Holy Week brothers: each has particular personal themes, and, as with person schemata, points are made about the self.

A narrative is a patchwork of memories threaded together by the self-schema. It is a presentation of a self. Three interesting things follow from this: (1) the presented-self in narrative is activity-specific, and (2) the presented-self is elastic and always "under
construction," and (3) the presented-self is nested within a network of self-schemata.

The presented-self which emerges in a memory narrative is activity-specific. This is apparent from the comparison of the features of the two street festivals which engender the two characters studied: carnavaleros and brothers. The last chapter explored this theme in particular in terms of the different person schemata: TRULY TALENTED CARNAVALERO and TRULY DEVOTED BROTHER.

Each festival engenders quite distinct personal worlds, emotional registers, and social aspirations. Recall the dimensions of contrast explored for each festival: Carnaval as marked by a spirit of indulgence, exhibitionism, and creativity; Holy Week marked by a spirit of spirituality, anonymity, and conservatism.

That selves would be festival-specific is hardly surprising since for carnaval directors and Holy Week junta brothers participation in their respective worlds involves enculturation into those worlds. Again, this consistent with work in cognitive anthropology on cultural models. Such models are not simply shorthand ways of understanding the world, they also have the
directive force mentioned above (as regards goals and motivation), and they shape appropriate feeling or emotional reaction.

Besides for the fact that selves are activity-specific, they seem also to be rather elastic and continually "under construction." This view of the self as changing according to context in contrast to a stable, inner core has been explored by Gaines (1984). The idea that the notion of the self may vary cross-culturally has been treated by Shweder and Bourne (1984). In fact there is some speculation that very notion of self at all is a creation of the Enlightenment (Solomon, 1988; for a review of anthropological literature on the self, see Csordas, 1994).

What is clear from the narratives of carnavaleros and Holy Week brothers is that the presented-self is emergent in narrative. It is managed or negotiated in the act of providing schematic frames for episodes, in the act of explaining and interpreting past events, and in weaving personal themes. The self-schema which filters and channels experience and information is
itself malleable, like any other schema, and may develop sub-schemata or change outright.

Furthermore, it is arguable that just as schemata in general are related and hierarchically organized (see D'Andrade, 1992a), so self-schemata are hierarchically networked and organized. Some themes may be activity-specific, e.g. Alfonso's idea that he is ADDICTED TO CARNIVAL is clearly specific to his involvement in carnival, whereas Pablo's self-characterization as NOT A JOINER extends to politics and church groups and other such things, and therefore beyond the world of carnival. On the one hand, the self-schema proper to one activity cannot exhaust self-schemata, else we could not explain agency in multiple cultural activities. Nor can the self-schema of one activity exist in Olympian isolation from other schemata, else we could not explain continuity of agency from one activity to the next.

Thus, while the first section of this chapter dealt with the schematic search for and framing of episodes into memory narratives, this latter section has taken a more expansive view and examined the larger narrative itself. This larger account is held together
by the self-schema, comprising person-schemata and personal themes. The self-schema searches memory and weaves together schematized memories into a narrative out of which emerges a presented-self in a particular cultural activity. Because memory is essentially reconstructive and self-schemata are subject to alteration as a result of further experience, presented-selves are elastic and always "under-construction." Because cultural activities are many, activity-specific presented-selves are many. The self-schemata underlying these are organized in hierarchical and networked manner.

The Social Emergence of Autobiographical Memory

The account of autobiographical memory offered in this work, has been a wholly intrapsychic affair. It is as if the act of retrieving episodes and composing them into narratives under the influence and by the guidance of cultural schemata were a wholly internal process: something which occurs in an isolated and independent mind, cut off from social processes and social groups. As if, for the carnavalero or the Holy Week brother, schemata from carnal or Holy Week
existed in his or her mind and exercised their influence in an entirely interior and mental manner.

This perspective has been taken for a number of reasons. First of all, in one sense, acts of retrieval and narrative construction are, in fact, internal processes and consideration of those processes independent of social context is a valid moment in investigation. Secondly, the purpose of the research was to examine the influence of cultural models or schemata on autobiographical memory. The research methods of cognitive anthropology usually employed in cultural model work is analysis of discourse. Here, the object of analysis was taped narratives of oral life-story material from carnavaleros and Holy Week brothers. This is common methodology in cultural model work.

Therefore, this research has sought to extend the applicability of cultural models, as these are understood and usually investigated in cognitive anthropology, to processes of autobiographical memory. Some theoretical and methodological limitations attended the work: one of those was a largely
intrapsychic view of retrieval in autobiographical memory.

In the paragraphs that follow, I suggest that autobiographical memory may be viewed as a highly social activity, as well as a private and internal activity. Some initial considerations show that construction of narratives for the purpose of presenting a self is a response to a social situation functioning as a retrieval environment. From that somewhat pedestrian point, I turn to some theorists who argue for social memory and who cast memory in terms of "telling one's story. I suggest that schemata are the conceptual bridge that unites these intramental-cognitive studies and social viewpoints. Other research methods are required, however, to study autobiographical memory in this way.

Part of the argument of the previous chapter is that a major goal of actors is presentation of a self. The logical question is: for whom? This is an issue left moot in the previous chapters because the act of retrieval and construction of narratives has been considered as a wholly internal affair. But at this point is is useful to come to the surface from the
depths of the intramental and throw a line to the social setting of memory.

A narrator seeks to present a self. Gaines (1982) argues that the Mediterranean self is highly context-dependent. Borrowing a term from Crapanzano (1980), he refers to this conception of the self as "indexical."

The Latin, "indexical" self is not defined as an abstract entity independent of the social relations and contexts in which the self is presented in interaction...Rather, the self is perceived as constituted or "indexed" by the contextual features of social interaction in diverse situations. (p. 182)

The notion that the self is indexed by social context is highly consistent with the notion advanced in this chapter the act of constructing a memory narrative is driven by the presentation of a self.

These considerations dove-tail with F.G. Bailey's (Bailey, 1971) understanding of "small politics" in small communities, i.e. those micropolitical situations in which each person euchres for standing. In the case of the carnaval director, that group of persons who make up the world of carnaval (other directors, group
members, the Minister of Festivals from Town Hall, poetas and músicos, etc) are the small community. The director presents himself in various ways to his own group members in rehearsal, to other directors at a local bar, to very famous directors from Cádiz, to the merchant from whom he wants a donation, to the interviewing anthropologist, etc.

He is the same and different in each of these situations. He presents a self, "indexes" a self. (The same is true mutatis mutandis for the Holy Week brother).

From the perspective of memory studies, these different persons encountered in the social situations of the festival world of carnaval are actually part of the retrieval environment. A director spins oral life-story accounts (albeit shorter ones) with other directors at the bar, with his own group members during a break, with his wife when he gets home at night. These persons and their place in the "small politics" of the "small community" affect retrieval as well.

The retrieval environment is decidedly social and memory is decidedly social.
Maurice Halbwachs (1925, 1941, 1950) makes the case that persons can only store, organize, and access memories through membership in particular social groups. Paul Connerton (1989), also a proponent of social theories of memory, states Halbwachs's case:

...we appeal to our memory in order to reply to questions which others put to us, or which we imagine they could ask us, and, in order to reply to them, we imagine ourselves as forming the part of the same group or groups as they do. Most frequently, if I recall something that is because others incite me to recall it, because their memory comes to the aid of mine and mine finds support in theirs. Every recollection, however personal it may be, even that of events of which we alone were the witnesses, even that of thoughts and sentiments that remain unexpressed, exists in relationship with a whole ensemble of notions which many others possess: with persons, places, dates, words, forms of language, that is to say with the whole material and moral life of the societies of which we are a part or of which we have been a part. (1989, p. 36)

Thus, in the case of the carnavalero, carnaval is not only a collection of hierarchically arranged cognitive schemata in his or her head but is also that group of real persons who make up the world of carnaval: all of whom share those schemata or cultural models. The same is true of the Holy Week brother and the World of Brotherhods. These theorists would argue that even autobiographical memory, seemingly so purely personal, emerges in response to a social world.
Already, treatment of the self-schema has led into a treatment of the sociocultural character of autobiographical memory. In employing the person-schema to search for and organize memories, a person treats his own experience or his or her own self as an instantiation of the schema. In employing personal themes and idiosyncratic beliefs in memory search, a person constructs a narrative uniquely his or her own and makes points about his or her own self. Again, why? Or, for whom?

And, again: he or she does it for other members or participants in the cultural activity in which the rememberer is an agent. A person constructs a memory narrative in response to a social environment. But "constructing a memory narrative" is nothing other than "telling one's story," and "telling one's story" has a decidedly social ring to it. It is possible, then, and desirable to tie the research of this dissertation on retrieval of autobiographical memories to research on oral life-stories. In fact, they map onto one another rather neatly.

In cognitive anthropology, Charlotte Linde (1981, 1987, 1993) is the principal proponent of research
on oral life-stories. In psychology Roger Schank (1990) has explored the memory dynamics involved in telling stories. In the following considerations taken from their work, I will point out the utility of the schema or cultural model concept in social situations of telling one's story.

In a more recent work on the memory exercised in story telling, Roger Schank (1990) comments that: "The story composition process reflects very strongly the view that the teller has of himself combined with the view that he wants others to have of him" (p. 138). That is, a person tells stories about himself or herself in order to present a self to others. The director of carnaval groups tells stories about himself in order to present himself as an important player in the world of carnaval; the Holy Week brother tells stories about his career in the brotherhood in order to show that he is a loyal brother. But there are rules even for this.

These stories, then, become our definition of ourselves. We are the stories we like to tell. If we surround ourselves with people who agree that certain kinds of stories are wrong to tell, clearly we will tell those stories less frequently. (Schank, 1990, p. 137)
This parallels the view taken in previous chapters of this dissertation about memory narratives: retrieval is exercised in order to present a self. But here it is one's group, a social unit, that determines that some stories are admissible and others not. The group's criterion for making this judgment, I suggest, are the shared schemata which characterize its members.

Charlotte Linde comments that oral life-stories (autobiographical memory narratives) must have "reportability" as a key element. This means that the story must be worth telling:

Reportability is a notion that forms a part of evaluation. An event is not reportable if it is something that happens every day; to be turned into a story, an event must be unusual in some way or run counter to expectations or norms (Labov 1972, p. 390) Thus, seeing a parade of elephants marching across the bridge as you drive to work is reportable because it is unusual. Seeing someone killed on the street is reportable because it is unusual and counter to our norms regarding how things should be. Being cheated by a used car salesman may not be unusual, and indeed may be the sort of thing one expects will happen in dealings with used car salesmen. Such an event may still be reportable, however, because we believe that it should not happen—that the world should not be that way, although it really is. (Linde, 1993, p. 22)

Reportability, here, is clearly the same as expectation violation, except that reportability implies a social situation. The speaker must make the
judgment that his or her addressee will find the story worthwhile. Where an expectation violation is judged to be so in light of predictions made by schemata, reportability appeals to what the addressee will find unusual or "counter to our norms regarding how things should be." But obviously such norms are found in schemata or Simplified Worlds shared by both speaker and addressee.

Interestingly, if a story is often retold, it achieves a sort of canonical form. This is sometimes referred to as the "pub effect." But that form may be just the gist of the story, details may be reconstructed or added (Schank, 1990, p. 116). Linde points out that telling a story is a sort of performance.

Indeed, it my be argued that any performed unit is necessarily interpretive; even an attempt to reproduce the original performance represents an interpretation of what that performance was, and a judgment that such a reproduction is currently relevant and valuable. This interpretive component of any performed unit is all the more true for oral, unscripted units. For example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1975) study of the telling of folk tales shows that they are told with reference to a particular context of current activities and that they gain their relevance by the connection their hearers draw between their content and the circumstances of their telling. (Linde, 1993, p. 29)
She argues that every time an individual tells a story about himself or herself, changes are made according to the addressee and context. Stories are reconstructed according to the contexts and purposes of their telling. This is not unlike the reconstructive (schema-plus-episode) character of the intrapsychic account of memory. Notice again that a kind of schematization underlies both activities.

An investigation of the social character of autobiographical memory as it emerges in telling stories about oneself differs in important ways from the account given in this dissertation. To study autobiographical memory as it emerges in story telling would require observing and recording spontaneous occurrences of story telling and observing as comprehensively as possible the details of circumstance, context, addressee, etc. Admittedly there was something artificial about sitting down with carnavaleros and Holy Week brothers and saying, "Tell me your story, start to finish." It is artificial because the chances of the natural occurrence of such a request are remote. Carnavaleros and Holy Week brothers tell stories about themselves all the time,
but rarely if ever "start to finish." Rather the stories emerge in varying contexts and are variously motivated. A study of the social emergence of autobiographical memory would require attending to those spontaneous occurrences. I believe that the underlying dynamics (a là the intrapsychic account of this dissertation) are the same: search for episodes via cultural schemata occurs in all cases. But greater sensitivity to naturally occurring autobiographical remembering would render the account more fine-grained and complete. Such a study would also extend our understanding of the social functioning of schemata or cultural models in memory.
Spanish transcriptions of taped oral-life story accounts from carnavaleros and Holy Week brothers were coded for forms of memory according to the distinctions explained below.

The first four forms of memory representation are Personal Memory Units of various types. These are distinguished from four equivalent Generic Memory Units in that the former (Personal Memory Units) are representations of single instances in memory, i.e. a Holy Week brother remembers the first time he was entrusted with a Staff of Command. The event occurred once in the past. Personal Memory Units are more strongly imaginal as well. This implies memory of sensations: visual, auditory, tactile, etc. Included here are feelings and emotions which a person remembers and may even re-experience upon recall.

Generic Memory Units are representations in memory of repeated events. It is a memory for a set of experiences which have blended into a composite
representation. The veteran costalero has a composite memory of carrying the paso after several years of annual processions. Generic Personal Memory Units are less imaginal than Personal Memory Units.

Further distinctions apply to these two basic forms of memory. These are explained in the following list of codes.

**PMUA:** Personal Memory Unit Action.
The memory of an action or activity, in which ego is involved, and which is imaginally represented, e.g. "I got a phone call from the boss last Saturday morning when I didn't go in to work."

**PMUE:** Personal Memory Unit Evaluation.
The memory of a feeling or emotional reaction by ego, "I was so embarrassed and shamed, you know?"

**PMUP:** Personal Memory Unit Propositional Attitude
The memory of the cognitive in the past: one of ego's thoughts, attitudes, plans, opinions, internal conversation, etc, e.g. "I was thinking that I needed this job so badly."

**PMUR:** Personal Memory Unit Reported Speech.
The memory of some speech or social conversation spoken by ego in the past, "I told him, 'I just forgot, I know it sounds terribly irresponsible, but I just forgot.'"

**GPUA:** Generic Personal Memory Unit Action.
The memory of an action repeated
the past which is yet imaginal in some way without representing a single instance, e.g. "Every time I went to Las Vegas, I played the same machine in The Dunes and won."

GPUE: Generic Personal Memory Unit Evaluation. Ego's memory of a feeling or emotional reaction repeatedly associated with events in the past, e.g. "When I won like that I would feel so jubilant that I wanted to fly!"

GPUP: Generic Personal Memory Unit Propositional Attitude. Ego's memory of intention, opinion, thoughts, etc. over a period of time in the past, e.g. "I remember always thinking that I ought to move to Las Vegas and just work that machine every day."

GPUR: Generic Personal Memory Unit Reported Speech. Ego's memory of repeated conversations, tellings, speakings, e.g. "It was this same doorman everytime, I'd say, "Lucky night again!"

Another kind of autobiographical memory does not involve imaginal representation of particular or repeated events but rather is a statement of facts about oneself. These are Autobiographical Fact Units.

AFUS: Autobiographical Fact Unit: Single Instance. A remembered fact about oneself which is established on the basis of a single instance or enduring state, but represented non-imaginally, e.g. "I was in fourth
grade when I learned long
division."

APUR: Autobiographical Fact Unit: Repeated
Instance.
A fact about oneself established in
the past by repeated experiences,
but not represented imaginally,
e.g. "I was so competitive when we
had that hot team in junior high."

Two further autobiographical memory units have
more to do with the act of remembering itself.

FUMU: Future Memory Unit.
Any expression of future intention
or indication of an action to be
carried out in the future, even
from the past into a less distant
past, e.g. "I knew I was going to
go camping that next winter."

MEMU: Metamemory Units.
Comments that a person makes about
his or her acts of remembering,
e.g. "I remembered it but it was so
vague and all that it seemed out of
reach or something."

In the act of narrating a story, interviewees
often filled in details of events or contexts. Thus,
all of the accounts also involved memories which were
not specifically autobiographical, i.e. the self was
not directly involved in the memory. In the case of
remembered activities or events, they belong to the
class of episodic memories. In the case of memory for
information, they are semantic memories. But these
distinctions are analytic.
XTEA:  Non-Personal Memory Units: Temporal, Events, Activities.
       Remembered facts about times or events which frame or contextualize a story, e.g. "See, the mayor had that Sailor's Statue moved in the middle of the night."

XSOP:  Non-Personal Memory Unit: Spatial, Place, Object.
       Remembered facts about places or objects which contextualize or frame a story, e.g. "It was in the main church, right where that lateral chapel used to be."

XPER:  Non-Personal Memory Unit: Persons.
       Memories of other persons or their attributes, used to frame or contextualize a story, e.g. "So the mayor was a socialist and the rich folk were always trying to trip him up."

XSEM:  Non-Personal Memory Unit: Semantic Knowledge.
       Fact knowledge which is neither imaginal nor episodic, e.g. "At that time, the government of the Province was socialist as well."

Finally, it was common for interviewees to talk about the present or offer comments about things in the past. All of this "non-memory" material was lumped into the following two codings.

CURR:   Comments About Current States of Affairs.
       E.g. "Now, of course, every director has his sights set on the contest in Cádiz."
OPIN: Opinions, Evaluations, Philosophies
About States of Affairs.
E.g. "A brotherhood should be
active 365 days a year."


Linde, C. (1981). The Organization of Discourse. In T. Shopen, and J.H. Williams, (Eds.), Style and
Variables in English (pp. 84-114). Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers.


