

NATURE AND CULTURE IN THE RITUALS OF SAN ANTONIO

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Translation notes

This paper has been rough translated for private study using Google translate. The first step was to translate the whole document a section at a time. Then key passages were identified and edited to improve the machine rendered sense, grammar and punctuation. A few tables and diagrams were copied over from the original where they seemed important. The end result isn't pretty but it should help answer a few questions about San Anton.

Abstract (original in English)

In this paper I analyze the veneration of San Antonio Abad, San Antón, as an example of the ritual fusion of nature and culture in the different communities commemorating him. The festive practices of this "old Saint" originate in pre Christian rites related to fire and the protection of animals. San Anton festivities were very extensive in Europe, and were even exported to the American colonies. It is a clear example of how popular practices appropriate within their own church initiatives and practices bordering on heterodoxy at times, while expressing mechanisms of resistance to change. Yet it is clear that this tradition has survived because it has adapted. When industrialization came to the countryside, the animals gave way to machine blessing. With farming on the wane, the festival adjusts to new ecological sensibilities and the blessings transfer to pets. The festival of St. Antonio unifies nature and culture, rural and urban, old cults with new ecology.

Keywords: Holidays; Nature; Culture; Fire Rituals; Animals Rituals.

Introduction: an old saint

San Antonio, San Antonio Abad, San Antonio January or San Antón, are all descriptions of a saint venerated in many towns in Spain and Europe and who is regarded as an "old saint". The characterization of "old" is notable and should be taken into consideration its various senses. It refers, on the one hand, to the iconography usually showing the figure of an elderly monk, although not strictly old, especially in the scenes of desert. On the other hand, it refers to the layer of older Christian saints rooted in popular religiosity and later displaced by devotions to other saints, promoted by religious orders with growing social presence or encouraged by the prelates in their dioceses or serving rules from the Holy See.

The history of popular devotions is a story of the displacement of objects of devotion to Christian saints or Marian devotions (Christian 1991). Perhaps much older than the Christian association with a saint are the festive practices associated with earlier pagan celebrations including Roman Consualia and the Celtic Beltane, as suggested by Frazer (1922). It is even

conceivable that among these practices the cult of fire could be older than the known paganisms.

It is more than likely that this saint is not the only one associated with fire because it is known that ritual practices involving fire are well distributed throughout the year, rather than in relation to solstitial transitions or equinoxes. Inevitably the question of survival and the intersection with evil arise, as they always do with the irruption of paganism in Christian worship. But both issues cannot be resolved only with references around a festive event like this and have to be considered separately.

The cult of San Antonio incorporates several practices - and more will be seen later - like bonfires and the social integration of the animals. These does not make it unique, but it certainly concerns the intersection between nature and culture as reflected in the title of this work. Not because want to take a structuralist perspective as was very common some time ago [ie structuralism in anthropology], but because the practices actually seem to move between these major areas, transferring from one to the other attributes, qualities and senses.

Ethnographic material about San Antonio fiestas is abundant. Not only with references to holidays and traditions in Spanish populations but also Italian, French, Portuguese and European (and addition the Americas, especially in countries that were Spanish colonies and had missions established by Antonian friars). And we should add a considerable volume of writing, ecclesiastical and graphic illustrations in painting and sculpture, as the saint, his life and miracles have been a frequent theme in art throughout history.

San Antonio is a very popular saint and is undoubtedly a focus of popular religiosity. His veneration serves as clear expression of how popular appropriations have occurred again and again stimulated by ecclesiastical initiatives but which develop according to the own modes of practice, which frequently assumes drifts later considered to be heterodox or inappropriate.

Some festive practices can be seen as resistance to innovation, in order to preserve older ones. This is the case with some of the practices associated with San Antonio, for example inclusion of the pig within holy imagery, animal processions, dances and representations within sacred precincts, and with devils, the blessing of fire or jumping over it, etc. Not infrequently these practices have been expressly mentioned in the prohibitions in synods or the recommendations and mandates contained in the reports of episcopal visits. The popularity of San Antonio is suggested by the wide range of popular practices and beliefs expressively conveyed in the abundant couplets sung around the party, and also all the common discourse that is exchanged in it. Such familiarity is hardly home with the severity of the iconographic representation (a holy ascetic, heroic for having survived the desert) and the values formally attributed to images and religious invocations. Similarly, polar figures such as demons have also been made "popular" by inclusion in the festive celebration in quite a different way from their presence in religious art. Related or not with the cult of fire, demons are set loose by the ritual, justifying their transgressions.

It is recognized that the festival had its peak in rural communities before the industrialization of the countryside and was very often judged likely to disappear because of the reduction of working animals and transport in rural areas which commonly led to the belief that the saint had lost his role, although some people kept the holiday by replacing the blessing animals with the blessing of agricultural machinery.

Perhaps surprisingly San Anton is now a resurrected festival. By a double process. Firstly, the same people who abandoned it later revived it, encouraged by a renewed interest in lost traditions and the need to reinvigorate their own identity. Secondly, by the addition of a new object for protection by the saint: pets (urban almost all them), so varied in species that their owners form a parade, while ecclesiastic zeal consecrates their welcome in the church (the environment the church) as a way of adjusting to new times.

From animals as utility to animals as adornment, San Antón does not seem to have changed much. And in this unforeseen way the festival links older notions of survival to modern companions of urban solitude, relates the old guilds with societies that protect animals, and draws a continuity between traditional livestock exploitation and the increasing ecological sensitivity and defense of biological diversity. San Antonio not only intersects "nature and culture", but also the holy and the demonic, the rural and the urban, the old cult of fire and the new ecological sensitivity.

Hagiography and iconography

The account of San Antonio can be traced to a primary source in the lives of saints which had so much influence over the development of medieval devotion. The *Antonii Vita* of St. Athanasius¹ was in turn the main source which is reproduced in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine (s. XIV)². The account of St Anthony which emerges places him closer to the ecclesiastical canons of holiness on account of his devotion, rather than any popularity. The reasons that appear in The Golden Legend are:

- He was anchorite in the desert; after selling his possessions and donating them to the needy, motivated by the Gospel: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell your property, etc."
- He made a firm resistance to the temptations of the devil who continually besieged, pressed, flattered, and tortured the saint. The reasons reflect particular temptations regarding the desire of fornication, physical pain, apparent death, wealth, information of treasures found, ambition of power in a tangled world, the difficulties and impediments to ecstasy, and direct confrontation with the devil who presented himself as a huge giant
- He was a model for the faithful observance by monks of the practices of: penance; retreat to lasting cells; uncompromising, total detachment from possessions; overcoming discouragement and tedium; visions of the future (the Arian heresy); and courage in his stance denouncing tyrants.

¹ Added by BT - wikipedia article on St Anthony the Great

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_the_Great

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_Legend

In the history of St. Paul the hermit also narrates the following events:

- Believing he was the only recluse, it was revealed to him as he slept that there was another and he goes in search in the desert. In the desert he first meets a half-man, half-horse who shows him the right way, then a half-man, half-goat who has in his hand dates and claims to be a satyr, and then a wolf who leads him to the cell of the other anchorite
- At first Paul does not want to see or receive him but at the insistence of Antonio the raven brings them two loaves; argue about who should bless the bread and finally pulling each side is divided
- Antonio sees Paul's soul passing; he returns, finds the the dead body and buries it praying with help of lions; puts on a tunic made of bark and palm branches that he will wear on holy days.

According to Peter Brown (1988) Anthony's is a hagiography built on the model of San Juan Bautista, the prototype of a special hero, the saint, and the ascetic who fasted, prayed and disciplined his body in the desert. The polarity between the holy and the demonic has come to form a substantive part of the "image" of the saint, so that, as has been reflected in the medievalist historiography, hagiography must be taken both as a treatise on demonology and in that sense José María Blázquez (1998) has broken down the reasons for it:

- The names used are: diabolus, inimicus, subdolos, peccator and tyrannus
- The devil provided physical punishment and ills to Christians.
- Fright and terror generated by the appearance of wild lions, bears, leopards, snakes, bulls, asps, scorpions, wolves (previously only or predominantly it was present with snakes or dragons). As will be seen, this is the favorite motif in pictorial representations of "temptations" With some ambiguity this reason is taken as basis of patronage on pets. Or another rationalization justifies this victory against the devil in his bestial manifestations gives the patronage of all animals. Or is that the main ills that befall domestic animals come from wild beasts, etc.
- As a telltale sound of his presence - the screeching of teeth
- But Antonio nevertheless shows that, despite the impact such occurrences are not more phantoms, fictions, delusions
- From the devil comes the temptation of desire to fornicate
- those who visited him did not see the demons, though they heard
- he protected the cross and prayers
- simulate prophesying the future
- They deceive themselves by manifesting themselves as good people or even hermits or as angels or Christ Himself
- like bread, like night lights
- very high and very wide body

- Antonio da criteria to distinguish: produce tremor, agitation, disordered thoughts, sadness, fear of death, desire for evil, drowsiness ..., smell bad, are black, terrible aspect
- prowled the desert and lived in the air (this was a belief that is in Hellenism and had been adopted by early Christians)
- the image of the giant that captures some souls ascend to heaven, while other good waded uses previous images of winged souls who are pagan and giant trapping them, which must be Egyptian.
- Antonio accepts the belief that the pagan gods are demons-. hagiographic Reasons to be supplemented later with other unidentified origin but that collect the baroque hagiography:
- Transfer of the relics in the Viennois. Mr. Jocelin legend of La Motte-Saint-Didier on a pilgrimage to unfulfilled Holy Land, appeared in vision as old and venerable finding relics in Alexandria, then transferred to France
- healing of a blind and crippled javelin, in an alleged visit made the holy Catalonia called by the Counts of Barcelona
- Cures disease ergot, including Guerin, son of the nobleman Gaston
- Work of the antonianos attending plague victims and fogardientos.

The iconographic treatments are partly targeted and partly others. In the eastern icons the saint is shown undertaking ascetic life in the desert, sometimes accompanied by St. Paul or as patron of the ascetic life and founder of monasteries of monks own. But in the traditions of painting and sculpture in West was formed and then developing a dual representation. The first as canonical image sculptures and paintings bulk of devotion and pictures with a number of reasons with which an identification is accurate achieved. The second, almost exclusively in painting, apparently religious but also profane by transgression, recreating "temptations" and explores the holy-hell polarity discovering in it an enormous expressive force.

This second **(bebe) drink?baby?** in the first hagiographical sources. At least apparently. It is the line representations around the "Temptations of San Antonio" one of those sets of iconographic motifs classic which has gone from religious art to secularism moving beyond devotion to peer into the abyss of desires, to the dark depths of the mind or muddy substrate of the human condition. El Bosco Dali, the "Temptations" come shapes and striking colors almost erasing the presence of the saint. Very often the demons show their impressive ability to adopt trasformismo and frequently naked women. The Vita of St. Athanasius also said that demons disguised as other hermits, so you would think that this reason has been a good excuse to make visibility bad a transgression.

On the other hand, the display of demons in their ways animals usually filled with probably unrealistic monstrous figures before finding reality in the pictures and then go back to the imagination of individuals who contemplate charged and the fear and like tremor that might have been the saint. the popularity of Temptations of San Antonio may have depended on the performance educated and far that have been offered as models. But fundamentally reanimated such popularity regularly in festive rituals directed his eyes to the image of the employer whose reasons not seem to have drunk of the first hagiographical sources

are a well defined series and despite all the saint has often been confused with San Antonio de Padua. The reasons are as

An old bearded monk

habit with dark or black, hooded robe and fell, sometimes black hat that her

Follows:..covers head and ears

stick Crozier abbot or ending in T.

Letter Tau on the mantle the shoulder height (antonianos).

open book in one hand.

Tinkerbell cane hanging.(According Grace Sill -1975- to expel

.the demons)

Flame of fire on the hand or on the book or on the floor(Anton)..

at the foot Pig (sometimes this also hangs the bell: gorrino of San

The contrast to the "image" provided by the first hagiographies and with which faces the "temptations" is very pronounced. Here the image is constructed by adding a series of signs identifying as expressive code that became general for of devotion in the line that they should be "Biblia pauperum", ie, books that could be read read by the poor, here characterized as Lawyers. It is noteworthy that these identification signs anachronistically transposed figure that no longer represents both the Egyptian anchorite of the early centuries of Christianity shaken by heresies as a monk of monastery and street in a period and settlement, where the clergy Regular played an important social role and in which religious orders vied for greater social visibility. And above all presents and it represents a patron saint. One of those who in the late Middle Ages came to extend beyond human affairs. (-1998- Mâle cites among others St.Cornelius for oxen, St.Gallen for chickens,San pigs Antonio,San Saturnino for sheep, San Medardo to rid the vines from frost).

And as they are well till the image of a patron saint, the signs may have been integrated to particularized recognition of his faithful devotees assigned to his protection. These signs reveal an appropriation by the religious order that took its patronage and rushed spreading its devotion: the antonianos. It has thus become an image of these monks and social bodies devotees under their protection.

The image of Antonianos is recognized by signs of monasticism, venerable face, cassock, reinforced by the staff of abbot (completed in T) and the letter Tau on the mantle. The meaning of the letter Tau has been subject of speculation. According Grace Sill is the initial of Theos. Aun rather is a reworking of the Egyptian or "crux ansata" perhaps adopted by hermits monks (D'Alviella 1956). And the subjects objects and patronage are well explicit by the pig and the flame of fire. However, a list of the patronage of San Anton by modern religious books offered for a wide range of people and animals. As Wirth (1989) recalls, San Anton is part of the panoply of saints specialists whose cult was encouraged, while love to images (XIV and XV), after some doubts previous iconoclastic noticed. Realistic images accompanied by signs were clear identificatory forged.The specializations are contained in a series of patronage: animal, gangrene patients, amputees, basket makers, manufacturers of brushes, diggers, hermits, monks, swineherds, suffering from eczema, ergotismo, erysipelas and skin diseases. Justifications are varied and sometimes based more or less reasonably in

some aspects of the first hagiography, or reworked. Is said to be patron of cesteros because in his time recluse was engaged in making baskets and rest in ascetic practices, patron of undertakers for being charge of burying other hermits and specifically San Pablo, etc.

Patronage on pigs in particular seems prior to then generalized to all animals. And their justification is peculiarly confused. The fact is that presumably is more related to the other sign, the flame of fire, which is believed. It is a discussion, nuanced some of which points to of theoretical a range issues.

A first aspect is the precise identification of the animal. Sebastian (1994) assumes that it is rather sucker and San Anton is who defends the piglets. More commonly have a simple pig without further specification and although it has also stressed that is employer ensures that the pigs not affected by roseola, the generality league its presence in the iconographic set to hospital dedication of the Order of the antonianos. Often that pig is made equal the so-called "gorrino of San Anton" a ritual practice widespread in populations Rural in Spain and tried each year a pig to be raised and maintained by the community and then be auctioned or raffled the day Feast of the saint. Such pig was with a bell his neck alerting neighbors of his presence and the obligation to accommodate and keep while you were inside the domestic space of each. The association of pigs with the Order of antonianos, dedicated to care of sick and pilgrims, is documented in very different parts of Europe. The headquarters of the Order was in San Antonio de Vienne (France) from which expands to Spain, Italy, Germany, Portugal. And then the New World. Between 1131 and 1190 it develops from the department of Isere to the Drôme in the Alps with Abbey Bourg-St. Antoine. 1190 dates his presence in Rome, then in Memnigen, Montferrand, Aumonnières, Besancon, Grandvaux. And in Castrojeriz and then Olite. Then in Versucchien, Frankfort, Maastricht and Albi, France. Between 1270 and 1280 many were founded Marseille, Avignon, Lyon, Montbrisson, Marsans, Grandvaux, monasteries etc. In Germany: Lichteburg, Grünberg, Strasbourg, Alzey, Kleve, Freiburg, etc. In Italy: Modena. Milan, Rauverso, Genoa, Venice, Perugia, etc. addition to central hospitals chapels they were erected to serve the needy and Volterra, Kleve, Maastricht, etc. Then Poavia in Bannes in Veynes in Fabriano in Burgo Sto. Donino, etc., all in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century in Alexandria, Brescia, ... With the approval of the statutes in 1477 192 generals and subaltern preceptories were counted.

While certainly many preceptories and foundations were ephemeral for various reasons, it should not go unnoticed speed and breadth of development of the Order throughout Europe (Sanchez Sunday 2004). in Spain, the Order had several monasteries. The Castrojeriz dates from 1146 and should be taken as hospital foundation in the Camino de Santiago. In Cervera in 1215, 1271 in Lleida, in late thirteenth Valls, in Tarrega 1315, 1319 Perpignan in Barcelona 1434, in Mallorca before 1250 and then in Segovia, Toledo, Madrid. In the sixteenth century it is organized into two general preceptories, the Castrojeriz and Olite, with jurisdiction in Castile, Andalusia, Portugal, Granada and East Indies, the one and the other on Navarre, Aragon, Valencia, Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Roussillon and Cerdaña with houses in Perpignan, Cervera, Barcelona, Lleida, Zaragoza, Valencia, Calatayud, Vallés,

Pamplona, Tarrega, Tudela and Mallorca hospitals. Parcels, monasteries and Albacete, Alfaro, Atienza, Barcelona, Benavente, Scaffold, Calatayud, Cervera and Valls, Ciudad Real, Cordoba, Cuenca, Lleida, Madrid, Mallorca, Medina del Campo, Murcia, Pamplona, Perpignan, swirls, Salamanca, Segovia, Seville, Talavera, Tarrega, Toledo, Toro, Tudela, Valencia, Valladolid, Zaragoza. There evidence of their presence elsewhere: Alcazar de San Juan, Alfaro, Arcos de Porral, Disgust, Borjas Blancas, Camarasa, Cambrils, Castello de Farfana the Matarraña, the Conca del Barberá, Consuegra, Falset, Fortaleny, Igualada, Jaén, Llanes, Malgrat, Milagro, Pastrana, Parres, Pereña, El Priorat, Ribera del Ebro, Tafalla, Torre del Spanish, Vich, Vilaseca, Villarrubia de los Ojos, Vilanova la Geltru, Valsarem.

The monks who roamed the hinterlands collecting alms were called Bacinatores and were granted royal privileges. One of them makes explicit reference to breeding pigs. There documentation relative privileges granted to the charge of Castrojeriz by Henry IV in 1304 and then by the Catholic Monarchs. The Order was suppressed in 1787 by Pope Pius VI and previously had been expropriated by Carlos III (Sanchez Sunday 2004; Palacín 2002). There were statutes forbidding the release of pigs through the streets with an exception for the antonianos who put bells that belonged to their hospitals to get food for them. This privilege is to be commemorated by means of engravings, perhaps seals, showing the saint with a pig with bell. An image that persisted even though the original meaning is lost. There a proof in T that invariably put into the habit of the saint. It was the blazon of the Order and the monks remembered their dedication to the sick. The pig persisted in the works of the XV and XVI when the memory of the old order hospital has already been lost. One admires, says Mâle (1898) as example of misinterpretation perhaps induced by other associations such as San Jorge and the dragon, how late XIV San Antonio is always accompanied by a pig wearing a hood. People thought the saint lived in the desert accompanied this faithful animal, but none of it is read in the story hermit. It must have been due confusion with an image of the brotherhood of monks antonianos.

Other justifications became common in the baroque hagiography of the saint. It is told in Catalan traditions that he worked a miracle with a blind and crippled pig, although other accounts suggest it was a boar female. Miracle made the living saint, also in the course of a miraculous journey he made to land the Count of Barcelona, having been called by him (Navarro 2002 [1683]; Ceballos 1994 [1759]). And as sign of over-interpretation has been said that the pig is merely a symbol of the defeated lust by the saint in his life in the desert (Grace Sill 1975). Or not so closely linked to passions, as a symbol of the demons he faced. Such is the ambiguity of the presence of the pig in the iconographic set of San Antón which is so strongly suggested that it is the object of As a reminder of his temptations or, even more, of the demons that Besieged him during his sojourn in the wilderness, and so much the object of his miracles As a source of resources for the monks of the Order of Antony. Even Burke (1978) has proposed a theory about it: it is believed that San Anton is accompanied by a pig because its festival coincides with The killing season. The remarkable thing is that Burke adduces as an example That rituals determine myths. And later he comments on how the Catholic reform found some images in dignity and cites the case of a bishop of the diocese of Orleans In 1682 that in the pastoral visit finds in a town the image of San Antonio with a pig and he orders her to hide as unworthy and ridiculous,

Although their parishioners did not want to lose it and they commented that the bishop Descended from the race of the Huguenots.

In addition, the pig at the feet of the saint reminds devotees of the practice Ritual of the "gorrino of San Anton" that culminates the day of its celebration. The flame of fire, on the other hand, receives an almost unanimous interpretation: Refers to the "fire of San Anton". There were numerous epidemics of the century IX to XIV especially in the eastern regions of France, Russia and Germany Of dire consequences for those affected who "tormented by atrocious Pains were crying in the temples and squares, the disease Feet or hands and sometimes the face ". It started with chills, then a And limbs became black, wrinkled and For detachment. Mutilated and deformed, the sick survived. Although it often affected the abdominal viscera and shortly thereafter death. These diseases were called with an old name, the Of "sacred fire". There seems to be references to the sacred fire in the 600 to. Of C, among the Assyrians. And it is quoted by Pliny. Other names have been "Evil of the fiery", "infernal fire". The "fire of San Antonio" dates Of the XI century with the foundation of the monasteries of Antony who attacked The attention to its victims. There is evidence that at the end of the XVI Sick pilgrims to the French sanctuary and received the care of the Monks wearing a blue T over their shoulder. Maybe T Symbolized the crutches. The hospital of Viennes in the XVII had a collection Bleached and other blackened limbs, memories of the sick.

Most probably after these denominations included several diseases Whose etiology and treatment has differentiated the Medicine. One of them may have been ergot ingestion Of rye, ergotism. Poisoning at risk In which rye bread was common in food. Dermatology manuals indicate that about 1597 is discovered in Marburg the mushroom *Claviceps purpurea* in rye flour, developed Especially in the wet years in the ears of cereal supplanting To a grain and of violaceous black color. The ergot, indicated, has between Other properties that cause the contraction of smooth muscle fibers (Uterus, blood vessels) ... The main alkaloid is ergotamine, paralyzing Peripheral of the sympathetic. Poisoning can become acute, mortal. And in small but repeated doses it becomes chronic with the symptoms Already described. Their relationship with abortions was already known by midwives and in the eighteenth century their effects on contractions were discovered Of the uterus.

Herpes zoster, a condition known as "San Antonio fire" Of viral origin that wounds nerve cells and manifests itself in Skin rashes similar to chickenpox, etc., and causes intense itching. As well Has been mistaken for erysipelas. In many Galician towns

Is called "fire" to the grains that come to the face and then
Cunden and digging, form large crusts that fall once they cut
Leaving spots of purple color. According to Lis Quibén (1949)
Be the postulent Eczema.

The attention and care that the monks lent to those affected
These diseases included of course putting them under the protection of the
Holy, but also the application of sticks with lard. Has been
Collection among the popular traditions of the treatments of the diseases
Of the skin by Lis Quibén and by others the use of elaborate sutures
Already with white suckling pig, with male desalted adult pig, etc. Always
Within therapeutic rituals of normalized execution. Pe:

In Laza they attribute the evil of fire to clothes dried in the sun by which it has passed
Some animal. It begins with a rash on the back that then extends and closes
By the chest and then has no salvation. He cures with a piece of steel and
Flint by sparking sparks directed to the eruption and recites an ensalmo. He
Patient should not utter a word while doing this operation nine times
To the day nine days in a row [...] In Golada it is called thus wounds in the face that burst
And they are cured with earth of nine toperas not trodden by mixed hens
In a rag and a little bit of white piglet and at the sign of the cross,
On the earth do all crosses on the face of the sick while
I say: "Burning fire that you burn to the people" [...] Three times in a row the same
Day and three days in a row, although it is necessary to change it every day and the one
Used gets into a hole in the wall (Lis Quibén 1949).

Possibly the care of the pigs and the privileges granted to
To the antonian order must be justified in order to have
Raw material for the preparation of the splices.
Fire is not only taken metaphorically to designate diseases
Relieved by the intervention of the saint but as an element of the iconography
Of this is associated with festive ritual, because in many populations
The celebration has among its most relevant acts bonfires of devotees.
And if with the pig the explanations of his presence move from what
Literal to the metaphorical, with the fire oscillate in a similar form of the metaphorical
To the literal. And in both cases being elements of signification well
Far from the biography of Antonio, the hermit of the desert, but definitely
Integrated in the image with which it is recognized and venerated. San Antón is one of the
most enlightening examples, not so much as
Was discussed earlier on how myths happen to rituals, but
Of how populations build, elaborate, manufacture sacred images
As representations of themselves, their capacities and their weaknesses,
Of their sufferings and their hopes.

MATERIALS FOR A STUDY OF THE CULT of SAN ANTÓN IN SPAIN over time

The following are some relevant data extracted from sources that emphasize the extension of the cult to San Antón without pretension of Make a story of him but show his roots. In Relationships Can be found some very significant data of the cult in The sixteenth century

TABLA 1

Hermitages and vows to the saints in some Spanish towns in the 16th century

Advocaciones Ermitas Votos

- Virgen María 286 126
- Sebastián 165 213
- Magdalena 31 13
- Ana 29 73
- Roque 28 60
- Bartolomé 27 6
- Juan Evangelista 26 26
- Santiago 23 4
- Cristóbal 22 1
- Pedro 20 14
- Antonio Abad 19 46

TABLA 1
Ermitas y votos a los santos en algunas poblaciones españolas en el siglo XVI

<i>Advocaciones</i>	<i>Ermitas</i>	<i>Votos</i>
— Virgen María	286	126
— Sebastián	165	213
— Magdalena	31	13
— Ana	29	73
— Roque	28	60
— Bartolomé	27	6
— Juan Evangelista	26	26
— Santiago	23	4
— Cristóbal	22	1
— Pedro	20	14
— <i>Antonio Abad</i>	19	46

(FUENTE: Relaciones Topográficas de Felipe II. Ver W. Christian 1981).

(FUENTE: Relaciones Topográficas de Felipe II. Ver W. Christian 1981).

By the number of hermitages can already be appreciated its importance, since the dedication of a hermitage meant a high level of relevance in religiosity. But there must have been many parishes or hermitages with other dedications which already contained images of the saint (see Table 2), and many have maintained them over time or have renewed them.

The number of votes saved - and therefore celebrated parties - indicates that the cult was at a much higher level in the ranking of the devotions than what the hermitages say. The vow

was one of the practices of devotion which best expressed a lasting link between the populations and the saints.

Some explanations of vote were:

Gabaldón, "because of the devotion of the neighbors, because Keep the beasts, "

Cardiel, "because I keep the cattle"

Casarrubios del Monte, "by devotion"

Cerralbo, "for pestilence"

(FUENTE: Relaciones topográficas...)

These formulas (like the others) should be accustomed to so that it was taken for granted that the devotion to St. Anthony was the corresponding attitude to a specific demand: "because I keep the beasts", noted the clerk. It refers to beasts of labor and to cattle in general And the demand must have been at times urgent and with the burden Of anxiety and concern that in rural populations has health And the vigor of the animals on which their survival depends, but on Everything and for the same it was a regular demand ritually renewed On the occasion of the fiesta.

TABLA 2

Parishes and hermitages in Navarre with images of San Antonio Abad

(XVI-XVII centuries) and the workshops of provenance

Workshop of Pamplona Workshop of Sangüesa-Lumbier

Ochagavía Alzórriz

Imárcoain Liédana

Biurrun Artieda

Muruarte de Reta Abaurrea Baja

Ardanaz Garayoa

Esparza de Salazar

Grez

Elorz

Tabar (collateral)

Ituren

Taller de Estella

Learza

(FUENTE: García Gainza 1986)

Devotion has persisted over time without having been modified substantially the range. The role of a specialist saint may be sufficiently Explanatory of it. In the hierarchy of devotions this does not seem to have undergone great modifications until the time of the implantation Generalization of agricultural machinery. The following data collected From diverse sources are evidence of the existence of worship in some populations of the center of the Peninsula.

TABLA 3

Populations with cult to San Antón (centuries XIII-XX)

Province of Madrid parishes chapels hermitages

- Aldea del Fresno 1
- Algete 1
- Scaffold of Glass 1
- Cinderella 1
- Ciempozuelos 1
- Chinchón 1
- Hoyo de Manzanares 1
- Pinto 1
- Torrejón de la Calzada 1
- Valdemoro 1
- Vallecas 1
- Villanueva del Pardillo 1

Province of Toledo

- Ajofrín 1
- Almonacid 1
- Añover de Tajo 1
- Casarrubios 1
- Children
- Horcajo 1
- Lillo 1
- Quintanar de la Orden 1
- Santa Cruz de la Zarza 1
- Talavera 1
- Tembleque 1
- Urda 1
- Villafranca de los Caballeros 1

(FUENTE: elaboración de Roberto Fernández sobre datos de las Relaciones del Cardenal Lorenzana y el Diccionario de Madoz).

The targeting between San Antón or San Antonio de Padua, introduced the Devotion to it much later, can be seen in the following table (according to Data provided by W. Christian and for the Nansa Valley around 1969).

TABLA 4

Images of Christ, the Virgin and the saints in churches

And chapels of the Nansa Valley

Sacred Heart of Jesus 17

Inmaculada Concepción 11

San José 11

San Antonio de Padua 10

Our Mrs. Carmen 7

Our Mrs. Rosario 6

Our Lady of Fatima 6

San Roque 6
Christ Crucified 6
Immaculate Heart Mary 5
San Miguel 4
San Antonio Abad 2
Child Jesus of Prague 3
(FUENTE: W. Christian 1978).

In this case more than in others the fiesta is the most outstanding act of the devotion, since private and private forms do not seem to have developed. Individuals or families that carry prayers and petitions that they remain in the realms of intimacy, but above all collective forms, Communities, to express the links with a saint who in some Ceased to be the help and consolation of those affected by the San Antón to become more than anything else the lawyer and protector of The animals and cattle. It is also not possible to provide general data of your Celebration in different times but some sample with which to underline How common has it become.

The map developed by A. Rivas (1986) on population data from The province of Zaragoza shows that the feast of San Antón is Celebrated in many towns and not necessarily as a party of To keep but to maintain certain practices that congregate the people And make them coincide in worries and joys.

Festive forms in the celebrations of San Anton in Spain and elsewhere

It is not possible to give a complete list of the Spanish populations Who celebrate the feast. Ethnographic guides are still missing from many areas and regions. Yes, however, a good sample can be offered with the data That these are populations in which At present to San Antón. In general this entails a continuity Over a period of time, perhaps several hundred years, in others it would be spoken Rather than interrupted celebrations and then reestablished. Very They are seldom new festivities, although some festivities Older people include in their programs acts that are considered as "novelties" Or modifications have been made in respect of the practices considered "Traditional". The following table is a broad listing of populations:

MAPA 1

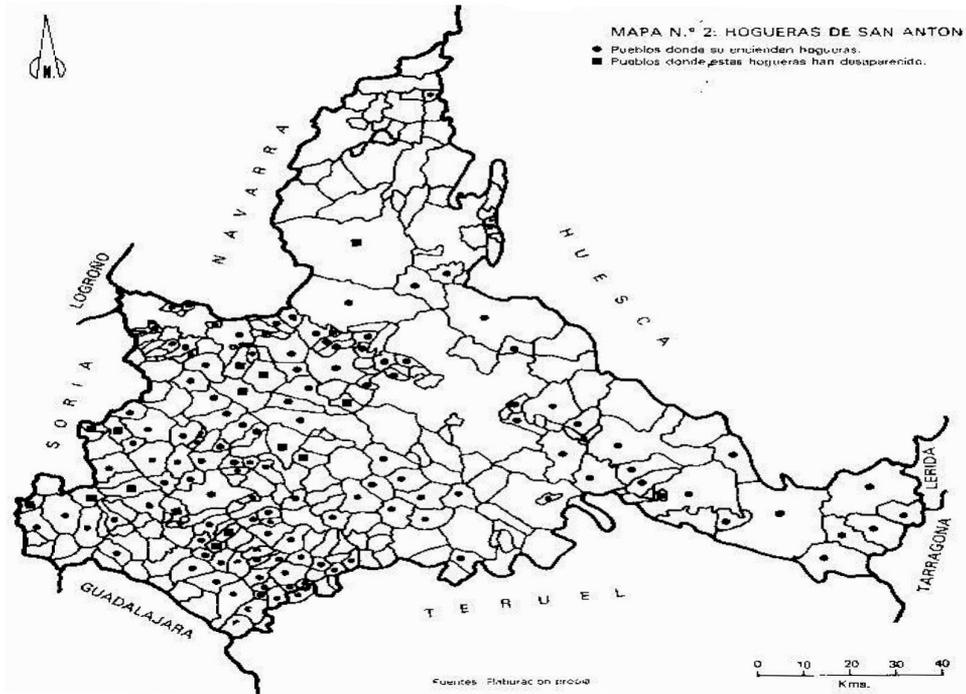


TABLA 5
Las formas festivas por San Antón

	Hogueras	Danzas	Demonto	Bendic. animales	Sorteo cerdo	Romería Procesión	Cometa	Juegos Mercado, etc
ALGAIDA	fogueros	Els Cossiers	+					
ALICANTE					+			porrate
ALMAGRO	+				Subasta			
ALOSNO	Luminarias Saltos							
ARONA						+		+
ARQUILLOS			Pelotero	(voto)		+		
ARTÀ	+		Dos			cabalgata	Espina-gades	Glosa-dors
BÉJAR				+			Mantelada	
BENICASSIM	+	Del Cremaller					Coqueta	Toro embolao
BIHAR			Rei Paixaro	+	Subasta de panes típicos	De antorchas Cavallá		
BROZAS		Torcer el cordón				Carrozas	panes típicos	
CALDES DE MONTBUI	Un cirio al santo	De S. Antoni		+		cabalgata	panecillos	
CANALS	+					Procesión Els parells	embotits	carreras
CAPDEPERA	+		+	+		+		
CIUDAD RODRIGO					Subasta de chacina		Panecillos	
CIUTADELLA						Tres Tocs	Naranjas, dátiles.	mercado
ELCHE		+		+	+	+		porrat
ESTERCUEL	+				Subasta ofrendas	Encamisa-da	Chorizo Pan bendito	
FAISET			+	+		Encamisa-da	panecillos	
FORCALL Santantonà	Barraca Hoguera Saltos	Sants Despullat Cremaller Filoseta	+	+		caballerías		
GUADIX	Luminaria				Nueve vueltas	+	cucaña	
HUÉSCAR	Castillos de tea					+	cuerva	
JAÉN	Lumbres	Melenchón					Calabazas Maíz	coplas
LA ALBERCA					+			
LA TODOLELLA	Santantonà Barraca		Diablera					
LUCENA DEL CID	+ saltos					Machá cabalgata	Torta de aceite	
MADRID				+		+	panecillos	
MANACOR	+	+ cantores	+					
MANLLEU		Del ciri				Desfile caballerías y carrozas		
MENGÍBAR	luminarias			+		+	Chorizo Maíz	coplas
MIRAMBEL	Barraca		+					

MOCLIN					Se mata para todos	+		
MORCIN							Nabos Casadielles	
MOREDA ALLER					Puya del ramu y lacones		casadielles	
MORELLA	Barraca	Vida del sant, baile de personajes	+			+	panoli	
NAVALVI-LLAR DE PELA	+			+		Encamisá carrera	biñuelo	
NOGUE-RUELAS				+	Subasta de ofrendas Rifa de cerdo			
OBEJO		+ de S. Benito				+		
ORCE		Soldadesca Tentaciones del santo	Cascamorras					Juego de bandera
PALMA M.				+		Cabalgata		
PETRA	+			+		carrozas		coplas
PINTO				+				Suelta de naranjas
POLLENSA	+			+		cabalgata		Coloc. Y subida al pino
PUERTO MINGALVO	+			+		Corrida de machos	caridad	
PUTIG REIG				+		Corrida Carrozas y caballer.	Matanza del cerdo	
RUBIELOS DE MORA	+			+	tranceo	+	molletes	
SA POBLA	+		+					Coplas
SAN BARTOLOMÉ DE P.	+	saltos						Correr cintas
S. EUGENIA	+			+		carrozas	Pan sobrasada	
SINEU	+	De bot						
TORREPEROGIL	+						Garbanzos tostados, ponche	
VALLS Tres tombs						Carruajes caballerías		
VELILLA DE S. ANTONIO				+	(*)		cerdo	
VERIN	+						Chorizo	
VILANOVA ALCOLEA	+	saltos				Caballos enjanzados	coca	carrera
XÀTIVA	+			+				

(Own elaboration with data of diverse Guides of holidays, some printed and others in www.)

Some first comments:

- Certainly appear in the list more populations of certain areas Geographic, eg Balearics, Levante, Aragon, Northeast of Andalusia ...And less of other areas of the North or Center. This distribution should not be taken as significant. Dissemination in any case reaches beyond the places where there was hospital or house linked to the Antonians.
- The list is intended to illustrate, in particular, the variety of the festive forms that characterize the celebration.

- The (+) indicates presence of confirmed trait.
- In many cases, the name that the populations themselves Give to the practice mentioned. In others it is alluded to with A general denomination, eg: bonfires, dance, etc.
- As this is a comparative table, the changes are not specified Over time or when they have occurred. HE Refer all the data provided to the present.
- The order of the listing is arbitrarily alphabetical. Clusters could be made by affinities in which not always the factor of proximity Is decisive, for example, Pollensa and Sa Pobla in Mallorca celebrate the saint in markedly different ways.

The basic festive forms in modern societies often appear as programs with a markedly uniform trend. The fundamental ingredients of the festival are then reduced to some act public and famous (in the connected sense that this word has with the 'Celebration') civil or religious, some activity of commensality and some of fun or play. The imitation of this scheme in traditional societies reduce the program to mass, banquet and dance. It would seem that this scheme comes to reproduce in counterpoint the routines of daily life, largely compensating for the dedication of leisure time restrictions and austerities that require the life of work but also intensifying those aspects that only partially and briefly are used to leave at least for an instant of the implacable wheel of social and labor obligations.

Faced with this simplifying vision, festive forms in traditional societies appear more than anything else as numerous and varied. The Dimensions of the variety are fixed mainly in two lines:

Among the Spanish populations with differentiated dedications to the Different crops and land use and Ecological niches could be seen in the past some festive rituals Communion, not only those implanted by the Roman Church, a certain liturgical and dogmatic unity among believers or on the initiative of Religious orders that promote and disseminate devotions to Certain Marian or Christological saints or invocations (also accompanied by Of certain devotional practices); It is also possible to find festive activities Common in popular culture are surely subject to fashions and especially Those transferred from one place to another by various groups of feriantes That traveled the peninsula and the islands and of which there is evidence since The Middle Ages of their mobility from village to village carrying representations Theatricals, dances, melodies, rhythms, dress, etc., elements that Then some populations maintained and reworked appreciating them as Themselves. This is already an important source of variety, but above all Is one that has been forging at the cost of integrating into the festive forms Elements of the environment and socio-economic activities Of dedication: Parties of transhumants and shepherds, celebrations marineras, Fiestas of towns of riverside, parties of carreteros, celebrations cerealistas, Huertanas parties, loggers parties, wine, olive, ... parties Of the trades, parties of merchants, etc.

On the other hand, in the same population or between populations of a Contour-for many times it must be considered that ritual cycles Integrate several populations that move from one place to another to Attending common celebrations - there was a significant variety at parties Which made up the annual cycle, which was consistent with the divisions of the year

in Seasons, so that between the winter and the summer holidays the Variety marked not only the passage of time but also seemed as if they lived different worlds. In addition many of the parties provided Certain protagonism to some of the sectors of society, children, youth, Women, etc., but also trades, brotherhoods and brotherhoods, and Institutions, whose way of becoming socially Expressive formulas of distinction with specializations in the field Of the ritual that in some cases would be almost professional.

These two lines of dimensions of the festive variety are today contents Of the cultural heritage of peoples, and for that reason to the Instead, values of popular creativity and the accentuated sense of tradition, Without both being considered contradictory. Are on the one hand Expression of collective identities that rework the variety as a message Self-referential and with resonance in the outside sometimes intentionally And, on the other hand, milestones in the time that transfer the idea Of regularity in the change.

But these two lines point to a sense of the variety that is fulfilled Appropriately only within a party system. Unlike Of the party in modernity whose meaning is closed in the uninterrupted and regularized succession of time in two states (working times and times Leisure) the variety of festive forms implies that time is Variable and in some sense uncertainly variable, so that the fiestas form a time system whose succession is regularized.

Conceived related if not dependent on ritual celebration. Fiestas are at the same time marks on the calendar or what is the same, marks of change Of the times and effective activators of those changes. In other words, Like the Candelaria, that finishes the winter or, like the May, that arrived The spring, or like San Juan, who threw himself into the summer, but that did not

It's just an advertisement, it's also an open door, an activation. Step Of the time, the change of the times give the parties.

It is thus how certain festive forms manage to be on the one hand marks In the passage of time and activators of that step, of that change. With They reflect the passage from one seasonal time to another and, as far as That the celebration is the main, major - a patronal party -, Scale the reflex and become perceptible and reflective the passage of the years. Saint Anton also marks the passage of time, the change of times.

This conception of course does not exhaust the sense of the party that overflows The forms themselves and acquires all density as the dominant symbols Of which Mr. Turner spoke. The party as a total social fact Refers to all areas of social life and in it there is both intense Social interaction, exchange of goods, sumptuous consumption, shaken faith, Display of powers, etc., etc. In the rituals of San Antón in Spain the remarkable variety of Festive forms are shown in: bonfires, blessing of animals, The processions and cavalcades, certain dances, the figure of the devil in a Festive paper, pig raffle, specific foods (some based on Pork, but also buns and others) and certain games (races, for example), Certain coplas (often of "hot" subjects).

On such forms it is necessary to warn that:

Taken one at a time are not exclusively present at parties Of San Antón. The bonfires are made in different dates along the Blessings are directed to the fields, to the fruits, etc., in different Times, dances and ritual papers for singular figures are representations Frequent, ... and of course, sweepstakes or auctions, meals, games and couplets Are usual festive activities. These festive forms should not be taken as necessary parts Of a set and fact do not usually occur all at once and those that are Dan are combined in different ways. Not all of them are present at all the cases. And yet once installed and sanctioned by the "tradition" Appear to be articulated and complementary to one another.

The program would then be incomplete if any of them could not be held. It could be said that some are different models, usually Shaped around a festive shape in particular, eg the bonfire or the Cavalcade, blessing or dance. The party gets to name by them: "Las Luminarias", "La Encamisada", "La Caballá", "Els Tres Tombs", "El Cascamorras ", " The blessing of the animals ", etc. But the party sounds too By itself and in some population (Forcall) is denominated like so: "La Santantoná".

No data are available for an archeology of festive forms or Nor to fix the times and modes of combination of these forms. Clearly some have been of religious intervention. And probably the Fire rites are older. These and all have been however object Of continued justification. The ritual use of slaughter products Of pork, for example, is justified in San Antón as a food resource Of season, at least to take advantage of certain parts that are consumed Fresh and for those processes that do not require too much Time of healing. San Antón, in addition, sets the date of that season by Of the ritual of drawing or auctioning the "gorrino del santo" in those Populations in which it has previously taken care of it in a joint manner. In some cases they take the "gorrino del santo" as a good Object of redistribution, that is, after having been contributed as an offering, Families who have not been able to kill (perhaps because they do not Money for the purchase of a piglet to raise) can Way to obtain meat for the hard days that are to come. It is in its redistributive function the last slaughter of the season with The community closes the cycle. In many populations this is not precisely the characteristic ritual food But the blessed bread, a practice that finds no explanation With the same criteria. These loaves are distributed among devotees and sometimes Also among the animals that are led to bless and even among The ones left in the stables. The virtues attributed to the blessed bread are From the wide range of protection that is assumed by the holy. The distribution of bread extends the protection mantle beyond the kingdom Of the human and even beyond where the rite of The blessing. The distribution of the blessed bread has in fact place in other populations At various times throughout the year, in some it is called "bread Charity "and contributes (contributes) to expand the community at least ephemerally

And under the protection of the ritual by means of the commensality to which
Calls for the poor and needy (González Casarrubios 1985). This blessed bread
However, when shared with "domestic" animals, it is usually charged with prophylactic or
therapeutic meaning. For the consolation of utilitarians,
Stresses in this connection that this "blessed bread" was made of wheat - not
Rye-with which it was alleviated or if it was not avoided at least the well-known evil
Like "fire of San Antón".

These are explanations that refer the festive forms to the contexts
Social and economic, while articulating some of them with each other. Do not
However, it seems that the application of a logic by which
The identity of the saint has to provide meaning to the festive configuration.
It has already been said that the "gorrino de San Antón" that has come to acquire "form"
Iconographic and appears inexcusably at the feet of the saint is either
The representation of the demons he faced in the desert, or
Well the one of that boar (that the legend assures that it was rather female and
Rather blind and crippled) that the saint healed on that miraculous journey that
Made to Catalan lands. And the blessed bread finds its justification in another way
In a very remarkable hagiography event that has been
Repeatedly remembered also by the iconography: the distribution of the bread that
The crow regularly carried San Pablo in the desert and shared
With San Antonio when he visited.
It is easy to recognize in these justifications the secondary rationalizations
-so operational in belief systems. Here they provide the
An illustration of the specificity, of the singular value granted to certain
Festive shapes. Here they are reaffirming, in short, their variety.

Bonfires and blessings

In the series of festive forms outlined above two stand out as the most common: bonfires
and blessings, to the extent that in many places they form the basic program of the holidays
of San Antón. The focus on them in this study not only reflects this but may enable a deeper
the analysis of rituals.

The classics of anthropology provide abundant ethnographic information about ceremonial
fire. One of them, Frazer, includes a section in *The Golden Bough*. After a thorough review
of data referring to European peoples in an attempt to typify fire ceremonies emphasises the
existence of ceremonies on certain days of the year involving dance and jumping over a fire.
He alludes to the Christian synods of the 8th century in which they are spoken of as pagan
rituals to abolish.

They were done mainly in spring and autumn. And it was not uncommon to pretend to burn
effigies or living people. Frazer wondered if it was not a trace of human sacrifices. He
classified the ritual fires by the calendar in Lenten fires, Easter fires, here the Beltane fires
on May 1-, summer solstice fires, Fires of All Saints and fires of the winter solstice. (Out of
calendar he Speaks in addition to the fires of aid).

With this ethnographic account the temporal fixation of the ceremonial fire and the great dispersion throughout Europe and in a very broad temporal arc of a series of practices whose formal aspects and whose manifest functions and intentions are recognizable. As shown, outside of their respective contexts, it seems a very old set of festive resources that fundamentally populations peasants of Europe have activated and reworked in their own way. This surely includes the recognition that they must be very old practices. Along the same lines, more recent ethnographic contributions on Italy insist on these old approaches.

The celebration of the Candelaria closes the winter with lights and purification. It is recalled that the Imbo festival in early February was a feast of lights for the goddess Brigitte de la Luminous crown turned into Bridget. And Beltane was the party that followed her.

Passing the cattle among smoky fires. To prevent diseases and harmful influences. Fires seem to help the weak sun of winter with its lights and heat expelling the cold, the darkness and the diseases. In many Italian rural towns San Antonio is at the Time protector of animals and holder of large bonfires. In Volgono accumulates To make piras of more than 20 meters, in Gallucio they are made With wood, in Naples the cipi with old wood, in Fara Filiorum Petri The farchie with dry canes, in Mamoiada the local tradition tells that when There was no fire on earth was San Antonio to the underworld to seek the Had stolen the demons and brought the fire on Their viscera, in Novoli a great bonfire is made, etc. (Rivera 1988). Bonfires are made from Epiphany (the time that the holidays end). There are big bonfires in Goito and in Tarcento it is said that the bonfires Are reminded of those made by Maria to dry the child's diapers or The Three Wise Men to light the way. Although they are also made for Burn the Bofana, the old woman, a doll made of rags and other things. Great Pyre in Lezzeno on 18 March to burn the old one. It burns in Lent Or in San José in several towns like Roca San Casciano, Modica, Castel del Rio, and in Tuscany, Verona, etc. Sometimes the old sawed Sweet or dry fruits or the breakage of the piñata. A container puppet Of gifts. But here too the sacrifice, the slaughter of the Pig, or the death of the King of Carnival. In Lula, on the ashes of the fire Of San Antonio is planted the cucaña, evident symbol of the spring return (Rivera 1988).

This is a selective data sample with the intention of revitalizing Somehow the dusty two classical theories of solstice fire and fire Lustral also assumed by Mircea Eliade among others. Solstice fire He interpreted that the bonfires are accompanied by the end of winter and the Beginning of spring, in them the old woman is burned, death is killed, the Firewood is consumed to bring back plant life, green plants. The Bonfires mimic the sun and also help you recover radiance and warmth. HE Celebrates the return of vegetation and attempts to provoke it magically (Cardini 1984). On the other hand, the lustral fire that accompanies this step, as Those of the Celtic Beltane, it is the one that purifies the old thing, that turns to ashes

Surplus goods and people pass by jumping on it to get rid of
Of acquired evils and to prevent future evils and around which
And through which the animals pass to be purified after the insanitary housing
Winter (as in a similar way was done in the feasts of Consualia
Roman Cf. Caro Baroja 1965)

The rites of the fire among the European peoples are, as already warned
Frazer, distributed throughout the year and therefore seem to follow the sun more
Beyond winter and beyond its weak states, transiting by equinoxes
And solstices. Or rather they follow the diurnal cycles invariably marking
Sunsets waiting for a new dawn. that primordial
Regularity is emphasized at certain times throughout the year, no doubt.
While in the lustral function the fire is not unique element.

Ethnography in the same European villages provides abundant data on the lustral (ritual
purification) use of waters, muds, winds, oil, wine, of certain stones, etc., etc. In other words,
there is no greater reason to reduce the sense of the rites of fire by San Antonio to a
cosmological function however transcendent it may seem. And like many other elements in
rituals fires are loaded with multiple meanings of which the particular studies in each context
must give account.

That wealth of meaning is what stands out once they are exposed the ethnographic data.
Here are some:

- In La Rioja, the bonfire cycle begins in Todos los Santos and ends in
Easter. They receive the name of march, marcharas or marchos. In Alfaro,
Alcanadre, Villamediana, are made at the door of the houses and roasted potatoes. In
Villaverde is made in the hermitage and is eaten morcillo of slaughter, done days before
(Elías 1985).
- On the Ribera de Navarra, the night of January 16, with sheaves of wood,
Unusable leftovers and roasting potatoes in the embers. These embers were
Women and then took them home because they were good for the skin, men
The cavalry passed through the ashes still warm. There were multiple bonfires
Almost always in front of the houses of the rich farmers, where they were distributed Cakes,
bread and wine. Blessing of cattle with Christmas tizon on by
Mango and with him going through the stables saying "San Antón os custoe".
- In Navalvillar de Pela. From the 8 of the night of the 16 of January in the corners
Of the oldest streets, when the standard bearer with the drummer,
There are huge bonfires that plow without stopping. Legend has it that riders
Christians (or Moors?) Galloped into the village carrying torches, burning
Houses and haystacks and producing fires here and there at the same time as they threw
Shouting warriors. There is a contrary interpretation. It was a hoax
That made the fights to the Moors, with bonfires and circling by the
Village on horseback with large white shirts and raising the height with hats
In tip to give appearance of people of great size. The party is called the

Encamisá. They run races for three times following the route they mark
The bonfires.

- In Fresnedoso de Ibor, the fifths accompanied by men and children carry
Firewood on January 16 to the main square. At 12 o'clock at night the lumbrinaria
Lights and there are salvos and rockets. The fire should last on all the party.
Huge loads of oaks arrive. People shout, "Where are those fifths?"
At the end of the download the mothers give them and then they invite a kid
Already cooked. The procession of the saint passes through the fire (festive Extremadura).

- In Baeza, Torreperogil, Torres, Arquillos, Cárcel, etc., are known as lumbres
Of San Antón. Lighted at dusk in vegetable gardens, farmhouses and all
The places where there are livestock. They are expected to ward off disease
And protect the animals. Olive pruning materials are used, the
Ramones, to which are added old rugs for the pressing soaked still
in oil. The children go out on the field the previous days. There are fights between the streets
And the barrios by the ramón and assaults to the warehouses of the rivals. Competition
For the best light. In addition firecrackers, mixed, pebbles, etc. Dance the
In the square next to the bonfire, the dance surrounds the fire or in a
Plain near her, caught in the hand. Spicy lyrics. They are burning
Allegorical figures placed on top. Food and drink, popcorn,
Rosettes, sausage tops, and pumpkin batter, etc. .. Contests of lumbres. In
Jaén city, in the neighborhoods of Magdalena, San Felipe, Alcantarilla, and others are made
The night of 16 to 17. In Úbeda the bonfires are put in the squares, they jump
And next to them they take churros with chocolate.

- In Fia Faia (Aragonese Pyrenees), children accompanied by adults collect grass
Which they let dry and with which they make torches at Christmas, then the
Pile on a bonfire and jump over it. In the Chistau Valley they do
Sheared out to the mountain and bonfires are made in Ainsa. There are bonfires in
Many villages in San Sebastian.

- In Casa Bajas (Ademuz), on the night of the 16th there are more than a hundred bonfires
As the first act of parties. You eat grilled meat, wine and shreds that is
A sweet anise. The night of the bonfires begins with bell tolling.
Each group of neighbors. They jump the kids with the vests and the shears
To make noise.

- In Poyo Largo, the boys and the children collect firewood and take it to an elevation
Called The Rope, next to the town, where it is deposited. At dusk, the crews,
With bells and songs, they will light them. "San Antón as he was old, ...",
"A very old bustling"

- In Minglanilla, bonfires are put in the streets. Dinner with them. they throw themselves
Flour one another.

- In Villarrubia de los Ojos, bonfires are made the night before at night and there are lit at the doors of houses; Races are made and there is a share of the hand of chickpeas and cachuetes.

- In Estercuel, Aguaviva and other towns, the representation of the Temptations is made: A girl tempts him, the saint takes refuge in the log cabin, the Devils that set her on fire. The booth lights at the end of the display. Also in Estercuel is called the Encamisada. Pick up aliagas the day before and at dusk they make about 15 bonfires with competition. It will look for the Church the standard of the saint and with it is proceeded to light the first. Toward the 8 is organized the jacket. Then party and dance. The next day they clean the Streets for the procession. 7 couples carry hachones and accompany the images of the saints.

- In Osaje and Trasobares, bonfires were lit the night before in squares and streets. HE They eat roasted potatoes, bread toast and sausage, etc. It was believed that the chivalry of those who provided firewood would not give them any bumps. They sang and danced Chimilindrones.

- In Tomelloso, on the night of January 16, old clothes, sheaves of vine shoots, Strains, etc. To make the bonfires. Asbestos products are roasted, ... In Almagro, the bonfires gather the neighbors. If you eat grilled potatoes, Sausages, lemonade. In Villar de Cañas, lights are made with the tackle of old men who do not serve. Wine and tostones. They are skipped and meat is now roasted.

- In Villafranca de los Caballeros, bonfires are made the day before by various points and especially in front of the hermitage. They are called wars. In Jaraguas also the day before, they take charge of groups of neighbors and they get to form until about 20 total. There is dance in grotesque disguises.

- Artá. Bonfires throughout the village, rascal songs.

- Tower of Juan Abad. Luminaires, singing and dancing. Invitations to pass by there.

- In Loscos, a bonfire is made in each neighborhood and especially the peirón de San Antón and in the square. The wood was supplied by the neighbors. Roasted sausages, sausages, Güe.as. In the morning before turning them on, they turned around to the peirón with caballerias and animals and soon the blessing was made

- In Visiedo, bonfires were lit in all neighborhoods and drank and ate hemp cakes Some shot gunpowder with blunderbusses and sang songs. Already at dawn was played in taverns to die, those of a fire against those of another, which was consumed in them.

- In Galicia, bonfires were also made by San Antón, around which

They spin. There is a chapel in a little otero near Verín, where the waiters go
The day before with straw axes to the verbena and the next day they make the bonfires
Next to the chapel and roasted there sausages. Old masks like the
Cigarron

- In Almarcha, each family collects straw and accumulated waste material
Year: espuestas, serones, mats, chairs, etc., and the lamp is turned on, they eat
Tostones and dance around hand held. Young people when they fall
The own ones go to the biggest ones and form corros and sing songs
With refrain.

- In Cañete, they are made by streets with the old thing of each house, cuévanos, espuestas,
Wooden forks, etc., added to dry wood and utensils to throw. Boys and girls
Meet and sing songs allusive. Then they travel the town until
They consume all the bonfires.

- In the province of Zaragoza, they are common street activities in which
Participates without distinction of status, sex or age ... They are bonfires of agreement
between
Neighbors by neighborhoods, the boys run and jump. Boys squads
They are asking for wood for the houses: "Firewood for San Antón and if no tozolón". When
No fire is given the threat is to want the disease of the cattle. It is firewood
Petite, rosemary, aliaga, sabina, thyme, sarmiento, cane of river, pinocheras. From
This is done by the women of the houses that go together to the mountain to be provided
Of it, while the men are in charge of the fat wood, oliveras and
Holm oak The wood already assembled in the houses is what the
Bonfires, which sometimes steal if they do not want to give it. In addition they burn all
Class of objects that accumulate during the year, "the old", that was accumulating
In the corral and cleaned this just before the fires. O well
A sanantonero is prepared, a big trunk of when the olive trees were remolded
(Belchite), or furniture, books, papers, fabrics, etc. "For San Antón, tackle the
heap". The slaughter of the pig is still fresh and the occasion
To try the sausages. For the night of San Antón the best is left, the
Morula of the cular (Monegros), the morcillo (upper and lower Ribera, Calatayud), the
Mortarón (Prepirineo), and also potatoes, chorizo, longaniza, ears, sometimes the
Head, crumbs and good wine. And to finish, the women prepare chocolate.
Commensality to favor the union. Neighbors sitting around the
Bonfire to eat imitate the family when it meets at the table. Before retiring
To the houses they collect the ashes to throw them to the fields to fertilize them.
The ember is used to keep the home warm at night. And when
In when the fire is poked so that the smoke enters the courtyards, shouting
"Smoke to San Antón".

- In Huesca, bonfires are lit mainly by San Juan, San Antón and San
Sebastián and also other saints like Santa Águeda, San Vicente, San Quilez, and
In Christmas. Carrying firewood is a common task, although when it was scarce or difficult

Obtain it was left in the hands of the young people who frequently subtracted, knowing That the owners could not get angry or ask for accounts for it. And required That someone would put a tractor or cavalry to carry it. It was maintained throughout The night was lit until the following morning passed the procession bypassing it While the flames made the passage difficult, although the fire became more alive In honor of the saint (in San Sebastián). And around fire, commensality. Associates To the feast of San Antón the squints and the folds were made.

Many more data can be added, although from the above it seems clear that there is a need to recognize that the structure of these festive forms responds to a common basic scheme but it is rich in reflections, profiles, faces, tones, colorful.

1. A bonfire is above all reflection and action of social entities. The houses, the streets, the neighborhoods, the village take as a sign and signal public presence. The indicator of social presence in the context and Just the party. The level and configuration of that presence speaks volumes to the Social life of each population. In addition to visibility, heat. At the winter party Of San Antón, of San Sebastián, the heat of the bonfire is transferred And becomes the heat of social life. One and many bonfires give to The divisibility and the union of the communities profile and image. And the fire As an element to be manipulated allows continuity-discontinuity and in all If communicability. Sometimes the fire is transmitted from some point to the rest. It points to a center and the other cores communicated with it. or sets A hierarchy with its differentiated positions. And on the cold nights, the Together they show the mutual presence of some communities Within horizons of proximity. The local geography of the bonfires does not It only reproduces plans and maps but reconstructs them. There are territories, Fields which in everyday life are imperceptible and that appear with The bonfires. Sometimes they emerge as places of stable grouping for A long coexistence of a whole night, in others they conform as Points of an inner journey, a round and a scroll wheel Which favors social encounters and active neglected relationships.

2. Like many other parties, but in times of cold, the bonfires They take people to the street. It is no longer the fire of the hearth, but the fire outside of home. In his own way a domestic fire. Something more risky But kept under control. More bulky and more violent than the Homes, fed with more materials than those used for fire Daily life can become, by its very eagerness for ceremonial fire Whose visibility and attraction is achieved by having it well supplied, In a source of danger. There is a critical volume that can not be Exceed and must be controlled taking into account the strength and direction of the wind. In many respects the execution and maintenance of a bonfire Is a test to overcome. And it requires some training. The aspects Technicians can behave as masters. Canals is an example paradigmatic. The materials that are gathered, their types, their distribution, The composition, the vegetal vest that covers it, all this is part of a

Technical know-how to make smoke and fire in phases of stammering start, Catch, until the flames are made with the whole structure that loses First the stability and then the form and even the entity itself. Finally The embers remain. The process accompanies the passage from night to day and Which is more remarkable is associated (activates and at the same time reflects) to the process Of grouping and social dispersion. The meeting around the bonfires Follows stages of babbling beginnings, warmth, more arrival People, dense society, bustle, and then progressive disaggregation. Finally Along with embers and ashes some stragglers and no one.

3. Materials and remains: on the one hand the bonfires are made mainly Of heavy and small wood, on the other hand of waste, "of the old" intentionally Accumulated for this destination throughout the year. of great Specially selected logs and timber and timber Agricultural activities, of tools and implements of corral already without function and of Furniture that is unusual or deteriorated in the home. This double characterization places To the bonfires between waste and cleanliness. It is not out of ambiguity But by coincidence of opposites. Firewood has been in many societies European peasantry for centuries a strategic resource. The waste of She was a sign of wealth. Among the above data is made To notice that the bonfires in some towns were placed in front of the houses Of the rich because inequality was translated among other things into the contributions Of materials to be burned in them. There is a double meaning In the bonfires as destruction or as purification that seems to come Determined by the nature of the materials supplied. If wood is burned, Could be potlachts, pyres in which the accumulated goods are destroyed Transformed by prestige, or could be offerings of valuable goods Presented to supernatural beings by gratitude, to ingratiate themselves With them or to put under their shelter the people and especially the cattle. And if you burn waste and debris, they may well be Adjustment of ecological systems, end-of-cycle Of dissolution of residues ... to thus allow the regular sequence Of the new cycles. In this duplicity there is also a double direction: The fire and the smoke can be directed to the high or can arrive also To the terrestrial beings that walk around. There are also several utilities: The embers and the ashes are still used at home and in the countryside. And fire and smoke have effects of deworming on livestock. Such Sensations can not be taken as essential in the party but as changing In time and susceptible to mixtures and transformations (such as The same happens in other rituals). The fuelwood has not maintained Of time the same value, nor of course has had equal in Populations with forests and populations of the cereal plain, ... small wood From pruning is in many cases residual, etc. The explanations Purely functionalists of ritual fire do not eliminate the symbolic character Of ritual fire. It is not that this character comes to the fore when actions

Rituals are maintained, even though their profits change. Rather this character reinforces and guarantees the regular execution of "useful" actions and everything encourages and encourages the necessary social life. Also envy is burned, fights, bad feelings - says Rivas (1986) - that have been emerging between neighbors, so that day speaks of the whole world.

4. In fact, the functions of the bonfires are multiple and enumerate them. Would give listings partly similar but also different in some or in other populations. It is also necessary to attend not only to the functions of the fire, but to the objectives sought from the forms, extension, height, arrangement of materials, etc ... The bonfires do not only burn piles of wood, wood, sticks, etc. And depending on the material, as has already been said, this would reveal some or other functions. they burn too figures, puppets, straw dolls, cardboard or cloth heads, etc., representations of more or less explicit references sometimes to evil in general or to evil in particular. Large volumes are burned, lots of sizes diverse, small accumulations, compositions of height, etc. the bonfires are signs of enormous polysemic load. It is no longer the number, the material or the figure that the bonfire itself means. Who burns is associated with what it burns and what it burns may not be something concrete or physical - but something that is merely alluded to or even not explicitly - and fire as it seems to have the power or ability to affect past time and future time, transcend to that delimited time, to those fleeting moments. Time itself can be affected by fire: winter is burned and time burns.

5. The bonfires look at each other and cause corrosion around them. But they also go around, walk around or dance or pass by above them and jump. In addition, people eat, sing, talk, play, woo, quarrel, ... all by the side.

- In the province of Zaragoza, from the bonfires of S. Babil and Santa Águeda it is said that giving three leaps above the woman preserves its fertility, and of the San Anton is believed that if the owner of the sick cavalry gives three rounds around praying some prayer the animal will cure of its evil. There are also three laps to avoid that the cavalries fall ill, for it is necessary to make a return for each animal of load or of shot. The husband must do it (Rivas 1986).
- In Muel, Mezalocha, Miedes, etc., for each cavalry and animal a wad is cast of wood to the bonfire and is repeated: so that St. Anton keeps them. In Sources Ebro all the animals have to pass over the ashes, in Tierga, Las Cuerlas, Tabuena, Chiprana, etc., you have to take three turns around. And very usually you have to jump three times the bonfire. When it comes to animals it is the man who jumps ("San Antón, keep me the ham"). When it comes to the protection of the family is the woman (Rivas 1986).

The ethnographic data on these actions could again be abundant. If the contributions are sufficient, it is to illustrate in concrete some of the

Festive ways of living the bonfires. It is obvious, and above all because it is intentional and explicitly, that these are social acts. And it should be added that Give an image to social life, not only in the sense already aimed at doing Visible to the social entities but the forced drawing of the situation Of the people around the stake wants to be taken literally as A concentration and metaphorically as meeting, cohesion, social warmth.

In many ways the bonfires are paradigmatic festivals and in these too. The bonfires reinforce the redundancy. They gather and unite the people. But on the explicit they are still overloaded with signification by means of Certain forms in which repetition is camouflaged already as a dance and as Game: spinning, jumping. Such forms have been interpreted as reproductions Of cosmological movements: the sun spinning tirelessly. Y Also the year as the cycle is turning. Among the amazing and wonderful Effects of these turns is even the figuration that the cosmos It will continue to be a series of regular, ordered movements. People And animals will thus feel the benefits of regularity, harmony and order. Turns and jumps do not stop being social acts for effects Social and are also intended to be by the fire that surrounds and raids Cosmological acts with protective effects. In any case before and now Were not the only strong reasons for the party, not less than the fun, Humor, individual singing and choir, commensality, drink, Tasting the charcoal sausages, ... and all the other passions that The fire also enlivens.

The bonfires are made the eve, the blessings on the day of the party. The Bonfires are made with vegetables, with dried herbs, wood and firewood, blessings Are intended for animals. The bonfires carry the controlled fire To the central spaces, the blessings sprinkle with water those who are They approach the sacred precincts. The bonfires order the concurrence of People around them, blessings command people And their cattle in rows. Bonfires encourage fun, blessings Are religious acts of an impossible seriousness. Bonfires sometimes require Specialists, but generally everyone is officiating. The blessings would have no effect without the legitimized officiant. At Program does happen but the sequence does not appear to have any connection logic. Although, of course, blessings are also acts of life Social.

Ethnography reveals some of the meanings people give to the blessings:

- The day of San Antón in almost all Huesca did not make work to the caballerías Because it was his patron. And for that reason they were given good feed. Some They did not even take the animals out of the stable. It was believed that non-compliance Of that rule would bring evil. "There was a man who said that they were Nonsense and took the horse of the house and wanted to go to water and when the coast It broke the horse's leg. " "The chivalry and the people were blessed Better worked but chivalry did not. " In Torralba de Aragón they are now blessed

Tractors and will not be working with them (Lula Arcal 1986).

- "By San Antonio of January, the mule strikes and the mule worker". Montemayor de Pinilla (Valladolid). They are dates of few agricultural tasks by the climate. and conducive For meetings and community life in hilorios, filandones, etc. (Alonso Ponga 1983).

- In La Rioja the horses are not loaded.

- Patronage is exercised by the saint over all animals, and in a special way On pigs, and chickens as a base of livestock economy (sic). Are entrusted Animals when they are sick and if they heal takes eggs or lacón. There is also the so-called "frog of San Antonio" that can not be killed because Otherwise the saint will make some of the pigs sick. And he is guardian of the animals. In Fornela they say that he appeared to some goats while the shepherds were asleep And delivered them from danger. Prayers to the saint against the swelling of sheep And goats. Also the responsorio of San Antonio. In some places applied alone Against the wolf, in others to find something lost, they confuse the saints.

- Labor animals or cattle are usually blessed and brought to the Door of the church. They were all but a representation. in Vizcaya Of the Sierra went the young men with the donkeys well adorned, blessing and turns to The church on the run. In Tudela de Duero, with horses decorated and turned around Church with the children running behind, then the blessing of the priest. in Mayorga Or other villages of Campos with donkeys and decorated horses, blessing and then Riding, to end relationships. In Olmos de Esgueva, the Barley that is then given to the animals, in Bembibre are blessed buns that Then they are distributed to people and animals, in Roales de Campos the donuts Saint with grains of anise blessed in the church and ate at home giving pieces To animals, these donuts were shaped like dolls, etc.

- In San Millán de la Cogolla the barley is blessed, in Berceo the cereals. In Saturdejo and other towns of La Rioja go around the church with the animals And is asked to free them from rabies. The aim is to provide health to Animals and in San Adrián de Apellaniz in particular to prevent abortion of the Mares In Brieva de Cameros, the donkeys were Church for the returns, as in Santo Domingo de la Calzada was made with oxen And mules and chariots two days before the feast of May to Santo Domingo. In Lagoon of Cameros, turns with the horses. Munilla is a horse race With three laps to the district of San Miguel (Elías 1985).

- In Torralba de Calatrava (he takes charge of the brotherhood and they wear a cross in the face

), In Carrión and Argamasilla de Alba (threads for the caballerias).

They make special muffins that, after being blessed, eat men and

animals; In Balsa de Ves two rows of girls in the procession carry baskets to the Head of bread that are distributed at the exit of the church, are made with donations Of the neighbors and flour offered to the saint as protection for the animals; In El Hito, scrolls or charities are distributed at the end of the pilgrimage; in Pozuelo The animals are hung in the heads a thread of San Antón for May the saint care for them; Moratilla de Meleros is produced by women of The mayordomos of the brotherhood; In Golosalvo, the Offer it to the saint; In Villahermosa, the farmers distribute bread And cannons. (González Casarrubios 1985).

- In the biscuits of the saint in Madrid appeared a bell, a Pork with her to the neck or tau of the saint (Castellanos 1848; Dear 1965). And the Provided to the procession with the king of the pigs the friars of San Antón In the portería of the convent. The pilgrimage went to the hermitage of San Antonio that was In the Retirement and composed it by order: first young men of the field in borricos Harnessed and with black capes and puntiaguados touching horns, porqueros With six pigs full of bells and bells, male lizards Of the herdsmen with squirrels and above the young men in disguise, then the shacks with Luxurious mantillas, with the king of pigs with a crown of garlic and chillies, And then the mob in donkeys and playing bells, horns and drums. there The king proclaims the boy putting the crown of the pig. Was a Zagal left to luck dress of saint Anton with staff and bell and mounted In donkey until it arrived there, where with the proclamation it was mounted on the pork. After that they went to the convent to bless them the barley and straw For cattle and bread rolls.

Whatever the basis given for San Antón's patronage of Animals, it is complemented if not sometimes confused with that of San Antonio de Padua (a thirteenth century Portuguese friar of the Fransiscan Order see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthony_of_Padua). And without causing major upheaval some places use the image of one for the procession and blessing and the other for the day of the fiesta. With both saints there is an extension of what belief identifies as protection beyond specifically human domains.

What the processions and blessings imply is clearly the integration into social welfare of animals, their consideration as participants in the social life of communities. In particular, peasants with domestic animals, laborers And transport, but also with the livestock from which a production is obtained They have very special links. Such links are As generals for pets in modern societies.

In fact this differentiation between traditional and modern societies is not so clear. It also varies the relevance given in different societies - and at different times within a single society - to specific animals. Oxen, pigs, sheep, horses, donkeys, mules, dogs ...Appear unevenly in the processions, showing that this "other part of the community "encompasses only animals in general, but More in particular to some. In all cases they involve individualized treatment And a deep knowledge of tastes, proclivities, states of Encouragement, etc. Some of this treatment has been reflected in the ethnographic data above.

Two lines of practices intersect in this ritual process:

On the one hand, what could be called the "humanisation" of animals, That is, the festive forms incorporate with active roles and emplacement in characteristically human spaces and territories beings that are considered irrational. They are included in processional parades and extend to them the commensality. It is an integration which seems to imply belonging to the community and which expresses the establishment of social ties. In this way In the fiesta system is marked by providing animals with social visibility, protagonism. The features of this social integration or humanization are indicated in the ritual roles given to animals:

1. festive break, cessation of work;
2. embellishment and body adornments to intervene in the party;
3. Approach or access to the sacred precincts;
4. with differentiated positions within the procession and forming part of the social order. (In some places, these processions are distinguished because the displacement occurs in the opposite direction clockwise or counterclockwise processional of the rest of the year);
5. recipients of blessing and its benefits not only as property of its owners but for a social reason: that of patronage;
6. give three turns to the sacred site guided by the owners;
7. participants also of fun activities such as careers and games;
8. commensals of blessed bread.

The other line of practice is a counterpoint to the previous one: the "animalisation" of humans (Cruces 1994) and particularly was included in the king of pigs, a procession almost cheeky in which those who lead the animals do not seem to distinguish themselves of them, but also alluded by the humorous gestures in the races of San Antón. As an advance of the Carnival the fiesta provides that possibility of equating roles. In any other situation in the year would be an unacceptable downgrade assimilated and all desecration to frequent spaces so venerated, But in this party both things are neutralized and not so much As a transgression-as it may appear in the carnivalesque farces- But as an exercise in domestication, which can Meaning control as familiarity. After all blessings Maintain the superior position of the officiant (alter ego of the saint) And next to which the animals are placed following the iconographic model Of the saint with the pig at his feet. That still gives them some formality. But the protagonism given to animals in their own way Entails a certain reversal of roles. Humans are not this time The blessed ones. And also not properly the focus of social care. On the one hand the adornments of the sometimes exuberant chivalry (As in Navalvillar de Pela), on the other hand the peculiarities of the Animals including the exotic nature of the species leave in the shade Companions that for this occasion are in the background. The Ranks formed in rural areas composed of livestock And by the well-behaved beasts of labor and transport give a Dignity peculiar to that public presence to the point that it assimilates To the ensemble to the accompanying humans. While in the Urban festivals pets appear to be in public With the superiority that gives them the knowing object of the whim Of their masters. The "caravan of animals" (Cruces 1994) fills one and Another scenario as in the imaginary worlds in which animals They move at their leisure. However, Contextual and are in fact used More varied personal, social, political, etc. (The cartoon, The critical wink, the extravagance, the competition, ... and many others

Attitudes become present in these parades).

Possibly it is not another animalization than that which consists in recreating images of animals that are inevitably anthropomorphic. In some sense these two lines are represented in the hagiography of the saint. On the one hand the wild beasts ended up approaching him and bringing them. On the other, the demons became the horrible beasts to frighten him, though the saint always stood imperturbable.

Finally, there are some obvious analogies between the practices carried out with the bonfires and those carried out with the blessings. It is possible to think that the actions of purification and protection of the cattle that the populations at some time undertook through fire was then repeated or replaced with the blessings in the name of the saint. "Turning around" [Dar vueltas] is one of those practices that men and animals perform around the bonfire and around the hermitage. It may be that the feast of San Antonio Christianized an earlier festival. Although this is likely it is not so relevant since some of the practices were set up as festive forms with the help of an invocation from St. Anthony, presented as the lord of the fire and the protector of animals. Festive forms with which populations consistently and regularly redefine the complex and changing relationships between Nature and Culture.

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