

# The Development and Self-Definition of Penitential Confraternities in Seville, Spain, 1538–1563

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*Summary: During the sixteenth century many Catholics yearned for an active role in lay religiosity. One avenue to achieve this was through membership in a penitential confraternity. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the pioneering penitential confraternities concentrated on the development of membership requirements and how to translate the imitatio Christi on a secular level. The organization of the second generation of Sevillian penitential confraternities coincided with the Council of Trent (1545–1563). As Church leaders met to define their faith based on an existing foundation and to justify their vocations, the same anxiety and struggles were present on the local lay level as the subsequent generation of penitential confraternities sought to uniquely define themselves through faith and attempted to control their public persona.*

In the sixteenth century, many Catholics yearned for a role in active lay religiosity. This desire is seen through the continual formation of new confraternities with special interest here in penitential confraternities.<sup>1</sup> The exact date of the establishment of penitential confraternities is difficult, if not impossible, to pinpoint. One of the first sources on the subject comes from a clerical letter from one of the Church fathers, Doctor Jersen, who “during the Council of Constance [wrote] to Saint Vincent [Ferrer]” encouraging the tradition of penitents in Spain.<sup>2</sup> After roughly a century of ecclesiastical approval of public penance, John of Avila began a primitive penitential form of confraternities.<sup>3</sup> Born in 1499, John of Avila took religious orders and started a preaching circuit throughout Andalusia, spending a large amount of time in Seville. John of Avila was one of many reformers who saw the need for change and he believed it could be accomplished through confraternities and organized didactic processions that would invoke devotion and inspire piety.<sup>4</sup> The secular and lay desire for a new type of confraternity stimulated the growth of penitential confraternities amidst external and internal pressures, for not only were Church leaders lobbying for the formation of penitential confraternities but locals were establishing them based on their own wants and needs.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Although the rulebooks are a treasure trove of information, they do not provide any numbers of actual numbers, making a statistical comparison impossible.

2 Sánchez Herrero, ed., “Cofradía y Hermandad de la Santa Vera Cruz. Sevilla, 1538, 1631,” *CXIX Reglas*, 80: “Parese que el cristianísimo doctor Jerson en su primera parte en vna carta que desde el Concilio de Constanza escribe a señor sant Vicente, se quexa de la costumbre que entonces auía de disciplinantes en España.” The Council of Constance met from 1414 to 1418.

3 Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 25.

4 Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 28.

5 Three penitential confraternities from the decades preceding the Council of Trent deserve

In the sixteenth century Seville was a place of change, wealth, and religion. It was one of the seats of the Inquisition as well as the port city to the New World, making it one of the largest urban centers in Spain. Import taxes increased Seville's wealth, as did the influx of immigrants eager for new opportunities. The fervently Catholic Monarchs profited economically from the New World goods and spiritually as all slaves destined for the Americas were required to be Catholic prior to their departure.<sup>6</sup> Because of the boom in converts and heightened religiosity, secular and ecclesiastical organizations sought to share their faith with the immigrants who were drawn to make Seville their new home and to the émigrés who needed education before their departure. Confraternal membership offered newcomers and natives alike a sense of belonging and tradition and their Holy Week processions offered a quick tutorial of the Passion for transients and new converts.

What would entice a sixteenth century Sevillian to devote precious time, energy, money, and one's good reputation to the untested, non-established (thus far), and untraditional idea of a penitential confraternity? Why would groups of noblemen, or shopkeepers, or immigrants desire to create from a new type of tertiary order, including endless meetings outside of work hours and the arduous task of writing a rulebook and then enforcing the rules? Partly because members obtained the social benefit of being sharing company with a select group of individuals who had to pass certain tests to become members and then enjoying the many monthly and annual feasts together. Confraternities obtained the right to a sacred space within the local church or cathedral to hold private meetings, masses, and burials, which in turn provided a permanent and secure place to worship and to receive the sacraments. Confraternities also afforded members with a social safety net, for not only were

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special attention. The *Cofradía y Hermandad de la Santa Vera Cruz* (The Confraternity and Brotherhood of the Holy True Cross), referred to as the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz*, was established in 1538; its rulebook is found in Sánchez Herrero, ed., "Cofradía y Hermandad de la Santa Vera Cruz. Sevilla, 1538, 1631," *CXIX Reglas*, 61–82. It was established in Seville on 8 May 1448 but did not submit its official rules until 18 May 1538 (63). The *Hermandad y Cofradía de las Angustias de Nuestra Señora la Virgen Santa Maria (Quinta Angustia)* (The Brotherhood and Confraternity of the Wounds of Our Lady the Virgen Saint Maria (Five Wounds)), called *Quinta Angustia*, was established in 1541; see José Sánchez Herrero, ed., "Hermandad y Cofradía de las Angustias de Nuestra Señora la Virgen Santa Maria (Quinta Angustia). Sevilla, 1541," *CXIX Reglas*, 127–146. It was established in 154. Its rulebook contains additional post-Tridentine statutes approved in 1563, 1564, 1575, and 1593 (127). The *Hermandad y Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* (The Brotherhood and Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity) henceforth shortened to the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad*, was founded in 1544; see Sánchez Herrero, ed., "Hermandad y Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad. Sevilla, 1544," *CXIX Reglas*, 161–180. Its rules were written in 1544, but not officially approved until 1555 (161). Simple references to the statutes of these three confraternities will henceforth be incorporated directly into the text by referring to the abbreviated name of the confraternity, if necessary, the title of the volume, *CXIX Reglas*, and the page number(s).

6 Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 34.

wives and children allowed entrance, and thus would have a living social network, but members, spouses, and children were typically guaranteed visitations when sick and ultimately, a fine burial complete with a procession and requiem prayers. Perhaps the most appealing aspect of penitential confraternities is what set them apart from other lay organizations: the public display of penance performed during Holy Thursday and Friday of what is now known as Holy Week, the time period directly preceding Easter Sunday. Tellingly, the majority of the information within confraternal rulebooks was dominated by the details of the Holy Week procession.<sup>7</sup> Over the course of the first half of the sixteenth century, penitential confraternities successfully created a new niche within lay religiosity that allowed later confraternities to profit from this firm foundation. As the Reformation wore on and Church leaders struggled with defining their faith based on tradition, scripture, and their own personal vocations through the many meetings of the Council of Trent, one can see this drama and anxiety play out in the microcosm of the second generation of penitential confraternities as they became increasingly rigid and strict in terms of membership and public perception.<sup>8</sup>

One of the primary roles of confraternities was to function as a religious institution for the laity. Andrew Barnes claims in his article, “The Transformation of Penitential Confraternities over the Ancien Regime,” that penitential confraternities provided a valuable service to the community by educating the populace and this “vital form of devotion” became an important tradition that continued until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> They were able to offer Church authorities the opportunity to provide a basic religious to the laity by requiring members to learn basic prayers. According to inquisitional testimony, the accused were tested on their

7 By looking into their rulebooks from the first half of the sixteenth century, most were written in a homogenous style and all address, in descending order of importance, the roles and responsibilities of penitents, the organization and execution of Holy Week processions, membership stipulations, and available services.

8 A few outstanding examples of penitential confraternities established in the years coinciding with the Council of Trent are the *Hermanidad y Cofradía de la Limpia y Pura Concepción de Nuestra Señora la Virgen María del Convento de Regina* (The Brotherhood and Confraternity of the Clean and Pure Conception of Our Lady the Virgin Mary of the Convent of Our Queen) henceforth referred to as the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción*; see Sánchez Herrero, ed., “Hermanidad y Cofradía de la Limpia y Pura Concepción de Nuestra Señora la Virgen María del Convento de Regina. Sevilla, 1549,” in *CXIX Reglas*, 181–209; the *Hermanidad y Cofradía de los Negritos* (literally, The Brotherhood and Confraternity of the Little Blacks), referred as the *Cofradía de los Negritos*; see Sánchez Herrero, ed., “Hermanidad y Cofradía de los Negritos. Sevilla, 1558,” in *CXIX Reglas*, 219–227; and the *Hermanidad y Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno y Santa Cruz de Jerusalén* (The Brotherhood and the Confraternity of Jesus of Nazareth and the Holy Cross of Jerusalem) referred as the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno*; see Sánchez Herrero, ed., “Hermanidad y Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno y Santa Cruz de Jerusalén. Sevilla, 1564, 1567, 1578,” in *CXIX Reglas*, 261–284. Future references to the statutes of these confraternities will also be incorporated into the text as indicated in n. 5 above.

9 Barnes, “The Transformation of Penitential Confraternities,” 123.

ability to recite common Catholic prayers such as the *Paternoster* (Our Father), the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and the list of sacraments.<sup>10</sup> Most churchgoers would be familiar with the aforementioned prayers and affirmations as they were read aloud in mass every Sunday during Lent.<sup>11</sup> People were thus doubly exposed to religious doctrine, first at church and then through their local confraternities. As a religious association, confraternities included the prayers and declarations within their rulebooks, normally as an introductory prayer. These rulebooks were read aloud to each new inductee as well as at least once during the Lenten season. Equally, each confraternal member was required to be present at burials of fellow members, where they were required to recite a certain number, usually ten, of Our Father and *Salve Regina* (Hail, Holy Queen) prayers. Even when women were strongly discouraged from attending burials, they were required to attend requiem masses wherein the prayers were repeated numerous times. When questioned, artisans scored better than farm workers, thereby confirming that membership in a guild and a confraternity increased the chances of learning various aspects of Catholic doctrine. Although rote recitation does not necessarily indicate true religious dedication, the Inquisitors felt it was sufficient for primary investigations. Furthermore, the rulebook for *Quinta Angustia* urged brothers to not “wait until old age to work towards salvation,” instead they encouraged proactive steps in the present, namely, to participate fully as a member of the confraternity (*CXIX Reglas*, 129: “no dexar de la hazer por todo el tiempo de su vida salvo por vejez.”). The *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* commissioned their rulebook to be a didactic tool as well. The rulebook cover displays the wealth of the members and is adorned with over fifty illuminations of the twelve apostles, the birth of Jesus and Mary, as well as various well-known saints, all of which most have been a costly investment for the confraternity (*CXIX Reglas*, 61–62). As was common in ecclesiastical literature, the rulebook cites biblical passages in the introduction in order to strengthen their bond not only with the Church, but also to Jesus. Not only did officials of *Quinta Angustia* read the rulebook to their members on Palm Sunday, but also prior to the Mass during the other two *pasquas*, Pentecost and Christmas (*CXIX Reglas*, 141). These masses were obligatory for all members and those absent were subjected to a fine of four pounds of wax (*CXIX Reglas*, 141).

Confraternities were funded by alms of their local parish but the main source of revenue was members’ donations either during life or in their last testament.<sup>12</sup> The affluence afforded at this time permeated all aspects of Sevillian life including increased generosity at the local confraternal level. The wealth from the New World was translated to new and better-commissioned sculptures to be used in the Holy Week processions.<sup>13</sup> Equally, this influx of money allowed confraternities to rent

10 Dedieu, “‘Christianization’ in New Castile, 3.

11 Dedieu, “‘Christianization’ in New Castile, 3.

12 Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 40.

13 None of the rulebooks during this time describes their *pasos* in detail, but their existence was perhaps so commonplace that mention of them would have been redundant.

out chapel space or to construct their own chapels thereby giving their confraternity permanence.<sup>14</sup> Confraternities used these new places for administration and worship.

The initiation process for new members was fairly straightforward: a prospective member would vocalize his desire to a current brother, who would be obligated to pass on the request to the *mayordomo* or scribe, but the request was not allowed to be done during a meeting, most likely to enable the *mayordomo* to check the social standing of the prospective initiate without pressure from the entire group (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 139). Typically wealthier members of society and the confraternity controlled the confraternal finances and thereby membership admittance. In the spirit of communal salvation, Barnes explains that wealthier members covered membership costs for poorer confraternal-hopefuls, thereby allowing the lower classes access to Catholic rites as well as an opportunity for the elites to mentor them (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 127, 129, 131). By juxtaposing the monastic ideal of a religious community within the urban setting, the laity could practice their religion without taking formal vows. After the background check was complete, the confraternity voted on the candidate during an official meeting and the candidate had to receive the majority of the votes. The regulations strictly forbid the entrance of any member without going through the aforementioned steps (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 127, 129, 131).

Although thorough background checks were required prior to admittance, at any time a member was found guilty of public sin the offender was suspended or expelled from the confraternity (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 145; S “Vera Cruz,” *CXIX Reglas*, 79). At this time, public sin was only defined as openly living with someone without first receiving the sacrament of marriage (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 145). Brothers were encouraged to be honest during investigations and were allowed to return to the confraternity when no longer was guilty of committing public sin, although he was required to pay a fine of two to four pounds of wax for his so-called disobedience, depending on his confraternal affiliation.<sup>15</sup>

Wives were required to pay an entrance fee in order to be recognized and to receive the rights of confraternal membership. Normally, wives had to pay approximately half of their husband’s entrance fee, depending if he was a brother of light or blood (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 79). Wives could join the confraternity at any point in their lives and not only when their husbands gained entrance. During the sixteenth century, officials wanted to “keep working classes within the Catholic fold, which involved creating networks of confraternities built around guild affiliations.”<sup>16</sup> Logically, women were allowed into guilds by the grace of their husband’s membership, thus they also would be allowed into confraternities.

14 Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 40.

15 Sánchez Herrero, ed., “Cofradía de las Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 145 where the fine was two pounds of wax; Sánchez Herrero, ed., “Cofradía de la Santa Vera Cruz,” *CXIX Reglas*, 79, where the fine was four pounds of wax.

16 Maher, “Jesuits and Ritual in Early Modern Europe,” 133.

Confraternal and guild associations overlapped in their structure, members, and rules. Women were allowed in both organizations, although their roles were limited and dependent on the local branch. The tie between guild and confraternal membership was not new, as seen through the medieval *Hermandad de San Pedro*. The members of the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* demanded that these wives pay an entrance fee of four *ducados* as well as two *reales* for every year they were not part of the confraternity *CXIX Reglas*, 69). The wives were required to undergo a background check to ensure that they were upstanding, honourable women, and not remarried to a man in another confraternity (“Trinidad,” *CXIX Reglas*, 166; “Vera Cruz,” *CXIX Reglas*, 69; “Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 134). If she remarried, she forfeited her rights in her deceased husband’s confraternity (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 139).

One could argue that Seville’s penitential confraternities thrived because they offered a more reasonable path towards penance and forgiveness. According to Catholic doctrine, penance is practiced for forgiveness of sin and can be performed in a variety of ways. The ultimate form of penance in the Middle Ages was a long and costly trip to the Holy Land, but could not be physically or financially accomplished by all. Instead, penitents could purchase indulgences in the place of going on the pilgrimage, thus exchanging money for forgiveness. Traveling ecclesiastics ventured from town to town to sell indulgences to a large captive audience, all of whom were Catholic by law and sinners by doctrine. Despite the monetary absolution of sin, the act of physically commuting sins was still a desire for many Catholics. Another method of performing penance developed through roving flagellants. These men, and perhaps women, journeyed through Spain and Italy whilst beating themselves in recompense for the sins of humanity. By melding the concept of commuting penance to a local arena and the public action performed by the flagellants, the concept of penitential processions was formed. This shocking and brutal act was not accepted everywhere and Sevillian confraternities were aware of the criticism.<sup>17</sup> Penitential confraternities such as the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz*, the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* and *Quinta Angustia* adopted the physical and public commutation of sins through flagellation but gradually replaced it with cross bearing penitents and *nazarenos*, referred to respectively as brothers of blood and light.<sup>18</sup>

The *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz*, the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* and *Quinta Angustia* divided their membership between brothers of light and blood and let each new member self-select his or her status. These penitents made up the bulk

<sup>17</sup> Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 186.

<sup>18</sup> In the Middle Ages, there was no distinction between confraternal members. With the rise of the penitential confraternities, members could choose the type of role they would play within their group. Equally, the medieval devotional confraternities revolved around performing the acts of mercy and although this important practice was also executed by the penitential confraternities, their highly public display of penance outshone their less public acts of mercy.



of the penitential procession. The brothers of light held candles to symbolically represent the light of Jesus coming to the people, as well as the practical purpose of lighting the path for the flagellants. However horrific to modern sensibilities, “scourging oneself with cords had been practiced for centuries and is most associated with the penitential confraternities founded during the fourteenth century in response to the Black Death.”<sup>19</sup> The brothers of blood were flagellants who beat themselves with cords during the procession as a form of penance for personal and communal sin. Throughout the procession all members obscured their identity by covering their faces with cloth, wearing flowing robes to hide their figure, and later on, pointed caps to disguise their height. Both men and women were allowed to participate in the procession anonymously as either brothers of light or blood, leading to the assumption that during this time women held an arguably equal role in confraternities as they were not only allowed to march as penitents, but they were also able to attend funerals and meetings.<sup>20</sup>

Foremost, the Holy Week procession was an avenue to practice public penance; therefore, the majority of those in the procession were required to be brothers of blood. Confraternities instituted quotas and differing admission dues to ensure a larger number of brothers of blood than light. The brothers of blood accounted for at least three-fourths of the total members in the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* (*CXIX Reglas*, 65). In this confraternity, the brothers of light were required to pay forty-six *reales* as opposed to the blood brother’s fourteen *reales* (*CXIX Reglas*, 65). *Quinta Angustia* required the brothers of blood to pay an entrance fee of only one ducat compared to the brothers of light four ducats initiation fee (*CXIX Reglas*, 129). Similarly, to the other two confraternities, the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* requires their brothers of light to pay twice as much to enter into the organization as the brothers of blood, four *reales* and two *reales* for respective entry fees, and cannot account for more than one-fourth of all members (*CXIX Reglas*, 163). The sources suggest that these confraternities were more concerned with the physical manifestation of penance as opposed to strictly monetary profit from their members; hence, it was more strongly encouraged to pay with blood than *reales*. Through public suffering, like Jesus’ journey to Calvary hill, these laymen were able to complete an *imitatio Christi* (imitation of Christ).

Although the role of the brother of light was not as physically demanding, they were able to enjoy the same benefit of forgiveness as a part of the penitential procession. The rulebook of the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* required only that the brothers of light be disciplined, obedient to the *mayordomo*, and to help the brothers

19 Maher, “Jesuits and Ritual in Early Modern Europe,” 207. Maher cites the development of penitential confraternities as a response to the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century. This practice began in Italy but took at least a century to become established in Spain.

20 It should be remembered that the Romance languages default to the male gender; therefore the term brother of light or blood does not necessarily exclude women and is simply employed as a generic term.

of blood during the procession (*CXIX Reglas*, 65). The brothers of light for *Quinta Angustia* equally were subservient to the *mayordomo* and penitents, as well all of the officials and scribes during the Holy Week procession (*CXIX Reglas*, 129). The regulations for the brothers of light in the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* were “not obligated to flagellate themselves, but rather to carry candles (*hachas*) for the benefit of those around them and to serve the flagellants, *mayordomos*, other officials, scribes, and crier during the procession” (“*CXIX Reglas*, 163: “que no han de ser obligados a la deceptina, sino para llevar las hachas y para lo demás que fuere menester en la procesión y servicio de los disciplinantes y en todo lo que los *mayordomos* y *alcaldes* y *escribanos* les fuese mandado o por el nuestro munidor requerido”). In general, the men who joined the confraternity as brothers of light seemed to be of an elevated social class or economic status, therefore could afford the higher entrance fee. Their forced subservient role during in the procession was a way to ensure piety and humility on them and is grounded in biblical precedent that the “first shall be last and the last shall be first” (Mt 19: 16–20).

The Holy Week procession was the high point of the confraternal year for many members. Realizing this, confraternities scheduled meetings, inspections, and further ceremonies directly preceding the procession. In conjunction with the mandatory meeting immediately preceding the procession, the confraternities also held an obligatory annual assembly on Palm Sunday, only a few days prior to the procession (“*Trinidad*,” *CXIX Reglas*, 165; “*Vera Cruz*,” *CXIX Reglas*, 68; “*Angustias*,” *CXIX Reglas*, 132). This meeting helped prepare the penitents and was done with enough time to fix any problems before the frenzy of the procession was upon them. At this time, tunics were submitted for inspection, everyone was required to go to confession and to seek forgiveness from their fellow brother. If a brother did not wish to beg forgiveness, perhaps because of his pride or his insistence of holding a grudge, he could opt to pay for four pounds of wax for the general consumption of the confraternity (“*Trinidad*,” *CXIX Reglas*, 165). Also at this meeting, the confraternity held their annual election for the *mayordomo* and other officials, most likely hoping that an obligatory meeting would engender the highest voter turnout. Each member was also required to give alms to pay for the procession and to listen to the reading of the rulebook (“*Trinidad*,” *CXIX Reglas*, 165). All members were required to convene again at five in the evening on Holy Thursday in order to confess again, receive the Eucharist, and dress for the procession in their floor length tunics, face covering hats (*capirote*), and the official the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* insignia on the breast (*CXIX Reglas*, 165). The flagellants were also encouraged, although not required, to intensify their penance by going barefoot (“*Trinidad*,” *CXIX Reglas*, 165). By performing the ritual of the Holy Week procession, the confraternities offered laymen four of the seven sacraments: confession, reconciliation, Eucharist, and penance. Equally, they stressed uniformity through the dress code and hierarchy through the reading of the rulebook. Before they could start their Holy Thursday procession, the brothers of the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* were required to meet at the confraternal chapel to hear a mass. There they would be accounted for by



scribes who would “see who is missing and not fulfilling their vowed obligations, as the procession is not only for God, our Lord, but for our confraternity and for the benefit of all of our souls” (“Trinidad,” *CXIX Reglas*, 165., 78: “para que se vea quién falta e no viene a cumplir su juramento como es obligado, porque así cumple al seruicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de nuestra Hermandad y provecho de nuestras ánimas”). This public act of penitence was not only important part of the faith of the group, but also served as an indicator of the prestige of the confraternity. The pre-processional meeting helped to bring in large numbers and insisted on orthodoxy.

Other confraternities arranged that immediately prior to the Holy Week procession, the members gathered together in another form of *imitatio Christi* with the washing of the feet. Perhaps in an attempt to equalize brothers of blood and light, all members of *Quinta Angustia* and the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* were eligible to re-enact the washing of the feet, which the brothers were obligated to do on Holy Thursday.<sup>21</sup> The regulations for this act are identical in the two confraternal rulebooks of *Quinta Angustia* and the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad*, thereby suggesting either the close connection between these brotherhoods or possibly both employed the same scribe who had little imagination or was under strict orders of orthodoxy (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 143, ch. 45–47; “Trinidad,” *CXIX Reglas*, 175, ch. 42–44). Flagellants were invited to the confraternal chapel to participate in the yearly ritual prior to the Holy Week procession (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 143). Non-member friends of the flagellants, and presumably brothers of light, were also able to attend but a donation of four silver *reales* was requested (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 143). The donor was to give his *reales* directly to the *mayordomo*, perhaps to ensure that the money made it in to the confraternal coffers and not into a brother’s tunic. To legitimize further this transaction, a scribe was required to be present to record the name of the donor (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 143). This fastidiousness might have been to squash criticisms of those outside of the Church claiming corruption, but also because the brothers were constantly aware of their laymen status and did not wish to interfere with Church money.

The confraternities had strict outlines for the organization of the Holy Week procession. The rigidity and careful planning was a way to ensure continuity and orthodoxy despite the changing cast of ruling officials. During the procession, the members of *Quinta Angustia* were led by the *mayordomo* and a large shrouded cross followed by six brothers of light wearing black tunics that contrasted with the bright light of their candles, then another large cross held by “one of the tallest brothers,” followed by another six brothers of light, “the best singers” and a trumpet bugling sounds of pain and lament (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 132: “un cofrade de los más altos con otras seys hachas. Y que vayan con sus cantores, los mejores que se hallaren e más vaya una trompeta que vaya tañendo de dolor”). With this processional

21 This practice is still common today. It is done by a clergy member when celebrating the mass: the priest washes then kisses twelve pairs of feet, thus recreating Jesus washing the feet of the twelve apostles.

head, the members dutifully journeyed to five other churches as a way to physically re-enact an abbreviated version of the Stations of the Cross (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 132). The members of the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* paraded in much of the same manner as *Quinta Angustia* except that they were led by a banner bearing their insignia instead of a shrouded cross and visited six, not five, churches (*CXIX Reglas*, 177). The brothers of the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* marched “two by two, one in front of another” (“Vera Cruz,” *CXIX Reglas*, 78: “de la manera como dicha es e luego de dos en dos, uno enfrente de otro”) and their procession resembled the others save for a large crucifix carried not by the *mayordomo*, but only by an ecclesiastic. The singing was done not by brothers but only by the Franciscan monks associated with the group, and they employed four trumpeters, not one, to vocalize the pain of the Passion and the penitents (*CXIX Reglas*, 68”). The *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* also carefully regulated every aspect of their procession. The members were not allowed to eat or drink anything during the procession and were encouraged to donate the allotted money for food and drink into the confraternal treasury. Not wishing to make the march more arduous than necessary, the brothers of *Quinta Angustia* were provided food and beverages throughout the procession at the expense of the confraternity (“Trinidad,” *CXIX Reglas*, 177; “Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 132).

The *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* had the rare distinction of being blessed with a Holy Bull, meaning that the pope personally absolved the sins of the penitents at the completion of their procession. The brothers openly encouraged non-members into their procession, thereby optimizing the number of faithful covered by the Holy Bull (*CXIX Reglas*, 78). Perhaps because of this liberal acceptance and not wanting authorities to charge them with interfering with the agency and supremacy of the Church, the regulations of the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* insisted on visible clerics in positions of importance during the procession. To ensure uniformity, the impromptu penitents were loaned a tunic by the *mayordomo*, who was required to carry extras with him (*CXIX Reglas*, 77).

Regardless of confraternal allegiance, every brother, including the top officials, dressed in black to symbolize a collective mourning for the death of Jesus. Despite lacking a Holy Bull, the *mayordomo* of the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* was responsible for providing tunics for those without, perhaps mimicking the corporeal act of mercy of clothing the naked (*CXIX Reglas*, 165). Relatives and close friends of the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* brothers were allowed to join in their procession but they were relegated to the rear and not allowed to wear the official insignia of the confraternity (*CXIX Reglas*, 177).

Whereas other confraternities were solely dedicated to the corporal works of mercy, the penitential brotherhoods were organized primarily for the didactic and sacramental gains of the Holy Week processional. Yet these brotherhoods performed works of mercy for their own members, especially by visiting the sick and burying the dead. The regulations pertaining to visiting the sick were identical regardless of confraternity. Members of the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad*, the *Cofradía de*

*Santa Vera Cruz*, and *Quinta Angustia* were required to visit the sick or those “at the point of death” at least once every three days, or whenever needed (“Trinidad,” *CXIX Reglas*, 168; “Vera Cruz,” *CXIX Reglas*, 70; “Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 135). The sick members were allotted up to four *reales* from the confraternal treasury for each illness for unspecified necessities (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 135). Although it was preferable for a former *mayordomo* to visit the sick to inquire of his needs, this did not elevate the other members from equally visiting their ill brethren, for those who did not pay visits were fined one pound of wax (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 135). The brothers of *Quinta Angustia* were further obligated to attend those “at the point of death” in pairs of two every four hours until death occurred, and then the pair were to “take him to be buried” (*CXIX Reglas*, 138: “de dos en dos cofrades que velen de quatro en quatro horas en tanto que sea en pasamiento y después que fuere muerto hasta que lo lleven a enterrar”). A single brother could not carry another by himself, thereby explaining the need for the two visitors.

Deceased brothers, their wives, and children were given a confraternal burial (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 134). The *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* would bury the mothers and fathers of members as well, and they would be buried along with the member’s children in the smaller confraternal chapel (*cabeça menor*) and received a funeral procession lit by four candleholders (*cirios*) (*CXIX Reglas*, 166). The members of *Quinta Angustia* equally buried the immediate relatives of their brothers, but also their servants and slaves who were given a procession lit by only two candleholders, thereby emphasizing their place in the social hierarchy (*CXIX Reglas*, 133). Brothers and their wives of the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* and *Quinta Angustia* were buried in the larger chapel (*cabeça mayor*) and their burial was preceded by a procession from the deceased’s house to the chapel and the way was lit by six large candleholders (“Trinidad,” *CXIX Reglas*, 166; Sánchez Herrero, ed., “Cofradía de las Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 133). If a member wished to be buried outside of the city, the brotherhood was obligated to carry him no further than the city gates, and hopefully arrangements would have been made to transport the body to its final resting place (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 140). If any member was not present at the burial, they were fined one *reale* (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 140) and if any member spoke ill of the dead, they were promptly fined one pound of wax (“Trinidad,” *CXIX Reglas*, 166; “Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 133; “Vera Cruz,” *CXIX Reglas*, 69).

The burials for the members of the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* were on a grander scale than the other two confraternities thereby further publicly emphasizing their upper class status. Members and their wives were honoured with a procession of twenty-four *cirios*, and their children with twelve candles (*hachas*) (*CXIX Reglas*, 69). Like *Quinta Angustia*, the servants of this brotherhood had a right to a confraternal burial and their procession was lit by seven candles (*CXIX Reglas*, 69). The *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* refused to bestow a proper Christian burial on slaves, most likely because it was forbidden for Christians to be slaves; therefore, the slaves would inevitably be non-Christian (*CXIX Reglas*, 69).

Confraternal rights did not end at the funeral of the deceased brother. *Quinta Angustia* allowed the eldest son of a deceased member hereditary membership, provided the son donated a candle, thereby eschewing the normal entrance fee, and swore an oath to the confraternity “just like his father” (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 139: “que jure la Regla como su padre”). If the eldest son did not wish to join *Quinta Angustia*, the offer of hereditary membership was offered to the other children (*CXIX Reglas*, 139). Similarly, the confraternities held requiem Masses for their departed brothers and their families. The deceased brothers and the wives of *Quinta Angustia* were given three requiem Masses along with the lighting of candles by the *mayordomo* (*CXIX Reglas*, 134). Absent members were fined ten *maravedís* and were required to recite ten Ave Maria and Our Father prayers “for the soul of the [recently] deceased” (“Angustias,” *CXIX Reglas*, 134: “por el ánima del dicho difunto”). The *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* offered their members and wives four requiem Masses lit by the candles of all the living members, and like *Quinta Angustia*, absent members were fined one *reale* and required to say five Ave Marias and Our Fathers (*CXIX Reglas*, 70). Perhaps preying on their members’ sizable fortunes, the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz* strongly encouraged putting the confraternity in their wills (*CXIX Reglas*, 79). Non-members could request requiem Masses from *Quinta Angustia* contingent on a donation of up to four pounds of wax, of which had to be noted by the scribe (*CXIX Reglas*, 145). Although it would be unwise to assume that these confraternities functioned exactly as the rulebooks prescribed, one can at least begin to understand the pivotal role these confraternities played within the wider urban social structure. Penitential confraternities served as a social safety net by covering expenses of the sick, much like today’s version of disability insurance, as well as ensuring a proper burial for all members and their immediate family. These services not only financially aided the surviving family members, but it also eased their fears of eternal salvation or damnation. When death did occur, members could rest easy in the fact that their dependents would be looked after by the confraternity, most likely as members and in the least by a proper burial and requiem masses. As the first wave of penitential confraternities passed on, literally and figuratively, the next generation took the firm institutional foundation and made it their own.

The next great wave of penitential confraternities was founded during the time coinciding with the Council of Trent, 1545 to 1563. Although there are numerous similarities between the Sevillian confraternities formed in the few decades before and during the Council of Trent, such as feast days, burial practices, monthly Masses and meetings, and the act of visiting the sick, an underlying desire for confraternities as a means of self-definition and increased control of public perception public became increasingly popular. The changes in confraternal names alone speaks to the larger transformation occurring on the secular and ecclesiastical level. As we have seen, the first Sevillian penitential confraternities were generally named after an event in the Passion or an essential element of faith: the *Cofradía de Santa Vera Cruz*, the *Cofradía de la Santísima Trinidad* and *Quinta Angustia*. As the penitential

confraternities sought to lay a firm foundation throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, they relied on the grander tradition and permanence of the Church to lend their confraternity legitimacy. Beginning around the 1540s, much like what was happening at the Council of Trent, confraternities seemed to be going through a process of re-evaluation. Just as the Church leaders were discussing and debating who they were, what they believed, and who was a true member, the new generation of penitential confraternities were doing the same. The Church enacted the Counter-Reformation and the confraternities established new groups based on who they were currently, who they wished to be, or how they wanted to be perceived by the public as evidenced most easily by their names. The most prestigious confraternity eschewed humility and chose the identifier the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno*. Equally telling, people who considered (or wanted to be considered) pure of heart could join the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción*. Minorities developed their own confraternity as well naming themselves simply the *Cofradía de la Los Negritos*.

Although the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* was established first in 1348 and rewrote their rulebook in 1357, 1427, and 1547 (*CXIX Reglas*, 262). The latest edition of the rulebook reflected a greater change in the confraternity in general. Doña Catalina de Rivera, an extremely wealthy and well-connected Sevillian, founded the *Hospital de las Cinco Llagas* (the Hospital of the Five Wounds [of Jesus]) and the administrators were already brothers of *Jesús Nazareno*, so they simply re-established the confraternity at the new hospital in 1547 (“Vera Cruz,” *CXIX Reglas*, 261).<sup>22</sup> Besides being a wealthy benefactor, Doña Catalina de Rivera was the mother of Fadrique Enriquez de Rivera, the founder of Seville’s own *Via Crucis*. While on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he carefully studied and measured the exact distances between holy sites and recreated the journey with mathematical precision in his hometown. Mary Elizabeth Perry provides a detailed description of the hospital including a large painting of Christ showing his wounds to a doubting Thomas. Perry infers that “the suffering depicted did not imply injustice in the world, but rather the opportunity to emulate Christ in the Way of the Cross, winning salvation through martyrdom.”<sup>23</sup> The Way of the Cross, the *Via Crucis*, could be seen as a familial mission of the de Rivera family to emulate Christ through the foundation of the hospital and as a literal course for others to follow as well. While not all confraternities followed de Rivera’s *Via Crucis*, the path established a vital, organized, and deliberate element into the processions. Following de Rivera’s course, penitential brotherhoods incorporated the local Stations of the Cross with self-flagellation as an

22 The rulebook does not elaborate on the location of this hospital, but it has been noted that the in the early sixteenth century, Catalina de Ribera “transformed a house she owned in Seville into a hospital for poor women.” Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 24 The de Rivera family also has been referred to as the de Ribera family, much like the alternation between Catherine and Catalina.

act of penance for not only themselves, but for the good of the city in times of crisis and plague and for the greater good of all of humanity.<sup>24</sup>

The members of the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* strove to put de Rivera's path into practice.<sup>25</sup> The brothers were willing to take up the cross literally during the annual Holy Week procession but their chosen method of *imitatio Christi* and act of mercy was to help the imprisoned. They claimed "for our chosen exercise, we will imitate our Redeemer Jesus Christ as a prisoner crucified between prisoners, and at the point of his death, he opened the treasure of his mercy not only to the thief but to all of humanity in order to not be prisoners of the devil."<sup>26</sup> The brothers made it their mission to help poor prisoners the best way the rich knew how—through monetary gifts (*CXIX Reglas*, 263). The brothers ranked the petitions they received from prisoners; their top priority was to "help those with the least reason" to be in prison, followed by exiles, but giving the most preference to their members and their kin (*CXIX Reglas*, 281: "que salga primero el que estubiere por menos deuda"). With the money raised through alms and other donations, a few top officials went to the jail in order to free deserving captives (*CXIX Reglas*, 281). The brothers did not end their works of mercy with the jails in Seville, they also vowed to ransom their fellow brothers, fathers, and sons who became prisoners of war (*CXIX Reglas*, 282). As a self-congratulatory measure, a regulation required every corporeal act of mercy to be accounted for by adding a small white marble stone into a jar with the hope that their combined efforts would total around 40,000 *maravedís* (*CXIX Reglas*, 282).<sup>27</sup> In a time when Catholicism was fighting against the criticisms of Protestants about indulgences, one would think that the confraternities would be more willing to physically perform their good deeds than to simply give money.

The members of the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* made special efforts to ensure that their good deeds and status in society were noticed. The rulebook highlighted the elite status of the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* as it traced the derivation of power for this confraternity from Pope Pius IV to King Philip II to Catherine de Rivera (wife of Pedro Enriquez de Rivera) to their son Fadrique. The hierarchy then

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24 Saint-Saëns, *Art and Faith in Tridentine Spain*, 95.

25 "Jesús Nazareno," *CXIX Reglas*, 263: "como dice el apóstol sant Pablo, en la Cruz de Nuestro Señor Jesuchristo en la qual fuimos saluos y libres del poder del demonio, teniédola por patrona, armas y defena suya, queriendo ymitar a el que en ella murió por culpas nuestras, lleuándola sobre sus ombros." "In the words of Saint Paul, [Galicians 6:14] to take the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ by through which we were saved and liberated from the power of the devil, and because of this patronage we take up arms in defence, and we wish to imitate his death for our sins by taking up the cross on our shoulders."

26 "Jesús Nazareno," *CXIX Reglas*, 280: "Y auiendo de escoger para nuestro exercicio ymitemos a nuestro Redemptor Jesuchristo fue preso, crucificado entre presos y al punto de su muerte abrió el tesoro de su misericordia para el preso ladrón y para todo el género humano preso en poder del demonio."

27 The symbolism behind the marble jar might have been two-fold: a status symbol and also an indication of purity.



split between the top of the ecclesiastics, Fray Rodrigo de Carmona, and the secular with Don Andres de Aguilar (*CXIX Reglas*, 262). Without a doubt, the brothers of the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* were highly regarded noblemen and clearly wanted their pedigree known to all. As for membership requirements, the brothers of the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* stipulated that the ideal candidate was married and over twenty-one years old and paid an entrance fee of one and one-half pounds of wax (*CXIX Reglas*, 278). They forbade anyone who was a *morisco* (converted Muslim), black, mulatto, possessed bad vices, or men married to so-called forbidden women (*CXIX Reglas*, 278). They allowed honorary membership to those who had the means and social standing, but not time to commit, as long as they were present at the confraternal feasts (*CXIX Reglas*, 278). Together, the honorary membership, the memory jar of good deeds, and the hierarchy defined the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* as an elite confraternity who wished to keep the divide between them and the less fortunate open wide by ostentatiously displaying what they had in excess: money.

As a contrast to the elite *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno*, the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* was approved on 25 July 1549 and was based out of the *Convento de Regina Angelorum de la Orden de Predicadores* (Convent of Our Queen Angels of the Order of Preachers) in Seville (“Pura Concepción,” *CXIX Reglas*, 181). The members of the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* sought to “exercise and complete the works of charity” as laid out in their rulebook (*CXIX Reglas*, 182). The spiritual acts of charity are traditionally defined as praying, teaching and understanding Church doctrine, and giving counsel, support, correction, and solace. This confraternity was established for an entirely different purpose than its predecessors which focused mainly on the works of mercy which included feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, giving drink to the thirsty, giving shelter to those without, visiting the sick, ransoming the captive, and burying the dead (Mt 25: 35–38).

The members of the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* only admitted “honourable people of a good life and reputation who understand humility and love” (*CXIX Reglas*, 189). The ability to love must not have extended to the greater community as blacks, mulattos, Muslims, *conversos*, Jews, and penitents from the Inquisition were firmly excluded from admission (*CXIX Reglas*, 189). Candidates to the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* submitted a petition for admittance and had two current brothers and two other honourable people speak on their behalf (*CXIX Reglas*, 190). The entrance fee was typical; brothers of light paid twenty-two *reales*, brothers of blood paid seventeen *reales*, and women could join for a fee of thirty *reales*—a slightly higher fee was imposed because they were not obligated to perform the services of the confraternity like attend burials and meetings (*CXIX Reglas*, 190). The *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* was strict on their initiates but if a member was involved in a public scandal or was dishonest with the confraternity or crier, they would only be fined one pound of wax for the first offense, two pounds for the second, and three pounds for the third (*CXIX Reglas*, 203). The punishment became more severe if a brother was found guilty of cohabitating with a woman who was not his wife:

he was fined four pounds of wax and exiled from the confraternity for life (*CXIX Reglas*, 204 and 208). Like the other confraternities, membership was inheritable to the eldest legitimate son or daughter, or his widow, and they were obligated to notify the confraternity of their desire and to pay an entrance that was equal to half of what their father or husband paid (*CXIX Reglas*, 190–191). During her husband's lifetime, a wife was offered admission to the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* for only ten *reales* and she held her position as long as she did not remarry within three months of her husband's death (*CXIX Reglas*, 191). It should not seem surprising that the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* was welcoming to women heirs and their mothers, thereby making it a true brotherhood only in name.

The *Cofradía de la Los Negritos* was founded by Cardinal Gonzalo de Meno as a Dominican tertiary organization for those of the "black race" in 1558 ("Negritos," *CXIX Reglas*, 220: "a personas de raza negra"). There is no mention if the "black race" refers to Africans or to Muslims. One would assume that it referred to slaves or former slaves that were brought into Seville. Their introductory prayer was the recitation of John 1:1–14 perhaps signifying the equality of all Christians, regardless of race. They did not specify a single goal of their confraternity, but rather stated their all-encompassing purpose to be of service to God and Mary (*CXIX Reglas*, 221). The brevity of the *Cofradía de los Negritos*' rulebook attested to the minimal funds available for scribal services as the eloquence and elaboration of rulebooks were proportional to the wealth of the confraternity.

Although confraternities were prevalent throughout Spain and the European continent in general, Seville's unique status as the port city to the New World enabled a confraternity like the *Cofradía de los Negritos*, who admitted only "mulattos, Indians, and free blacks," to flourish (*CXIX Reglas*, 221: "mulatos, indios e negros libres"). Seville became the port of Spain in 1503 and by the second half of the sixteenth-century, many Sevillians probably felt the strain of the influx of immigrants and renewed their interest in *pureza de sangre*. The members of the *Cofradía de los Negritos* were on the lowest rungs of Sevillian society at this time, thereby making their membership at any other confraternity unlikely. Besides the racial segregation, the membership regulations for the *Cofradía de los Negritos* were similar to other confraternities; a candidate expressed his desire to join to a current member, who in turn alerted the officials. The officials performed a background check to ensure that the potential initiate did not possess any bad vices or had a scandalous past (*CXIX Reglas*, 222). Upon admittance, if it was discovered that a brother was "a drunk, a thief, living with a woman who was not his wife, or a blasphemer" the member would have two chances to clean up his act, and the third accusation would irretrievably eject him from the confraternity (*CXIX Reglas*, 222: "como borracho, ladrón, amancebado, blasfemo que sea notorios, corrijánlo en amablemente"). Brothers of light were required to pay an entrance fee of three *reales* and brothers of blood had to give one candle and two *reales* to be admitted (*CXIX Reglas*, 223). Just like the other confraternities, membership to the *Cofradía de los Negritos* was hereditary to any child of the deceased and to his widow as long as she did not remarry (*CXIX*

*Reglas*, 223). Unlike the other confraternities who insisted on the legitimacy and age of heirs, the *Cofradía de los Negritos* simply stated that if the father allowed it, “a child can inherit the candle of his father” (*CXIX Reglas*, 223: “Y si dexare hijo que erede la candela de su padre”). Perhaps being on the fringe of society, the *Cofradía de los Negritos* was not hyper-vigilant about the prestigious lineage that elite confraternities like the *Cofradía de la Jesús Nazareno* sought to zealously guard.

Similarly, the *Cofradía de los Negritos* understood that if they tried to perform works of mercy or charity, their actions would be rejected by society in general; therefore, they pre-empted the rejection by stating their purpose was to “honour and glorify the omnipotent God and the sovereign Lady of Piety for the benefit and elevation of the health of our souls” (*CXIX Reglas*, 221: “a honrra y gloria del onipotente Dios y de la soberana Señora de la Piedad para provecho e aumento de la salud para nuestras ánimas”). Not only were penitential confraternities increasingly popular during the last half of the sixteenth century, but so were confraternities dedicated solely for the souls in purgatory. Despite the fact that the *Cofradía de los Negritos* did not participate in the acts of mercy like other penitential confraternities, instead focusing on the salvation of their souls, they were distinguishable as a penitential confraternity because of their Holy Week procession, a feature not evident in the brotherhoods for the lost souls.

In previous penitential confraternities, the processions were mentioned but not nearly in as much detail as they were in the confraternities that were established during the Council of Trent. This extra focus and scrutiny of the Holy Week procession goes hand-in-hand with overarching and overwhelming desire of the attempt to control public opinion. Every minute detail is described in the rulebook to leave no room for error, doubt, or personal control. Just as each rulebook specified who could and could not be a member, the rulebooks went to great lengths to explain what was and was not acceptable in the procession.

The centrality of the Holy Week procession is evident for the brothers of the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* as it was the focal point of the rulebook and was the most explained topic. As custom required, members met on the evening of Holy Thursday in order to show contrition, to confess, and to beg forgiveness from their fellow brother (*CXIX Reglas*, 265). Most likely because of the high number of penitential brotherhoods already established in Seville, the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* marched not on Holy Thursday, as the earlier established confraternities did, but on Holy Friday. The processional dress code was a black tunic and a *capirote* that covered one’s face (*CXIX Regla*, 265). For a confraternity of elite men who were used to enjoying public physical distinction, they had to rely on the confraternity to be an equalizing force and to insist on the regularity, drabness, and anonymity of the processional outfits. The simplicity of the outfit was meant as a safeguard so that “on Holy Friday, the devil cannot find a place to conquer and some of our brothers would be tempted with vainglory or other vice or sin [during the public procession] ... therefore, wear a tunic without a crest, silver, gold, border, or any type

of varnish” in order to not betray the sacredness of the procession (*CXIX Reglas*, 265: “del Viernes Sancto el demonio no halle lugar por donde rinda a su jurisdicción a alguno de nuestros hermanos tentándolo con vanagloria, hiproquesía o con otro género de vicio y peccado ... leuantando la tunica, ni escudo ninguno de plata, ni de oro, ni bordado, ni esmaltado”). In the morning before the procession, the brothers of the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* were required to meet for inspection. The confraternity demanded that the outfits were to be clean, well-kept, and to have only the confraternal crest or leaf of Milan stitched on the breast. All members were expected to go barefoot unless given specific permission to wear sandals (*alpargates*) due to sickness or old age (*CXIX Reglas*, 266).

The men were obligated to process “in a good and orderly fashion,” under the *mayordomo* and other officials in charge (*CXIX Reglas*, 266: “con buena orden y modo”). As the rulebook only allowed brothers of blood and light and not any other type of member, one would have to assume that the processional musicians were either hired for the occasion or musically talented members who did not mind not marching as a *nazareno* or penitent. The basic organization of the procession was headed by a brown banner with the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, followed by twenty-four brothers, twelve of whom would be carrying two candles (*hachas*) each, followed by the *paso* of Christ carrying the cross, then twelve more brothers of light, and finally the *paso* of the *Pieta* (*CXIX Reglas*, 264). Although the earlier confraternities mentioned the order of their procession, this was the first mention of specific *pasos*. The *mayordomo* was required to provide tunics for impromptu penitents, who would give a donation in order to process with *Jesús Nazareno*; as was prohibited for membership, “*moriscos*, blacks, and mulattos” were not allowed to spontaneously join the procession in order to “not provoke scandal” (*CXIX Reglas*, 267: “no siendo moriscos, negros, ni mulatos ... lo qual se haze solo por euitar escándolo”). Perhaps the foresight to have extra tunics for non-members served as a testament to the emotional response that was evoked by the Holy Week processions, regardless of who was excluded.

The organization of the Holy Week procession was most strictly regulated by the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción*. The members met in the evening of Palm Sunday at the confraternal monastery to democratically order the procession, to ask for forgiveness from their brothers, to wish “peace and friendship to all,” to take roll, and finally to admit new members (*CXIX Reglas*, 197: “que la paz y amistad entre ellos sea fecha”). The events of this single meeting highlighted the individual characteristics of all the penitential confraternities. The brothers agreed amongst themselves about the order of the procession rather than leaving the decision-making up to the officials. Besides the obvious obligations of the brothers of blood, the members of the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* had to decide who was the most capable of handling the image of Christ, the banner, the candles, and the regimental sticks used to keep the procession running smoothly and in sync (*CXIX Reglas*, 198). Perhaps the brothers were well aware that the organization of the procession would invoke a heated debate and decreed that it would be the first order of business that day,

followed immediately by asking for forgiveness. Furthermore, by admitting new members on Palm Sunday, the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* played on the fervent zeal of the initiates by allowing them almost immediately to display their devotion to the confraternity and to their faith.

Even though the Palm Sunday meeting allowed the brothers to decide on the particulars of the procession as well as briefing the brothers on where bathroom breaks and food stops would be located on the route, the majority of the details of the procession were already preordained in the rulebook (*CXIX Reglas*, 198). The Tridentine atmosphere of the increased need for general order and orthodoxy was translated into the detailed description of processions with the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* at the forefront. The brothers were encouraged to arrive promptly at seven in the evening before the Holy Thursday procession for the most prestigious position was the front and that was reserved for the brothers who arrived first (*CXIX Reglas*, 199). All members were required to check in with the scribe and the brothers of blood had to confess and receive communion to have “a clean conscience” by God (*CXIX Reglas*, 200 (scribes); 198 (penitents): “linpien sus conçiencias”). The rulebook did not state if brothers of light were required to also confess and receive communion, unlike the brothers of blood who had to complete the sacrament of reconciliation, which included confession, communion, and penance. No blood brother was excused from the procession without a legitimate reason and was required to give the confraternity alms for his absence. In case of sickness, brothers of light were allowed to transfer their candle to another with permission from an official and a fee of three pounds of wax (*CXIX Reglas*, 202). It must have been common for brothers of blood to participate in other confraternal processions, as the brothers of blood for the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* only were allowed to march in their procession, no other (*CXIX Reglas*, 206). The brothers of blood might have been motivated to participate in various processions because of their own genuine remorse, or the greed brought on by other confraternities willing to pay them in order to pad their ranks to look more prestigious.

As was customary at the time, the brothers of the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* were not allowed to wear any distinguishable accessories during the procession (*CXIX Reglas*, 199). The brothers were outfitted in white linen tunics, a “hard burial” *capirote* (conical hat) that covered the face but has eyeholes for sight, cords of Saint Francis, and thick walking sandals (*CXIX Reglas*, 199: “capirota cartuxano”). This is the first reference regarding the rigidity of the *capirote* and it probably resembles the conical hats worn by confraternities today. The brothers of blood for the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* were not allowed to shed blood but regulated only to discipline themselves with a silver rosary (*CXIX Reglas*, 199). The brothers of light were obligated to bring their own candle and any brother who was not dressed in the appropriate attire was not admitted and fined two pounds of candle wax (*CXIX Reglas*, 199). Those brothers who arrived in sturdy boots for the long journey were



required to take them off and give them to the poor, clearly indicating the insistence on uniformity, pain, and charity within this one rule (*CXIX Reglas*, 199).

A distinctive feature of Tridentine confraternities was precision and specificity of the Holy Week procession. The order of the procession of the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* began with the blue and white taffeta and silk confraternal banner held by officials and flanked by four brothers of light (*CXIX Reglas*, 192 (banner) and 200). Next, one brother carried a stick and another rang a bell in order to keep time, they were followed by three rows of one brother of light in between two brothers of blood (*CXIX Reglas*, 200). The *paso* of Jesus, surrounded by eight brothers of light, came next, followed by ten clerics and the *paso* of Mary. The *paso* of Mary was “dressed in black to provoke pain and sadness [and] covered with a cloak of blue fabric and white linen” (*CXIX Reglas*, 200: “vestida la ymagen de negro y tocada de tocas de lino que prouoque a dolor y tristeza y cubierta de vn manto de paño azul y un lienço blanco”). The absence of laymen in between the two *pasos* might be symbolic of the Church’s monopoly over sacred objects. Six brothers of light trailed the *paso* of Mary, who then were followed by singers, “the best that we have to go and sing our litany” (*CXIX Reglas*, 200: “los mejores que se puedan auer, que vayan cantado su letanía”). Several brothers and officials, equipped with sticks, came next to keep order and to bar people from disrupting the procession (*CXIX Reglas*, 200). The procession ended with two or three trumpet players (*CXIX Reglas*, 200). As noted earlier, the modern processional route snakes its way from the confraternal chapel to the Cathedral and back, but the procession of the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción* mirrored that of their predecessors in that their march consisted of four Stations of the Cross located at various churches (*CXIX Reglas*, 200).

The members of the *Cofradía de los Negritos* were obligated to meet during the third or fourth Sunday of Lent to organize their Holy Week procession (*CXIX Reglas*, 223). One of the difficulties of a fringe-group confraternity had to be the transient nature of the members. One would assume if the opportunity presented itself for a poor brother to join a New World expedition that the member would put the prospect of earning money whenever possible above confraternal duties. Therefore, the close proximity of the meeting time to the actual procession most likely ensured that the members present at the council would still be around to march in the procession. The brothers of blood for the *Cofradía de los Negritos* were required to be “healthy males of good composition so that the penance will not cause sickness” (*CXIX Reglas*, 222: “hombres sanos de buena compulsion para que la disciplina no les cause enfermedad”). These brothers probably relied on their health for employment and the confraternity safeguarded this. The brothers of light and blood were required to meet immediately prior to the Holy Thursday procession to confess and take the Eucharist (*CXIX Reglas*, 222). The rulebook did not indicate any further provisions or organizational structure for the procession, again its brevity reflecting the higher cost of employing a scribe compared with their meagre income.



Wealthy or not, much like a son inheriting from the father the second generation of penitential confraternities owed a great deal of their reputation, tradition, and rules on the pioneering confraternities of the early sixteenth century. Confraternities like the *Cofradía de los Negritos*, the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción*, and the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* took the basic ideas, traditions, sacramental and social benefits of being a penitential confraternity and then were able to construct their own groups based on their own personal wants and needs. A Sevillian man was able to literally inherit a place his father's confraternity and also could choose if he wanted to be seen as the best of the best, on par with Jesus of Nazareth himself, or if he would rather be thought of as pure hearted like the Immaculate Conception, or if he simply was what he was: an immigrant, a "little Black." They also knew, based on the strict ordinances of the rulebook, exactly how they would act and be seen in public, thereby hoping to ensure a positive public persona. On a much larger scale, the Council of Trent was doing the same thing. The Church was experiencing growing pains and attacks which necessitated self-definition, justification, and re-evaluated rules of faith and devotion. On a micro level, Sevillian confraternities like the *Cofradía de los Negritos*, the *Cofradía de la Pura Concepción*, and the *Cofradía de Jesús Nazareno* also embodied a similar desire of self-reflection, self-definition, and control of public perception.

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