ABSTRACT

CARAVACA DE LA CRUZ ('COMARCAL' CAPITAL OF NORTHWESTERN MURCIA) A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF A SPANISH PROVINCIAL TOWN.

This work is about the secular significance of religious expression in Spain. It is also primarily an ethnographic study of several aspects of everyday life in a Spanish town in 1981. There are four main aims: to explain the relationship between local customs and beliefs and nationally sanctioned symbol systems --- in particular, but among others, the relationship between the 750 year old cult of the Cross of Caravaca and the Catholic Church and Spanish State; to describe the unique behaviour of the Fiesta of the Caballos del Vino, and to give an account of one instance of the popular Moors and Christians Fiesta; to describe and analyse the social structure of a provincial town; and to show how important symbols are affected by social change.

The thesis is divided into five parts and a conclusion. The first part deals with the geographical setting and the relationship of this study of Caravaca to other anthropological studies undertaken in Spain. The second is concerned with the details of everyday life. It shows the relationship between town and countryside and between everyday economic and political concerns and everyday religious activities. The third part includes a description of the largest and most influential institution in the town — the Cofradía — and a discussion of religious devotion and the cult of the Cross of Caravaca. The fourth, a description of the Fiestas held in honour of the Cross of Caravaca, and especially the Jubilee year of the 750th anniversary of the apparition of the Cross, the pageant of Moors and Christians, and the unique 'Horses of the Wine' competition, provides a contrast with more mundane activities. In the fifth part an examination of the Fiesta symbols contains a discussion of festival behaviour in relation to the everyday life of the town, and changes that have taken place and continue to take place. These sections are followed by a brief conclusion.
CARAVACA DE LA CRUZ
('COMARCAL' CAPITAL OF NORTHWESTERN MURCIA)
A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY
OF A SPANISH PROVINCIAL TOWN

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WOLFSON COLLEGE, OXFORD 1982. [c 1983]
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There is no doubt that the Spanish people are profoundly religious. Their inherent religion, moreover, harmonizes in many points with the Catholic faith. The synthetic and spontaneous nature of Spanish thought, for instance, is readily attracted by the doctrine of a revealed dogma.... (Salvador de Madariaga, Spain: A Modern History, 1942).

PREFACE

This work is about the secular significance of religious expression in Spain. It is also primarily an ethnographic study of several aspects of everyday life in a Spanish town in 1981. The town from which material is drawn is Caravaca de la Cruz, in the province of Murcia, in the south-east of the country. I have not changed the name of the community because people asked me not to conceal its identity. They would regard any deception as offensive, and since the name of the town also holds within it the key to their existence the thesis would lose all point.

In studying any Mediterranean society it is often difficult to separate out the complex relationships between the components of social life. In the past many ethnographers concentrated their studies on apparently isolated mountain communities. Recently researchers have chosen a single anthropological theme and followed it exclusively. In anything other than the smallest of villages any attempt at an holistic account or totally comprehensive ethnographic survey must be doomed to failure: it is likely to misrepresent the nature of existence in larger settlements. Here I examine the situation of dominant religious beliefs within the context relevant to them in a Spanish provincial town.

The study of religion in most Mediterranean societies cannot be divorced from economics and politics: despite a commonly voiced sentiment that in the West there is a greater degree of social specialization than in other parts of the world or under other religious systems. Whatever opinion may be the best reflection of reality,
and it is to be hoped that what follows will throw some considerable light on the subject, it is a fact that anthropologists have paid little attention to religion in work that has been published to date on Spain.

There is a particular lack of information on the social anthropology of Spanish religious festivals. Yet understanding the part played by traditional and imposed beliefs in the formation of society is one of the distinctive problems which Mediterranean anthropology presents, as evinced in the following quotation from Davis:

The religious life, customs and beliefs of villagers and tribesmen rarely coincide with the prescriptions of exegetically elaborated and sanctified religion, and the intellectual problem is to explain the relation between the two (Davis, J., 1977:9).

My interest derives from curiosity, from a long relationship with Spain, and from a fascination with the Spanish mode of expression through fiestas. The 'mediaeval' images conjured up by present-day battles of Moors and Christians, unique to certain areas of the country, provide, for me, evidence of the 'exotic' --- which Abner Cohen has suggested is the true subject matter of anthropology in complex societies:

...the systematic study of 'custom', of 'the bizarre and the exotic', in modern complex society is still largely unclaimed.... Now, perhaps more than ever before, is the time to develop a discipline which analyses the inter-connections between symbolic action...and power relationships in modern society (Cohen, A., 1974:137-8).

Marked regional contrasts have always been accepted as being a feature of Spain, whose present-day relative unity is based upon several mediæval kingdoms. In their article, 'Within Nations Differences And Comparisons: The Eight Spains', Linz and de Miguel (1966) identify eight culturally divergent Spains. The Spain I have chosen to look at is located in the province of Murcia: perhaps in a different classification it is 'religious Spain', as opposed to 'industrial Spain' or 'tourist Spain'.
No anthropological monographs have previously been written about any community in Murcia, therefore comparative references have here generally had to be made to contrasting regions and the contrasts are often extreme ones. This is nothing unusual in this country of *sol y sombra* ('sun and shadow'). Gerald Brenan (1951) has remarked that in Spain: '... the bald are more bald, the obese are more obese, the thin more cadaverous, the one-legged more limbless than in other countries'.

In the province of Murcia only the towns have the rudiments of administration, town halls and archives. Prolonged residence in and study of any of the *pedanías* (dependent villages) would have provided only limited data, owing to their small size, newness and the nature of their dependency. An examination of these villages from a base in the town takes into account a perspective that no village studies have previously made clear --- that of dependence. The study of a town of significant administrative category also facilitates a preliminary examination, at least, of the important geographical unit of the *comarca* ('county').

I began my research in October 1979 with a study of the large body of anthropological literature on Spain (Anthropological Monographs in English On Spain: a preliminary survey). It was Susan Tax Freeman who emphasized that: '..."the field" to the Europeanist must include the library as well as the village....' (1973:744). A familiarity with the anthropological understanding of Spanish culture achieved so far, and the approaches used, added to prior personal experience of almost every province of Spain, including the Balearic Islands. I had previously undertaken short periods of anthropological fieldwork and language learning in Madrid, Málaga, and Deyá (Mallorca). I studied Spanish at school and as a supplementary subject at university, and already spoke the language when I entered 'the field' in October 1980. On my arrival in Spain, brief stays in Madrid and Cartagena, apart from their logistical importance, provided opportunities to improve my fluency.
All translations in this work are therefore my own, unless otherwise attributed.

Once in Spain I chose to work in Caravaca de la Cruz because I wanted to study a town, rather than a village or a section or suburb of a city. Anthropological studies in Spain have concentrated almost exclusively on villages:

Twenty-six of the twenty-seven studies for which we have published data take place in relatively small rural communities (Gilmore 1976:89).

Many questions have arisen from problems encountered there, such as emigration, which have their answers in other settlements. Towns are intermediate between virtually powerless villages and huge centralized cities. They are points of articulation with the State for large portions of the population who were so often left uncounted or unspoken for in many issues in the centralized Spain of the Franco era, with its deliberate over-emphasis on the capital of Madrid. In Murcia, as it happens, I could hardly have studied anything else.

The settlement pattern in this province is one of a large number of towns with between ten and twenty thousand inhabitants and an even larger number of very small dependent satellite villages and, beyond these, large numbers of extensive farms, or homesteads, known as caseríos. The province has a small overall population and only two cities with over 100,000 inhabitants.

During a short period of library research in Cartagena, necessitated by the shortage of detailed information on Murcia which prevails even in Madrid --- Caravaca de la Cruz was put on my shortlist of places to visit. In Murcia Bus Station I chatted to a young Spaniard travelling to Caravaca and at the end of a two hour bus journey into the evening, through strange and barren landscapes, I was taken to supper and introduced to aunts and uncles. Before leaving to look for a bed for the night in an icy local pensión, I learned that I had been eating in the home of the Secretary of the Town Hall --- the very person I would have to make enquiries of the next morning if I wanted
to prolong my stay. That evening I also discovered the
town to be the site of an annual spectacle of parading
Moors and Christians, and the home of a 750 year old cult.
1981 was to be a Jubilee year. In the light of the
anthropological studies with which I was already familiar
my curiosity would not allow me to leave.

When I set out, I knew only that Caravaca de la Cruz
was a community of approximately ten thousand people with
a particular religious interest; that as the head of a
comarca it had a hinterland of villages. I knew that unlike
so many towns it was not 'dying'. It had a strong
agricultural base and a long history. Here I hoped to
study what had kept the town going, and what was the place
of religion in everyday life. I knew nothing of its Moors
and Christians, or its Cofradía ('a lay religious brotherhood'),
let alone the Caballos del Vino and the myths and miracles
of the Cross. As I discovered these I began to examine
their place in community life, and in this light the
relationship of the town to its comarca and to the nation.
It became clear that, mythical history, cult and celebration
dominated everything.

I lived for eleven months in Caravaca de la Cruz,
from October 1980 to September 1981, and visited the town
for another month in March/April of 1982 during the
important and extremely sensitive pre-fiesta period. The
conditions under which my fieldwork was conducted were
favourable in every respect. I liked the people and
enjoyed my stay with them. From the start they were
friendly, hospitable and helpful. Many people took a
keen interest in my work and were proud of the fact that
I had chosen to study their world. With television in
almost every home, people felt familiar with the word
'anthropologist' whether they knew its meaning or not.
Even the chaplain of the Cofradía talked of anthropology
in his sermons from time to time.

My fortuitous acquaintance with the Secretary of
the Town Hall led to an early introduction to the Head of
the Municipal Institute for Culture who happened to be
also the deputy head of the local Secondary School where, rapidly accepted, I made friends of a number of teachers and came to know many children through whom I was able to make a series of other contacts. It was important to begin to understand the society through its processes of socialization and to observe the effects in the children. I listened to their stories and felt it a duty to take a responsible part in some of their activities --- even when they involved pot-holing!

I spent a great deal of time just sitting and talking with people in bars, because that is what people spent so much time doing. Shopkeepers and service workers, photographers, bankers, doctors, officeworkers, priests, nurses, and students, all drink coffee and other beverages in the bars at various times during the day and most of the time during the evening. Late in my stay a sociologist visited the town as a member of a development team and he expressed his astonishment at the number of bars --- he had worked in towns in the north of Spain where the nearest bar was often several miles away on the highway. At one point, I even found myself involved in negotiations to open yet another bar. A popular local refrán expresses the situation concisely: 'Caravaca la bravía donde hay mil tabernas y una sola librería' ('Brazen Caravaca where there are a thousand bars and only a single bookshop'). In fact, there are three bookshops, which also sell newspapers, toys and souvenirs, but even one of these is another centre for day-long conversations.

By no means all of my time was spent in conviviality and conversation. I also gained experience of work in the professional occupations in the town (Caravaca de la Cruz's equivalent of letting the anthropologist work in the fields with them). I taught, took part in the administration of the National Census, and worked as a photographic correspondent for a regional newspaper. I was not excluded from any activity. I was even shown around the abbatoir by a family of sausage-makers. Luckily the same spirit reigned during the Fiestas and I took part as
a Moor in the 'Almohade group'. In next year's Fiesta I will be taking part as a member of one of the Christian groups.

In this work, I try not to present a lifeless picture of a disappeared past or to deny the effects of a forty-year-long dictatorship. I have four primary aims: to explain the relationship between local customs and beliefs and nationally or universally sanctioned symbol systems — in particular, but among others, the relationship between the 750 year-old cult of the Cross of Caravaca and the Catholic Church and Spanish State; to describe the unique behaviour of the Fiesta of the Caballos del Vino, and to give an account of one instance of the popular Moors and Christians Fiesta; to describe and analyze the social structure of a provincial town; and to show how important symbols are affected by social change.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

For their help in the achievement of this work many people deserve thanks. I hope that most of these will know who they are, to some particular acknowledgement is due here. Without the help and support of my parents none of this would have been possible; theirs is a very special mention. I am also grateful for the invaluable assistance of my supervisors: Mr Edwin Ardener in Oxford and Professor Lisón Tolosana in Spain. Other staff and students of the Institute of Social Anthropology of Oxford University and of the Department of Social Anthropology of the Universidad Complutense in Madrid have all been generous in their help and friendship. The help and friendship of Juan at the Universidad Autonoma, in Barcelona, and Gail at the Centro de Estudios Norteamericanos, has also been vital. In Murcia I am grateful to my friends among the students and to the Directress of the Faculty of Arts and to her husband Pepe at the Instituto de Edafología. In Caravaca my debt to the people of the town can never truly be repaid. Some of my closest friendships are with members of this community, attesting to the quality of their help and cooperation. I thank, to name but a few: Antonio, Antonio, Marie Carmen, Mamen, Isidoro, Isidoro, Jesús, Felipe, Isabel, Chano, Marcos, Diego, María, Mari-Cruz, Victoria, Antoñita, Jose Antonio, Pepe, Mariado, Pedro, Emilio, Manoli, Roberto, María, Inda, Conchi, Manolo, Paco, Paquita, Juan Manuel, and the Mayor, Councillors, priests, schoolteachers, and colleagues on El Diario de Murcia. Back in England I have to thank Miss Sarah Porter for her support, and help with typing; my father and Malcolm Chapman for reading the work through; and Nigel Edmundson for all his help in the darkroom. Acknowledgement is also due to the Gwent College of Higher Education, and to Wolfson College. The research was carried out with the financial assistance of the Social Science Research Council.
PART I
CONTEXT:
... in accounting for actions we often forget that we ourselves have acted (Ferguson, An Essay in the History of Civil Society, 1767 p. 12 --- quoted in Pocock, Social Anthropology, 1961 p.8).

THE BACKGROUND

In a region so apparently abandoned Caravaca is a surprisingly large town. From the old Murcia to Granada highway in the south-east of Spain it can be glimpsed in the distance cradled by friendly mountains. The castle on the hill in its centre changes the scale of the apartment blocks in the foreground. Before the road rushes the visitor up through developing suburbs to the crossing of main roads from which the Gran Via begins, the town is approached by a long leafy alameda or 'Moorish avenue' of plane and poplar trees which are flanked by floor-tile factories and apricot orchards.

Like much of the data of any individual researcher's study, this impression of the appearance of Caravaca de la Cruz in its surrounding landscape is subjective. It is my description, but it is the nature of the society that lives there that has determined the choice of elements from which it is constructed. My study is no less biased than any other but every study should make its biases clear. It is unavoidable that the anthropologist approaches a particular study with some preconceptions. It is preferable that these should be known and of use rather than unconscious and restricting. The most useful ones derive closely from experience of the society being studied and help to provide a fuller explanation of it. In this introduction I outline some of the preconceptions present in the previous anthropology of Spain, their limitations and their effect upon my research.

I believe the subject of an anthropologist's study becomes apparent from the object of study, that he or she will be able to perceive what it is that makes a particular
society understandable to itself, and will then set about analysing the nature of this social phenomenon. The town of Caravaca de la Cruz had the following characteristics: a provincial outlook, a conservative atmosphere, a concern with tradition and an overwhelming devotion to its *patrona* ('guardian saint', or Divinity'). I determined to study them in the light of lessons learned from existing anthropological literature and my previous experiences of Spain.

It is easily seen that in studies undertaken since Franco's death in November 1975, it may be both possible and necessary to understand aspects of Spanish society that have not been either observed or analysed before. From my previous study (see ref. p. VI) I knew that very few works on Spain have studied in any detail the extensive subjects of religion and politics. With regard to religion this may be, as Susan Tax Freeman has suggested (1968:34), because of 'a common preconception that worldview and the significance of religious practices are both easily traceable to the missal, the catechism, the New Testament, and the lives of the Saints'. With regard to politics, forty years of one-party rule did not preserve ideal conditions for its study.

Over thirty years, more than thirty monographs have been published on the anthropology of Spain. At least one hundred articles have appeared in established anthropological journals or in conjunction with other reports on European or Mediterranean cultures. In addition, even ten years ago, from a list drawn up by Kenny (1972) of American researchers in Spain, it seems that there were more than twenty anthropologists who had not yet published their results.

After a detailed study of the first monograph to be published on Spain in English --- Pitt-Rivers' *People of the Sierra* (1954) --- my initial survey covered most of the subsequent monographs roughly in chronological order to the present day. The first works were straightforward ethnographic surveys in the 'English Tradition', although
Kenny's 1960 study is still the only work to have contrasted life in the city with that of the countryside. Later in the nineteen-sixties there was an American response to the English beginnings, inspired particularly by Pitt-Rivers, teaching in Chicago. Of these writers Susan Tax Freeman has made a major contribution to the literature with two monographs *Neighbours. The Social Contract in a Castilian Hamlet* (1970) and *The Pasiegos: Spaniards in No-Man's Land* (1979), and several articles (1968 a & b, 1973). All of her research has concentrated on the social organization of isolated, small, mountain communities. This work was closely followed at the end of the second decade of anthropological studies in Spain by books which owed their inspiration to burgeoning worldwide concern with 'development'. Among these are Aceves (1971) *Social Change in a Spanish Village*, Douglass (1974) *Echelar and Murelaga*, and Aceves and Douglass (1976) *The Changing Faces of Rural Spain*. The latter is a collection of perceptive essays by researchers in Spain at that time. Anthropologists were displaying a particular interest in what they saw as the destruction of 'traditional' ways of life. Eventually, however, some writers began to question the validity of the premises behind this way of thinking and attacked what Brandes (1975) called the 'myth of the traditional'.

Brandes himself began from the idea, which had been current in 'development studies', that 'modernization' causes social atomization and the loss of cultural identity among peasants. He looked at the effects of depopulation on the way of life of a community. 'The community fixed in time and place was still the unit of analysis and Brandes made no reference to other economic changes in the past that could in their time have had just as great an effect as the processes he describes. However, his conclusion --- that 'structural continuity' is maintained within the context of economic and cultural dynamism, enabling the community to keep its own identity, cohesiveness and sense of integrity --- questioned theories long operative in anthropology and employed by both
Barrett (1974) and Greenwood (1975) who suggested that a 'traditional structure' would be destroyed by change. By this point the subject appears to have established sufficient momentum for some rather more original approaches to be tried. Christian (1972) and Gilmore (1980) explored completely new topics --- Catholic devotion in northern Spain and social conflict on a southern plain, respectively. They chose to concentrate on particular themes looked at in the context of appropriate units of study. They both questioned the idea of just looking at a community and found that the regional and national contexts were important in understanding many effects at community level, rediscovering ideas that Pitt-Rivers had been struggling to express more than twenty years earlier.

Both also took into account the way in which their studies were historically situated --- Gilmore traced class structure to the nineteenth century and was aware of the effects of the Franco régime. Christian saw worldviews as subject to change as a result of the Second Vatican Council. Beyond this, however, their use of history remained limited. More recently Christian has pursued the historical perspective in invaluable detail to produce two books which make significant contributions to an understanding of Spain today (Christian 1981a & b) and he is currently preparing a monograph on Spanish religious apparitions in the twentieth century.²

In 1975 the approach chosen by Hansen for his study, Rural Catalonia Under the Franco Regime: The Fate of Regional Culture Since the Civil War, had even less to do with the examination of a specific community than had the earlier works and as such his ethnographic reporting is less detailed, but his exploration of new ideas was inspired. He did not try to describe structure in terms of a framework for the whole society at a particular point in time, or to analyze every symbol. Instead he detailed the structure of some institutions within the society that could be conceived of as symbol-using processes, such as the hereu-pubilla marriage-inheritance system, the rabassa-mortaj
sharecropping system, or, more subtly, the structure of repression through law and economy. He raised the issue of identity, and of people's understanding of their own social situation in a historical, regional and political context. All three of which subjects had come to be ignored, as if by convention, in the Spanish ethnography.

At the same time as Hansen was undertaking his research Aguilera began work which resulted in another monograph that limited itself principally to describing the details of everyday existence in a small and relatively isolated village in Andalusia, Santa Eulalia's People (1978).

Overall, my survey revealed that many essential elements of Spanish existence had received scant attention: enormous regional variation, the pre-eminence of the fiesta, the social environment (art, architecture and urban development), almost every creative aspect of living, and of course, politics and religion. Many of the preconceptions held about just what should be studied dated from the time of Pitt-Rivers' first study when a variety of circumstances tied his hands: pioneering a new field, a hostile political regime, a ruined national economy, and a wary sensitivity about Catholicism. People evolved firm impressions of autonomous mountain communities, 'peasant agriculture', 'patronage', individualism, and home-spun moral values. The very complexity of this 'complex society' was hardly perceived at all.

Some of the newer anthropological monographs have only been published in Spanish and the range of perspectives which these works offer is very different from those of the extranjeros. In Spain during the nineteen-seventies Lisón Tolosana built up a school of social anthropology in Madrid, and other valuable work was also done in the Universities of Seville and Barcelona. Lisón Tolosana himself, whose first anthropological study, Belmonte de los Caballeros (1966) was in English and contained a wealth of ethnographic detail so comprehensive as to reduce the task for every fieldworker who has come after him, has
since gone on over several years to produce a holistic anthropology of an entire region of Spain (Galicia) in a number of volumes which include among them detailed studies of specific themes such as witchcraft (1974).

Perhaps as a result of Lisón Tolosana's influence, Spanish ethnographers seem to have been much more concerned with attempting to understand the 'ethos' of the communities, large or small, which they have studied, than have foreign students.

Isidoro Moreno Navarro in Propiedad, clases sociales y hermandades en la Baja Andalucía (1972) set out specifically to study a community which would be representative of a particular set of social characteristics:

1. Belonging geographically and culturally to rural Andalusia and therefore participating in the representative social cultural forms of the area.
2. Being located in one of the comarcas with the strongest character in the region, defined by a representative form of landholding and settlement.
3. Being divided into matrilineal "halves", which although referring primarily to certain religious and ceremonial aspects of social life, affects others, making the community into a "dualistic society" in some respects....(Moreno Navarro, 1972:12).

He did not want to 'just collect a certain amount of material which might not be necessary to understand the social structure' (ibid. p.11).

To understand the present day structures of a town in Andalusia, Enrique Luque Baena's Estudio antropológico de un pueblo del Sur (1974) takes heed of Julio Caro Baroja's question to an early foreign researcher in Andalusia:
'Are the Nuer more relevant to the present day Andaluces than the Moriscos?'.(Luque Baena, 1974:13) and makes use of a great deal more history than had been taken into account before. In a monograph entitled Vecinos Gitanos (1976) Marie Therese San Román investigates 'what it is to be a Gitano'. Maria Cátedra has a monograph in press, and in all of her writings (1976, 1977, 1978, 1980,) she is concerned with 'what it is to be a Vaqueiro'. The relatively large total number of monographs is complemented by well over a hundred articles in Spanish or English.
As a result of the high quality of the general ethnographic record now available for Spain, I have included ethnographic detail only within the terms of a specific theoretical orientation --- in order to make the extraordinary nature of the fiesta experience comprehensible. As an original contribution to the ever-expanding collection of ethnographic data I have employed the experimental concept of a photographic survey with a planned caption commentary (Appendix). It is intended that the design of the photographic essay should enable it to compensate for some of the 'handicaps' of description. A photograph does not have to 'build up a picture', it can present several features all at once, and the split-page system of presentation allows any one image to be directly compared with a variety of others.

This is also intended as a contribution towards future analytic comparison within the discipline --- comparison which should be, as Pitt-Rivers has stated:

the implicit comparison between different instances of similar phenomena...not formal comparison of quantified items such as the distribution of hectares in ownership, culled from the various cadastres of different notional states, and incorporating all their biases' (Pitt-Rivers, 1979:321).

The growing use of television and film ethnographies suggests that the implicit form of comparison is likely to become more popular and the development of universally accessible video-technology will soon provide a medium of invaluable flexibility and immediacy for the anthropologist. The first steps towards this expansion of the anthropologist's 'ability to record' have already been taken, even in Spain, as the book *Pamplona-Grazalema* (Serrán-Pagán & Muntadas 1981) shows. Its use of still T.V. frames, however, shows an advantage which the still photograph will always retain over even the most discrete and sophisticated video; that the photograph can accompany text and always be consulted alongside it as an example of the representative, universal 'moment which defies time' (Berger, J., 1980)\(^7\) (op. cit Appendix \(\nu.1.2\)).
Working through the literature it is still not easy to gain a complete picture of the Spanish ethnographic landscape —— there is not yet a coherent 'geography', only a collection of separate 'maps', with areas left completely unsurveyed. It is to be hoped that Lisón Tolosana's recently instituted project of ethnographic surveys to cover whole regions of the country and to be undertaken by his students will help to ameliorate this lack of coherence.

With an ever-increasing number of studies appearing, the present condition of research should be healthy. Interest has grown markedly during the last few years, and there is now much valuable work being done. Nevertheless, just as there are some geographic regions not yet covered, there are other features of Spanish life that still remain neglected. In the light of the importance traditionally given to it in anthropology, religion is the most prominent neglected feature and is probably the most significant: Extremadura and Murcia are the places almost wholly ignored. Furthermore, the anthropology of some other areas of the world appears to provide methods of interpretation which have not yet been matched by any work on Spain. That is not to say that preconceptions should be brought from other situations but that the approaches developed by Geertz --- thick description --- (1974), Leach --- the meaning of symbols --- (1972), Levi-Strauss --- 'Structuralism' --- (1972) or Victor Turner --- structure and anti-structure --- (1970), for example, do not find their equivalents in Spanish studies.

A further conclusion resulting from this examination of previous studies is that historical material has usually either been ignored, assumed, or arbitrarily selected. Sydel Silverman generously suggests that:

disinterest in history on the part of anthropologists working in Europe has probably stemmed less from theoretical conviction than from pragmatic decisions to concentrate limited time and resources on field data (Silverman, 1979:413).
Unfortunately the results of such decisions can be misleading. The use of historical data should not be limited to answering questions about origins or providing a colourful background to a study. Society is an historical process. To varying degrees people 'mythologize' their own history and allow it to affect their comprehension and explanation of current events. Caravaca de la Cruz in particular facilitated an examination of this process. In this study a distinction is made between 'mythical' and 'factual' history and both are included throughout the text to show the role of events in constructing continuing social processes.

There have still not been any monographs published which deal in detail with life in post-Franco Spain. Yet it would seem that the changes that have already taken place in Spain this decade, and those so imminent, provide a unique opportunity to study the ways in which people create their social existence and make sense of it to themselves. There is a need to expand the scope of approaches used so far in order to study the process of social reproduction and the constant struggle for redefinition of the self and of the society that is highlighted at times of particularly radical change.

In this new Spanish democracy, the concept of 'regionalism' is currently receiving a great deal of attention inside and outside government circles. Anthropology in other areas of Europe has taken up the idea of regionalism as a focus for studies which concentrate upon the identity of peoples grouped together for a variety of reasons, see the work of Antony Cohen, Belonging (1982) & Ralph Grillo, Nation and State (1980). In Spain, 'regionalism' involves increased exhibited awareness of the unique and autonomous nature of regional identities, and it demands devolved legislative and executive authority. Within the last few years, Catalonia and the Basque country have already established their own governments and constitutions for most of the other provinces are being considered. Throughout Spain the
the thoughts and attitudes of 'regionalism' are unavoidable in the Press, on the pavements, and on posters: except in Murcia.

It is possible to find many factors to explain this absence of a development of a wholly regional identity: Murcia possesses a defamatory image. People quote an old refrán:

De una puta y un gitano nació el primer murciano.

('The first Murcian was born of a whore and a gypsy'.) And the strong adjective 'murcian' means 'robber' or 'thief'. Historically, Murcia has also been marginalized by Madrid, and feels it.

Further disadvantageous characteristics of the province are a low population, poor communications, and large geographical distances between major towns, a weak hold on the region by a predominantly agricultural capital, the pre-eminence of a powerful second city in the port of Cartagena, the not so distant break-up of the old Kingdom of Murcia made up of the provinces of Murcia and Albacete, and the geographical location of the province --- between the powerful, positive, creative traditions of the País Valenciano and Andalucía. Perhaps the most significant difference between Murcia and other regions of Spain is that all the other regions include more than one province within them, whereas the region of Murcia is coterminous with the province of Murcia. (In 1975 the province of Murcia, 11,317 km², had a population of only 884,073 inhabitants at a density of 78 people per sq. km. [I.N.E.]).

This study of Caravaca has to be considered not just in the context of associated anthropological literature, but in relation to published work on the province of Murcia itself. Most of the Spanish books about regionalism still refer to the examples of Catalonia and the Basque country. The main point of reference is still 'political identity'. There is very little literature and propaganda relating the region of Murcia and its towns and villages to the subject of autonomy. An article was published
in 1980 entitled: 'Ensayo sobre el establecimiento de un posible estatuto regional-provincial para Murcia' ('Essay on the possible establishment of a regional-provincial statute for Murcia') by Mariano Funes, which tries to show the consequences of 'independence' for the province, emphasizing the economic and political advantages. There is also a small amount of promotional literature put out by the Consejo Regional ('Regional Council'). But Murcia shows a distinct lack of concern in this direction despite the existence of a few distinctive cultural traits such as a vanishing Murcian dialect, known as 'panocho', and a poorly advertized identity as 'La Huerta de Europa' ('The Market Garden of Europe'). Hence the identity of the region has little effect upon Caravaca.

Nevertheless, it has been remarked that:

No community in Spain is without a self-image deriving in part from what Spanish ethnographers, folklorists, historians, sociologists, novelists, and poets have written about the region in which it lies (Freeman, 1973).

For Caravaca, because of the weakness of Murcia's identity it is not what has been written about the region but that which has been said about the town itself that is important. Caravaca de la Cruz, nourished on history and myth, has a self-image which begins with the town's own name. The effect of the work of historians, novelists and poets on the image of Caravaca is dealt with later in this work. The influence of folklorists and ethnographers must still be minimal since only three anthropological articles, all in Spanish, have been published on anywhere in the province of Murcia (Frigolé, 1974, 1975, and 1977). In 'Estructura social y diferenciación sociocultural: el sistema matrimonial de herencia' ('Social structure and sociocultural differentiation: the system of marriage and inheritance') (1974) and 'Creación y evolución de una cooperativa agrícola en la Vega Alta del Segura desde 1962 a 1974' ('The creation and evolution of an agricultural cooperative in the Vega Alta of the Segura from 1962 to 1974')
(1975) Frigolé describes the social structure of a small agricultural village in Murcia and the life of a cooperative, respectively. In this third article "'Ser cacique" y "ser hombre" o la negación de las relaciones de patronazgo en un pueblo de la Vega Alta del Segura' ('"To be a cacique" and "to be a man" or the negation of patronage relations in a pueblo of the Vega Alta of the Segura'), Frigolé analyzes the verbally expressed local symbols of cacique and hombre and aspects of social and labour relationships. "Ser hombre" is the symbolic attitude of the worker who is offering his labour in a free market with its natural insecurity, "ser cacique" is how they see the position of those who reject the risks of freedom and, under the protection of the landowners, mediate between workers and bosses and hence control the market and power. These three articles on Murcia show that the information is tantalizing in its paucity. The present study therefore has a place not just in the literature on Spain but also in the literature on the region. This is a body of work which is as yet in its infancy.

To summarize: my research is set in a context which is still full of unplugged holes and many frustrated attempts to come to terms with the wealth of data which a 'complex society' provides, in history books and regional cultures. The published studies began with a necessarily unrepresentative and selective study of an integrated, homogeneous, mountain village. For some students who followed, this established the Spanish as the People of the Sierra. This literature has come up to date with an alternative view in The People of the Plain, where a town-sized agricultural community was studied for the high degree of class-consciousness and social stratification which it displayed. In contrast, the present study is of a post-Franco, differentiated, long-established urban centre in its surrounding comarca, and it tries to understand why these people are the 'People of the Cross'. 
CONTEXT 2

Here in time the surrounding landlords will build themselves townhouses, and perhaps come habitually to live, without surrendering their farms or neglecting their farming interests. They will form the ruling class, the patres conscripti, of the little republic, the typical ancient town, with its gradually developing political eloquence. (Santayana 1936, from a description of Avila in Persons and Places).

THE SETTING

The quotation from George Santayana describing the provincial town of Avila earlier this century is equally applicable to the situation of Caravaca as it has expanded over the centuries, and in a particularly accelerated fashion over the last twenty years, through the translation of the domains of the medium-sized agricultural landlords from their country seats to new homes and new spheres of influence and interest within the town. In using agricultural wealth to fund new, more speculative investments, many families have 'fallen from richer times and come to less' over the last two decades and others have risen around them and today find themselves pushing Caravaca slowly on to the national political stage.

In Spain even in the nineteen-fifties donkeys and oxen could be seen in use in agriculture everywhere, only roads which led to Madrid were well-paved, and most villages and small towns had no piped water and little electricity. In Western Europe the country's collection of anachronisms could still shock and enchant visitors from neighbouring nations. Enormous changes have come very swiftly. In 1978:

for every 100 people, 26 telephones were in use (compared with 36 in the EEC), 22 television sets (29 in the EEC) and 16 cars (30 in the EEC). By the end of this year [1979] 1,540 kms of motorways will be open, with a further 840 kms under construction or planned. Not too bad for a society that in 1960 had a gdp of about $330 per head, and, for 100 inhabitants, 5.6 telephones, half a T.V. set, one car and no motorway....
...In the cities and most sizeable towns, streets are jammed with new cars; shops, restaurants and bingo parlours are packed, even outside the tourist season with people spending, or just losing money as if they get it at a discount from the printer, and it is standing room only in the notaries' antechambers....
(The Economist 3-9 November, 1979)

However:

the 'European' prosperity of some regions is offset by the poverty of the others. In Catalonia, the Basque country and Madrid incomes are 25% higher than the national average; in most of Andalusia, Extremadura and Galicia, and much of New Castile they are 39% below the average. Spain's gdp per head last year was still only 52% of the EEC average (ibid.).

The overall impression received is of a society trying to cope with major change that still comes in powerful fits and starts but will not stop its relentless push.

When I arrived in the North-western comarca of the province of Murcia, in late 1980, many houses in the villages still had no running water, some homes in the city of Caravaca still had no bathrooms, and if these families washed they did so in cold water, in the garden, after dark. In a valley hidden between mountains in the outlying part of the comarca electricity had just been installed and was said to be an unpopular intrusion. Villages lacking water altogether still exist only about forty kilometres away to the south-east of Caravaca, but today in Spain this is a sufficiently unusual and 'unprogressive' state of affairs for it to be large headline news in the newspapers and television magazine programmes. In only a very few years the country has developed a new awareness of its own state of development.

The town at the centre of this study, Caravaca de la Cruz is to be considered not only in relation to 'the literature', the Spanish State, and the Province of Murcia but also to its own comarca and local surroundings. An outline of the geographical setting, presenting ecological and topographical relationships together with a brief indication of the scope of local variation, is
an essential preliminary to an examination of a community's umbrella of external social relations. Since the *comarca* is only an 'emic' category of organization and not a consistent official administrative classification, there is little agreement on the exact nature of its boundaries. One of the many national government development schemes includes the municipalities of Campos del Rio, Albudeite, Mula, Pliego, Bullas, Cechégin, Caravaca de la Cruz, Moratalla and Calasparra, in the *comarca* of the northwest --- 3,114.21 km² and 27.51% of the total area of the province. This classification is also accepted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística, and by the Diocese of Cartagena as one of its pastoral divisions, and as a juridical sub-division of the province. However, the local interpretation of the traditionally disputed idea of a North-western *comarca* has Caravaca de la Cruz as the head of an area that includes the municipalities of Caravaca, Cechégin, Moratalla, Calasparra and in some people's view Bullas too. This headship is still frequently and publicly disputed by the towns of Moratalla and, more especially, Cechégin in local political or industrial arenas.

The municipality of Calasparra is the most distant from Caravaca, over forty kilometres along a single poorly maintained road. The railway station at Caravaca was closed in 1969, but there is still a stop for the Murcia to Madrid line just outside Calasparra. Calasparra is a small town based wholly upon agriculture; mostly rice production for which it is famous. The population in 1970 was 8,289, 7,238 of whom lived in the town itself, but the overall population has fallen slightly since then as a result of emigration which has had a dramatic effect on the most depressed, underpopulated and agriculturally stagnating areas of the province.

It is in this community that Juan Frigolé has, during the last ten years, studied the system of marriage and inheritance prior to 1970; socio-cultural differentiation;
the working of an agricultural cooperative, and two traditionally dominant symbols, those of 'cacique' and 'hombre' (op.cit. Frigolé, 1977).

The municipality of Moratalla is situated on the other side of a small mountain range from Caravaca, until recently extremely inaccessible, at the end of a tortuous, snaking road. Moratalla is, in surface area, one of the largest municipalities in the whole of Spain. This land consists almost completely of forest-covered mountainsides and the small town of Moratalla is, in surface area, one of the largest municipalities in the whole of Spain. This land consists almost completely of forest-covered mountainsides and the small town of Moratalla is struggling hard to escape into change, (Photos.11 & 12). The forests represent prosperity to only a few wealthy landowners and the disproportionate conditions may be reflected in the marked opposition of well-supported extreme right and left wing factions in the town. For the poorer inhabitants life in this town is still completely dominated by migration to 'La Vendimia', ('the Wine Harvest' --- the dictionary definition of which word also means 'profit' or 'reward').

The Vendimia begins relatively locally in Andalusia and Albacete in July and early August and then continues in France for at least three or four months. The money earned by this work provides enough money to support the lives of most of the people in the pueblo for the rest of the year. For the central period of three months the houses and bars and shops of at least half of the town are boarded up and the town abandoned: 'everyone has gone to the Vendimia'. The streets appear deserted, but during the rest of the year they could hardly be fuller. The few young girls and boys who still have not emigrated permanently throng the streets, and the men fill the bars gambling away all their earnings in privately organized daily Bingo sessions, or if they are a little more conscientious, a little luckier, a little shorter of money or a little kinder to their wives, they work on the small family plots in the huerta surrounding the slopes of this
hillside, fortress town.

The municipality of Cehegin, is much smaller in surface area than any of the other municipalities under consideration. This limits its agricultural potential and its potential importance relative to that of Caravaca. The town itself is larger than either Moratalla or Calasparra and provides considerably more services. There is some industry such as canning and cartoning, associated with the important local and Murcian soft fruit industry. The economy of the town used to be dominated entirely by the _alpargata_ industry, which entailed labour-intensive production of _cañamo_-soled sandals, which were worn throughout Spain (Photo. 62b.). The development of cheap mass-produced footwear and the prohibition of the growth of the hallucinogen-containing _cañamo_ rapidly destroyed the industry and the town's economy to a degree from which, with the additional ravages of the subsequent unavoidable emigration it has never completely recovered. A recent paper (1982) presented to the Instituto Catalán de Antropología by Gail Bier on, 'The decline of the _Alpargata_ industry and outmigration', deals very fully with all the details and ramifications of these events.

The municipality of Caravaca de la Cruz covers 858.31 km². This is a much larger area than the average for the 43 municipalities of the province of Murcia, which is 263km² and considerably in excess of the national average which is only 54 km². The average altitude of the town is 640 metres and its geographical co-ordinates are 38° 0,6' 25" N and 49' 35" E on the sheet number 910 of the 1:50,000 series maps of the Instituto Geográfico y Cadastral. Caravaca lies at the lowest altitude of any of the centres of population in the municipality in a landscape that alternates mountainous stretches with small plains. The particular geology of these mountains means that there is a considerable amount of underground water, some exploited and some not. Irrigation therefore makes some of the land
abundantly fertile while as old wells dry up and are not replaced more and more areas are left to less demanding crops and to the sheep who graze the scrubby foothill pastures. The ancient rivers that run through the area, the Argos and the Quipar are famous historical names, but today their beds are dry as most of their waters are held in mountain reservoirs --- built as impressive public works during the Franco era without sufficient infrastructure to make them function successfully.

The mountains are the foothills of the Betic range and join up various municipalities of several provinces. The intricate pattern of relief produces numerous micro-climates which can alleviate some of the problems produced by altitude for the agriculture of the area.

Caravaca de la Cruz experiences the most extreme climate in all of the market-garden province of Murcia. Snow is rare but frost is not. 1981's temperatures give some idea of the meteorological possibilities. In winter it reached minus 10°C and in summer on several occasions 44°C was recorded. Yet on Christmas Day and the day after, in 1980, it was almost hot enough to sunbathe. Changes in the weather are swift and frequent. They are heralded by winds tearing forcefully up and down the main thoroughfare, which is left exposed at the side of the town, unlike the intricate pattern of streets in the old part of the town. During the periods of rain, electrical storms are common. It is said that the Knights Templar chose the area as the site for their stronghold due to the natural powers which abounded in the mountains; and today, peculiar magnetic phenomena are spoken of by hunters.

1981 was an especially dry year and the consequent water shortage made it the third ruinous year in succession for agriculture. This was a major topic of conversation for anyone at all concerned with the plight of the area. Agriculture forms the basis of the local economy but does not completely dominate it.
Map 1. The Province of Murcia (from Funes, 1979)
TOTAL HABITANTES EN FEDANÍAS = 9.288.
Fig. 1 POPULATION (from the Town Hall of Caravaca).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caravaca</td>
<td>11,140</td>
<td>9922</td>
<td>10,706</td>
<td>12,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archivel</td>
<td>2380</td>
<td>2436</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barranda</td>
<td>1660</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>1009</td>
<td>1056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benablon</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>931</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Moral</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Encarnacion</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Junquera-El Moralejo</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Royos</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campo Coy</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singla-Almudema</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>1523</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>1235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Tartemudo</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarragoya</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>21,734</td>
<td>21,734</td>
<td>18,832</td>
<td>20,962</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A COMPARISON OF POPULATION PYRAMIDS FOR THE YEAR 1978

All four of the following population pyramids show a tendency towards the beehive shape that is regarded as characteristic of urban populations as opposed to the 'ideal' pyramid of rurality. The larger towns of Bullas and Caravaca show the most marked tendency and the most agricultural municipality of Cehegin the least. This beehive distortion is however contributed to in great part by the ravages of the Civil War. Proof of this lies in the slightly larger numbers of females surviving in the 60-80 age-group than males, although normal female longevity also plays some part here. In the children of this generation, the 30-40 age-group there is further evidence of the effect of the war. This group and that of their children is reduced in number. However, these numbers are distorted yet further by emigration which takes most from the able-bodied, working generation of 30-40 year olds. The equivalent reduction in the numbers of their children demonstrates that a great part of the emigration affects entire families and not just the 'productive' male.
FIG 2 COMARCA OCCIDENTAL (MURCIA)

ESTRUCTURA DE LA POBLACION POR SEXOS Y EDADES
(PIRAMIDES DE POBLACION)

(ANO 1978)
The municipality as a whole has a population of about 20,000 people but of these only between 10,500 and 12,500 live in the town of Caravaca de la Cruz (Fig. 1.). The rest live in the outlying villages and hamlets described below. A municipal census taken in 1974 showed the active working population to be approximately 6,126 people of whom 3,257 constituted the active farming population. This is 53.1% of the total, the rest of which is evenly divided between light industry and the service sector. Although all these figures were obtained from the Town Hall of Caravaca I use them in approximated forms only, since, having myself helped in the administration of the 1981 census, I am very aware of the gross statistical distortions that the official figures may contain. Well over fifty percent of the inhabitants of the municipality live in the urban centre: a large proportion of the remainder in a number of villages: Barranda, Almudema, Singla, Archivel, (see Map 2). All of these are wholly agricultural. None of them has a population which even reaches 1500 inhabitants, and even the largest --- Barranda --- has only been larger than 1000 for the last thirty years. Although the census includes all inhabitants under the heading of the nucleus of population to which they pertain, half of the country population live disseminated in ranches or farms ('cortijos' and 'caseríos').

The population of the town is much less subject to short-term fluctuations than is the countryside, and in fact the numbers in the town are slowly increasing and those in the countryside are rapidly decreasing. There is a great deal of migration directly from the poorest pedanías ('villages') to the industrial areas of the north of Spain and to Germany and France. Another form of migration often ignored in anthropological studies takes place from the outlying villages of other provinces and from its own pedanías into the cabecera of Caravaca. People have come from the Puebla de Don Fadrique and Santiago de la Espada in Andalusia, Nerpio in Albaceté and Moratalla in Murcia. The mid-nineteen-fifties saw a large out-migration
from the whole area, including the towns, when the cañamo
related industries all collapsed. Slowly, in the nineteen-
seventies the people have returned: many are much wealthier
now than they would ever have dreamed, although, overall,
the area is still one affected by general depopulation
and is classified officially as 'underdeveloped'.

The villages in the municipality of Caravaca are all
fundamentally different in character from their urban
centre. They are all dependent upon the town for
government and services. Even as parishes they are divided
up between the priests of the town. Each village has as
its representative a pedáneo — a lone mayoral figure
appointed by the Town Hall of Caravaca to look after the
interests of the village and through whom the Town Hall
can carry out its business. There are 16 pedanías: Almudema,
Pinilla, Archivel, Barranda, Benablon, La Encarnacion,
La Junquera, Moralejo, El Entredicho, El Moral, Los Royos,
Caneja, Navares, Singla, Tarragoya, and Canada de la Cruz.
In addition to these, there are eleven other named settlements
in the area, there are eleven other named settlements in
the area: Casicas, Noguericas, Altico, La Catazuela,
La Vereda, Arrabal, Capelleria, Hornico, Penicas, Retamalejo,
Tartamudo.

Some of the irrigation patterns and the growing of
almonds are aspects of the agriculture of the area which
date from the time of the Moors. Other features like the
planting of apricots, rabbit-breeding, herb-growing in the
place of vines, olives and even more recent attempts at
wheat production, arise from current economic and
ecological crises. But by far the greatest influence upon
the agriculture of the whole comarca is still the Reconquest
and the resettlement. After the Moors had been driven
off the land it remained a border territory and, to
encourage development, generous awards of land were made
to many of the nobles who had won favour in the conflict.
This planted the seeds of a hidden tradition of latifundist
land-holding by a few elite families. In the sheep-and-
Mesta-dominated middle-ages a strong tradition of stock-raising
was established in Caravaca due to its east-west trade links and the suitability of its pastures. As the population grew and labour became available, the labour-intensive crops of wine and olives were developed. In this century, as estates received less care, and even larger farms were put together by some new more commercial landlords these were gradually replaced by wheat. Today agriculture is still dominated in the secano, or 'unirrigated land' by sheepgrazing, and some commercial forestry; and in the irrigated areas apricots, almonds, apples and market-garden vegetables for local consumption, provide profitable livings in a good year. Apricot growing has even been so successful in recent years that it developed canning and associated industries around it.

Because there are so many small independent landowners in the province of Murcia (indeed, there are many in Caravaca) it is not a province which has been 'traditionally regarded' as latifundist. However, this was a misconception and the municipio of Caravaca has grave land distribution problems. Looking at any land distribution figures for the area it can be seen that approximately 4% of the estates account for 72% of the total agricultural land. The rest of the plots, 96%, possess between them only 28% of the land. This is an even more chronic imbalance of land distribution than the average national figure which is itself influenced by the enormous estates of Extremadura and the huge latifundist region of Andalusia. Nationally 4% of the estates have 60% of the land and 96% have 40%.

The accompanying table shows the situation of the landholding and exploitation of the estates and extremely parceled plots where 'equally partible inheritance' has contributed most to an un-economic distribution of land. Further problems are created by the overall lack of irrigated land. Although about 82% of the profitable production comes from irrigated land only 6.56% is irrigated, as compared with 8% in the province as a whole and 12.6% nationally. In addition large portions of the cultivable
MINIFUNDIOS

Size in hectares. <0.1 0.1-0.2 0.2-0.5 0.5-1 2-3 3-4 4-5 TOTAL
No. of holdings... 7 28 178 269 194 122 92 1219
Quantity of land occupied by holdings........... <1 3 49 184 445 448 398 1940

Total percentage of holdings under 5 hectares 61.81%.
Total percentage of all land 3.66%.

MIDDLE-SIZED BUSINESSES

Size in hectares. 5-10 10-20 20-30 30-50 50-70 70-100 TOTAL
No. of holdings... 260 204 89 67 31 21 672
Quantity of land occupied by holdings........... 1833 2790 2116 2590 1770 1792 12,891

Total percentage of holdings between 5 and 100 hectares 34.09%.
Total percentage of all land 24.34%.

LATIFUNDIOS

Size in hectares. 100-150 150-200 200-300 300-500 500-1000 1000+ TOTAL
No. of holdings... 27 7 16 13 12 6 81
Quantity of land occupied by holdings........... 3217 1237 4032 4528 8445 16,691 38,150

Total percentage of holdings over 100 hectares 4.1%.
Total percentage of all land 72%.

(After statistics supplied by the Town Hall of Caravaca).

FIG. 4 OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY IN PERCENTAGES (1973)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY OF FAMILIES</th>
<th>CARAVACA OWNED</th>
<th>MURCIA OWNED</th>
<th>SPAIN OWNED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FARMING</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-FARMING</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG. 5 HOMES WITH RUNNING WATER IN PERCENTAGES (1973)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY OF FAMILIES</th>
<th>CARAVACA WITH</th>
<th>MURCIA WITH</th>
<th>SPAIN WITH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FARMING</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-FARMING</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG. 6 COMPARISON OF SERVICES (1973)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CARAVACA</th>
<th>MURCIA</th>
<th>SPAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Running Water</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toilet</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shower</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bathroom</td>
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<td>14</td>
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FIG. 7 DATES OF CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING IN PERCENTAGES

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>NON-FARMING</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
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(After statistics supplied by the Town Hall of Caravaca).
Map 3. Agricultural Land-use in each Municipio (1978)
(from the Extension Agraria, Granada)

TOTAL AREA: 96,133 HECTARES
- 23.50% arable dry
- 3.30% irrigated
- 0.18% fodder
- 16.66% forest
- 37.50% grazing
- 16.06% other

TOTAL AREA: 29,972 HECTARES
- 14.64% arable dry
- 8.62% irrigated
- 5.00% fodder
- 30.00% forest
- 23.94% grazing
- 17.80% other

TOTAL AREA: 85,831 HECTARES
- 27.44% arable dry
- 5.12% irrigated
- 6.03% fodder
- 12.11% forest
- 38.60% grazing
- 10.60% other

MUNICIPIO OF CALASPARRA
MORATALLA
CARAVACA
CEHEGIN
territory are left completely unexploited, about 32.7% —— due to neglect and unconcern on the part of non-resident landlords.

Migration has been considerable over the last twenty years but the farmers who have remained have gone along with the values of 'development' to the extent that their labour investment has decreased —— possibly to spend time doing something more profitable, and their financial investment has increased. The values of the world which deprecates labour and applauds wealth show up in many rural studies today. How deep this goes in the countryside of Caravaca this study did not set out to show but an index of mechanization illustrates the presence of the polemic:

- tractors 367
- motorized cultivators 190
- harvesters 97
- planters 101
- driers 23
- huskers 10
- spreaders 177

(figures obtained in personal communication with staff of local Extensión Agraria).

Caravaca is substantially overmechanized with an average mechanical power equivalent of 1.4 horses per hectare. This is a display of wealth and development. Through belief in the appearance, the reality is defied and denied.

The people make a very clear distinction between the cortijos, caseríos and aldeas in the countryside, and the pueblo itself. Caravaca can be felt to be a pueblo because, as Pitt-Rivers pointed out (1954:7) in the very first anthropological study undertaken in Spain by an Englishman, pueblo means the people of a place and the idea of community just as much as it means the bricks and mortar of a settlement. Caravaca is a pueblo, with its own worldview. In fact, as a physical settlement Caravaca is felt to be a
ciudad ('city'). And it was granted its city charter by Queen Isabel II on 26 July 1849 as a result of:

la antiquedad é importancia de la villa de Caravaca, tanto por su población, por su riqueza agrícola é industrial, por su celebridad religiosa, cuantas por otras circunstancias políticas y económicas que la misma reúne.... (From the Royal Decree of 26 July, 1849).

('the antiquity and importance of the town of Caravaca, as much in terms of its population, its agricultural and industrial wealth, its religious fame, as for other political and economic circumstances which it brings together....').

The growth of industry in Caravaca, both light industry and services, has been influenced by some of the same factors: the high quality of communications and the demands produced by agriculture and tradition. The overriding characteristic of Caravaquenian industry is that like agriculture it has a family structure, it is small and virtually home-based and operates more for subsistence than to make a commercially acceptable profit. For example, at least one of the several small shoe-producing workshops --- it is hard to call them factories --- can leave its orders to join in the lucrative apricot harvest for two or three weeks in June. The only industry which can be seen to have broken free of this structure is fruit-processing. Recently, crops and the market are failing and only one fruit canning, bottling and juice-producing factory in Caravaca de la Cruz employs people all year round, and it imports fruit from other areas to do so. Other significant small-scale industries in Caravaca are: the production of construction materials --- long-established quarries still echo in the hills; wood-related industries --- sawing, cartoning and furniture; the manufacture of shoes and bags and some clothing; and the traditional artisan work of producing Caravaca Crosses in gold and silver. An allied transport and distribution sector is also present. The service industries cover the complete range of every commercial and social service that might be demanded. It has already been noted that there are numerous bars. There are also
three discotheques, a Bingo club\textsuperscript{14}, a third division football team, two sports clubs, five swimming pools, dozens of banks. The town surprises, it looks much bigger than its population apparently warrants and its prowess as a commercial centre derives from its importance in providing goods and services to a far-reaching hinterland.

In Andalusia, Old Castile, Extremadura and other 'underdeveloped' areas of Spain subject to the destructive pressures of powerful external economic forces the landscape is littered with the ruins of deserted villages and hamlets and there are many dwindling towns with little reason to maintain a population and a meaningful way of life. Caravaca has never shrunk in on itself or fallen into disrepair, but rather it continues to expand today with all the pretensions of a modern city in miniature (Photo. landscape). By 1289 it already had its own coat-of-arms --- a castle above a Cross --- which was later changed to the cow over a Cross which is represented on the mediaeval town flag, still proudly flown today. The streets of the town are not unpaved earth. Unlike the Alpujarran town of 'Mecina' described in 1980 by Pío Navarro Alcalá Zamora (see Note 6), almost every right of way in Caravaca has been tarmacadammed or concreted. In the older parts of town the streets are covered in ugly and out-of-place speckled tiles. Recently, heavier lorries and increasing construction traffic are destroying many road surfaces. A carefully engineered awareness has brought about a programme pledged, 'to replace unsightly and unnatural development and destruction of the town's environmental heritage' and has begun to replace once-admired concrete and tile paving with traditional but practical cobbles (Photo. 93a.). The resulting appearance is rapidly winning approval among now proud townspeople.

The town's architecture displays an enormous range of styles. A brief outline of the domestic space is relevant to any understanding of the range of life-styles. It extends from the \textit{cueva}\textsuperscript{15} (literally a converted cave; usually fronted like a small house) of which there are
still some 150 inhabited in Caravaca (although many are without running water most have televisions and several have washing machines!) --- to the eight storey ceramic-faced luxury apartment blocks which line the Gran Via. The window blinds of the latter conceal interiors full of reproduction furniture, in addition to the traditional mesa camilla (a round rug-covered table with a hole cut in its base to house an electric fire or a pan of hot cinders, for winter warmth) around which the whole of home-life revolves. In between the two contrasting extremes of the architectural spectrum are the white-washed mortar or concrete-covered houses of between two rooms and three storeys in size, and the more noble constructions of sandstone and so-called 'jasper' from the local quarries. These have three or more storeys and many of them have carved lintels or large stone coats-of-arms emblazoned on the walls (Photo. 27b). Nearly all of the houses have wrought-iron grills on the windows and some even have decorative balconies (Photo. 27a.). Today many of these older houses which are situated in the old centre of the town have had some modern facilities installed, in order that they can be rented more easily --- since accommodation has to be found for those people moving into the town from the countryside. But there are still houses that have had several large families brought up in them, which lack bathrooms altogether and only have outside toilets. However, these facilities do not always serve an essential purpose: a mother who had recently moved from the country into a large re-decorated house in the centre of the town was asked in a survey if the house had a bathroom, she replied: 'Yes. But, thank God, we have never had to use it'.

The urban growth of Caravaca began beneath the walls of a Moorish castle built on the site of the present monument, and today some of the streets of this barrio still show part of their Moorish structure in having one end-wall with a door in it (Photo. 18a). Originally a wall at either end closed each street off entirely.
The exterior castle wall which once determined all urban expansion has today disappeared without trace. During the period of the Reconquest repopulation was encouraged and nobles built houses on the plain outside the castle walls (Photo. 26b). Developments grew up slowly around small landmarks. The largest of these was the parish church of El Salvador which began to be constructed in 1544 (Photo. 29b). Streets grew out around this in the sixteenth century (Photo. 30b).

Over the centuries the small but ever-increasing population moved its centre of growth regularly around the town. Areas have been alternately 'fashionable' and 'unfashionable' --- people built their smaller houses where the rich built their large ones. The population first expanded across the river which ran at the side of the castle, into what is today the Barrio San Francisco (Photo. 29a). Gradually, the spaces were filled in, between the periphery and the doors of the parish church of El Salvador, creating what is today 'the old town'. True urban growth made the Calle Mayor or 'High Street' a 'fashionable' residential district (Photo. 122). The next stage in the development of the residence pattern, while the town as a whole sprawls haphazardly in all direction, has already begun, with the construction of 'chalet-style' villas with gardens and swimming-pools out in the countryside again.

Today people recognize the existence of twenty-four barrios or 'districts' within the town: La Gran Vía, Barrio Medieval, La Glorieta, Calle Rodenas, Las Cuevas, Casas Baratas, Camino del Huerto, Calle Mairena, Plaza del Hoyo, Barrio del Pilar, Faquinetos, Calle Mayor, Canalejas, Calles Tejeo - Santa Teresa - Poeta Ibanez, Placeta del Santo, La Paz, Cabezico, San Jorge-Puentecilla, Calle Angel Blanc, Calle Dos de Mayo-Barcelona, Calle de la Cruz. These are 'internal' classifications. They do not match any of the electoral districts or other official categories and some of them consist of no more than a single street.
The town has grown very rapidly within living memory. It is also full of potential conflict and discrimination since many conceptions of the town are being held at the same time. It is said that there are a core of Caravaquenian families, 'real Caravaquenians', whose historical roots are very deep indeed. These are families who 'have always lived here'. In general, the people show a remarkable degree of historical awareness, as a result, I believe, of the nature of the religious symbol under whose protection the town has placed itself --- the Cross of Caravaca.
NOTES

1. THE BACKGROUND

1. In a supplement to my preliminary survey I have made a further study of these detailed articles including detailed analyses of the following works: Kenny (1961), Freeman (1968), Barrett (1978), Corbin (1979), Fernandez (1972, 1976), Riegelhaupt (1973), Brandes (1981), Lisón Tolosana (1966), Christian (1976), Frigole (1977).

2. Personal communication.

3. 'Honour and shame' were not examined in relation to religion, history or regions of Spain beyond the south but only in terms of everyday action. Pitt-Rivers has since admirably corrected all of this but preconceptions had already been formed.

4. See Bateson Naven (1980:2) 'O.E.D....The characteristic spirit, prevalent tone of sentiment of a people or community; the "genius" of an institution or system': also (p.122) 'I believe that the concept of ethos may valuably be applied even to such enormous and confused cultures as those of Western Europe'.

5. The Moriscos were Muslims who had converted to Christianity, often they were also of mixed Spanish-Arab descent.

6. Pio Navarro Alcalá Zamora's Mecina (1979) is in some ways an exception to these other works. He concludes with a description of the 'vision del mundo alpujarreno' ('Alpujarran worldview'), but the work as a whole provides, in hundreds of thousands of words, statistics and diagrams, a comprehensive collection of very specific ethnographic information. However, any possibility of the reader perceiving the social dynamic and understanding all the facts as a way of life is swamped by the sheer quantity of words and lifeless details.

7. See also John Berger's discussions of perception in About Looking (1981).

8. Pitt-Rivers suggests that his own way of using history was the result of a conscious sociological decision. This seems justifiable at a time when it was more necessary 'to defend the uniqueness of an anthropological approach' (1979) in a literate society and to lay emphasis on the fieldwork experience. The interests of the 'developmentalists' who came into the field when 'modernization theory' dominated the social sciences, did nothing to further the use of historical understanding. 'Anthropologists became specialists in transitions to modernity' (Silverman 1979:414).

9. For an entire study based wholly on this idea see Taylor (1979), also Chapman (1978) and the 'false' histories of Caravaca: Robles Corbalan (1619), Martinez Yglesias (1847), Marin de Espinosa (1856), Robles y Godinez (1888), Bas y Martinez (1887).


2. THE SETTING

11. Development plans for the whole of the Northwestern comarca began to be formulated in the early nineteen-sixties. The first plan
was presented in 1968. This was revised by 1973 and an analysis of how local bye-laws would need modification was then included. During the nineteen-seventies IRYDA developed improvement schemes of its own. In 1980, after the comarca had been declared an area of special action, IDEMUR instituted a new development project to replace the 1973 ideas. Finally in 1981 MOPU came up with money from another source and began a scheme to preserve and renovate the historical core of Caravaca de la Cruz. If Spain succeeds in joining the EEC this area will become eligible for large grants as an underdeveloped region.

12. A copy of the degree in full can be consulted in the Municipal Archive of Caravaca and is reprinted in Marin de Espinosa (1856).

13. The adjective meaning 'of Caravaca' is Caravaqueño/a in Spanish. The letter ñ is an 'ejje. To avoid a false coinage and problems of pronunciation I have rendered the letter as ni and the word for Caravaca throughout this text as Caravaquenian. This is only a conscious approximation with a practical end and inevitably lacks the 'scientific' exactness which trained phoneticians might require.

14. An elegant, smartly-staffed Bingo Hall is evidence of how much money passes through the area. There are few towns of 10,000 people anywhere which could support this.

15. These are homes hollowed out of the rock or built into the hillsides. A cursory examination of this phenomenon appeared in the Spanish national daily newspaper Diario 16 in 1981 by any study of 'the culture of poverty' has often been seen to present virtually insurmountable difficulties for many researchers.
PART II
EVERYDAY PROCESSES:
EVERYDAY PROCESSES 1

Your nation has been called moribund, my Don Quixote, by those who are inebriated with fleeting triumph and who forget that fortune turns about more times than the earth, and that the very trait which makes us least adapted to the civilization today prevalent in the world may be the quality which will make us more adapted to the civilization of tomorrow. The world turns often, fortune more often still.

We must aspire, by all means to become eternal and famous not only in the present but in future centuries. A nation cannot survive when its shepherds, who are its conscience, do not conceive of it as possessing an historic mission, an ideal of its own to fulfill on earth. These shepherds must aspire to achieve fame by tending to and exalting their country; thus, while achieving fame, they will lead their nation to its destiny.

Is there not in the eternal and infinite Consciousness, an eternal idea of your nation my Don Quixote? Is there not a celestial Spain, of which this terrestrial Spain is merely a copy and a reflection in the poor centuries of mankind? Does there not exist a soul of Spain, just as immortal as the soul of each one of its sons? (Miguel de Unamuno, The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho, 1905).

Numerous details of existence are held in common throughout Spain and have already been described many times in the voluminous literature. It is not such details but their relation to the transcendental that is the subject of this work. Religious practices and secular activity together make up the unavoidable and continuous everyday processes of social life. Other activities provide an experience which is over, above and beyond the ordinary but which is nevertheless an integral part of survival. The necessity for an outline of everyday processes in Caravaca which also illustrates the scale and nature of the life of a 'provincial' town as opposed to a small isolated village community lies in this fact. It is in the relationship of the 'everyday' to the fiesta experience that the search for the answers to the questions asked of Don Quixote can begin.
SECULAR LIFE

In the history of Caravaca there is very little of which anyone can be sure. Many histories have been written but most are copied the one from another, and serve as no more than lists of the town's myths — the stories people tell about themselves. Many of these are recounted in the text at junctures where they are appropriate to understanding better an aspect of the present social structure. Other history, such as there is, is also used in the social context in which it best contributes to present ethnographic evidence. Here, this chapter on secular life is preceded by an outline of the 'factual' history of the town that has helped to form its economic and political structure.

Some historical facts

A pamphlet by Francisco Chacón Jimenez entitled 'Murcia Un Modelo Económico en el Mundo Mediterráneo Durante el Siglo XVI' (1979), places the city and province of Murcia in the sixteenth century in the context of the sort of historical explanation provided by Immanuel Wallerstein's Modern World System (1974) which charts the growth of Capitalism through the history of the Mediterranean. In the light of these works it is possible to see some of the processes that made Caravaca an important town and contributed to its rapid and considerable development over the centuries.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the kingdoms of Valencia and Granada occupied by Moors, the kingdom of Murcia provided the Castilian rulers of Spain with their only access to the Mediterranean; strategically the province was of enormous importance for over four hundred years. It became a major producer and exporter of fruit, grain and especially silk. Its unique terrain of plains protected by ranges of mountains, on which it was relatively easy to site castles, meant that it was also an important military zone. Caravaca was a vital
fortress in the west of the province providing protection against Moorish incursions from the Kingdom of Granada, and it was sited on the second largest plain after that of the capital, Murcia itself. As Murcia flourished from Mediterranean trade so did Caravaca. As a natural route centre Caravaca's four gateways, to north, south, east and west, have always contributed to its commercial importance in a province that even in mediaeval times was known as 'el jardín de España' (the garden of Spain)\(^2\).

Until the third or fourth decade of the thirteenth century Caravaca was part of the Moorish Empire in Spain\(^3\). After the recapture of Murcia the castle of Caravaca was given into the care of the Military Order of the Knights of the Order of the Temple\(^4\) (the Knights Templar --- *Los Templarios*). A relatively arbitrary date of 1231 has become commonly accepted for this occurrence. The government of the settlement at this stage was that of an *Encomienda* or huge feudal estate with a noble master responsible to the Master of the Order who was authorized by the Pope and was in turn responsible to the King and Queen of Castile.

At this stage Caravaca also had authority over the castles of Cehegin and Bullas, until in 1286 the Order lost Bullas to the Moors and was stripped by the King of its authority over any of the territory. The Knights Templar's hasty response to this was to recapture Bullas and with this Caravaca was restored to them in the very same year. They ruled and developed the town --- granted the status of Villa in 1289 --- until the Pope abolished the Order in 1307. The King of Spain confirmed its abolition in 1310, and from 1347 he placed Caravaca and the lands over which it held traditional rights in the hands of the Encomienda of the Military Order of the Knights of Santiago\(^5\).

Until 1492 and the expulsion of the Moors from the entire peninsula Caravaca remained a border citadel and gradually built up its wealth and authority exploiting the countryside and the region, through a great number of
privileges which were granted to it by the kings. By 1458 the fame and importance of the Cross of Caravaca, almost certainly originally derived from propaganda used by the Knights Templar, was already sufficient for the town to be referred to, in a letter preserved from that year in the Municipal Archives as 'villa de la Cruz'. Victor Turner (1974:226) has pointed out Otto von Simson's argument (The Gothic Cathedral, 1962:170) that:

the religious impulse was so all-pervading an element of medieval life that even the entire economic structure depended upon it. Almost static otherwise the economy received from religious customs and experiences the impulse it needed for its growth.

He cites the growth of Chartres, Canterbury, Toledo, and Compostella, all major pilgrimage centres in the period of Gothic architecture, in support of this view.

After 1493 a tithe became payable by Caravaca to the Order of the Knights of Santiago who from this date were made directly responsible to the King, with the ruling monarch taking the title of Grand Master of the Order. The involvement of religion and royalty in its rule, and the success of both, meant that the town could not fail. In the 'padronillo' of the 'Reyes Católicos' in 1495 there were 346 heads of families and four priests in Caravaca. By the next census of which there is a record, the population had increased considerably to 1500 heads of households in 1722 and the significant figure of 50 priests. During this period Caravaca was the capital of a territory of very variable proportions covering between four and ten towns. It was also a constant supplier of knights and soldiers to the wars of Spain, and began the construction of all its most imposing buildings. In 1743 it is noteworthy that a hospital in the town was converted into a theatre, emphasising the importance of theatre in the traditions of the town.

At the end of the century the town suffered during
the war against France. In 1811 it was fortified against the French and subsequently ransacked by them. For several years during the war it had to prove itself to have sufficient resources to garrison a host of troops fighting to liberate Spain from France. In 1820 the country's democratic constitution was confirmed and at that date in many respects the town of Caravaca would have been recognizable as that which can be seen today. The population in 1854 was 6,900, of whom 37 were priests. In the municipality as a whole there were 12,000 or so people. In 1879 the Order of Santiago was finally abolished and the spiritual welfare of the town at last came completely into the province of the established Church.

During the Civil War (1936-39) Caravaca found itself in the Republican zone, but was lucky enough to escape many of the worst excesses of this conflict, although nowhere was left completely unscarred. From the end of the war until the death of Franco in 1975 the country was governed by the one-party National Movement: almost forty years of dictatorship. People became used to a black-market economy and any statistics revealed to the State were almost always a fiction. Not until the nineteen-sixties was a public secondary school opened in Caravaca, although there had been elementary schools even in the countryside since the middle of the last century.

IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

'Archivel, Barranda, Singla y Caneja, Los cuatro lugares de la hambre vieja'.

The words of this anonymous traditional refrain which can be recalled by most people in the municipality, are a reflection of a cruel reality of the not too distant past in the countryside around Caravaca. Even in the town itself, people who lived through the Civil War know that occasionally they came close to starvation.

Nowadays, passing through the municipality the land
looks fertile and productive. Canada de Tarragoya, for example, on the road to the 'typical' medium-sized pedanía of Los Royos, is an irrigated valley, where wheat, apples, barley and almonds are grown on land which once formed a large finca ('estate') of 600 hectares but is now divided equally between nine brothers. Like many farmers with only a smallholding as a result of inheritance, some of these now live in Caravaca and have other jobs —— one, for example, is a postman. All the cereal crops are grown on the outlying plains: barley, oats and wheat, and in the past rye. They are planted between October and January: first wheat, followed by barley and then oats which only has a short cycle. The crops are harvested between the 28th of June and the end of August, and the time in between is taken up with working the rest of the land. Everyday the sheep need attention, however few there may be.

In the past, the farmer worked throughout the winter ---October to March --- from seven until the sun went down. He ate a breakfast of Mígas (page 208) (Photo. 43a) every day before going out to work. He always took a bocadillo ('a giant sandwich or filled bread roll') out to the fields with him to have as his almuerzo ('a lunch-like snack'). Lunch proper or 'la comida' consisted of a small number of variations on the staple of home-grown potatoes, with beans, or garlic or salad. In the evening he filled up with the traditional Olla --- a pork and potato stew whose other constituents varied with the season. The summer timetable showed little variation from this except that the Olla was eaten at midday during the period in which the labourers had to rest from the heat before returning to their work at 5 pm.

Nowadays in winter the day starts later, but by 10.30 am. everyone is at their tasks. Bocadillos contain the same ingredients as they would if eaten by people in the town --- cheese, tunafish, mayonnaise, or ham. A large daytime meal is taken, winter or summer, at about 2 or 2.30 pm. ---although in summer, because of the heat, work can only
be carried out from 7 until 10 in the morning, and is continued from 5 until 11 at night when dinner is consumed. Main meals are much the same as in the town because the timetable is more alike and there is now a shop in the village.

Despite improved access to commercially manufactured food-stuffs people still prefer to live off what they have produced themselves. They keep chickens and rabbits and the ubiquitous pig. The *matanza*, the in-house slaughter of the home-fatted pig, still takes place and is carried out by nearly every family in most of the hamlets. In the past, poverty ensured that such an event was unlikely to have taken place in both November and in February, as it does now. The killing has to take place while the weather is still cold. Most of the meat is salted and hung, and hams are left to cure in the air. These are considered to be best left for a year or even two, so that they are hard ('duro' and not 'blando') and dry ('seco' and not 'dulce'). Beef is almost never eaten, and lamb only bought from time to time. The local shop sells some fish and a fishmonger comes around occasionally. Midday meals generally consist of *cocido* ('a pork casserole') or *potage* ('a vegetable hot-pot'), or perhaps a rice dish such as *Arroz cubano*. In the evenings people are now used to fried and roast meals, and meats with sauces. Bread is still made at home: baking taking place two or three times a fortnight, depending on family needs, in charcoal burning ovens (Photos. 88. ff.).

The mechanization of agriculture (Photos. 77) has meant that the women work less in the fields than they used to: 'they have to leave the house much less'. However, in the poorest areas they can still be seen as an 'invisible' source of labour, uninsured and uncredited. Although they leave the house less to work they have the opportunity to leave the village more often than in the past. These outlying villages were once so isolated that words for everyday objects often differ from pueblo to pueblo. A woman to whom I spoke in Los Royos (Photo. 2b.) had had
seven of her nine children in the village with 'no knowledge at all of what was happening' and only occasionally the assistance of someone else who had had a child. 'And it was like that for all the women', she said. Nowadays women can go to the clinic in Caravaca or the hospital in Murcia. One woman in her thirties had never been to Caravaca until she was seven, and from the age of twelve until her first child she never left the village, not even to go to see a doctor --- 'we were never ill'. Today people seem to visit the doctor, or attend the clinic, with alarming frequency! Transport is a great deal easier. Many people have cars or vans and there is a daily bus service from Los Royos to Caravaca. However, more than half the villages still have no such service and people rely on lifts or a make-shift taxi-service.

If any male wants to stay in the countryside to make his living he understands that he has to choose partners from the same surroundings with the same background: 'because no girl from anywhere else would ever be able to put up with the life-style'. Everyone echoes this, and in the past three or four surnames might be enough to cover the entire population of a village. Now with their cars and more time, and more experience of the 'city' (Caravaca), the boys and young men that are left can go off to dances, and to the fiestas and discotheques in other villages further afield. An increasing variety of surnames can be detected in the latest generations. This is evidence of a widening in the choice of marriage partners.

The Family

In the countryside and in the town there is a fund of common knowledge held by the members of each of the communities. This knowledge derives in the main from the simple circumstances of living as a small, relatively exclusive community over many years. Most of this knowledge is concerned with personal relations.
In the countryside, economic concerns dominate everyday social relations. However, everyone in one of the countryside communities will recognise each of the other members of the same community in some way, whether this be by personal name, family name, nickname or, more likely, by the part they have played in the world of familial relationships —— for example, so and so who is the son or the daughter of such and such who married the one from over there. Through such references and through family ties people will almost certainly have contact with most other local communities, particularly Caravaca.

Already in these few remarks some aspects of the concept of family in the countryside are emerging. Mention of matrimony suggests questions concerning choice of partners and the nature of the resultant nuclear family, and remarks about terms of reference hint at ideas about the extended family. In the countryside the nuclear family consists only, except in rare instances, of the married couple and their unmarried and youngest children. The presence of bachelor or spinster older children is always regarded as a temporary state of affairs. Widowed parents may become part of the family of one of their married children, but usually this only occurs if they are unable to support themselves by their own labours. Today the availability of social security has led to the almost total disappearance of the pre-war custom whereby the widowed parent visited each son or daughter in turn to stay with each family for as long as such an imposition could be tolerated.

As in Pitt-Rivers' Alcalá the people of Caravaca and its countryside 'feel very strongly that every family should possess its own house, and to marry without setting up a separate home is regarded as a make-shift arrangement' (1971:99). Housing is readily available, and nearly always has been in a depopulating countryside and a town where the construction industry and property speculation are important economic concerns.
On marriage, couples set up their own separate independent households. There are, however, no residence rules, although there is an observable and expressed tendency for girls to try to settle near to their mothers when possible. If a couple are unable to afford to set up home, despite what are probably the lowest housing costs in Europe, or if there is no other accommodation immediately available, then housing has to be shared with parents-in-law. Economic viability would always seem to be the overriding factor in any choice made about residence arrangements. A Spanish refrán quoted by Pitt-Rivers (1971:99), 'Cada uno en su casa', 'Each one in his own house', also holds good for Caravaca and any couple sharing a home would be given every encouragement to find one of their own.

There is no regularised marriage pattern, such as parallel cousin marriage, in this area. A tendency for groups of brothers to marry other groups of sisters might be detectable in the countryside but this is no more than the result of courting convenience and a reflection of the relative rarity of opportunities to meet a selection of marriageable partners.

There are few public family obligations within the communities beyond pleasant neighbourliness. The organisation, in a particular community, of any unforseen social activity such as a party or fiesta would, if there were no 'officials' from outside the community involved, spontaneously become the responsibility of an informal friendship group of men or women --- as in Mira's example (1980:120ff.) of the organisation of local bullfights in the neighbouring region of Valencia. In harmony with this lack of organised social participation of the insular, family units in the countryside of Caravaca, there is no evidence of the ritual extension of familial obligation, through the consistent use of the institution of godparenthood for example.

In the countryside as well as in the town families are smaller than they were earlier this century. Recent unpublished statistics from the Town Hall of Caravaca
suggestion that currently families are producing 3.1 children while only two or three generations ago the figures were as high as 5 or 6. The decline of agriculture and the pressures of migration must in part be considered responsible for this decline in the birthrate.

There are three types of familial relations that can sometimes produce conflict, in the countryside. The tendency these days is for children to marry in their early twenties after they have earned some money abroad. The decision of children to leave home in order to marry can often be painful to parents and furthermore often results in a financial burden. Conflict may of course occur where children of relatively well-off parents struggle to set up their own independent households and cannot feel independent while the parents' wealth allows them to maintain a dominating social position.

The most common source of family conflict derives from perceived inequalities of inheritance at the death of a parent. The underlying principle of equality which is present in a society when bilateral inheritance is the rule and has always been so, does ameliorate conflict over inheritance. However, very occasionally, bitterness or even litigation is unavoidable. Problems over inheritance are often the same as, and are solved in the same way as, those outlined by Pitt-Rivers (1971:103-4). Property is often not divided but under agreement is managed by one of the inheritors who, perhaps, gradually buys out the others. At marriage, children receive gifts and in Davis' term (1977) 'paraphernalia'. In this area, settlements are not usually made on children at marriage or otherwise during parents' lifetimes, even if there is anything to pass on. This detail is the same as the situation in other southern Spanish cases, Alcalá (Pitt-Rivers 1971), El Jaral (Luque-Baena 1974), Mecina (Alcalá Zamora 1979).

Migration has helped to provide some of the wealth which most youngsters use to set up their own homes. And if there is not enough land for them in the country, either
inherited or bought, then there are clearly reasons to resort to migration for further employment. In fact, there is now so little land available to the less well-off in the countryside that many youngsters rely for the future on today's improved education, or on learned skills such as those which are necessary in the building trade. Again, these circumstances vary in the town.

In the countryside the whole of a nuclear family is dedicated to their particular tasks in guaranteeing the subsistence of that family. There is a complex sexual division of labour providing variations on the basic pattern of the male usually working in 'lo que sale' ('whatever there is that will bring in money'), the woman doing 'sus labores' ('her tasks') and everyone sharing the specifically subsistence work in whatever way they have become accustomed to. In the villages the family is rarely seen together in public, unless it be at a fiesta --- and on such occasions no pattern of behaviour is ever as it usually is at other times.

The world of work, 'outside', is the world of men and the home is the place of women. Men do not stay in the house even when they ostensibly have no work to do. But it is only in the larger villages or in the town that social obligations, which nearly always consist of talking and drinking with friends in a bar, will regularly keep a man from eating with his family in the evening. Even being together at lunch or at dinner cannot be absolutely guaranteed if work demands that it should be otherwise.

The domestic economy is the sole responsibility of the female and the male will overtly have nothing to do with it. (Domestic circumstances at least, even if not the ideas about them, are a little different in the town of Caravaca itself). All familial responsibilities are the subject of everyday conversation within villages and this contributes to give the impression of the importance of the family, but in fact there is little other subject matter for conversation available.
Any discussion of family life takes place under the rubric that the husband ought always to be seen to have authority. Spain is still entirely and unavoidably a male-dominated society, and families rarely dissolve. After all, divorce has only just been legalised, (1982).

Up to the present day the only 'family presence' in the countryside has been that of a few named 'ricos'. These were the small number of major landlords whose activities were conspicuous because they affected everyone else. This structure of rich and poor in the countryside, and absence of a middle group until the last few decades, in which have been seen the rapid rise of the pedantas plus the equally destructive forces of emigration, may explain the lack of public institutions or other social structures deriving from the family. But to pursue these themes is not the immediate subject matter of this thesis, and in the town it will be seen that the emphasis and historical circumstances concerning the family are different.

Details not found in this short section are described in the corresponding section on the family in the town (p. 70).

Shepherd ing

The life of a professional shepherd is different from that of other members of the countryside communities, even though they too may keep some sheep (Photo. 78b). Un pastor lives even closer to the sights and sounds and effects of nature than any other country-dweller (the film 'Padre, Padrone' provides a better understanding of this way of life than any description could). In Spring, between 7.30 and 8.00 am. the shepherd lets the sheep out to begin
eating. At 11 am. they settle down to sleep and if they are near the house they are put back in the corral or at least kept in the shade. During this time the shepherd has to prepare food and look after the young and new born. At 4 or 5 pm. in the afternoon the sheep are let out to eat again, until they are brought in for the night or gathered together to sleep at about 8 or 8.30 pm. The exact timetable depends on the weather. By July it is so hot that the sheep have to eat between 6 and 9 in the morning and they and the shepherd spend the day sleeping, until 6 or 7 in the evening, when they eat again until 10 or later. The Autumn is much like the Spring. In the winter the shepherd and his flocks are on the move the whole day long from 9 in the morning until 5 in the evening. The shepherd eats on the march, and can sleep the rest of the time. The shepherd always has to spend his time in the worst places. He is always where other people are not --- with only his trained dogs for company. When he has a day free, every 15 or 20 days, it is time to 'ir de muda' ('go and change'), to change his clothes --- the same phrase is used of any change in his world. These days a good shepherd can earn 700-800,000 pesetas a year. He also has a flock of sheep of his own which he looks after with those of his master. His own sheep are, of course, looked after the best. If he has to hit one of the sheep it is always one of the señorito's and this will serve to move his own along too. He will often count into his flock those sheep belonging to the señorito which look like his own. He will also swap one of his own sheep for one of the others which he likes better. The señorito realizes this is happening but he has to tolerate it because, 'si me queda sin pastor en abril estoy jodido' ('if I am left without a shepherd in April I am fucked'). Today due to the style of the life there is a shortage of shepherds, and only those landowners who provide the best conditions will get the best shepherds. The situation was very different only fifty or sixty years ago as is illustrated by the comprehensive records and accounts
which were kept for over thirty years in the first decades of this century by the new owner of a finca in Los Royos (Appendix). In these records this meticulous man kept a record of every fraction of a peseta that he paid out on whatever occasion. This covered everything from matches and alpargatas for the shepherd, to money for his day off, and the place-settings for his daughter's wedding, or the purchase of a new field.

Over recent years people have accused shepherds of deliberately setting light to stretches of private woodland. These devastating fires have caused huge financial losses. The shepherds are blamed because it is considered that their interests clash with those of the big landlords who are planting more and more of their mountain pastures with forests. This may or may not be true but it is easily believed since people feel it to be an understandable example of something being done as a result of malaleche. Malaleche is a concept which has not been dealt with before in the anthropological literature on Spain. A literal translation of this word means 'bad milk'. In Spanish leche is universally used to stand for semen'. Overall this concept is used to mean something in the range of ideas between 'spite' and the sort of sheer devilment that everyone is felt to be capable of. Shepherds are considered capable of acting out of malaleche.

Economic structures and social problems

Many of the farmer's problems derive from the system of landholding. The irregular distribution of territory has already been demonstrated in the Introduction, and even the system of tenure militates against the smallest proprietors. Many of the tenant farmers rent their smallholdings by the system of aparcería ('share-cropping'). This system can operate to variously proportioned shares --- whereby perhaps a fifth, a quarter, a third or even half of the production has to be given to the owner. In a surprising number of cases in this municipality the agreement is at half shares, which is ruinous for the labourer
who is working the land. The measurement of land is still
done locally in *fanegas* not in hectares, and is completely
relative. That is 1 *fanega* in unirrigated land anywhere
in the municipality equals two thirds of a hectare; 1 *fanega*
in the irrigated *huerta* of Caravaca is worth one sixth of a
hectare; and in the neighbouring municipality of Cehegín
a *fanega* is worth a fifth of a hectare. This form of
measurement derives from the quantity of cereal that the
land can produce --- 34 kilos of barley, 40 kilos of wheat
or 30 kilos of oats per *fanega*.

The oppressive landholding conditions remain from
times well within living memory in which some landlords
owned so much territory that they held whole villages in
a bond of peonage. The village of La Encarnación for
example (Photos. 8ff. ) was considered the property of a
landowner who earned himself the nickname of 'El Animal'
for the way in which he used all the women on 'his estate'.

This was an epoch in which patronage operated on a
much larger scale than it does today.

In the time when Pitt-Rivers did research, the
Andalusian towns and villages were crowded,
everything was scarce, and the landless were
dependent on the charity provided by the Church
and the elite. In such a situation patronage
could thrive better than fifteen years later,
when alternative employment opportunities became
available for the propertyless; while many
emigrated, the leverage of the labourers who
stayed on their employers increased (Dreissen, 1981:453).

Today there are only 1500 'jornaleros' ('day-labourers')
in this municipality out of a population of 20,000 and
even some of these work their own land or have some other
sources of income. Patronage has been, in the words of
Arnhold (1981) one of the 'sacred cows' of Iberian ethnology.
It is often claimed that it strengthens communal solidarity;
the work of Frigole, which has already been mentioned,
(page 12) shows that this is not always the case and that
in this part of Murcia the institution of *patronazgo*
has never flourished, and is regarded with disfavour.

Foster (1953), Pitt-Rivers (1954), Kenny (1960,1963), anld...
Barrett (1974), all thought of patronage as a widespread phenomenon in Spain. By patronage they meant an 'institutionalised' informal system whereby the poor gained 'sponsorship', financial or otherwise for themselves, their children and families from people in positions of privilege or power. Under the dictatorship the national authority structure had an overwhelming influence on the homogeneity of social forms, but as more ethnographic evidence is gathered it is becoming apparent that patronage means different things, in different places at different times.

The 'problem' of patronage has already been dealt with by Gilmore (1980) and Martinez-Alier (1971) but the persistence of the idea of patronage as an explanatory model in the minds of anthropologists concerned with Spain suggests that too many synchronic analyses have led to unwarranted emphasis being placed on social features which are only prominent at a particular time under certain conditions. Use of a diachronic perspective ensures that social structures prominent only relatively temporarily are not mistaken for archetypes and are shown to be merely aspects of more comprehensive social processes.

The local idea of caciquismo in the Caravaca area, while not a dominant social form is a type of behaviour related to patronage which is still detectable in some aspects of the administration of the municipality. In each village the alcalde pedanéo with his deputy is the sole administration. He is uniquely responsible to the Town Hall of Caravaca. In order to be chosen by the Town Hall in the first place he has to be a well-known and respected member of the community, and once in the post it is part of the task to maintain such a position. In Navares, for example, the pedáneo is one of the wealthiest members of the community, owns three shops and 'has his finger in every pie'. He took positive pleasure in having his photograph taken by the anthropologist. In 1981, a State development authority offered 300,000 pesetas to have a 'salón parroquial' ('a clubhouse') built in the village.
The authorisation for this piece of 'progress' was in the hands of the pedáneo and he refused the idea of the building. He said: 'Well, I have to live here. You understand?'

There is already a private discotheque in the bar with coloured lights and a record-player, charging for providing the same facilities which a salón would provide free. 'Anyway, people enjoy themselves more outside the pueblo than in it', he said.

The physical structure of this village, like many of the others, has had its traditional homogeneity --- which provided it with a quality seen by outsiders as 'picturesqueness' (Photo. 10a) --- destroyed by what can only be described as a 'mock urbanism'. This is often created by modifications and developments to the traditional style of small house (Appendix p. 305) which betray the influence of models and patterns seen in towns and on television (which is present in at least 40% of the homes in the countryside).

In most of the villages at least the main street has now been asphalted. This adds to the contradictory impression given by the sharply contrasting juxtaposition of fresh concrete and rotting mortar, or corrugated perspex and terracotta tile (Photo. 35a.).

When I requested one of the teachers at the Secondary school in Caravaca to ask her pupils to write an essay on, among other titles, 'The town and the country' a fourteen year-old girl from one of the villages produced a comprehensive resume of life in her birthplace which is also a representative reflection of the feelings of many of the school-age children in the disseminated population of the municipality. She writes:

_En el mundo en que vivimos podemos encontrar infinidad de pueblos, entre ellos, como una pequeña mota de polvo se encuentra el pueblo donde yo vivo. Es pequeño, pero muy bonito y acogedor, se llama Almudena. Es tan pequeño que mejor que pueblo lo debería llamar aldea. Esté rodeado por todos sus límites de campos, que nos ponen un contacto continuo con la naturaleza. El trabajo principal de mi pueblo es la agricultura y también la ganadería. Casi toda la gente tiene alguna huerta donde se esfuerza por extraer los productos que necesita para su familia, y otros se dedican a sembrar..._
cantidades de algún producto agrícola para después venderlo y así poder vivir de este trabajo.

Pero hay algunas personas que no tienen trabajo o que con la agricultura no les alcanza para vivir y tienen que emigrar a países extranjeros.

Hay años en que las heladas lo arrasan todo, y los agricultores no han sacado ningún beneficio del esfuerzo que han hecho anteriormente; por ello no es muy rentable el trabajando en la tierra. Los jóvenes en vez de quedarse trabajando en el campo como sus padres y abuelos, unos cursan estudios, y otros se van a trabajar a otros sitios donde no se corren los riesgos que en el campo, sino que tienen un trabajo fijo, y no les importa que llegue una helada. Por ello en algunos sitios la agricultura va desapareciendo; aunque es la base principal de la vida.

Sin embargo también hay ventajas de vivir en un pueblo pequeño a vivir en la ciudad, pues en el pueblo se lleva una vida más pacífica y sosegada, sin alborotos, ni violencias.

Cerca de mi pueblo hay algunas casas, llamadas cortijos, que están en medio del campo, donde se lleva una vida más pura y sana, y se está en contacto con los fenómenos naturales que Dios ha puesto a nuestro alcance para que hagamos un buen uso de ellos.

(In the world in which we live we can find an infinite number of pueblos, among them, like a little speck of dust, is the pueblo in which I live. It is tiny, but very pretty and protective, it is called Almudema. It is so small that rather than pueblo it would be better to call it a hamlet. It is surrounded by fields on every side, putting us in constant contact with nature.

The principal occupation in my pueblo is agriculture and animal husbandry. Almost everyone has some sort of plot where they strain to extract the products which they need for the family, and others apply themselves to planting large quantities of some agricultural product to sell it afterwards and in that way to live off this work.

But there are some people who do not have work or who cannot get enough from agriculture to live and they have to emigrate to foreign countries.

There are years in which the frosts destroy everything and the farmers have not received any benefit from the effort that they have previously expended; for this reason farming does not pay. The young instead of staying and working in the countryside like their fathers and grandfathers; some study, and others go to work in other places where they do not run the same risks as in the countryside, given that they have a fixed salary, and it does not matter to them if the frost comes. For this reason in some places agriculture is disappearing, even though it is the main basis of existence.

Nevertheless there are also advantages to living in a small pueblo over living in a city, because in the pueblo life is more peaceful and homelike without turmoil or violence.
Near my pueblo there are some houses called *cortijos* which are in the middle of the countryside, where life is even more pure and healthy, and one can be in contact with the natural phenomena which God has put within our reach so that we may make good use of them.

The ambitions of the young, for whom it is very easy to feel like this, constantly take them away from the agricultural way of life and the subsistence economy; even if the economic realities of the cost of education force them to remain there and lead to problem-raising frustrations. Over 30% of 14–20 year olds in the countryside have some experience of migrant working. Much of this movement is towards the tourist centres of Palma de Mallorca and Benidorm, etc. and the industrial area of Barcelona. Chances of finding employment in industry outside Spain, are currently declining rapidly.

Emigration rates differ according to the particular circumstances in different parts of the municipality and migration is a process which relies on rumour and personal connections for its realization. Someone will just arrive in an area with the news that there are so many jobs in such and such a place, and a group of men may arrange to go together by bus, train or special taxi-service. (See Appendix for my experience of this means of leaving and entering Caravaca). A study is in progress of migration from this area of Murcia to Barcelona. There are several sociological studies of the problems of migration in Spain, see Gregory (1975), Brandes (1977), Bel Adell (1980). Gradually all the members of entire families may leave to make new lives elsewhere. Villages can all too quickly become deserted: there is plenty of evidence for this in the neighbouring province of Andalusia, and already the *cortijos* and the hamlets surrounding some of the larger *pedanías* are falling into ruins. As a result of emigrations, some towns, like Moratalla, can model their economies around a known level of annual income, and an annual exodus of people. On the other hand, vast improvements can be made in living standards at home from the money sent from abroad.
Some women do show signs of missing their husbands and children, if they too are away from home. Large houses echo. Other women succeed in modifying their lives to prolonged absence, in a variety of ways. Some women and girls even participate in emigration to carry out fruit picking in other parts of the province and in neighbouring zones. Another means of obtaining employment and extra income for those living in the countryside is through participation in schemes of 'partwork'. For example, vans bring sacks of sheets for sewing up as hospital linen. In other cases representatives from eiderdown manufacturers regularly pass through the villages to deliver and collect.

Life in villages then, is very different from that in the town with which these villages have a special relationship of dependence. Village life still has its own pattern, even though villagers' previously slow-to-change mode of existence has been rudely affected by a new awareness of an outside world. Depopulation of the countryside is a serious threat, but migration is no longer making an appreciable dent in the slow growth of the municipality's population, because many of the migrants who do return come back to live in the town of Caravaca itself.

IN THE TOWN

'Sí fío, aventuro lo que es mío
si doy, pierdo la venta de hoy
y si presto, al cobrarme ponen mal gesto,
por eso, ni fío, ni doy, ni presto.'

'If I trust, I hazard what is mine,
if I give, I lose today's sale
and if I lend, when I ask to be repaid people think ill,
so, I neither trust, nor give nor lend.'

This is an old refrán, only rarely heard in Caravaca today, but it expresses a 'closed' ('cerrado') attitude, more common in the days of dictatorial repression. It belies the welcoming and generous face which this town displays to strangers. In 1981 a group of seven sophisticated
American teenage girls came to Caravaca de la Cruz to stay for four weeks with local families as an 'experiment in living in another culture'. It was pure chance that they should have come to Caravaca since the main group remained in the capital city of Murcia, but there was not room there for everyone, and the organizer had to contact a friend on the Council in Caravaca to ask his assistance, and space was eventually found. Their presence posed some interesting questions for the town — it was feared that the girls could easily become the subjects of undue attention by 'scalp-hunting youths', but on the whole the girls were looked after by the fathers of their host families with the same care and social restrictions which they would expect to impose upon their own daughters. At my request the girls left a brief record of their impressions of the town, with the local organizer of the project. Their words show how Caravaquenians are capable of treating outsiders; if they are guests, and not invaders.

'I am really amazed at their friendliness. I have never encountered anything like that in the U.S.'.

'In general, Caravaca's people seem like very good people to me. Most of them were very warm, helpful and friendly upon meeting, which is something unusual in other places'.

Some of the impressions also reflected another side of Caravaca.

'The old seem very much wrapped up in the traditions and formalities of religion and behaviour. The young take them as a matter of course, as a natural part of life without paying much attention to the significance. They are surprised to learn that such things are very different elsewhere. They follow traditions for their own sake, not because they believe it is the best way or because they are particularly religious'.

During Easter in the same year, four young, adventurous, British tourists who had strayed well 'off the beaten track', (a dentist, an accountant, a scaffolding saleswoman, and a student psychologist) were picked up by the writer
while they were watching a *Semana Santa* procession in complete bewilderment. Later that night in a bar where I ordered them some much needed food, the attitude of the Caravaquenians had a far-reaching significance. A man whom I later came to know from the other side of the counter in a high street shop, and an important figure in the administration of the *Caballos del Vino* provided a perfect example of typical Caravaquenian behaviour towards outsiders. When the bill came he politely asked if he could see it: 'because he would not like to think that any stranger in the town would ever be charged more than any Caravaquenian', and he was going to take it on himself to complain to the barman should he have displayed an ungenerous nature (knowing full well that he would not have). In many another Spanish town, as I know to my cost, strangers would quickly have been over-charged.

Long-term residence in the town produces a more considered opinion of the behaviour of members of the community.

*Ciego que habrán unos 20.000 habitantes pero te sientes como si solamente fuesen 4.000 ó bastantes menos, por la tranquilidad que te ofrece este pueblo.*

('I think that there are some 20,000 inhabitants but you feel as if there were only 4,000 or even less, because the town's so quiet').

This remark is taken from another of the essays by the children at the Secondary School. Caravaca undoubtedly has a 'small-town atmosphere' despite being a city. It is an intimate face-to-face community where first names and nicknames matter, and it is this quality which I describe as 'provincial'.

**Naming and belonging**

A feature of personal identity in Spain which has always received a great deal of attention in the literature is that of nicknames. Nicknames represent relatively visible sets of social boundaries and perhaps this and their folkloric quality goes some way towards explaining the interest in them. Their origins are often very illogical
and beyond living memory, and their use does not seem to be dying out as quickly as most commentators have suggested (Brand, 1975).

In Caravaca from any individual it is possible to record between two hundred and five hundred nicknames many of which will be family nicknames and apply to more than one person.

The following is an example of present day usage from a fiesta: the circumstance in which nicknames are most frequently heard. It is an extract from a locally published interview entitled: 'Un nombre que es historia en los Caballos' ('a name which is legendary in the Horses [of the Wine]'). It is an interview with 'Arturo' (a nickname) and he is asked:

Who were your greatest enemies in those days?

He answers:

Well, they were, 'Tony Prawn', 'Catalan sausage', 'Tomato' and 'Joe the room' together with 'those from the Pit'.

Nicknames are often considered more 'real' than any church registered designation. This is not to say that Christian names have no value. Inside all of their social groups the people of Caravaca have personal identities, some imposed and some carefully fostered. Not everyone has a nickname. Pitt-Rivers says:

The Christian name..., in opposition to the surname, defines the individual within the family, defines him in relation to God, links him with a saint, and through the saint with tocajos who may be anything else, but not his siblings, and in many a man's personal, in-group, 'gemeinschaft' self in contrast to his legal, exterior, 'gesellschaft' self represented by his surnames (1977:62).

Kin identity to, which ties in with place, name, and reputation, is also significant. In personal social relations probably the most important question of all, and one which is constantly asked in new situations is: 'Whose child are you?' or 'Who's your father?'.

A linguistic identity too helps identify the Caravaquenian to his fellow townspeople and to the outside world. Local pronunciation of the Castilian language is
often more akin to that of Andalusians rather than to that of Murcians in general. Final and medial s is generally elided. A dictionary of Murcian words and phrases has been published recently, and some of them are also common parlance in Caravaca: for example, *cria* short for *criatura* ('creature') used like the English word kid for child), *zagales* ('children'), *lejas* ('shelves') —— the common Castilian usage is *estantería*. In Caravaca there are even more specifically local usages, such as *Bufes*! (an exclamation) or *rampa* instead of *calambre* for 'cramp'. The most distinctive local linguistic characteristic is the use of the word 'pijo' (in usual Castilian usage this is a crude reference to male genitalia, but as it is used locally it becomes assertively Caravaquenian and is an inoffensive exclamation). In addition to such relatively stable characteristics local language is full of temporary 'slang' words: words that are 'in'. Thus some time ago *jamona* ('ham-like') used to be used of girls in Caravaca to mean sexually attractive.

The life of a pueblo is also made up of what people know about each other. 'So and so is really the son of such and such!' 'They came in from the countryside so what can you expect!' Important information includes not just what people used to be like but also previous knowledge of places. 'The chocolate factory used to be there'. Gossiping is the means by which this encyclopaedia of information is compiled and consulted. The following piece of gossip heard in June 1981 allows the reader to participate in this system:

The daughter of one of the major café owners was engaged to be married to one of the waiters there who had just opened a café of his own, and they were planning their flat. One evening she came to their flat to find him there in bed with the wife of a bank clerk who also had a partnership in a factory and was a well-known womanizer with the factory girls, and it was said that his wife was (rather blatantly) trying to get her own back. The café owner's daughter apparently went absolutely berserk, screaming and
shouting and bringing the whole thing to public notice. She cried, 'Fire, fire', and brought the neighbours running. The bank clerk's wife was thrown out of her home by her husband and her marriage was probably at an end. However, the marriage arrangements of the other couple eventually continued with little change.

It was clear that adultery was acceptable in the case of the male and unacceptable if committed openly by the female. These values were reflected and reinforced in the public discourse that gossip provided.

To be able to gossip, a person has to know the actors involved. To be allowed to gossip, a person has to be an accepted member of the community. As Ardener (1971) and Chapman (1978) have both shown, a number of writers have dealt with the 'function' of gossip; see Colson (1953), Frankenberg (1957), Gluckman (1963), Campbell (1964), Peristiany (1965), Loizos (1965), Paine (1967), Parman (1972). Gossip has been seen as aiding self-definition, as a means of group definition, as a constructive or a destructive social sanction, as a means of 'maximizing information gain', and as part of a system of social competition. There is evidence for a variety of situations and societies which supports all of these interpretations and undoubtedly gossip reflects structures of intimate personal relations. In Caravaca even I was both the subject of and party to much gossip. Gossip is a community-specific, universal, social discourse which reinforces the accepted social reality if its subject matter in line with the belief that 'if it's public it must be true'. Gossip is discussed in all the informal tertulias that fill the bars, supermarkets and street-corners of the town.

Activities and associations

All the different means of group association which writers have found to be dominant in other parts of Spain, cuadrillas (Lisón 1966), formal tertulias (Kenny 1961), neighbourhood associations (Bier 1980), and age-sets based on Quinta values (Christian 1973, Aguilera 1978), (deriving from time spent together in the same year's draft into
National Service — 'La Mili') are completely superseded in Caravaca by the groups which are formed to participate in The Fiestas — Las Peñas (see p.182). In addition, tertulias are a common, though undesignated, institution in Caravaca. These totally informal meetings of friends seem to be based on genuine companionship. Pitt-Rivers (1954) isolated friendship structures as an important feature of Spanish existence but in Caravaca there is not a system of friendship which is based on publicly recognized, firm reciprocal obligations. Generational grouping is still of some significance over and above this as are such 'cross-cutting' factors as university friendships or workplace camaraderie. 'The Mili' is more significant in associational terms in the countryside than in the town where education and economic development serve as discriminating factors. Furthermore, the 'Mili' is becoming a less significant part of the life-cycle of the Spanish male. The cost to the Government of maintaining this 'National Service' is very high, and more and more people are being excused their obligation on the slightest pretext. Others are choosing to do it after they have graduated from college or university and have already moved away from home, so their absence from the community or from their families is much less significant. As an additional moneysaver the Government is regularly cutting the length of time servicemen have to serve.

The way of life that was established in Caravaca in the nineteen-twenties was substantially similar to that of the older people in the town today. Male life revolved around the Clubs. The most important club, the Circulo Mercantil, derived from the aggregation of parts of the organization of the dominant Alpargata Industry. Although today it has largely fallen out of use, it is still part of the life of all of the people who work in the Town Hall which it is opposite. It is known as 'the casino' and is felt to be the 'stronghold' of the 'declining generation'. Ironically there is another site in Caravaca which is also popularly known as 'the casino'. This is a small room below the
'Casa del Pueblo' --- the virtually unused socialist headquarters --- it is filled with pool-tables, pinball and space-invader machines, and is frequented almost exclusively by children and teenagers.

In the nineteen-twenties there was a strong anti-class-conflict and anti-class-differentiation atmosphere in the town. In part, this was a result of the small size of the industries, their artisan nature, and the craft guild tradition. The creative/liberal attitude of the few wealthy, educated 'bosses' was also important. Several 'cultural' newspapers existed. The major focus of attention, however, was even then provided by the Cross and the Fiestas.

Today, newspapers still have the dubious status of 'culture' and are read by very few people --- only about three hundred copies are sold daily between the three newsagents --- although 'papers are passed around' and copies of the local 'dailies' are available in the Círculo Mercantil and most of the bars. The fact that the national Press does not arrive in the town until the day after publication may contribute to the oft-quoted refrán:

*El tío capullito vendió periódicos periódicos grandes para armarios y cajones.*

('The silly old man sold newspapers big newspapers for cupboards and drawers'.)

People have to make their own news, and this contributes to the process of myth-creation (see p.170), which is such an integral part of the life of the town and of the reproduction of any society. 'Is it true that Juan Manuel has had an article printed in the newspaper which says that Christ died a sin vergüenza?','17.

The Annual Cycle

While daily life in Caravaca can seem monotonous even to the inhabitants, variety is one of the chief characteristics which distinguishes life in the town from existence in the countryside. It is therefore difficult to generalize about timetables in the life of people in the town. Rather it is more accurate to speak of epochs or seasons which
can be perceived in the town during a year. The Caravaquenian year runs from one annual Fiesta to the next, but it has a rhythm which nevertheless takes account of the seasons.

Of the four seasons, the Autumn is commercially busy but monotonous. The weather becomes progressively worse, and there is a general feeling that life is dull. The Christmas holiday period provides a very welcome opportunity to spend money and to celebrate. The bars do good business. The low period of the whole year comes at the end of the winter when few people venture out at night; the bars have learnt from long years of experience that this lean time simply has to be suffered, and that with the approach of Spring people will begin in earnest to spend the money they have been saving for the Fiesta preparations. There was a time when Spring began with Carnival. Everyone hid their identities and paraded the streets in bizarre costumes. The Franco regime, however, outlawed this festival, and it is only just beginning to be revived. In 1981 enough people took part in Carnival to fill a discoteque and to break the monotony for one evening (Photo.129).

From February through March and April the bars are packed after lunch and in the evenings, and every weekend people spend thousands of pesetas attending Presentation Dances (p. 192). There is a buzz of expectancy in the air, which harmonizes with the sounds of the drums and trumpeters of a young people's band which practises in the streets late at night, every evening from the end of February until The Fiestas, and is a true marker of the época, (a time period with a distinctive character). May is the época of the Patronal Fiestas, the culmination of the whole year.

June is the period of the apricot harvest: a fortnight of hard physical labour, and overtime for everyone in the processing plants. The rest of the Spring and early Summer, even after the exhausting activities of the Fiesta week, is still a time of bustle and excitement as the planning and organization of the following year are begun before changes to daily routine arrive. These are brought by the
Summer timetable. The heat can become unbearable. Everything begins to run down to half-speed or less. This is not just anti-climax but a new monotony, which is only broken by a holiday feeling, and the occurrence of a sprinkling of fiestas throughout the surrounding district at the end of August and all through September.

For the whole of August everything about the town seems unfamiliar because so many of the faces are different. Many families who have long since left their home town to live and work in other parts of Spain --- frequently Barcelona --- return to spend the summer in Caravaca with their relations. The occasional more adventurous tourist can also be spotted passing through. Each year and especially in Jubilee year, there are coachloads of pilgrims from organizations all over Spain.

The schoolchildren recount how the Summer seems to them, as follows:

El verano aquí es muy largo. Las clases terminan en Mayo y empiezan en Octubre. Hace mucho calor. La gente usa poca ropa, solo una camisa fina. Nosotros no levantamos tarde. Vamos a la piscina casi todos los días. También jugamos al ténis, fútbol, baloncest, etc. Después de comer es cuando hace más calor y mucha gente se echa la siesta, que es dormir un poco después de comer. Cuando el sol se oculta vamos a pasear a un sitio llamado 'Camino del Huerto'. Es un paseo ancho y largo, con árboles a los lados y un pequeño río. Nos sentamos a veces en un bar al aire. La gente amenuado está en la calle hasta la una porque hace más fresco que en las casas. Comemos muchos helados. Hay muchas excursiones a la montaña. Los sábados por la noche vamos al baile que se hace en un parque. Va mucha gente y nos divirtimos mucho. Cada noche actúa un grupo musical distinto y bailamos hasta la tres o las cuatro de la madrugada.

(The summer here is very long. Classes finish in May and begin in October. It's very hot. The people use very little clothing only thin shirts. We get up very late. We go to the swimming pool almost every day. We also play tennis, football, basketball etc. After lunch it is hottest and many people take a siesta, that is, sleep a little after eating. When the sun begins to hide we stroll in a place called 'the garden track'. It's a wide long avenue with trees at both sides and a little river. Sometimes we sit at a bar in the open air. The people are frequently in the street until one o'clock in the morning, because it's cooler there than in their houses. We eat a lot of ice-cream.
And there are a lot of trips to the mountains. Saturday nights we go to the dance which is held in a park [actually the Sports' Club]. Many people go and we have great fun. Every night a different musical group performs and we dance until three or four in the morning.)

During the rest of the year the daily timetable differs for males and females, although for both it is dominated by time spent under the public gaze. Breakfast for most people is rarely heavy; often it is the milk and biscuits of childhood. Many men will just have a coffee in the bar, and these establishments are packed at this time of day. Some women may breakfast more heavily on their own after their families have gone out, or they may have chocolate and churros in the marketplace while shopping or at work. Almost without exception everyone returns to the family home for lunch --- the main meal of the day. The lunch break usually lasts at least two hours and if not followed by a sleep as such, is always followed by a siesta or rest. Many men quietly slip out of their houses to have a coñac and a coffee and a quiet chat or an animated gabble as they sit back to digest their food.

The afternoon period of work finishes between six and seven o'clock and will often be followed by another visit to the bar to relax before returning home for dinner, which is eaten any time between 8 and 10pm. The man of the house and sometimes the sons, occasionally the daughters, and from time to time the matrimonial couple, will go out to the street to walk or to a bar for coffee or a longer drink after dinner.

A normal weekend begins on Friday night and if there is no event associated with The Fiestas, or no preparations to be undertaken related to them, then large numbers of people of all ages will be found in the bars, the three discoteques, at the Bingo or in the cinema( in that order of popularity). Saturday has no set routine except for the Verbenas or popular open-air dances held in one or other of the two 'private' Sports Clubs, to which people seldom go before 9pm. in the summer, and at which even young children may still be dancing at 2 o'clock in the morning.
On Sunday while at least one member of any family group attends Mass either in the morning or more popularly, the evening, the rest of the family will be more concerned with their appearance in the paseo. This is the Sunday, pre-prandial stroll up and down either side of the Gran Via and probably up and down again. People dress in comfortable, Sunday best. The whole act has assumed the characteristics and frequency of ritual. People greet one another politely and stand to chat with family and friends, young girls giggle and teenage boys stare and scoff. Then, everyone packs the bars for a beer before lunch.

Outside the town on a Sunday afternoon the weekly livestock market takes place. Sheep and goats, some pigs and the occasional cow now crowd the old pens where once horses were the most important beast. On Monday the weekly food and goods market takes place in streets which cross the Gran Via at right angles. This market fills nine long streets including the Glorieta with stalls which sell everything from toilet paper to turnips and woollen blankets to cassette players. These streets are crushing throngs of people from half-past eight in the morning to midday. Stall-holders begin to arrive at five o'clock in the morning and deliver goods to and buy from the wholesalers. Fruit and vegetables have their seasons but all the same wares are available in the market every week of the year. This in no way deters the shoppers or fascinated bystanders, the majority of whom have come in from the surrounding towns and villages. The traffic 'system' is clogged with cars, trucks and dust-covered motorcycles. The bars are full of countryfolk catching up with family news and for the banks it is the busiest day of the week. Everyone of them is packed with ruddy faced gentlemen, wearing hats and crumpled brown or black suits, taking money out or keeping a check on their savings. As much as providing a service to the area the market, with its scattering of gypsies and garrulous and flamboyant stall-holders, provides a source of entertainment in the area.
The Family

The cautionary remark that, 'the complex nature of our own individual experiences of "family" will cause everyone to view material related to this concept in different ways', has been made by Lisón Tolosana (1976:37) whose own studies have covered many of the variations in family structure in the north of Spain. The south of the country is more homogeneous with respect to legal and social institutions in general (Freeman, 1973) and reference in studying the family is better made to the work of Luque Baena (1974).

Indeed the family can even be regarded in completely different ways within the context of the experience of a single member of an actual community. In Caravaca a man may speak of his family and mean the family he has joined --- the parents and children of his wife, or he may well refer to his own parents and siblings as family. He may even refer to a very considerable number of persons in the town as relations of his. However, he will consider his only 'real' family to be his own wife and children. This is the way in which the concept of the nuclear family is limited locally. Furthermore, the law in Spain regards the family formed by a marriage as a single unit with, in many aspects, a single legal personality.

Kinship in Spain does not play the dominant role that it can in many of the well-studied African societies but the place of the family in the society is nevertheless important. In the town of Caravaca information about ideas of the family does not dominate the social life of the community but it does form a common foundation for the construction of the distinctive social reality that is the Caravaquenian worldview. Hence the inclusion here of this basic, 'background' information.

The Spanish system of family naming serves well as an introduction to the three genealogies which have been drawn up to show certain commonly occurring aspects of 'the family' in relation to public and private everyday life.
At marriage a young woman adds her husband's patronym to her own names. If his name is, for example, Pedro Lopez Carrasco, as in Genealogy 1, and hers is Carmen Sanchez Robles, then she becomes Señora de Sanchez Robles de Lopez, or (her official form of address) Señora Doña Carmen Sanchez Robles de Lopez. People will continue to call her Carmen Sanchez, however. Or, more likely, she is already known more commonly as 'the daughter of Paco Sanchez'.

The dual surnames that people possess are composed of the patronym of the paternal and maternal grandfathers. In the same way the children of the above marriage are called Lopez Sanchez. In this complicated way it will also be seen on the genealogies that it is easy for many people to bear the surname Lopez Sanchez, for example, without being directly related. In the instance of this Lopez-Sanchez marriage their first son was given the not untypical Christian name Alfonso de la Cruz del Santísimo Cristo de los voluntarios. As is common Alfonso has been named after one of the Catholic Holy Week images of Caravaca --- probably one with which his father has a special association. The Alfonso part of his Christian name in this instance comes from the name of his father's father, Alfonso Lopez Navarro — the eldest son of whom is also called Alfonso, as is that son's eldest son, Alfonso Lopez Alvarez. Pedro Lopez Carrasco, Alfonso de la Cruz's father, also has a son who is named Pedro after himself. Alfonso de la Cruz also has female cousins who are named after their maternal grandmother, Esperanza. There are traditions in this area as in many others of naming children after their paternal or, occasionally, maternal grandparents, and of naming children after their parents. These traditions are being adhered to less and less, as some other parts of the genealogies show. However, following this pattern of naming tradition is still regarded as one of the options to be considered when naming a child. Furthermore, it is still rare, and something which is always found worthy of remark by local people, that a child should receive a name which is other than biblical in origin.
One of the main features of the genealogies is the way that they exemplify the fact that a very large number of Caravaquenian families are at least distantly related to one another. On all three there are characters who appear on one or both of the other genealogies. These individuals are underlined in red.

However, extensive and weak kinship connections, those beyond the parents and grandchildren of a nuclear family, are only rarely called on for aid or assistance. They are infrequently recognised publicly — otherwise 'everyone would have far too many relations'. But as can be seen by the lateral extent of the genealogies recorded people 'just know that they are related to a large number of other Caravaquenians'.

There is no tradition of house to house visiting in Caravaca. If families or friends meet, except in the case of the very closest relationships, they meet in the street or in the many bars in the town. Occasionally families do visit their closest relations if these have remained in the countryside — parents, brothers and sisters.

One of the differences between family relations in the town when compared with those in the countryside is that in the town in-laws are more frequently called upon for financial assistance or more especially for help in finding work. In the genealogies this is reflected in the number of close relations who are working together, for example in banks.

Between them these genealogies cover at least four hundred and fifty residents of Caravaca. Information is included on the place of origin of particular families or of marriage partners. There are many families in Caravaca of several generations standing and there are few places of origin beyond the neighbouring towns.

In Genealogy 3 the first influx, over one hundred and fifty years ago was made by innkeepers. The subsequent fortunes of these families are also indicated in examples of the occupations of some of their members. Genealogy 2 shows the relationship which exists between the members of families that have come in from the country and those
whose roots are firmly in the town. María de los Angeles Alvarez Moreno is an elderly spinster, the rest of whose family are very well-established in the town. Her inheritance was a mill in the countryside and she has managed this single-handed all of her life, despite her brothers' constant exhortations to come and live under their umbrella in the town. Without a family her mill provides her with an independence which she feels she needs. Her younger brother, now in his sixties, feels that her independence reflects badly on his 'male' authority as head of the 'family'. However, many other Caravaquenians who know this situation all regard him in any case as a figure of authority but sorely mistaken in his opinion in this matter. People deserve their independence. And family in the country are 'different' from family in the town.

The occasional 'skeleton in the cupboard' is also illustrated. In Genealogy 2 one part of the family was disinherited for reasons which still remain hidden, and today none of their relations communicates with them at all, although they are still mill-owners in Calasparra. Another infamous member of this same family group is remembered by many for having married a priest.

Most people find their partners within the town or the surrounding towns and villages. The exceptions are usually those who have spent time working elsewhere, often in the Vendimia in Andalusia, or who have married into the family of one of the Government servants in the town, such as the police, the Civil Guard, the schoolteachers and so on. Most of the members of these services are brought into a town from another area. In Genealogy 1 marriages with girls from surrounding towns predominate and in Genealogy 3 several people have married into the families of State functionaries.

Since inheritance is equally partible, many families are genealogically connected to important pieces of property in the town. For example, the large and controversial Casa de la Encomienda (Photo. 64a) is owned
jointly by five members of Genealogy 1. In this way the relationship between people and their native town is not just one of residence but can also be one of kinship. Within each family group in Caravaca there are also a number of individuals who have left the town to live in any one of Spain's regional capital cities. This serves to link every person in the town with other parts of his or her own nation.

In fact, the town's relationship to everyday world events is often best seen through the constant background presence of kin relationships. For example, when the Pope suffered an attempt on his life in April 1980, many people in the streets and shops in Caravaca knew that this had happened some considerable time before it had been announced by the world press. This was because the sister of a family in Caravaca is a nun who happened to be visiting the Vatican that day and on seeing the incident in St. Peter's Square immediately phoned her family in Caravaca. These people very quickly spread the news through their neighbourhood from where it was disseminated throughout the whole town in a matter of minutes.

Also noted in the genealogies is the way in which the May Fiestas deeply penetrate if not every family then at least every family group in Caravaca. Within each group for example there is very often someone who has played a major role in The Fiestas in the last twenty-five years. In Genealogy 1 there are at least five such people. In Genealogy 2 there are several queens and one central character was actually Hermano Mayor of The Cofradía. In Genealogy 3 there are also several people who have held a variety of important posts.

It has already been remarked that there are many differences between the pueblo and the countryside. One of the ways in which these differences are perceived locally is reflected in the comment by Moreno Navarro (1972:277) that: 'people in the towns tend to measure the primitiveness of the surrounding villages by the quantity of firecrackers that are used at countryside fiestas'. In Caravaca this 'snobbery' about the villages is also
demonstrated by a high degree of self-consciousness that people feel about having a countryside background if they have only recently 'made it good'. One way to talk disparagingly of someone in the town is to call that person a 'puño', short for 'campesino' ('peasant').

In the countryside there are, for example, no old people's homes. The aged rejoin their children. In Caravaca there are large State and private old people's homes which have recently become part of the structure of family experiences, changing them. It is no longer necessary in an urban environment for old people to live with their offspring. In these homes they are allowed more independence and have access to quite considerable facilities.

Residence choices for every member of the family are also different in the town from the countryside. Marriage today probably brings with it a flat, rather than a house or cottage, somewhere along the Gran Via or in one of the 'housing developments' on the outskirts of the town. Residence in a particular neighbourhood however, with so many options to choose from, can be more important than in the countryside.

Littlewood (cited by Davis, 1976) has written that in Quercio, a town of 10,000 inhabitants, a mother does not really mind where her daughter lives, since she can get anywhere in a few minutes (married daughters do generally live near their mothers, however), but this should not lead anyone to minimise the importance of neighbourhoods: Quercio mothers do gossip with their neighbours (Davis 1977:178).

The reputations of certain neighbourhoods may be influential in the choice of place of residence. In the past this is more likely to have been the case than today, when economic considerations are nearly always the most important. The strength of community feeling within many neighbourhoods however, is still strong enough to be visible in The Fiestas in the support for particular horses by particular barrios. The fights between different areas, fondly remembered from their childhoods by some, do not exist anymore, and improved access all over town with better roads and even a bus service all contribute to a
vague internal conflict over the establishment of at least some symbolic boundaries within an area which is too large to be homogeneous at every social level.

Changes within the last ten years have had greater effects in the town than in the countryside. In the latter the major changes have been economic, accompanied by an improvement in social conditions. The town has seen an explosion of urban social characteristics, supermarkets, car-owning, television in almost every home, rapid fashion change, increased housebreaking, and many others. There has also been a general increase in wealth and a great improvement in the standard of education, all of which has altered the nature of the everyday experiences of the different generations and has increased the gaps between them to proportions which are unusually large within families. However, these differences are not so clear in the public domain, where new architecture easily accommodates new behaviour by the old and the young. Change has also meant that women have developed a greater presence in the 'outside' domain. Their public appearance is no longer limited to sitting in the shade ('sombra') (Photos. 41a & b) on their doorsteps. They are more often to be seen walking in the sun ('sol') (Photo. 125a). The opposition sun and shadow is often used in Spain to represent, in symbolic terms, the distinction between the 'outside' and the 'inside', the 'public' and the 'private' space.

When the position of the family in the local society is considered in an historical perspective it is clear that its influence as an institution has varied over time. In the distant past the family received considerable social recognition, as can be discerned from the large number of family crests displayed on the outsides of large family homes throughout the town. The family has never carried this weight in the countryside. However, it must also be admitted that this public emphasis on family was limited to the historically dominant oligarchy. Up until as recently as two or three generations ago control of the unimpressive, Holy Week cofradías, for example
was in the hands of a small number of wealthy families. These *cofradías* represented particular parishes within the town. This organisation is perhaps mirrored in the early history of the *Caballo del Vino*, the great popular Fiesta of the town. In this Fiesta more lowly families entered horses in competition against each other, representing neighbourhoods of the town.

Change to much of this structure and that of the town came in the nineteen-fifties with general economic development and population growth from the countryside. The clearest public expression of a series of gradual modifications came during the nineteen-seventies. Throughout the 'fifties' there was a diminution of enthusiasm for the *cofradías* of Holy Week and a resurgence of interest in the traditionally prominent Fiestas of the pueblo in May.

By the 'seventies' the once family *peñas* (associations) of the *Caballo del Vino* Fiesta had proliferated into dozens of neighbourhood and friendship based *peñas* with no particular family connections. The totally non-family-aligned groups of Moors and Christians now dominate the May Fiestas and Caravaquenian life in general, as will be seen in later chapters. Nowadays these forms of group are the major manifestation of association in Caravaca. They have currently, and with urbanistic development of political parties and incipient political awareness perhaps permanently, pushed Caravaquenian ideas of the family into the background. Study of the most emotive and effective social institution in Caravaca, the Fiestas of the Cross, may show that both the history and the current state of these Fiestas have more influence in the socialisation of any Caravaquenian than 'the family', in general, ever has had in this town.
Economic processes

A description and analysis of the economy of a town demands a demonstration of the fact that the economy is part of a set of interacting historical processes and not just a static table of accounts at a point in time. The two fundamental features of the economy of Caravaca are the agricultural basis of everything and the role of the town as a service centre. The money on deposit in the banks which lend money for everything, comes from the past and present agricultural wealth of even currently unprofitable estates for miles around. The presence of so many banks in the town attests to the movement of large quantities of money through the town, as do the development of the new Bingo Hall and the progress of the Football Club (two useful economic barometers in Spain).

For hundreds of years in the area, the traditional industry was the fabrication of *alpargatas*, sometimes known in Britain as espadrilles. These were originally everyday footwear made entirely from Indian hemp ('cañamo índio'): later the uppers were made from canvas, making their construction much less complicated and time-consuming. In other parts of Spain ordinary hemp was used, but in all the fields around Caravaca Indian hemp was grown in enormous quantities, until its cultivation was finally prohibited in 1965. *Alpargatas* were made from the cortical fibre of the hemp plant. The technique used for making the sole can be seen in the photograph 62b. However, the Indian hemp plant also produces hashish. It is said that the reason for the undoubted success of the Caravaquenian *alpargatas*, which were in demand all over Spain and were even sold abroad was that the wearing of them felt as if one was walking on air. People believe that this was because
the drug was absorbed through the skin, and numbed the foot. The production of this drug in Caravaca also led to the flourishing of a local drug trade with nationwide connections. It is possible that this goes some way towards explaining the 'shocking' presence of a very great deal of drug abuse in the town today. The total collapse of the *alpargata* industry was brought about in the nineteen-fifties by the successful proliferation of modern mass-produced footwear throughout Spain. There was a growing world market demanding such products.

The crisis in the old industry meant that hundreds of cultivators and artisan workmen were all unemployed. This produced large-scale migration to the factories of Germany and Barcelona, to Elche in the Valencia area where many new shoe factories were established and to the towns of Molina and Cieza in the valley to the north of the regional capital of Murcia. This last area now has a large number of Caravaquenians and Cehegineros involved in footwear production. In Caravaca itself many of the original migrants have returned to invest money in other projects. These, or other wealthier or more adventurous types, have established small workshops with low overheads and low labour costs to take advantage of the commitment, and to some degree the skills, which a shoe-making tradition has left behind. These workshops produce limited ranges of cheap house-shoes, sports shoes, sandals and slippers for the national and international market, using modified versions of the final advance in *alpargata* technology (Photo. 89). The largest of these workshops, of which there are almost half a dozen in Caravaca might merit the name of factory since it employs over fifty people (and as such it is one of the largest employers in Caravaca). The majority of its employees are women and this is one of the few sources of employment for women in the town.

The other source of female employment was also at one time the largest industry in the town and grew up in the wake of the decline of the footwear trade. In relation to the redevelopment of the footwear industry currently
Taking place, this, the once profitable, fruit-processing and conserve industry which, while it once had three large factories in Caravaca, two independent family businesses and one co-operative, now only supports one factory. This family business has its own estates to produce fruit during the soft-fruit season, but is also large enough to import fruit and vegetables from other areas so that it can operate all through the year, rather than just during the temporada upon which the other factories rely: if they open at all. In 1978 it had a production of 14.5 million kilos, which was made up as follows: artichokes 1m., apricots 5m., peaches 2m., tomatoes 7m. This single factory is the largest employer in Caravaca. It relies mainly on the employment of unskilled, unqualified female labour. The other two factories, when they operated, temporarily relieved the unemployment in Caravaca. Although unemployment runs at only 4%, officially registered, it is estimated at closer to 25%, especially if the part-time nature of much employment is taken into consideration.

There are other ways in which the economy of the area is supported. In general any profits made by people of the town in any of these industries in the last twenty-five years have been invested in construction, notably the development of large, six to eight storey apartment blocks on the Gran Via (Photo. 72a). This has also boosted the service industries to the building trade. Cement works have been profitable enterprises, as have the wall and floor-tile factories which abound on the edges of the city. The traditional quarries in the hills have also survived by supplying the materials for renewed construction. There are a few other light industries such as timber packaging, furniture workshops and a blossoming trouser (and now other garments) factory set up by 27 Caravaquenians who invested the money and experience they gained while working as migrants in Germany. A unique feature of the economic make-up of Caravaca which deserves a final mention is the small artisan jewelry industry. There are five workshops belonging to five individual craftsmen, which
make Crosses of Caravaca in gold, silver, or brass, for home-consumption and the tourist trade, Barcelona, and sale abroad.

The commercial sector of the Caravaquenian economy makes by far the largest impression upon the town. The commercial census of Caravaca ten years ago attests to 324 establishments in total: 185 food shops, 25 fabric and haberdashery shops, 14 of glass and china and 9 'drug-stores'. These numbers and the numbers of other shops indicate the scale of the strength of the commercial sector. Two small supermarkets have been opened in the last few years by one family who came into the town from the countryside, and the success of these may soon radically alter the pattern of foodshops in the area. Other shops include the following: shoes and leather goods, electrical goods, toyshops, tobacconists, furniture stores, ironmongers', newsagents', tailors', boutiques, photographers' studios, hairdressers', ice-cream parlours, jewellers', funeral directors', and so on. The growth of large superstores in the capital of the province has had some effect on commerce in the town and there are some products which would find it impossible to maintain a market with such a small population despite a high demand. Records are one example of this.

The State political apparatus

The local elections in 1979, were won by the UCD. This party took 11 of the 21 council positions, with 7 going to the PSOE, 2 to the PCE and 1 to Alianza Popular. Democracy seemed to have been effectively established. 9,286 votes were cast out of a voting population of 14,946 (54 votes were spoiled). This was a 62.13% turnout.

On 23rd February, 1981, however, not just Caravaca, but the whole of Spain suddenly felt that this security was threatened. At 7 o'clock that evening Teniente Coronel Antonio Tejero Molina and a group of Civil Guards occupied the crowded Spanish Cortes and silenced a nation with fear. In the third military region of Valencia, tanks, under the command of the extremist General Milans del Bosch were
on the streets again, as they had been in the nineteen-thirties. (For further details of the national circumstances see, *Todos al Suelo — la conspiracion y el golpe* by Ricardo Cid Canaveral et al.). In Caravaca the effects of the news instantly changed the rhythm of the day. It seemed as if everyone in the town had heard the news almost at once. In the streets and shops everyone had radios to their ears and were making their ways rapidly home looking very nervous and extremely worried. One of the town's notorious alcoholics, 'El Cejas', was seen to react at once, stopping in the middle of the street gesticulating frantically and acting like a town-crier — asking 'Have you heard the news?' and seemingly forecasting the end of the world. For the rest of the night almost everyone stayed at home watching the television hoping that a news bulletin would interrupt the old black and white film. Few people really understood the action on the screen since they were probably listening to the radio, while watching the pictures, in the hope that one of the channels would soon carry something other than military music. The only news that emerged was that the King would make a statement before the closedown of broadcasting for the night. During the hours of waiting for this speech, members of the legal Spanish Communist Party were afraid for what could happen to their families if repression was about to return. Most educated people showed signs of nervousness when they thought about the possible consequences of the discovery of the potentially subversive tomes of Marx etc. (bought by millions after Franco's death) in the homes of their 'innocent' parents. However, the King's speech was unmistakably reassuring and everyone went to sleep less nervous, but nevertheless in two minds.

By 11.30 the following morning it was all over, more or less. Spanish democracy had survived the biggest threat to date in its formative years. It was remarked by some that many people in the pueblo were probably disappointed, but were saying the opposite. Many others were still worried and shocked. In the bar 'Dulcinea' everyone was
attentive and silent for the afternoon's edition of 'Telediario' and the repetition of the actual assault on parliament which had by some contemporary irony been televised for the first few horrifying moments. The machine-gun-fire in the chamber still provokes waves of shock and terror even over a year after the event. In the bar at the time all the old memories that people had, whether on one side or the other, were suddenly raised in constant tertulias around the town. People reminded one another of how bad the Guardia Civil had always been, and what terrible things they had done. These sorts of conversations all seemed to confirm, however, that there was a chance that the results of the events of 23F (as it came to be known), will be positive for the political future of the country, nationally and locally.

In the week after the 'coup' attempt there was, even in Caravaca, a manifestation of pro-democracy solidarity in response to the national call. In 1982 at a special holiday event held in the Plaza Mayor to celebrate the third anniversary of the democratic local elections a large crowd eventually turned up to watch a performance of traditional dances by local children and a group of 'Animeras', even though publicity for the occasion had been very limited.

The Town Hall of Caravaca is run by a few dozen state functionaries with a variety of appropriate qualifications between them. Their supervision and the formulation of policy is undertaken by the 21 elected councillors through a series of permanent committees. These committees cover the following matters: finance and taxation, water and drains, culture, public works, public services, sport and emergency services. All 7 of the Socialist councillors have resigned from their posts on these committees over what they consider to be a political issue (described below) so the work at present is carried out by the 11 conservative UCD members and the two communists (Photo. loc.).
The social composition of the Town Council

UCD
Pedro Garcia Esteller (MAYOR)
Juan Jose Jimenez
Antonio Aznar
Jose Rodriguez (Pepito Gordo)
Juan Lopez Moya (el otro)
Felipe Marin
Joaquin Sanchez Guerrero
Rafael Pi
Jose Molina (el tio amarillo)
Isidoro Villo (el Papiruso)
Teodoro Roman

gEOLOGY TEACHER
teacher, from humble origins
teacher, from the countryside
a family of bank employees
a farmer from Archivel
haberdashery salesman from Archivel
from a once rich family
art teacher, sculptor from Valencia
shopkeeper
(former smuggler), jeweller etc.
doctor, from La Puebla de don Fadrique

PSOE
Gines Andreu
Juan (el monecillo)
Antonio (el perla)
? (el naranjero)
? Canto
?
Nestor

accountant in garage, Renault showrooms
mechanic, partner in workshop
of very humble origins
transport business, traditional socialist
engineer, of humble origins
accountant

PCE
Santos Olmos

glassworker, 'the town communist',
once exiled
?

AP
Pedro Alfonso Medina

smuggler, traditional fascist.

The officers of the Town Hall work a straight through timetable of 8am. to 3pm., like the banks but unlike any other industry or organization. Committee meetings may be held at any time however, and the full council meetings of all the councillors, which are open to the public, are usually held on Tuesday evenings at 8pm. once a month. There are generally few people present at these, but those who do attend, in addition to 'the Press', are men, and they just sit and gravely listen to other men talking about things that one would not usually expect to hear being talked about by women in Caravaca.

The political issues which are discussed by these meetings ('plenos') are wide-ranging but almost exclusively parochial. Often squabbles arise between the Socialists and Conservatives over financial expenditure in the pedanías or the size of the grants which can be obtained from the regional and central governments. The saving of money
through the use of lighting on only one side of the street at night, or through not switching on the floodlights on the castle, can quickly and easily become 'major issues'. Raising the level of finances in order to bring about improvements and increase development has been important over the last twenty years, and many attempts have met with some success, as the figures for the Council Budget for 1960-1972 show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,529,998 pesetas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>6,104,053 pesetas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>17,267,571 pesetas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>18,800,000 pesetas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>18,900,000 pesetas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1981 the figure of the entire 1972 budget was less than half of the grant that the Council was expecting to receive from the regional authority alone.

Property developments are another common cause for disputes. The Socialist councillors resigned their responsibilities in protest over the price paid for the terrain on which a planned Industrial Estate is to be developed. Prior to this they were involved in the development of a hideous multi-storey block in the Calle Mayor. This block is completely out of keeping with the character of this old part of the town, but then it is claimed that friends of the councillors were involved in the tender as indeed they are in another dispute which concerns the plans for the site on which the 'Government protected' House of the Encomienda of Santiago still stands (Photo. 6c). This important seventeenth century building is being left to crumble away (occasionally with the help of some less than discreet assistance from employees of the owners) because the family, among whom ownership has been divided, want to build a complex of luxury flats in its place.

A different kind of politics was in evidence in the dispute about the town band. A town needs a municipal band. It is an important civic symbol called out to play on the many public occasions during the year and available for hire at fiestas within the municipality and more especially to other towns. That Caravaca has had to hire
and borrow the municipal bands of other towns for its own functions over the last few years has been a source of shame. For some time the members of the band had refused to play under the baton of their council-appointed director, and then they accused him of trying to molest one of the boy players in the band. This sort of argument smoulders in a small town and takes a long time to settle. 'Who is right? and who is wrong?' A year later I learnt that the issue had eventually been settled and the band were once again performing publicly under a new leader.

Progress in general seems to take a very long time to achieve. One of the largest and longest running disputes has been over the establishment of a hospital in Caravaca. This was to be for the whole comarca and surrounding towns which are all more than 70 kms from the nearest hospital with some, like the Puebla de Don Fadrique, up to 183 kms away. The size of the population which feels that its health is being prejudiced in this way is over 65,000. In the nineteen-sixties the Government recommended that a hospital be built in Caravaca and the town has been asking ever since, but the money has only just been approved from the regional government and building still had not begun when I left. Many plans which are over ten years old are only just coming to fruition. The rationalization of the local meat market and the construction of commercially viable modern abbatoir has still not taken place. The School of Arts and Crafts recommended in 1973 is being installed, however.

As a service centre there are other important centralised institutions in Caravaca. There is an office of the Extensión Agraria, whose duty it is to monitor the state of agriculture in the area and help and advise farmers. Three officers are employed and they can be of enormous assistance to those farmers they can reach. The Government, however, has withdrawn most of their funding, at present, in order to reorganize the service. The Camara Agraria also has an office in the town, with twelve employees and a secretary: all are farmers. This is the
nearest thing that the farmers have to a Trade Union, but it is not trusted by most of the workers on the land since 'in the old days' it was 'the bosses' association'.

There is also a small garrison of the Civil Guard. Next to the Town Hall, the police station also contains the gaol. There is an area tax office; a Register of Property; a Notary, lawyers and solicitors; and a Court. The legal statistics reflect urban as opposed to rural characteristics. In 1980 there were 411 acts recorded by the Court, 60% of which were road accidents. There were 100 robberies, most of which were left unresolved.

Social Problems

Quite apart from the structure provided by the mesh of institutions everyday life is made up of social interaction between people and its quality is seen most clearly in the sorts of problems which it presents. Youngsters do their courting walking along the Camino del Huerto, in carefully chosen bars, in the discotheques and in cars at the Fuentes del Marques (a local beauty spot consisting of a watery grove at the end of a bumpy country track). These bare outlines are well-known and accepted, but they are spoken about in scandalized whispers. Contrary to what, in Britain, is often believed of Spain, virginity, in itself, is not generally valued by anyone. However, it is still felt by many parents that a girl should have only one novio (fiancé/boyfriend), but it is perfectly acceptable for a boy to have known a great number of girls before he gets married. Today it is realised that some girls will have many boyfriends, what is important is that the parents and especially the associates of the parents should not know about it. People do not like to give the slightest chance to be talked about, since the appearance of things becomes accepted as the reality (p.230), (see also Alcalá Zamora 1979:189).

Paquita, a teenager in her final year at school, who was older than most of her classmates, and felt it, left school in mid-term to help her father in his business --- playing the role traditionally given to the son. Neither
the girl's development nor the system and the values held within it could allow this arrangement to work. A year later she had returned to studying but in different circumstances, with 'people more her own age' in the school of 'Formacion Profesional' following a 'much more acceptable' course in nursing.

All the changes that have come so rapidly in the last ten years have created divides between some of the values held by parents and those encountered in the 'modern world' by their children. There is a considerable amount of drug-taking in the town among teenagers, but there is a history of involvement by Caravaca in a national drug's trade due to the cultivation of cañamo in the area. Although in other towns of similar size to Caravaca there are social problems of much greater gravity there are still some young people, even girls as young as 14 or 15, who just leave home and head for the cities.

Educated young men have a great many more opportunities to work or travel than equally well-qualified girls. This leaves these women in the town with no obvious partners and presents the society with problems of contradiction and frustration. It is not in their nature to behave according to repressive rules but in remaining in the town the only choice that educated girls have is to try to maintain the appearances of 'socially acceptable' behaviour.

In a small provincial town conformity is unconsciously enforced. Sustained questioning of received social values or the truth of appearances could lead to an erosion of structures of the society. Similarly Church tradition is found to be indispensable. It is followed by everyone to a degree, although each person supplies his or her own rationale. As Brandes has recently emphasised:

Until the early 1970s, when Protestants were given the right to proselytize, Spain was a wholly Catholic country.... People mark the stages of their life with reference to Catholic ritual (Brandes 1981:177).
EVERYDAY PROCESSES 2

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

Urbanism has certain implications for religious belief, as Christian has shown for the mediaeval city of Toledo. He says:

It is not surprising that for Toledans sacred places were mostly within the city walls. For urban dwellers, just as sustenance and prosperity were matters of provident institutions and judicious political economy, so their significant saints were located in society, and alertness to the sacred was directed inward, not outward. While there were chapels on the outskirts of the city, these were not critical places of devotion. For Toledo, sacred places were inside the city —— the miraculous images, powerful relics and sites of apparitions were in the parish churches, convents and the cathedral. In agricultural towns, the most sacred places, the Marian shrines, were mainly outside in the country. The relation of citizen to shrine reflected the relation of town to land and the constant traffic between these citadels of sociability and world of nature (Christian 1981:149).

Caravaca manifests many wholly urban characteristics. In other agricultural towns, like Mula, the Fiesta of San Isidro, 'el labrador' ('the farm-worker') is celebrated. In Caravaca de la Cruz it is not. Nearly all its farming villages round and about are dedicated to a variety of Marian images. In Caravaca de la Cruz the symbol of the people's devotion, the miraculous Cross of Caravaca, is not just at the symbolic heart of the community but also at the geographic heart. Most of the religious communities, as well as the Churches and home of the relic of the Cross are concentrated in the central part of the town, or parts of the town that have been central during other stages of its development. The 'lignum crucis' contained in its four-barred reliquary is sequestered in the 'Real e Ilustre Capilla y Santuario' ('Royal and Illustrious Chapel and Sanctuary') within the castle walls. The relationship with the sacred is in every way an internal one. The devotion is wholly urban.
After the Reconquest Caravaca experienced dramatic economic expansion. Chapels and hermitages accompanied the spread of the houses of the nobles. The attractions of Caravaca and the 'boom' conditions prevailing at the time encouraged the foundation of several religious orders in the locality, the first to be based in Caravaca itself (probably in 1532) was that of the Brotherhood of San Juan de Dios.

In 1570, in the reign of Felipe II, the College of Jesuits was founded by Don Miguel de la Reina. The Jesuits remained in Caravaca until their expulsion from Spain in 1767 by Carlos III. Between 1571 and 1574 the Franciscans established a community. In 1576, Sta. Teresa de Jesus founded a convent in Caravaca for her Discalced Carmelites. Through the ministry of Julian de Avila and Antonio Gaytan, Francisca de Cuellar, Francisca de Sahajosa, and Francisca de Tahuste became the first Carmelite novices in Caravaca. They were presumably the donors of the copy of the Cross of Caravaca which Santa Teresa possessed and which she gave to the convent of Carmelites in Brussels. In 1581 Fray Cristobal de Ortega founded the Jeronimos, and in 1586 San Juan de la Cruz inaugurated the monastery of Carmelite friars. All the chapels and churches were built within about one square kilometre. Their bells must have produced a deafening sound. Certainly, they exerted physical and spatial control of the inhabitants, lay and religious, as they marked the hours and acts of all.

In 1609 yet another religious group came into the town and the Convent of Santa Clara was set up where it still stands today, near the Barrio San Francisco where its tutors had established themselves. The founders were three nuns from the Convent at Elche: Sister Catalina de Herrera, Sister Isabel Perez and Sister Leonor Lopez, and one other who came from nearby Lorca, Sister Beatriz Evangelista. With their donations it was possible to finish the convent, which had accommodation for thirty nuns.

In the first years of that century there were fourteen hermitages built on a hillside above the town, known as
Calvary, this made up a true 'Via Crucis'. Today the streets in a nearby barrio preserve the names of those hermits and their dwellings: for example, 'de la Veronica' or 'de la Tercera Caída'. There are no longer any hermits or hermitages, but enclosed religieuses still play a part in any impression formed of the religious nature of the town today. (For a treatment of religious life in mediaeval Spain see the work of Christian, 1981).

In the Middle Ages the principal fiestas of the year in Caravaca were not those of its Cross but, in common with the rest of Spain, those of Corpus Christi. In the Archive of the Parish Church of El Salvador in Caravaca the accounts book of the ancient Cofradia of the Stmo. Sacramento shows details of this fiesta in 1582. The church and the streets were adorned with sweet smelling herbs and flowers. The procession took place in mid-morning attended by the whole pueblo. The route was decorated with arches also made from aromatic herbs. The largest cost of the fiesta was for the gunpowder which in fireworks delighted everyone on the eve of the festival.

Cofradías still flourish in Caravaca today. From the Archives of El Salvador, it is known that in 1673 there were eleven cofradías: del Stmo. Sacramento, de la Stma. Cruz, de Ntra. Sra. de Gracia, de Ntra. Sra. del Rosario, de Ntra. Sra. de la Concepción y San Juan Evangelista, de Jesús Nazareno, del Buen Suceso, de la Encarnación, de San Sebastián, y de San Jorge y de San Blas. In current Holy Week celebrations there are six cofradías in operation.

The present-day 'Giants' (p.192) that prelude the Fiestas de Mayo also have an ancient origin. The same archive informs that in one of the Fiestas of Corpus: 'se pagaron 180 reales a Tomás Carbonell para hacer cuatro gigantes a la indiana' ('Thomas Carbonell was paid 180 reales to make four giants "a la indiana"'), one of which was in the form of a devil. It also illustrates the way in which, at the end of the sixteenth century the town was linked to the national religious and political structure. The Town Hall gave
'two thousand maravedises' for the wax torches which lit the religious acts of the funeral of the King, Felipe II.

Since 1872, until fairly recently, the Bishop of Cartagena and Murcia has nearly always had a senior representative or Vicario present in Caravaca, with responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the pueblo. Despite this, on examination, the Caravaquenian's Catholic allegiance may be seen to be only ever, in part, an allegiance to 'conventional' religious observance. In an essentially Roman Catholic 'ethos' it is inevitable that through life, and throughout every year of life, every individual, to a greater or lesser extent, uses the symbols and guidance of the established Church to make some aspects of his existence meaningful. This happens in three ways: through 'rites de passage' provided by the religious establishment; through customs and activities that are part of the way of everyday thinking and acting; and lastly, through those festivals which a community adopts and adapts to local needs — the elements of so-called 'popular religion'. For Caravaca these are looked at here in this order, beginning with religious activities in the countryside and then in the town, the better to understand the true nature of a society in which religious and secular activity are inextricably intertwined.

Although, ritual is, in Catholic communities, an integral part of everyday life, it differs in its detail, social circumstances, and associated customs, wherever it is practised. For example, in baptism, the sacramental Roman rite is no more than the pouring of water in the head of the subject by a priest, and the use of the formula: 'I baptize you in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. This is a very simple practice which is accepted throughout the Catholic world, but it can be expanded with a variety of ritual embellishments, and its social significance may vary considerably.

To describe this multiplicity of practices, Christian (1981) argues for a rejection of the commonly encountered term 'popular religion', since this, he claims (quoting Dario Rei):
has come to connote rural as opposed to urban, primitive as opposed to civilised, traditional as opposed to modern, and proletarian as opposed to capitalist (not to mention better as opposed to worse, or the reverse) (Christian 1981:178).

Following this lead, the emphasis in the present description and analysis can be said to be on the association of religious behaviour and customs—the specific localisation of practice.

IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

For the majority of people in Los Royos, as in other villages, the only variation in the monotony of the daily routine occurs on Sundays and fiestas. Most of the inhabitants attend Mass in the small church every Sunday and spend the time after this in the relaxing atmosphere of the two small bars in the village—one in the upper part and one in the lower. Most nights of the week it is quite usual for the bars not to open since people stay at home.

In Los Royos there are fiestas, with a procession which includes a decorated agricultural cart and lots of cohetes ('exploding skyrockets') and petardos (thick, gunpowder-filled, firecrackers, sometimes big enough to shatter windows with their explosion, but immensely popular in the countryside at fiesta time), held on May 15th for San Isidro (the labourer). There is also a new fiesta, the Fiesta del Pastor held from the 25th to the 26th of August. The Fiestas de la Purísima take place on the 8th of December, and the fiesta of the village patron saint, San Antón, also a labourer, on the eve of the 16th of February. At this festival fires are lit on the hills and in the town, and groups of boys try to push a cart to the top of the mountain under which the village nestles (Photo. 1.1).

The fiesta of San Antón is celebrated in several of the other pedanías. In Navares, for example, since there it is the most important of the year (Photo. 1.3), the people expect it to be celebrated in an appropriate manner, with visiting 'pop' groups and dances, as well as the traditional
procession; it is the duty of the seven *mayordomos* ('superintendent organizers') in charge of the fiesta of San Antón to find ways of raising the finance during the year. In 1981 they conceived the idea of a summer festival, the *fiesta* of the Apricot, to be held to celebrate the end of the apricot harvest; people could be encouraged, so it was hoped, to spend the money that they had just earned in order to finance the fiesta of San Antón the following year. Unfortunately thunderstorms during harvesting and a disastrous crop put paid to the plans of the organizers.

In 1981 Barranda, the largest of the *pedantías*, staged what was probably the largest and most impressive fiestas of any village, the *fiestas* of La Virgen de la Candelaria. The fiesta programme is included below, as evidence of the scale of these fiestas. When the posters appeared in Caravaca people were heard to mutter 'copycats', under their breath.

**BARRANDA**

*Fiestas de la Candelaria*

**Friday, 30 January:** 9pm COMPETITION OF MIGAS-MAKING potatoes, garlic and wine free to everyone. Prizes of gold and silver. Music all night long by 'NILO'.

**Saturday, 31:** 10pm Games for the Children.

4pm Football match between Barranda and La Almudema.

8pm Fiesta dance with music by 'REDES'.

**Sunday, 1 February:** 8am Hunt the twig.

10am Athletics at the school.

1pm Beer drinking competition.

4pm CAVALCADE with Festival Queen and her attendants: and at the end the opening speeches of the fiestas.

6pm III Festival of Folklore, with groups from all over the province.

10pm Bonfire of the Candelaria.

**Monday, 2 February:** 8am Mass and Blessing of Candles Reveille by the Band 'LOS CHURROS' of Bullas.

12am Solemn Choral Mass.

1pm Popular Dance in front of the Church

3pm Grand Parade with floats, Queen and attendants and musical band.

6pm PROCESSION with the image of the patroness.

7pm Fireworks

9pm Final dance of the Fiestas with the group 'PARABOLA'.
Most of these parochial fiestas are financed by public subscription. Everyone gives as much as they can afford, and it seems that since people generally know what others can afford there are no stigmas attached. A list of contributors is often posted in the Church. It is usual to find that the bars, or the largest landowner have contributed the most, but the Town Hall of Caravaca also has an obligation to give a grant for the celebration of patronal fiestas, according to the size of each community.

IN THE TOWN
Life-cycle rites

In Caravaca, following a pattern common to the whole of the Catholic world, the life-cycle of every individual contains a series of 'rites de passage'. Many take a local form but:

No matter how irreligious or irreverent a Spanish person claims to be, it is unthinkable that his or her child should remain unbaptised or should reach puberty without taking First Communion. These are the rites that mark entry into the human community and that separate the civilised from the barbarian (op. cit. Brandes 1981).

As elsewhere, in Caravaca, the series begins with baptism. In the past, a newborn baby was baptised immediately after birth, so that in the event of untimely death there would be no doubt as to where its soul might go. Nowadays it has become customary to wait two or three months before the child is baptised, and now several children will all be baptised on the same day, to save the priests work.

For the ceremony the child is dressed in white. Usually only a few close members of the family attend. The child is to have one godmother, 'madrina', and one godfather, 'padrino', but in general these terms are rarely heard since the roles are usually taken by persons who already stand in a kin relationship to the child. The godparents' function is to take over the role of parents to the ahijado ('godchild') in the case of the parents' death and to take care of the
child's 'spiritual orientation'. The godparents always give presents to the child at baptism and sometimes do so at Christmas or on his or her Saint's day.

Fundamentally the rite is regarded as a welcoming of the new member into the Faith by the priest. The priest receives the family at the door of the church. Inside, the child, in the arms of the godmother, is anointed with Holy oil and touched by the priest with his stole. The appropriate liturgy is read, the parents and godparents place their hands on the child and the priest wets the child's head with Holy Water. Socially this is a much less important rite than most of the other rites of the life-cycle and it is therefore not necessarily commemorated with a large-scale display of commensality, although there is usually a family meal to celebrate this intimate but essential 'beginning'.

At any age between six and ten it will then be planned that the child receive his or her first communion (Photo.61a). Beforehand the child is expected to learn the basic catechism of the faith, often with the co-operation of the primary school. There are particular times of the year when most First Communions take place: in the Spring, May, Ascension Day or Corpus Christi and associated Sundays. Socially, this rite is possibly the most important of all, and the whole family will probably attend, along with all friends and neighbours.

An extract from my fieldnotes gives some impression of one such occasion.

'Sunday, 31st May 1981 --- I left rapidly to be outside the Sanctuary at about 11.30 am to see the gathering of people before the Communion ceremony at the 12 o'clock Mass. Leandro the nine year-old child had already received most of his presents beforehand. He had a remembrancer (a book for the autographs of the people attending), a Polaroid camera, and a gold chain with a gold and ivory crucifix on it (bought by his uncle from Barcelona). Often First Communion 'costumes' are handed down, but this occurs less and less today, as fashions change.
Leandro was wearing a white shirt and short navy blue trousers. Some of the other children, standing with their families on the steps of the church, were wearing miniature naval uniforms. The two daughters of the mayor were dressed as tiny brides. Everyone stood on the steps in the sunshine being polite to one another. There were about fifty people just in our group, and there was a gentle rush of people into the church as the last of the lingerers from the eleven o'clock Mass filtered out. The family were placed roughly to the front but there was no rigid order, since once again the church was absolutely packed, with the numbers being augmented by people interested in gaining the Jubilee Indulgence (see p.144). There were several small stools placed at the front for the celebrating families.

The Mass began with the altar flanked by three or four family photographers. A Mass was said and then the new communicants received the Host before the rest of the congregation were invited to do so. Afterwards, when the time came to kiss the Cross of Caravaca, they were again first. The church emptied slowly, and then more photographs were taken on the steps. Following this, there was momentary confusion while cars were aranged to transport the group with which I was associated out to the finca at Barranda, where a big meal had been arranged in a restaurant near the house. The ceremony may be simple but the event can have great social importance. Most of the group went up the road to the other bar in the village for an aperitif, a beer and a tapa. At the celebration meal given by the
parents of the little boy, who had returned to the town to receive his First Communion in the presence of the Cross, (although some years ago the family had moved to Elche,) there was double the amount of food necessary. Plates full of hors d'oeuvres were followed by rabbit fried in garlic. Then huge juicy cutlets of charcoal grilled lamb appeared. Fillets of pork and succulent small quail were brought out but most of them had to be taken back because people just could not manage any more. The dessert course consisted of gateaux and ice-cream cake, followed by coffee, brandy, cigars and cigarettes.

After the meal, most people retired to the house to sit and talk and catch up on family news and then slowly to make their farewells. Nearly all the news was of deaths, diseases, births and weddings. One of the family was travelling to Switzerland and Britain in search of a new kidney, after having won eight million pesetas on the National Lottery.'

After receiving communion for the first time, a child has an obligation from that time forward, as a member of the Catholic faith, to attend church on days of fiesta, and to take communion at least once every year. In talking about religion I was told by a Caravaquenian: 'If you believe something you feel it. If you feel it it must be important. Even if you do not practise the faith very much you are certain, for example, that at the moment of receiving communion the Holy Spirit really does come down'.

In the mid-teenage years a boy or girl will probably be expected to be confirmed although these days very few are. For those who bother, the ceremony will take place, after instruction in the faith, one ordinary working day, at an ordinary Mass. It is possible that the celebrants may be dressed in their best clothes but otherwise there is little elaboration. The family are unlikely to attend but two godparents are required to act for all the people who are to be confirmed on that
occasion —— often two teachers will perform these roles if the ceremony is being conducted in connection with religious instruction at school. The Bishop himself, or his closest representative, will usually confirm the member in the faith, and after the appropriate liturgy has been read, with the child kneeling in front of him and a godparent either side, he gives the child a small cuff on the cheek which is considered to be symbolic of the shock of the arrival of the Holy Spirit.

The next stage in the life-cycle and the regular involvement with religion is usually approached a few years later in the late teens or early twenties. People become relatively formally engaged to one another and their families begin to organise their marriage. This does not have to mean a church ceremony, but in Caravaca it nearly always does. That people speak of everyone these days marrying 'relatively young' may reflect the fact that it is felt in the town that over ninety percent of weddings take place 'de penalty' (that is as a result of pregnancy). Having the engagement of two individuals recognised by the town as a whole in many cases alters the status of these persons in the town. They no longer have to participate in their 'culture of secrecy'. They can be seen holding hands in public. They will probably associate more with other engaged couples. Their time together will be regarded as 'sacred', and less will be expected of them by their single friends, although they will still retain many of their former associates.

The financial arrangements of the union are more a product of economic reality than of established custom. Today, in Caravaca the couple will very probably have a flat or small house rented or bought, to be prepared for moving into. Before the wedding a variety of customs intervene, and have been elaborated to link the church ceremony to the lives of the people.
The first of these is 'showing the house of the bride'. This consists of the bride taking her family, female friends and other interested women around her new home and showing them everything, from the clothes in the wardrobes and drawers to the food in the cupboards and fridge. If there is anything that the bride does not show the women they will probably find it anyway. During these days before the ceremony, presents for the couple will begin to arrive. Nowadays these have probably been chosen from the lista de boda ('the wedding present list') in which some of the shops in Caravaca and Murcia specialise.

For the ceremony itself the bride always wears white. The bride is usually dressed in her own house or in the house of a friend which has a big enough room to receive all of the visitors who come to see her before she meets her groom.

A few days before the named Saturday, often the night of the previous Saturday, a venue is arranged by the friends of the groom for 'la despedida de soltero' ('the stagnight'). In an orgy of excess the groom and his friends eat and drink themselves senseless.

Before the wedding ceremony the groom is dressed by his friends in his parents' house, and this, rather than 'the stagnight', is the occasion for practical jokes to be played upon him. The tricks which it is possible to play on someone when dressing them are clearly legion, but they are usually things like knotting his tie incorrectly, swapping his shoes, filling his shoes with stones or rice, putting things in his trousers or, (a favourite this) anis and sugar in his pants to form an embarrassingly sticky mess which causes discomfort as it dries out and crystallizes. Once dressed in one way or another the groom and his party leave the house to search through the town for the bride. People used to turn out in their hundreds just to see what a mess the groom was in. When the couple met there was resounding applause. If necessary he could readjust his dress at the bride's house. Then the couple
would be driven to the church in a showy car. Often these days they drive to the church straight from their houses and lead a virtual cavalcade through the town.

Two godparents are needed for the ceremony. These are different godparents from any other which the couple may have had on other occasions in their lives and are usually the father of the bride and the mother of the groom, or another close relative such as uncle or aunt if the parents have already been godparents to another child. At the door of the church the bride enters with the groom's father, and the groom enters with the bride's mother. Inside the church is decorated in white. A Mass is not obligatory. Before the act of marriage the priest gives a lecture to the couple, then twelve coins are passed from the groom to the bride. With the couple holding hands the wedding liturgy is recited, rings are exchanged and the blessing is given. If this part of the service is to be followed by a Mass this is conducted with both the bread and the wine for all the communicants as opposed to the usual ritual conducted with bread only. Some time later the marriage is registered by the couple at the court and they receive their 'libro de familia' ('family book'). Outside the church, rice is thrown over the couple and the wedding party drives away to a 'covite', the local term for a reception. The style and size of this act of commensality are determined by the economic circumstances of the families.

After the reception it is unusual for the couple to go away for a honeymoon, although this is becoming more common. If the pair have a house or flat to go to they retire to this, followed by everyone who knows where it is and is interested in playing practical jokes. Sometimes their 'friends' will play music outside their window all night or shout and bang on the walls. Similar activities are described in detail by Zamora (1980:193). Many couples today, however, just go to the discotheque with their friends, in the evening, or break with custom
in a variety of similar new ways.

After marriage people's life-cycle contact with their religion is through the rituals which their children will undergo, until their own death arrives. In Caravaca deaths are announced throughout the town on the doors of one or more of the bars.

When someone dies the funeral directors have to be phoned. In the doorway to the house the undertakers place a table, with a visiting book on it, where condolences can be offered in writing. Here, as in most of the public aspects of death it is the men who sign. In the house the coffin, open or closed according to circumstances, is kept in an inner room where the women remain throughout the night and the following day, themselves shrouded in candlelit gloom. This vigil is recognised as a very important part of the ritual. The men remain apart in another room.

Most visitors arrive a short while before the funeral is due to commence. Very large numbers of people usually gather outside the house to give the 'pesame' to the family. The male bereaved stand in the doorway to their house and shake hands and receive a consoling phrase from each of the well-wishers (photo. 6±). In Caravaca bereaved families still show some sign of mourning after the death of a close relative but the length of time and rigour of mourning are becoming reduced. When the priest arrives the family accompany him inside. While he reads the last rites, and the coffin is closed, the people outside sign the book and pick up a remembrance card (example overleaf).

The coffin always used to be carried on people's shoulders to the parish church, today a car is often used. At the church the priest says a few words and then the male members of the congregation, although today women are increasingly present, accompany the
coffin to the Templete, at the outskirts of the town for the 'despedida del muerto' ('the farewell to the dead').

In Caravaca the coffin is usually taken by car to the new town cemetery several kilometres away. The houses of the dead are kept separate from those of the living --- well outside the town. It is still rare for women to attend the burial. Most frequently the coffin is placed in a niche in the cemetery wall (photo.167) and a liturgy is recited. When the service is finished some form of commemorative plaque is used to front the niche or modify the tomb (Photos.168,169).
At a pre-arranged time after the funeral a Mass is held to pray for the deceased, at which the bereaved usually receive the *pésame* again from those who attend. In between the funeral and the Mass the bereaved family eat very little and any young children are often looked after by neighbours. The family can also be expected to be visited frequently during this period. Well-known or particularly pious families may have a commemorative Mass said for the deceased on the annual anniversary of the funeral.

A death brings about an important social reunion in any community but in Caravaca de la Cruz this is, in general, a serious and solemn occasion, unlike the *'juergas' ('riotous festivities')* that are spontaneously entered into in Andalusia, or the tradition of 'lifting the corpse to the sky' which might be more likely to be seen in Cehegin or Moratalla, where the whole family might take it into their heads to get drunk in a bar.

In most of Spain, much of the everyday contact with religion outside the context of these inevitable 'rites de passage', is related to the last and most emotive of them --- death. By the Caravaquenian *la muerte* is faced with a solemn rather than celebratory stoicism.  

Among the dozens of images of the crucifixion in Caravaca only one shows Christ still alive. Throughout the town there are images of death on public display. These images come to be lived as everyday realities. Their primary characteristic is their 'naturalistic' appearance. Thorns seem to produce 'real' wounds, weeping drops of blood and tightening muscles; there is the tension of 'real' pain.

Other religious images help to create a very evocative geography. In the streets statues are set into walls, (Photo. 37) churches are covered in sculpture (Photo. 29). The Virgin of the Agony, Mary seated with the dead Christ in her arms, is set into the wall of the house belonging to a former Mayor of Madrid, in the Calle Rafael Tejeo (Photo. 39). At night a green light illuminates this frightening
image of pain, sadness and deathly suffering. At the meeting of two narrow lanes behind the parish church of El Salvador in 'el rincón de las ánimas' ('the corner of the spirits') dimly lit by candles and protected by bars and spiked chains, a ghostly religious painting of three souls burning in Hell once hung. Today, a man who regularly passed this when a boy has visions and hears the voices of angels —— seriously disrupting his life. 'In Caravaca children always have more fear of death than of any other thing'.

The story of the Santa Compañía is told here as elsewhere in Spain. It is said that at night when there is no moon, a procession of souls in purgatory passes through the streets of the town but that the last member of the procession, ringing a bell, is an ordinary person held captive and being led away, and if you see him, and happen to catch his eye, you have to replace him. It is commonly believed in many villages and in the countryside around the town, where death is manifest in several life-size crucifixions, erected in open space and clearly visible from the main roads.

Crucifixes and religious pictures also adorn the interior walls of most houses (photos.47f). Indoors, there are statues too --- in Barranda in the corner of the bedroom of one old lady, a life-sized weeping Virgin Mary stands, the throbbing sacred heart glowing at her breast. In other rooms of this same house other figures, awesome in their immobility, steeped in shadow from heavily netted windows and curtains drawn to keep out the Spanish sun, look down on every bed. In one small room a waxen baby lies in a tiny crib, the Christ child newborn yet pale and still as death.

In the countryside religious images have an active involvement with the everyday in another way too. A group of neighbours may agree to share the care and devotion to an image. For example, for a whole week each, the households involved, in no particular order,
may take it in turn to house an image. The front room of the house will be darkened and dressed as a small chapel, in which the image, of the Virgin perhaps, will stand on a table with candles kept permanently alight before her.

The villagers of La Encarnacion, in particular, have a very special relationship with their image of the Virgin. Almost annually on some occasion there is a desperate shortage of rainfall. When this happens, the people of this village carry their huge wooden image of the Virgin on their shoulders, over the hills, to a small patch of clear ground, next to the path which leads to Caravaca. Here they place the statue on the remains of a Roman pillar, known as La Entrega ('the Handover'). A Mass is said, beseeching rain. The figure is then carried down into the religious centre of Caravaca on the shoulders of a group of Caravaquenians, accompanied by the villagers. It is taken to the parish church of La Concepción where it is cared for and tended by its devotees.

In both town and country, embroidery is a traditional female craft, which is still practised. In Caravaca especially, many of the pieces of embroidery contain images of the Cross and are often executed as altar-cloths and similar objects for use in churches. Occasionally such pieces of embroidery will be made and given as a result of una promesa ('a religious promise') made to the Cross for a special favour. Other promises may be made and favours asked by means of candles lit to various images. Such promises and favours asked must be of little consequence in comparison with those which in the past led people to crawl on their hands and knees, or walk on knees alone, up the steep hills to the Sanctuary in the castle.

Saints' Days and Semana Santa

The occasion of religious festivals during the year varies throughout Spain, and the local chauvinism apparent, has been used as further evidence of the 'ethnocentrism' of the Spanish pueblo (Pitt-Rivers 1971:11). The intensity of
this local practice does not derive from chauvinism, however, but from variations in historical circumstances, in the nature of symbols, and in the character, and personalities, of people and of areas, which derive, in their turn, from economic and political circumstances. The particular combination of the possible year of celebration which affects Caravaca is studied below, beginning with the most generalised and nationally celebrated fiestas and ending with the most specific and local, the Fiestas of the Cross of Caravaca.

All over Spain people's Saint's Days are traditionally more important than their birthdays. This leads to greater general celebration since many people hold the same few names in common. Additionally these festivals are religious. The most obvious days of personal Saint's Day celebration in Caravaca are San Pedro, and San Antonio. There are parties all over the town as the numerous Pedros and Antonios celebrate themselves and their namesakes. In 1981 the Barrio of San Pedro also held a fiesta. There was a dance in the streets of the barrio on the appropriate Sunday. First, the priest said a Mass and then the revels were attended by the Mayor and the Authorities.

The Fiesta del Carmen, (Appendix) associated with the third Sunday in July, is a national holiday centred upon the celebration of a Marian invocation. It is therefore a fiesta for every 'Marie Carmen' in Spain, and for the Carmelite nuns and friars. In some towns it is the patronal fiesta, in Moratalla, and Grazalema, for example (the latter town was the subject of Pitt-Rivers' study, and the Virgen del Carmen is patroness of half the town). In many towns the popular bull-fighting fiestas, which are held in the streets, are associated with the Virgen del Carmen. The Carmelites 'christianised' this fiesta in the sixteenth century. In these fiestas the bull is often left to run in the street attached to a rope, as in Grazalema, or several animals are set free between
barricaded entrances, as in Moratalla. Caravaca has its own particular version of this festival. There are all kinds of popular entertainments which last for three or four days. There is also a Novena and the most religiously committed people visit each one of Caravaca's churches in turn. Red carnations are sold on the streets. The Carmelite friars are prime movers in the organisation of the festivities, and they allow the patio of their monastery (Photo. 36b) to be used for many of the events. On Saturday afternoon, the 17th of June, a becerrada or encierro de vaca (an opportunity to fight with a corraled calf) was staged, in an arena which had been hastily constructed in the patio. Although this is still against the law, the event clearly received both civil and religious sanction, within a very unified pueblo. In the patio that afternoon the early summer heat was scorching, dust filled the air, the bunting fluttered, criss-crossing the space in lines that were like the charges of the tethered calf below. In the centre of the patio a tall pole with a long rope attached to it kept some rein on the strong young cow. Behind the rough-pole fencing of the barriers the spectators pressed and jostled to shout through the dust at the bravura-filled youths who mobbed the animal, wrestled with it, or made hollow passes with makeshift muletas. (Photos. 36a.)

The calf butts and bumps and bruises the boys with her fore-shortened horns just as much as they injure her and she will never receive as deep wounds as many of them receive to their pride if they should fail to capitalise on every ounce of their enthusiasm to overcome their lack of skills. The contest is over when everyone is exhausted, and the calf will live to fight another day when, wiser with every event, it can guarantee to trample under hoof even more young arms and legs. Mira, 1980 comments in detail on how such events arise.

The public face of the festival of Corpus Christi provides a stark contrast with the events above. This festival, which was once the most important religious fiesta
of the whole calendar is now marked only by a procession
through town, up the Gran Via to the parish church of El
Salvador. Every member of the procession carries a lighted
candle. The Authorities attend but there are few children,
despite their presence in force at so many other fiestas.
This suggests that this festival has a relatively insignificant
place in the 'religion of the pueblo' today.

All Saint's Day is a completely different matter, however.
The theme of familiarity and involvement with death is
raised every year at this time. This is another important
'social occasion'. Very probably the whole family will
take a picnic and spend the day out of town, in the
cemetery, changing the paper and linen flowers in the
permanent memorials, covering everywhere with fresh flowers,
and burning incense. These are the sweet smells of death:
another reversal of reality is thereby effected (see p.732).
Candles are lit in the tombs and sometimes the women spend
the whole night there. Such an emphasis upon the place of
death in the Catholic faith may also reflect the influence
of the pueblo in the religion, which is sees death as the
most understandable, the most 'real' part of the Faith.
One classic of Spanish literature, Cela's _La familia de
Pascual Duarte_, concerns itself wholly with death as
the only means of expression available to an ordinary
man 'in extremis'.

Other nationally recognised fiestas which still affect
Caravaca are the _Fiesta de la Raza (hispanica)_ which is a
celebration of the whole Spanish world; The Day of San Jose,
which is another national holiday; and Viernes de Lazarro
which, although it is not a national holiday, is commonly
celebrated on the last Friday in March. Lazarus is the
patron saint of wounds and illness. In the Sanctuary,
in Caravaca, the west door is known as the Door of Lazarus,
and many of the older people, especially women, go up
to the castle all through the day to light a candle to him.
In the past, people even used to sleep there, but do not
do so anymore. There is clearly a relationship
here between this style of expression and the concern and interest shown in sickness. There are some otherwise 'normal' women who visit every single patient in the clinic every day, there are others who regularly attend the clinic with little justification, and it is very common that any member of the family who is sick and has to spend time in the clinic or in hospital will be accompanied for the whole of their stay of whatever duration night and day by another member of the family, even in a shared room or ward.

Christmas is a time when the secular celebrations are more clearly separated off from the religious but even here custom provides many elaborations on the liturgical acts. The pre-Christmas preparations mostly concern catering for the celebration of such a special event. The mothers and daughters of every household are busy baking sweets and making room for members of the family who will probably return for the holiday. The 24th of December is known as the *Misa del Gallo*. Until about half-past eleven at night the day is marked only by preparations and a generalized holiday atmosphere. As midnight approaches anyone stepping into the Gran Via would feel that the whole town must be moving up the hill with a single purpose. In 1981 it was a clear fresh night full of many touching pictures, like that of a grandfather and grandson hand in hand earnestly accompanying each other. Most of those who were going to Mass had just been at home with their families, eating their equivalent of the British 'Christmas Dinner', and they were not 'dressed for church'. There was a tremendous atmosphere in the streets with some children running in and out of houses with hoisemakers', adolescents lighting 'joints' in shop doorways, and other running and shouting up and down the castle walls. Many people went up by car and dozens of vehicles were parked in rows in the courtyard, right outside the door of the church. Inside, the basilica was full, all around people stood several rows deep.
Only the first few rows of the seated congregation could have heard the service since people talked and shouted throughout. No-one stayed still, and people constantly moved in and out of the doors. At the end of the service the crowd surged forward to kiss the Cross of Caravaca. After leaving the church those who did not spend hours in the queue of cars trying to make their way down the hill paid visits to family and friends and were offered sweets and drinks. Many of the young went on to parties all over the town.

The following day is Christmas Day and is an entirely family occasion. In the morning families make their only public appearance of the day in a paseo in their best clothes up and down the Gran Via. After Christmas New Year is celebrated but it is not a religious occasion. Epiphany, however, which comes soon after on January the 6th, is still part of the Christmas festivities. In the churches there is probably a novena but the part of the celebration which most affects the pueblo is the arrival of the Three Kings (photos. 126). This is the occasion on which the children receive their 'Christmas presents'. In the days prior to this, toy stalls have appeared in the main streets. The acts of this festival are paid for by the Town Hall and there is little religious manifestation, other than the underlying theme and the basic symbols.

Outside the patronal Fiestas which form the main focus of attention for this whole study, the most important everyday involvement in the activities of the Catholic religion which the townspeople have comes during Holy Week ('Semana Santa') (photos. 113ff).

Por la calleja vienen
extraños unicornios.
¿De qué campo,
de qué bosque mitológico?
Más cerca,
ya parecen astrónomos,
fantásticos Merlines.... (Frederico Garcia Lorca)
("Down narrow streets they come
strange unicorns.
From what fields,
from what mythical forest?
Nearer,
now they seem like astronomers,
fantastical Merlins....

These processions are an important part of people's lives: for a whole week there is little else happening. People do not work, and the images, shapes, movement and so on, are all allowed free play to affect everyone. Many more people than usual attend church and religion becomes a subject of conversation in the bars. Holy Week is a week-long funeral, and its most important day is considered to be Good Friday, the day of the burial, ("El Santo Entierro").

The week before Semana Santa wives and girlfriends spend much of their time in the churches dressing the images and the floats which make up the pasos that are to be carried or pushed in the processions. Throughout Murcia and Andalusia the tradition of elaborate and committed Holy Week festivities is probably stronger than in other parts of the peninsula, but in Caravaca it does not play such an important part in people's lives. Recently, however, the steady growth in scale of the patronal Fiestas has led to an increase in splendour and interest in the display of Holy Week, which in the past had always suffered beside the attention people paid to the approaching patronal devotion in May.

In the past, the images which form the central focus of the display in Semana Santa were, in some cases, the private property of a single señorito, and the activities of the particular cofradía associated with the care of that image were completely under his direction. Today there is no particular status attached to the headship of any of the cofradías who make up the Holy Week processions. Indeed, it is often difficult to find anyone to undertake the considerable organisation. Many members of the participating groups are women and children.

A local priest explained to me that this way of
celebrating Easter had evolved as a form of reconciliation of sinners with society. Because sin was considered to be committed against society and not simply against God, there was a need to make the confession of sin public, in order that sacrifice of the body regained communion for the people, originally penitents wore sackcloth, and put ashes on their heads. To prevent a separation between those seen to be sinners and those who stood apart, however, hoods came to be worn. 'Vatican II' declared that the processions should be undertaken for love, and although there are still some people who process as penitents, barefoot or carrying heavy crosses, the theme of love justifies the participation of so many children who are being 'socialized' into 'the Faith'.

The events of Semana Santa begin on the Friday before Palm Sunday ('Domingo de Ramos'), which is known as Viernes de Dolores. In 1982 a pregón or 'announcement' of the forthcoming solemnities was made at 7.30 in the evening. This took place in the Convent Church of Santa Clara which belongs to the nuns of the same order. Such a pregón consists of a speech on an appropriate theme by an eminent speaker, in this case the headmaster of the local secondary school (see p.270). The speech took place after the early evening Communion. Later on the same night there is a 'Viacrucis of penitence' --- a solemn procession of people carrying lighted candles, following an image of El Cristo de Dolores from the church of the Carmelite nuns to the Sanctuary chapel in the castle, where a Mass is conducted.

On Palm Sunday there are well-attended Masses at 11.30 am in the parish church of El Salvador, at 8 am and 6 pm in the parish church of San Francisco, and 9 and 10 am in the church of Santa Clara and Santa Elena respectively. In these few days before the first procession, people are preparing their costumes, moving floats through the streets from warehouses to churches, and buying flowers and sweets. In Caravaca the involvement
of children and therefore of a world of surface emotions seems to be a very important element of these religious activities. Sweet stalls spring up all over the town, and in every confectioner's shop there are large lurid green, blue, red and purple sugar *nazarenos* ('the hooded and gowned penitents who take part in the processions'). Many of the 'real-life' *nazarenos* fill the 'bellies' of their costumes with boiled sweets, known as *caramelos*, (Photo. 115) which they will throw to any children who stand watching the processions. The colours and sounds of every Holy Week tableau also play heavily on the emotions: the highly 'realistic' bleeding and weeping central images, the gaudy colours and the shiny satin costumes, the unnatural, fantastical shapes, the shadowy eye-slits, the candle-lit darkness or the unusual early morning activity, and the sombre, heart-beat rhythm of the drums accompanying the echoing step of the swaying *paso*-bearers, interrupted only by the occasional shrieking song of the *saetas*. All of these images remind any observer that the Church is the source of very powerful symbols.

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<th>DAY</th>
<th>COFRADIA</th>
<th>IMAGE CARRIED</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>'Purples'</td>
<td>Oración del Huerto</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'Reds'</td>
<td>Cristo del Prendimiento</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'Whites'</td>
<td>San Juan el evangelista</td>
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<td>'Blues'</td>
<td>Nuestra Señora de los Dolores</td>
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<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>'Reds'</td>
<td>Señor de la Columna</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'Purples'</td>
<td>La Verónica and Nuestro Padre</td>
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<td>Nuestra Señora de los Dolores</td>
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<td>Thursday</td>
<td>'of Silence'</td>
<td>Cristo de los Voluntarios</td>
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<td>Friday-morning</td>
<td>'Reds'</td>
<td>Señor del Balcón</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'Purples'</td>
<td>La Veronica and Nuestro Padre</td>
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<td>'Whites'</td>
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<td>Friday-evening</td>
<td>'Reds'</td>
<td>Cristo de la Misericordia</td>
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<td>'Blues'</td>
<td>Virgen de las Angustias</td>
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<td>'Purples'</td>
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<td>'Blacks'</td>
<td>La Virgen de la Soledad</td>
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The first procession of the week begins some time after eight o'clock in the evening on the Tuesday after
Palm Sunday. This is *Martes Santo* and the procession is known as *La Procesión de la Oración del Huerto*. The cofradías who take part in this procession, the order in which they process and the images which they carry are shown in the table above. This table also outlines the details of the other processions during the week.

On Wednesday night at the same time there is another procession, which makes its way through the streets of the old part of the town, in a similar manner to the procession of the previous night. This is the *Procesión del Prendimiento*. The route is changed slightly and different images are carried.

When images and their floats are small enough they are carried. When they are larger they are transported on a covered platform with wheels and a steerer underneath, (Photo. 3). Even those which are carried still weigh several hundredweights, and they are supported on beams on the shoulders of two files of between four and sixteen men, depending on the size of the image and the pride and courage of the bearers, who will, in any case, probably take turns with another set. The procession, the rest of which is made up of sinister costumed figures carrying candles (Photo. 4), walks to the pace of single drum (Photo. 5). Occasionally the 'bravest' of the groups of image-bearers will 'dance' their image, rocking it up and down and around on their shoulders that become bruised and sore, and which they will nurse throughout the following week.

During all of these days there is a Communion and time set aside for thought and prayer at 7.30 in the morning in the parish church of San Francisco. On Thursday, the first official public holiday of the week, the Church ceremonies become even more important because in the evening the liturgy of the *Santos Oficios* is performed in all of the churches in the town. People attempt to visit every single church during the course of the evening and the following day.
Thursday night at 11pm the Procession of Silence begins. The only paso and the only cofradía to process on this occasion are the Cofradía del Santísimo Cristo de los Voluntarios de la Cruz de Caravaca, with their image of a crucified Christ (Photo. ?). They never speak to each other during the procession. They wear white hoods with the Cross of Caravaca emblazoned upon them in red, and these hoods are never removed in public. Their procession is watched with awe, admiration and breathless solemnity. They follow a special route from the parish church of El Salvador to the church of the Carmelite nuns, and it is after midnight when they arrive (Photo. ?).

Viernes Santo ('Good Friday') opens with a procession which begins between nine and ten thirty in the morning, with four of the cofradías leaving the parish church of La Concepcion, and assembling in the Plaza Mayor for the symbolic encounter between the image of Jesus and that of his mother. The floats of Jesus and of the Virgin are literally carried towards each other in the square, so that their meeting is real. Before the groups disperse again the 'Sermon of the Seven Words' is delivered to the crowds gathered to listen and watch (Photo. ?).

That night at nine o'clock the Solemn Procession of the Sacred Burial leaves the parish church of El Salvador and follows a route which returns to this church, and to the church of San Francisco in the case of some of the images, via the Plaza Mayor. All of the cofradías, with the exception of the Cofradía of Silence, take part along with an additional group --- the 'Negros' (the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad), and their image, that of 'Our Lady of Solitude'. In the Plaza Mayor at the end of the procession a competition is held to judge the best songs and performances of saetas.

Possibly the most important religious act of the whole week takes place on the Saturday night; the eve of Easter Sunday --- a day on which people desert the town to picnic on the mountains or at shrines in the countryside. Throughout the town in all the churches some people
attend to see the small bonfire lit at midnight on Saturday from which the *cirio pascual* ('the giant Easter candle') is also lit. This candle will burn for forty days and nights. The whole of the Passion has been acted out in the town through images and ritual.

I do not intend to analyse these rituals here, because, any such analysis would of necessity be long and complex, and would draw attention away from the main thrust of my argument; it would also, I feel, misrepresent the position of these activities in the life of the town. In Caravaca de la Cruz these events have a very limited importance relative to the role they play in other communities (as a glance at Munera Rico [1981] will show). And I intend that my conclusions should clearly indicate their relevance to life in Caravaca at present. It has to be remarked, however, that the position of any important symbols is in constant flux and is relative to many other social circumstances. Already *Semana Santa* is more important to the people of Caravaca than it was only a few years ago.

Up until the present, the symbols which have been most in control of the people of the town, as opposed to being in the hands of a 'distant' Church, have been those associated with their Cross of Caravaca —— celebrated in a week of community-wide Fiestas at the beginning of May every year. It is the structure of this social phenomenon which will be examined in the remainder of this work.
NOTES

1. SECULAR LIFE

1. 'Caravaca, ciudad que, a pesar de la importancia que alcanzó durante la Edad Media, no tiene aún una historia que merezca tal nombre, pues las publicadas hasta ahora están hechas tomando como base las supercherías de los falsos cronicones.'

('Caravaca, a city which, despite the importance which it achieved in the Middle Ages, still has no written history which could be considered worthy of the name, given that all those which have been published to date are based upon the mystifications of false chronicles.') Saez, E., 'Privilegio de la Orden de Santiago a Caravaca' in Hispania, VI, 1942, p.142.

Examples of histories which fail to distinguish myths sufficiently from historical events are:
Robles Corbalan (1619), de Cuenca Fernandez Pinero (1722), Martinez Yglesias (1847), Marin de Espinosa (1856), Robles y Godinez (1888), Bas y Martinez (1887).


3. The Moorish presence in Spain lasted from 711-1614, for further details see Read (1974).

4. The Order of the Temple was created in Jerusalem in 1118 by Hugo de Paganis and eight other knights, in the service of God and the patriarch of Jerusalem --- they derived their name from their proximity to the Temple of Solomon. For an admirable comprehensive history of all the Military Orders in Spain see Lomax (1976).

5. The Order of Santiago was founded in 1161 in the reign of Sancho III of Leon and was authorized by the Popes Alexander and Innocent III under the rule of Saint Augustine. It is told that twelve Leonese adventurers repented their licentious existence and decided to unite to form an association to defend Christian lands from the insults of the Saracens in order to expiate their sins. Don Pedro Fernandez de Fuente Encalada of Astorga was elected chief of this new military brotherhood. Alfonso IX of Castille gave them the castle and city of Ucles, and they soon established a base of great wealth for their power with more than a hundred estates under their control and annual rents of more than 150,000 pesos fuertes. For further details see Lomax (1965).


7. Apparitions of the True Cross are associated with other fortresses of the Knights Templar in Spain and even today double-barred crosses are associated with the Masons who are said to have connections with the Knights Templar.

8. In the Middle Ages Caravaca was expected to provide 15 Knights for the service of the Crown, with their designated attendants—90 more soldiers, (Marin de Espinosa, 1856).
9. Even so, good attendances can only be guaranteed by associating the event with the Cross and holding it in the patio of the Sanctuary. People will make their way to the Sanctuary almost by instinct but they will be more reluctant to search out any other venue.

10. It is said that the trauma and depth of the French influence is reflected in the local custom of including chicken's livers in sausage recipes which in other parts of the region do not incorporate this particular form of offal.

11. The more they resemble the most famous hams from the caves of Trevelez etc. in the Alpujarras in Southern Andalusia the better they are considered to be.

12. Rice mould and banana with tomato sauce poured over it.

13. Most of this data comes from interviews conducted with families in various hamlets and villages or people from those villages now in Caravaca, or visits made during the census and most particularly one large family in Los Royos.

14. The Extensión Agraria are particularly concerned about the dangers of this form of exploitation.

15. Gregory notes a similar search for new sources of power and prestige in the towns of Andalusia in 1959 to the one which is evident in Caravaca in that period. Also see the forthcoming work of Alice Gail Bier which deals specifically with migration from the province of Murcia to Mataró on the outskirts of Barcelona.


17. A misunderstanding which worried the old man who asked me this question.


19. Until November 1982 UCD had a large majority in Caravaca but a town in which a Fuerza Nueva (the Spanish equivalent of the British National Front Party) banner is allowed to hang permanently in the main square does not need questions to be asked about its political identity. There is also a great deal of damaging political rivalry with the more extreme and strongly communist neighbouring town of Moratalla.

20. 'El Cejas' is the nickname of notorious Caravaquenian character. 'The Eyebrows' would be a translation of the name. As in the formation of so many nicknames the masculine indefinite article is added to a female noun to indicate the reference to a male person.

21. A traditional folkgroup form, see ARGOS Vol. 1 No 2.

22. Names in italics are nicknames.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

23. Christian (1976) has written an article on the distribution of devotions to Maria in Spain. See also Marina Warner's (1976) discussion of this cult.
24. The original founding letter exists in the Archives of the town is reprinted in Marin de Espinosa (1856) and in the works of Santa Teresa.


26. There are several of these during the year.

27. June the 29th.


29. A great deal of detailed information about the tradition of Holy Week in Murcia is contained in Munuera Rico (1981).

30. These are the flamenco-related improvised compliments paid to the images in song form at any stage on the route of the procession. They have a relationship to 'provoked religious weeping' before images, see Christian 1982.
PART III
THE CROSS:
THE CROSS 1

Himno a la ciudad de Caravaca de la Cruz

Nuestra ciudad es un pueblo que a España
con fe y amor la sabe honrar
porque el placer de que aquí alardeamos
es aprender a trabajar, a trabajar, a trabajar,
es aprender a trabajar.

Son sus hijos la alegría
de esta tierra encantadora
y ostentan las mozás de la serranía
hermosos reflejos de la raza mora.

Suenan trompas y clarines,
se oyen cantos de mujeres
(y no hay otros fines
que el ser siempre esclavos
de nuestros deberes). Repite

Estribillo

Se alza grande y hermosa
sobre los muros de la ciudad
la enseña más grandiosa
que adora toda la Cristiandad.
Es nuestra Cruz amada
lo más sublime de la región,
en la que Caravaca
tiene fe ciega y adoración.

Despertad caravaqueños, despertad caravaqueños,
que el nuevo sol
será del pueblo
la redención, 29 (La redención). Al Estribillo

Hymn to the city of Caravaca and its Cross

Our city is a people who know how to honour Spain with
faith and love because the pleasure of which we here are
boasting is learning to work.

Your sons are the joy of this enchanting land and the young
girls from this mountainous district show off how they are
beautiful reflections of the Moorish race.

Horns and trumpets sound, women can be heard singing (and
there are no other ends than being always slaves of our
duties). REPEAT

REFRAIN

The most grandiose symbol, adored by all Christianity
stands up great and beautiful on the walls of the city.
It is our beloved Cross, the most sublime thing of the
region in which Caravaca has blind faith and adoration.

Wake up, Caravaquenians, Wake up, Caravaquenians,
the new sun will be the salvation of the town. (The salvation)

RETURN TO THE REFRAIN
THE CROSS OF CARAVACA

This hymn is sung more than any other song or tune in Caravaca. It is sung most often during fiestas, especially the patronal Fiestas de Mayo. On my second visit to the town during the important 'pre-Fiesta' period, I found myself joining in the singing of it. Even though I was very familiar with it I had not realized that I knew it so well. To any Caravaquenian the words or the music evoke his or her experiences of this special time of year and the experience of being Caravaquenian. The Hymn is a condensed emotional and factual symbol. It contains people, the pueblo, faith, love, honour, pleasure, experience, work, the land, history, and all of these are placed in a direct relationship with the Cross of Caravaca.

Every town in Spain has the symbolic protection of a Roman Catholic patrón or patrona. In Caravaca de la Cruz the nature of the relationship that the members of the community have with their 'patroness', a particular manifestation of the Cross, has come to be so intense and vital to the survival of the social structure that it supersedes any relationship directly with the everyday acts and rites of the Catholic faith. This has happened to such an extent that there is the appearance of an autonomous religious belief dependent on the Mother Church only for its origins.

Up to recent times, the Roman liturgy has not left much room for active participation of the laity.... The Roman Church has only recently recognized that for many of its members the cultic act had no perceptible social character. Roman Catholics worshipped in the same place at the same time but not really together (MacKenzie, 1969:125). Religion provides access to the universal. The problem for any society is getting access to that access, and understanding what it means to have it. This secondary access is gained through the independent evolution of a variety of social structures. Part II:2 of this work
showed that the motives and structures of Catholicism are an integral and unavoidable unconscious part of people's lives. Any desire that people might have over and above the satisfaction of material needs (and, as has been seen, even the economy is affected by religious belief) is determined by the unconscious structure of the Catholic way of experiencing the universal. Identity, politics, transcendental understanding, and sensual experience (the establishment of the boundaries of perception) are gained through the people's own transformation of this structure: seen in their localised practices. In Caravaca, the focus for this transformation is a Cross.

The Cross of Caravaca is not just a symbol or an image, as in the case of statues of Saints or an enormous number of unverified relics, it is la Vera Cruz: The Cross itself. It is a double-barred Cross in the patriarchal form --- declared to be formed from pieces of 'lignum crucis' which are said to be part of the True Cross on which Christ was crucified and which was discovered by Saint Helena in her excavation of Calvary in the fifth century. These pieces of wood are kept in a jewelled gold reliquary about 7" by 3" in size.

From time to time various religious relics are carried around Spain to visit elements of the faithful who may not otherwise have access to them. When, during the nineteen-seventies, the arm of Saint Teresa was brought to Caravaca it received nothing like the devotion accorded to it in other places. This response was due to the presence of a relic of higher status, and occurred despite the importance of the Discalced Carmelites in the town. This was not just a distant echo of the traditional rivalry between relics, but quite simply a function of the fact that the Cross is more important. However, the pieces of 'lignum crucis' at present contained in the reliquary of the 'Most Sainted and True Cross of Caravaca' came from the Vatican
in 1939. They are not the pieces which formed a Cross, that the myth has it was brought to the town in 1231, or thereabouts. The Cross of Caravaca was stolen in 1934, in the prelude to the Civil War, under most mysterious circumstances (by the Masons it is said), and that which exists now has become a symbol of that which existed previously —— a symbol which is for the believers a reality. Today it is only the reliquary which provides the shape of the double-barred Cross of Caravaca, the tiny fragments of wood can only be seen darkly through the translucent emeralds that cover it. The box is sealed and cannot reveal its relic, laying all the emphasis upon what is believed about it. There is no rationality involved but there is a social logic which it is one of the aims of this thesis to illustrate.

Every Caravaquenian knows the story which provides the bare bones of the myth around which the cult to the Cross of Caravaca is constructed. A version of it might read as follows:

In his castle on the hill in Caravaca in 1231 a Moorish king known today, by Caravaquenians, as Zeyt-Abu-Zeyt was holding prisoner a group of Christians, among whom was a priest named Gines Perez Chirinos. One day the king ordered the prisoners before him for questioning, and, when it came to his turn to be questioned, the priest, explaining his office, asked that he be allowed to celebrate a Mass. From benevolence and curiosity the king agreed and asked him to say what he would need. At length all the necessary objects were brought, but as he was about to begin, the priest realized that there was no Cross. He told the king, who replied by saying, 'Is that the Cross?' All eyes turned up to where the king was pointing at a radiant double-barred Cross being carried down from a window by two angels who, on alighting, explained that this was part of the True Cross on which the Redeemer was martyred. As a result of this miraculous apparition the king and his family converted to Christianity and released the captives.

The various writers and historians who have mentioned the event have between them created about thirty versions
of this story — most of which are copied from each other with slight embellishment or variation. Some versions of the story say that at first the Cross was an ordinary single-barred Cross but that an expression of disbelief on the part of the king caused a second bar to appear which left him in no doubt. Other versions contain more named characters or more words from the mouths of the angels. It is often said that the angels transported the Cross instantly from around the neck of the King of Jerusalem to Caravaca. In many representations of the Cross the angels are retained as part of the form of the image and as part of the miracle (photo.98b).

Over the centuries there have been constant attempts by the people themselves to authenticate the story of the apparition and these continue today with the aid of archaeology and current research methods. Many of the town's records and archives have been destroyed on numerous occasions making the task difficult, but it is still possible to trace the association of the town of Caravaca with a Cross to a document dated 1285. In this the arms of the town are described as a Cross displayed above a castle. The historian Emilio Saez too attests to another document dated 1289 in which the king Sancho IV refers to the 'Santa Vera Cruz'. Yet another reference to the True Cross, and therefore presumably the double-barred Cross, occurs in a parchment dated 1354 (AMC Perg. 1. 1354 XII 27). Then the first definite evidence of a cult to this Cross comes from a reference to the stewardship of the Cross in a document written in 1494. In a manuscript of the early sixteenth century Saez has discovered the following short verse:

Esta Santa Vera Cruz
es la que más nos defiende
de cualquier cosa que ofende
Esta se muestra y se saca
per extraña maravilla
en la fuerte y noble villa
This Sainted and True Cross is that which most defends us from everything which offends us. This is shown and declared a strange marvel in the strong and noble town of Caravaca. This is our guide and light and that which most defends us from everything which offends us.

The Cross of Caravaca gained cultic recognition throughout the world and is still known in many places today. The date of the start of the cults dispersion is not known but it is thought that the Jesuits initiated the main thrust of its spread with their evangelical zeal. According to a national Church magazine, 'there are few devotions like that of the Cross of Caravaca, so typically local, so rooted in the entrails of a people, and at the same time so dispersed worldwide' (taken, 1981). In 1600 a Dominican scholar from Valencia remarked that 'people go to Caravaca from all parts of Spain to adore that Cross'. In 1668 an Augustinian Isidoro Rodriguez set sail for the Philipines with, 'a chest of Caravaquenian crosses, rosaries, medals and objects of devotion'. Munsterer has said in 'Das Caravacakreuz und seine deutschen Nachbildungen' that the cult of the Cross of Caravaca in Germany began around 1600, propagated by the Jesuits, Benedictines and Franciscans. The enthusiasm for the cult there apparently lasted only until the end of the century when it became almost completely extinct, except for the double-barred iron crosses which are still forged, and used today to ward off storms. Two seventeenth century Crosses of Caravaca have been discovered in cathedrals in Poland. A nineteenth century French writer, Xavier Barbier de Montauld, wrote several articles about this Cross and described some examples from the Limoges region. These works and others are glossed in Hildburgh's article 'Caravaca Crosses and their uses as amulets in Spain' (1940).
Spanish missionaries carried the Cross of Caravaca to America, and its presence can still be noted today all over the continent. There are jewellers making gold and silver crosses of this type in Buenos Aires, Mexico and California. A tradition which must date from the first missionaries, that of giving presents of crosses of Caravaca, holds good today and the Spanish Royal family and the Pope are proud possessors of copies of this symbol. In the town of Avila, near to its encircling mediaeval walls, there is a small street named 'Calle de la Cruz de Caravaca'. In Galicia the Cross is still found in use as an amulet and is occasionally found in archaeological excavations. In Barcelona today older people remember it being used in their childhood as a cure-all charm, when it was nicknamed 'the Cross of the Gypsies'.

In Caravaca itself, the young are trying 'scientifically' to confirm all the circumstances surrounding the story of the apparition. A recent archaeological excavation in the patio of the Sanctuary had the luck to encounter a Moorish wall five metres down, when all around their arbitrarily chosen site of excavation there was nothing below them but a rubbish-filled hole. This did not prove the apparition but it added to the myth which was part of the motivation for the project.

Beyond the few extant facts about the Cross history and myth become progressively intertwined in the formation of the 'historical ideas' acceptable in the town today and which, effectively, operate in Malinowski's terms as a 'charter' for present day social activities.

Myth is...an indispensable ingredient of all culture. It is, as we have seen, constantly regenerated; every historical change creates its mythology, which is however, but indirectly related to historical fact. Myth is a constant by-product of living faith, which is in need of miracles; of sociological status, which demands precedent; of moral rule, which requires sanction (Malinowski, 1926:59).
Through its myths a society can be defined and an acceptable understanding of the contemporary cultural context can be experienced. As a result of the selective process that is involved in making up the stories which people tell about themselves, the line between myth and reality becomes confused, enabling people to manipulate their own beliefs to particular social circumstances, and to any changes that might occur in the immediate political or economic frameworks of their lives. In this way a worldview is constructed.

Myth-construction in Caravaca begins with the generation of the initial legend of a miraculous Holy apparition in a border town which was constantly facing the life-and-soul-destroying identity of Moorish enemies and neighbours. This sort of myth can clearly also be seen as 'propaganda'.

The history of Catholicism in practice, both before and after the sixteenth century, is a constant process of new agents and devotions creating a commonality across boundaries of place and nation, and a constant adaptation and cooptation of the general agents and devotions for local purposes.

As long as religion was tied into the landscape, with specially-prized images in specifically sacred places; as long as true sources of grace were pieces of bone and specific bodies in graves; and as long as there was the notion that saints could have specially favoured relations with particular communities ---doctrines all reaffirmed at Trent --- localism, regionalism, and nationalism, would be with the Church (Christian, 1977:179).

At the end of the sixteenth century, King Felipe III saw the emphasis on popular commitment to the celebration of the Host as a fundamental underpinning of Church power, after more than a century of royally supported reinforcement in the wake of the Reconquest as something to be challenged to encourage the spread of True faith. In Caravaca there existed the opportunity to promote a more 'controllable cult' --- a cult which represented the people and the town. From his seigneurial position as
head of the controlling Military Order, which needed to maintain its hold in the face of constant challenge by the Church, he set out to restore the balance of power in this town that had one priest to every eight inhabitants and which had just seen the building of a giant parish church begin in 1544. Under his patronage, the building of the Sanctuary inside the restored castle, which was finally to become the permanent home of the Cross of Caravaca in 1703, was eventually begun in 1617.

The propagation of the cult was already supported by a host of 'conversion miracles', which were continually augmented by other examples adding to the overall myth of the Cross. This established a pedigree in the same way that Patricia Morrison has shown early mediaeval shrines in France to have done when they kept long lists of the miracles and powers of their respective relics or sacred images.

Dr. Cuenca, scholar and chaplain of the Cross in the eighteenth century, had a hundred and twenty-six pages of references to miracles associated with the Cross. Among them are the following:

In 1414, a blindman from Seville named Alfonso Martinez gave gifts of silk and silver to the Cross and was enabled to escape: one of dozens of such cases involving prisoners of the Reconquest. In 1665, Pascual Garcia, master of works, fell 15 metres from where he was working inside the Sanctuary and arose unharmed on invoking the Cross. During another period of reconstruction in 1702 the dried-up wells of the castle courtyard were miraculously refilled after the appearance of the Cross at the Friday Mass which Dr. Cuenca himself held a little after the building work had been suspended due to lack of water. More recently, on May 4th 1949 during the Cruz de Impedidos (see p.225) a three year-old, Jose Torrecilla Moya was cured of a fever by the touch of the Cross of Caravaca.

The hopes and illusions associated with the Cross
and its miracles have controlled and moved the people of Caravaca for the last seven hundred and fifty years. Apparitions of the Cross have been connected with most of the major events in Caravaquenian history and myths have been made of these incidents. These myths are constructed by their use. The more they are repeated the more they are felt to be true and are believed. In the terms of closed-system logic they provide their own justification by association with a national system of meaning: the Catholic Church. If no miraculous appearance of the Cross was forthcoming at times of crisis the Cross was regularly brought out in the rite of conjuration, where the four major points of the compass are blessed to ask for rain or to cure sickness. Conjuration takes place currently during the month of April, morning and evening and from May to September in the morning only but in the last few years has come merely to be symbolized by the ringing of a bell.

Today the myths are enlarged upon and continually given verisimilitude by their inclusion in literary eulogies of the town and its Cross, published in local newspapers or given as speeches at a variety of public occasions. The style of all the words used about the Cross is distinctive and is instrumental in the production of a desired effect. Purple prose is universally popular. The myths are narrated in a lyrical epic style and so is everything else. Grimes has pointed out that:

Rhetoric allows people to agree with one another while reserving the right to interpret act out and thus make specific. Civic rhetoric allows individuals and groups otherwise separated to feel some sense of unity, even at the very moment when their diversity is being acted out in Pageants, rituals, and parades (Grimes, 1976:129).

Rhetorical speech or writing needs the involvement of the audience in its subject matter and it is what Caravaquenians expect of a speech or description of
their town. They assess the quality of the rhetoric and would not like or understand any other style. In addition, the 'fiesta rhetoric is sincere insofar as its chief values are defended outside the context of the celebration itself' (Grimes, 1976:130).

In Spain, 'culto es el honor que tributamos a uno, en razón de las excelencias que en él reconocemos...' ('cult is the honour which we give to someone, for the qualities which we recognize in him...'). A cult can be internal or external, public or private depending on the way in which it is practiced. The Church in its liturgy admits three classes of cult: 1) latria or adoration, which is the cult given to God, 2) dulia or veneration, which is the cult given to Saints, 3) hiperdulia or superveneration, the special cult to the Virgin Mary. In every case the cult can be relative or absolute. It is absolute when it is given directly to the person and relative when it is given to an image or an object which has a relationship with the person to whom the cult is directed.

The cult given to the Most Sainted Cross of Caravaca is one of latria, but relative. This is equally the case with all other relics of the passion of Christ and other True Crosses. However, the difference between this cult and others is that although it is relative it is liturgically the same as that which is given to the Host--three double genuflections are allowed at the altar before the relic.

In a Papal decree of the 15th September of 1736, the Sacred Congregation of Rites made certain prohibitions in an attempt to distinguish between particular cults. Genuflection was forbidden other than before the Host. As a result five chaplains of the Sanctuary in Caravaca wrote to the Congregation to ask that they might be allowed to continue their cult as they always had, since in the same year a cult to a 'lignum crucis' in Brescia was
prohibited. The Commission of Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the 23rd of August 1793 sent the following document to Caravaca:

Rmo. Senor: Habiéndose suscitado entre los sacerdotes de la Real Capilla, titulada de la Stma. Cruz de Caravaca, de tu jurisdicción, la duda de si podrían continuar con el culto especial tributado a la Stma. Cruz, o debían acomodarse al rito mandado para toda la Iglesia, la Comisión de cardenales ordena por estas letras lo siguiente: Si verdaderamente conoces que es práctica inmemorial y prevés que de hacer alguna mudanza para cumplir las Rúbricas y Decretos no sólo se habría de producir extrañeza en el pueblo fiel, sino ha causar escándalo y debilitar la devoción a la Stma. Cruz, no permitas se introduzca mudanza alguna.

(Reverend sir: since doubt has arisen among the priests of the Royal Chapel of the Sainted Cross of Caravaca as to whether they should continue with the special cult to the Sainted Cross or change to the rite ordered by the Church, the Commission of Cardinals orders the following: If truly you know that it is practice since time immemorial and foresee that to make any change to comply with the Rubrics and Decrees would not only produce alienation in the faithful town but produce scandal and debilitate the devotion to the Sainted Cross you should not permit the introduction of any change at all.)

The cult and the maintenance of at least some control over it remains important to the Church. In 1980 on the 17th of September over 200 Caravaquenians made the 4,500 kilometre pilgrimage by coach to the Vatican to ask the Pope to declare 1981 a Jubilee Year of special indulgence to celebrate the 750th anniversary of the Apparition of the Cross. On the 2nd of January 1981 the Bishop of Cartagena and Murcia received notice from the Papal Office of Indulgences that a Jubilee Year had been granted by the Pope (Appendix).
THE CROSS 2

THE COFRADIA

ESTATUTOS DE LA REAL E ILUSTRE COFRADÍA DE LA SANTÍSIMA Y VERA CRUZ DE CARAVACA

Artículo 1. La Real e Ilustre Cofradía de la Santísima y Vera Cruz de Caravaca, tiene por objeto mantener y propagar el Culto Religioso a su Sagrada Reliquia, Patrona de esta Ciudad que se venera en su celebre Santuario situado en la fortalesa e histórico Castillo de Caravaca, donde se apareció en el año 1232 de la Era Cristiana.

(Article 1. The Royal and Illustrious Confraternity of the Most Sainted and True Cross of Caravaca, has as its reason for being the maintenance and propagation of the religious cult to the Sacred Relic, Patron of this City which is venerated in its celebrated Sanctuary situated in the fortress and historic Castle of Caravaca, where it appeared in the year 1232 of the Christian Era.)

The Cofradía de la Cruz in Caravaca is a lay religious association of neighbours of both sexes. It commits people to their own 'religious' beliefs through their own means, rather than those of the Church and is a means of association in the same way as people may be dedicated football fans or active members of a political party. It has a religious character and an organisational role. It has the spiritual guidance of a priest who is under the control of the Cofradía and acts on behalf of its members.

In Caravaca, the Cofradía has a different relationship with the people and plays a different role from that outlined by Isidoro Moreno as typical of the Hermandades in Andalusia (1972:7). The antagonistic brotherhoods and dual organisation of social structure found in Moreno's Bencarron and some other southern Spanish communities bear little relation to the life, customs and social structure of Caravaca, even though the town of Lorca, a Murcian near neighbour of Caravaca, may fit Moreno's model. The Holy Week cofradía tradition there, splits the town into two distinct halves (see Munera Rico, 1981), and this determines many of the differences between two otherwise relatively similar populations — those of Caravaca and
Lorca. Caravaca's relationship to its own Cofradía de la Cruz, a unifying element throughout the pueblo, is the product of a specific set of historical processes.

In the late Middle Ages Spanish culture incorporated two institutions possessed of remarkable facilities for meeting the challenge of crisis periods and for integrating society. One was the cofradía, or religious brotherhood, which at an early period blended into the gremio, or trade guild, which preserved many of the sacred characteristics of the parent institution, but which came to stress economic aspects as well. The other was what is known in Spanish America as the compadrazgo, a web of interpersonal relationships based on spiritual kinship recognized by the Catholic Church, achieved through sponsorship of a neophyte at baptism, confirmation, or marriage. Both institutions competed in Spain for priority in the social system. The compadrazgo lost out and ended up as a routine religious observance, while for a period of several centuries cofradías and gremios dominated many aspects of Spanish life (Foster, 1953:2).

Many confraternities still exist throughout Spain today. There is a clear distinction to be made between confraternities, brotherhoods and guilds, (cofradias, hermandades, and gremios respectively). Cofradías have their origins in the revolutionary atmosphere of fourteenth-century Spain. Such an epoch abounds with the apparent contradictions that go to make up any complex historical process. Cofradías are the descendants of the great Brotherhoods which fomented social revolution, and of the Guilds that formed a focus for popular and working-class association within a feudally oppressive social system. But cofradías have as their primary raison d'être the lay organisation of religious devotion.

In 1348 guilds were prohibited by royal proclamation. This applied, of course, only where the Crown was in a position to enforce its government. It is unlikely that this particular rule was able to be applied in Caravaca which was under the rule of the Encomienda of the Military Order of Santiago, but this move probably influenced the direction of development of the Cofradía de la Cruz. In general, by means of cofradías under the auspices of devotional association, working people
were able to group together for mutual protection and assurance, holding in common their artisan trade.

The most comprehensive discussion of the history of *cofradías* and *gremios* remains that of Rumeau (1944). He explains that the *cofradía*, in earliest form was a voluntary sodality formed by individuals motivated by the desire to worship or pay homage to a particular saint of their choice. From the beginning these associations had mutual aid, as well as religious, aspects, in that Christian burial and the requisite number of masses for the dead were provided for deceased members. Rumeau calls this type the *cofradía religiosa-benefica*, or 'religious-mutual aid sodality'. Membership was open to any man acceptable to the other members. At an early period there was a tendency for these sodalities to be composed of members of the same *oficio*, the same trade or profession. This was a logical result of the growth of town life, crafts, and commerce, and of the frequent custom for members of the same occupation to live on the same street or in the same neighbourhood.

In Caravaca, the organisation of skills associated with all aspects of the production of *alpargatas* provided the dominant influence on the social structure for several centuries. It seems, however, that from very early on in its evolution the *Cofradía de la Cruz* was dedicated exclusively to the care and promulgation of the cult of the Cross. Documentation still exists which proves the establishment of a guardian institution of *mayordomos* of the Cross, from at least as early as 1494 (A.M.C. Perg. 7 1494). As time passed the *Cofradía de la Cruz* remained virtually the only one of the many *cofradías* which flourished in Caravaca not to show evidence of specific associations with particular trades. For example, there are references in the records which survive of other *cofradías* to prayers and rogations for assistance on the occasions of failure of the *cañamo* crop or of other similar shortages of materials (A.M.C. Act. Cap. 1602-6 III-VII folios 62 & 63). The *Cofradía de la Cruz* is the only one associated with the whole
LAS CONCEJILÍAS EN LA PROVINCIA DE MURCIA (1771)
pueblo, although it is not possible to know from what date
the Cross officially became 'patroness' of the town.

What is certain is that the eighteenth century saw
cofradias flourishing throughout the region of Murcia (see
accompanying table and map). With eighteen cofradías and
seven major fiestas, Caravaca de la Cruz demonstrated a
disproportionate level of religious fervour.
Although such enthusiasm was by no means unique, there
is one aspect of its official festival devotions, however,
which is distinctive and significant. Figures for 1771
revealed by F. Abbad in a study relating to the city of Murcia
show, as a result of a survey, that Caravaca spent much
the largest amount of money per cofradía out of all of the
towns of the region, including the capital. The only
higher figure is anomalous, being based in only one single
festival participation in a year. It seems that even two
centuries ago Caravaca, today famed for its show and
extravagance (as will be demonstrated in several contemporary
instances) was spending considerably more on outward
manifestations of religious involvement than a great many
other populations.

As a result of the French invasion of 1808 most of
the documentation of the Cofradía de la Cruz disappeared.
However, it is still possible to read a document dated
1817 which attests to partial survival and hints at the
'devotion' with which the Cofradía's 'secrets' continued to
be guarded.

...a la entrada de las tropas francescas en esta Villa,
el Archivo de la Cofradía fue destruido, sus papeles
arrojados por la tierra y sus fragmentos recogidos por
la piedad de varios devotos, de quienes los hemos recuperado
por indignaciones tan molestas, como difíciles y dilatadas
(A.C. Book 1. 1817).

(when the French troops entered this town, the
archive of the Cofradía was destroyed, its papers
cast upon the ground and its fragments recollected
through the dedication of various devotees, from
whom we have obtained them by investigations which
were as disturbing as they were difficult and
drawn out.)

Rather than just giving a brief exposition of its
history, a pre-war book of Statutes of the Cofradía devotes several pages to asserting and proving the spiritual tradition, the age of the organisation, and the quality of its historical antecedence. It also shows that the inversion of money in confraternity display is backed up by a deliberate involvement of wealth and nobility, even royalty, in the affairs of the Cofradía de la Cruz. The naming of important and prestigious national figures as honorary or even, in some cases, functional heads of the Cofradía has always been a form of increasing every aspect of the standing of this organisation. The head of the Cofradía is known as the Hermano Mayor. The known Hermano Mayores in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the following: 1795 Don Diego de Uribe y Caro, Marquis of San Mames; in 1807, the Maestrante of Granada and lifetime Regidor of Caravaca Don Jose Salazar y Maldonado; in 1816, the Infante of Spain, Don Carlos Maria Isidoro de Borbon; followed in 1864 and 1885 respectively by, Don Tomas Melgarejo y Musso, Count of the Valley of San Juan and Don Jose O'Shea y Hurtado de Cascuera.

Throughout the twentieth century until very recently many counts and important landowners have figured at the head of the Cofradía. The upper classes in Spain have traditionally shown a marked tendency to overt display of their religious devotion. It is also true that within the symbolic terms of reference of the system their participation did honour to their patron and contributed to the social power and presence locally and nationally of the Cofradía and of the cult. Seemingly a contradiction, but inevitable on another level of the system, the whole complex of behaviour promoted the power of the Church, despite its restricted position in the politics of the town. The list of important honorary Hermano Mayores this century also served to augment the status of the devotion. These impressive figures included: S.A.R. la Infanta Dona Isabel de Borbon, S.M. King Alfonso XIII, and General Franco. Currently, King Juan Carlos is said to take great pride in his position as honorary Hermano Mayor and he visited
the Sanctuary in 1979. As the Statutes of the Cofradía say:

De todo lo expuesto resulta que esta Illustre Cofradía de la Santísima Cruz de Caravaca se fundó con la autorización de Papas y Reyes, colmándose de dones y gracias adecuadas a grandeza de tan renombrada Reliquia, al carácter de los que las concedieron a la nobleza de sus cofrades a la suntuosidad de sus originales fiestas, y a la pompa y majestad del culto que se tributa a la Cruz en su Real Capilla.

(From what has been shown it is clear that the Illustrious Confraternity of the Most Sainted Cross of Caravaca was founded with the authority of Popes and Kings, liberally bestowed with gifts and thanks suitable to the greatness of such a renowned relic to the character of the tribute paid to the nobility by the members; to the sumptuousness of its original fiestas, and to the pomp and majesty of the cult which is paid to the Cross in its Royal Chapel.)

Such an organisation, naturally, has a formal structure. There are currently 71 articles in the Statutes of the Cofradía.

The only indispensable condition for membership is to be a militant Catholic. A four-armed metal cross hanging from a cord of red silk, is the emblem of the Cofradía which members should determinedly display whenever they attend religious acts organised by the Cofradía. The representative committee is composed of: a Hermano Mayor, a vice Hermano Mayor, a first deputy, a second deputy, a treasurer, and a secretary. All of these posts are voluntary and unpaid, neither women, youngsters under twenty-five, nor non-Caravaquenians are permitted to hold office. For the election of a new representative committee every year all the members can present to the table of the Cabildo ('General Meeting') proposals of names for the various posts with twenty or more signatures in support. Voting is completely secret, by a system of white and black balls, the winner being the one who gets fifty-one percent of the votes (one of the oldest voting systems in the world). An annual quota is paid, of twelve pesetas for a year for full male members and of five pesetas for women and aspirant youth members. This quota has not changed for about thirty years.

In Caravaca, almost the whole town, certainly nearly
every native, is a member of the *Cofradía de la Cruz* and, more importantly, most of those who are not believe, or feel, that they too are members, no matter what their religious beliefs or compliance with the faith (represented by attendance at Church). In order that the 'faithful' are kept adequately supplied with the symbols of their 'faith'. An official frameworker to the Cross is designated 'by appointment' to the *Cofradía* to provide framed images of the Cross for sale to the many Caravaquenians and others who desire them. The *Cofradía* has also instituted a special office of chronicler; this is usually a post for life. The chronicler is always a highly literate individual with strong Caravaquenian connections, who keeps a detailed record of *Cofradía* activities, as well as of events of general interest within the town.

According to the Statutes, the major financial commitments of the *Cofradía* are the following: to pay the costs of the Novena and the fiesta of the sixth to the fourteenth of September, and the traditional procession of that day; expenses incurred by the celebration of the traditional Mass of the Apparition on every second of May; the expenses of the solemn religious function on the day of the Invention of the Cross and the three processions of the Fiestas of May; the cost of ringing the bells, the cost of candles, lighting and any other expenses necessitated by the instructions contained in the Statutes of the *Cofradía*; the cost of buying and repairing the objects of cult, ornaments and sacred vessels and any resulting expenses of the co-operation between the *Cofradía* and the Chaplain of the Castle or religious community which may be in charge of the Cult; the cost of anything that is needed for the Sanctuary; the cost of stationary, books, and the like, for the use of the *Cofradía*.

Traditionally, in the days before Social Security, the *Cofradía* helped pay for the burial of deceased needy members, and also provided financial assistance to widows of such members. A Mass, which has a large attendance, is still held annually for the souls of the dead. Nowadays,
the Cofradía's most important duties include: ensuring that candles are kept burning, bells are rung appropriately, and cohetes loudly inform the pueblo of business that the Cofradía is undertaking on their behalf.

The Cofradía, and particularly its officials, are responsible for looking after the Cross and for seeing that the chaplain of the Sanctuary, who is also spiritual guide to the Cofradía, plays his part in caring for the relic. Through their participation in local politics, the members of the Cofradía can also ensure that their 'spiritual guide' is suited to their needs, since the Town Hall too has an historically established role to play in taking responsibility for the welfare of the town's symbol. It is the Town Hall and not the Church, that has the right on behalf of the Crown, to appoint the Chaplain of the Sanctuary to his post.

It would...be a mistake to think that, given the religious nature of these associations and their canonical dependence upon the religious authorities the brotherhoods are mere arms or instruments of the Church and of the representatives of its institutional apparatus in the pueblo: the parish priest (Moreno 1972:196).

In Caravaca, the independence of the Cofradía from the Parroquía and the antagonism between them is long established. The incursion of the established Church through the parish priest has never been developed in Caravaca due to the constant presence, over several hundred years until 1870, of the Military Order of Santiago, who were a religious force in their own right as well as being the secular representatives of the Cross.

The Cofradía provides room for control and modification of ritual which the Church as a rigid institution may not provide so easily. It not only cares for, but virtually creates the devotion to the Cross. This devotion is humanised through its method of organisation, in contrast with the relationship that more usually exists between people and the Catholic Church. In the most practical terms, the Cofradía allows direct manipulation of this
relationship: as is shown by the concession of indulgences, which are relatively unique privileges.

Possibly the most readily defined religious benefit arising from membership of the Cofradía and the one which connects most clearly with the structure of the Catholic religion, is the set of indulgences that are granted to or merited by every member of this association. A selection of extracts provides a useful summary of these indulgences:

(of the indulgences conceded by our most sainted father, the Pope Leo XIII to the cofrades of the Most Sainted Cross of Caravaca, this fourth day of December in eighteen ninety-three and the sixteenth...)

Indulgencias Plenarias

los cofrades que en el día de su ingreso en la Cofradía hayan confesado y comulgado.

A los cofrades que hallándose en el artículo de la muerte hayan confesado y comulgado; y no pudiendo hacerlo, encontrándose contritos de sus pecados, pronuncien devotamente el santisimo nombre de Jesús; y en la imposibilidad de hacerlo con los labios, lo invoquen al menos con el corazón.

A los cofrades que confesados y comulgados el día de la Invenición de la Santísima Cruz, o en uno de los días de su Octava, visiten su iglesia y rüegan por la concordia de los Príncipes cristianos, extirpación de las herejías, conversión de los pecadores y exaltaciones de la Santa Madre Iglesia.

Siete años y siete cuarentenas de perdón

A los cofrades que al menos contritos de sus pecados visiten cuatro días en el año, a su elección, la Iglesia de la Santísima Cruz, y rüegan en ella por los fines arriba expresados.

Sesenta días de Indulgencia

A los cofrades que asistan a las Misas y demás oficios divinos que se celebren en su Iglesia.

A los cofrades que asistan al Sagrado Viático cuando se lleve a los enfermos y a los que no puedan corporalmente asistir, al sonido de la campanilla recen un Padre-nuestro y Ave-Maria.

A los que recen cinco Padre-nuestros y cinco Ave-Marias por los cofrades difuntos.

Y a los cofrades que hagan alguna obra de piedad o de caridad. Y que todas las indulgencias tanto plenarias como parciales concedidas y señaladas en dicho Breve Apostólico, puedan aplicarse en Sufragio de las almas del Santo Purgatorio.
year of his glorious pontificate.

**Full Indulgences**
To those cofrades who on the day of their incorporation into the Cofradía have confessed and communicated.
To those cofrades who die confessed and having received the Sacrament; and if they are unable, are at least contrite, and devoutly pronounce the most sainted name of Jesus; and if unable to do so with the lips at least invoke him in their hearts.
To the cofrades who having confessed and communicated on the day of the Invention of the Most Sainted Cross or on one of the days of its Octava, visit their Church and pray for the peace of Christian princes extirpation of heresy, conversion of sinners and exaltation of the Sainted Mother Church.

Seven years and seven cuarentenas of pardon
To the cofrades who are at least contrite for their sins, visit, at their choice, four days in the year, the Church of the Most Sainted Cross, and pray in it for the ends expressed above.

Sixty days of Indulgence
To the cofrades who attend the Masses and other divine offices that are celebrated in their Church.
To the cofrades who are in attendance when the Viaticum is administered; and to those who, unable to attend in body recite an Our-Father and an Hail-Mary on hearing the bell toll.
To those who recite five Our-Fathers and five Hail Marys for deceased cofrades.
And to the cofrades who carry out some work of love or devotion.
And that all the indulgences, the full ones and the partial ones, conceded and indicated in the said short Apostolic address, are to be applied to help souls in Sainted Purgatory.

In Caravaca today life in general is more secularised, and there are other opportunities for the formation of associations. Over the last few years political parties have been active and now have some members (perhaps as many as a hundred in the case of UCD, the largest party). However, more people turn up for a meeting of, or an event organised by, the **Cofradía de la Cruz** than are members of all the political parties put together. People have reasons for membership of the **Cofradía** which are far more 'socially creative' than mere association for membership and attendance.
Carmelo Lisón Tolosana has shown for sixteenth century 'Belmonte de los Caballeros' that:

Brotherhoods and processions were an essential part of the religious expression of the pueblo, in fact they were the religion of the Pueblo. Through them the people expressed their collective devotion to the patrons of the pueblo. Religious vitality found its outlet in the public cult, in collective ceremonies; hence the religiosity of the pueblo consisted not in the ideas but rather in actions. These religious festivals required little concentration. They broke the daily monotony, brought the people together in the square to set out in a procession that required a minimum of organisation to one of the customary places. Picnics, feasting, drinking, noise and merriment were the normal corollary (1966:281).

In the same way, in Caravaca, activities associated with the Cofradía are, in many ways, 'the religion of the pueblo' and are also at the centre of its social existence. The Statutes of the Cofradía attest that: 'the Cofradía was the first target of the enemies of Christ in Caravaca, ... it was precisely it that best represented the traditions of Caravaquenians in their Catholic spirit and love of our sublime patron' (Statutes of the Cofradia of the Cross, 1981).

It was presumably in recognition of this that the Pope's blessing was given for 1981 to become a year of Caravaquenian celebration.

The declaration of a Jubilee Year (Appendix) was announced in Caravaca on the eighth of January. My fieldnotes provide a full description of the event:

that afternoon I continued writing, but at 5.45 the life of the whole town, it seems, was suddenly interrupted by the loud explosions of fireworks which sounded like cannons being fired from the battlements of the castle. On top of this the bells of all the churches in the town were ringing madly and without rhythm. I went out into the street to find out what was happening —— and there was a general atmosphere of amazement, of fright, and excitement. It is impossible to deny that people had been affected by the sheer shock of sound.

Outside the casino, as I made my way up to the castle, I heard someone explain that the Pope had just declared
a Jubilee Year for the town.'

The official opening ceremony of the Jubilee was organised by the Cofradía to take place on the 31st of January in the courtyard of the Castle on the steps of the Sanctuary. Three bishops and several priests attended the ceremony and celebrated the rites. The day began with a morning full of exploding skyrockets launched sporadically from the castle, high above the town, to mark off a differently classified period of time. Percussive sounds, as Levi-Strauss (1972) has pointed out, are commonly used in such situations throughout the world.

'After lunch I went across from my flat to the Bar Dulcinea (a socially-prominent, metal-and-plastic-filled bar, on the main street) in order to see how the Fiesta groups were going to parade their Standards at 3-30 that afternoon. It was a clear, hot day, with a rich blue sky. But, come the hour, there was little sign of anything happening, so I thought I had better make my way up to the castle where the ceremony was soon scheduled to begin. Just then some of the Moorish banners of particular Fiesta groups were brought into Dulcinea as their bearers came in for a coffee. At the bar someone was explaining just what the Jubilee meant in Church terms.

Passing through the Plaza del Arco I saw the Mayor with a small group of dignitaries. They were all dressed up as for a Sunday. I later learnt that this was the reception of the Civil Governor of the Province of Murcia. I walked with the crowds up to the castle, just ahead of the Hermano Mayor of the Cofradía de la Cruz. He was dressed in morning suit and full regalia, and his wife, who accompanied him wore black too. In her hair she displayed a traditional mantilla (an elaborate, tall, comb). These costumes, which were out of time with the present but in tune with the event, were contributing through their symbolism to the special classification of this important and effective time period.

I positioned myself on the castle wall opposite the altar which had been erected in the doorway of the Sanctuary.
In front of me stood rows of chairs which were all carefully labelled and reserved for particular groups (Photo. 7/a). As might be expected, space was being ritually controlled too. At about four o'clock the Mayor and other 'Authorities', representatives of powers and local and national factions, began to appear and take their allotted places.

From time to time all the other bells in the town rang out as bands and banners began to assemble from various quarters of the town. When these had all arrived, and the Sanctuary was full with over 5,000 people, the Mass began. The Bishop of Cartagena and Murcia played the major role in the ceremony, and led the final prayers for everywhere in Spain and the World, all the official powers, the National State, for Caravaca, for the Cofradía and finally and a little afterwards, for the pilgrims who had made their way here.

Then the benediction was given with the Cross, (Photo. 105) and the priests went among the crowds administering symbolic food and drink in the form of Host and wine. The atmosphere seemed sacred and the Mass had been moving: this was in stark contrast, for example, to the Misa del Gallo (in previous Part). At the end, there were jostling crowds of people who wanted to kiss the Cross, and they had to wait nearly an hour to do so. After leaving the Sanctuary, people walked down to the most popular town bars, or went back to their favourite neighbourhood haunts, with a strong feeling of general well-being.'

All the circumstances had existed for the control and manipulation (not necessarily the changing) of people's perceptions, through their feelings and beliefs. It was an occasion brought about by the Cofradía and the people themselves. Yet there is a dialectic operating here, for it is also undeniable that this event took place within the structure of a World Church and must, in some measure, serve to strengthen faith in its beliefs. In respect to these points the local newspaper's coverage of the whole proceedings proves enlightening.
The main Murcian 'daily' is a relatively right-wing, very Catholic, paper called 'La Verdad' ('The Truth'). Almost the whole of its Sunday back page was devoted to coverage of the opening of the Jubilee Year in Caravaca (Appendix). The most interesting feature of the article is not so much what it contains but what it leaves out — it is written from the outside and from a particularly 'establishment' point of view. Even the photograph included is not that of the Cross of Caravaca. This is an omission which served whether consciously, or unconsciously, to weaken the relevance of so specific a symbol. The people of Caravaca and the Cofradía are left virtually unreported on. Here it is the Church that is seen as having brought about the whole sequence of events, whereas in Caravaca, the general understanding is that the Cofradía and their Cross have been instrumental in bringing important priests, from outside, into the town and have been entirely responsible for a most memorable gathering.

It was of course the Cofradía that, in June of 1980, had begun to organise the pilgrimage to Rome to see the Pope in September and to request the granting of a Jubilee year of special indulgence, as a beginning to the celebration of the 750th anniversary of the Apparition of the Cross, much to the displeasure of the Bishop of Murcia. The presence of pilgrims and the occurrence of periods of increased pilgrimage are common elements of Caravaquenian life and history. In the great pilgrimage tradition this was a journey almost as much linked to tourism as spiritual intent. Typically, however, the symbolic action, of a journey to a spiritual goal that had an effect. The Caravaquenians undertook the journey full of their usual ilusión as they created yet another 'mythical' event to become attached to the history of their beliefs.

The words of the Pope on that occasion go some way towards showing the relationship between the Church and the particular beliefs of its disparate membership. The specificity of devotions is used and recognised by the Church just as it is used by the people themselves.
There are some symbols that are powerful and some systems which are integrative.

Palabras de su Santidad el Papa Juan Pablo II dirigidas a la Perigrinación de Caravaca de la Cruz, en la Audiencia del día 24 de Septiembre de 1980.

Saludo ahora con gran afecto a los miembros de la numerosa perigrinación procedente de Caravaca de la Cruz, presididos por el pastor de la diócesis de Cartagena-Murcia, Monseñor Javier Azagra, y acompañados por los sacerdotes diocesanos que celebran sus Bodas de Plata de ordenación sacerdotal. Sé que un distintivo peculiar de la religiosidad en Caravaca y en la comarca cercana es la devoción profunda a la Santa Cruz, realidad reflejada en el nombre de vuestra ciudad.

En esta ocasión os enmiendo a continuar cultivando esa hermosa devoción, de tal manera que os conduzca a una creciente cercanía al centro del misterio de la salvación: Cristo Jesús, Redentor del hombre, camino, verdad y vida. Sea ese el constante estímulo hacia una vida verdaderamente cristiana, en el ámbito personal, familiar y social.

Pido a Dios que así sea y que las celebraciones programadas para el próximo año se conviertan en un impulso de renovación interior, de incremento de la fe y de la fidelidad al mensaje del Evangelio. Con esta esperanza imparto a vosotros, a vuestro Pastor y sacerdotes acompañantes, a vuestros familiares, amigos y conciudadanos una especial Bendición.

(I now greet with great affection the members of the numerous pilgrimage that has come from Caravaca de la Cruz, looked after by the pastor of the diocese of Cartagena-Murcia, Monsignor Javier Azagra and accompanied by the diocesan priests who are celebrating the 25th anniversary of their ordination. I know that a distinctive feature of the religiosity of Caravaca and of the surrounding comarca is the profound devotion to the sainted Cross, a reality which is reflected in the name of your city.

On this occasion I exhort you to continue cultivating that beautiful devotion in such a way that it leads you to a growing nearness to the centre of the mystery of salvation: Christ Jesus the Redeemer of Mankind, the way, the truth and the life. This should be the constant stimulus towards a truly Christian life in the personal, family and social orbits.

I ask God that it might be so and that the celebrations that are programmed for next year are transformed into an impulse of internal renewal, of a growth of faith and faithfulness to the message of the Evangelist. With this hope I impart to you, to your Pastor and priests, to your families, friends and countrymen a special blessing.)

Just as Caravaquenians felt impelled to travel to Rome,
so the Jubilee gave a massive impetus to the tradition of undertaking pilgrimages to Caravaca. The Cofradía especially had to be prepared to be responsible for the consequences for the town. Pilgrims, as has already been pointed out, are tourists too, and have to eat and drink. Souvenirs are essential: guidebooks, guided tours requiring efficient and knowledgeable guides, bus services and parking regulations all had to be arranged —— many of these things in concert with the Town Hall. All of these were ultimately the responsibility of the Cofradía and all were subject to the vagaries of personal interests. The Town Hall began a short-haul bus service within the town, reorganised car parking and had cause to announce the Jubilee to the world and, of course, with banners all over town, to Caravaca itself. Widespread concern served generally to increase Caravaquenian self-awareness. During the Jubilee Year thousands of people came to visit the Sanctuary from all over Spain. They mostly came on organised coach trips, but some came alone and others even walked from Murcia, as the local news coverage showed. In these Murcian daily papers and outside views these were all visits to. In Caravaca they were all visits from.

Many exiled Caravaquenians also made a special form of pilgrimage during the year, as they returned home to Caravaca from wherever they might live in Spain. It is estimated that over four times the present population of Caravaca, of about ten and a half thousand, currently live away from it. Many made this return specifically for the Fiestas in May as in most years but there were few who returned who did not visit the Sanctuary, even if they did not gain the Jubilee Indulgence.

The stress on movement through space, social and spiritual, (which Turner, 1974, has emphasized as an essential feature of religious belief), and associated with the Cross, was again increased when the Cofradía organised a series of pilgrimages of the Cross itself, out from the town to the villages in the countryside (Appendix). Such journeys
were by no means without historical precedent, but the like had not taken place in recent years.

On Saturdays between the 21st of February and the 21st of March, a caravan of cars, in one of which was the Chaplain carrying the Cross, visited the villages of Los Royos, El Moralejo, La Encarnación, La Almudema, Benablón, Barranda, Archivel, Singla, El Moral y Cañada de la Cruz, and Topares 90 kilometres away in the neighbouring provinces of Almería (Photos. 106ff). On every trip this file of twenty to thirty cars left Caravaca to drive for twenty miles or more along narrow, poorly made-up backroads of the comarca to these small relatively isolated agricultural dependencies. The caravan was led by the Policía Municipal and escorted by the Guardia Civil. In the other cars travelled, the committee members of the Cofradía, some with reasons for desiring a strong association with them or with the Cross, and a few for whom this too was a form of pilgrimage --- following the Cross wherever it went.

When the Cross arrived in any of these aldeas or cortijos almost the whole population of each was in the street to receive it (Photos. 106b). In every instance, as the people followed the Cross into their chapel, to the accompaniment of vivas and long, loud tracas of cohetes, these chapels filled to overflowing, leaving only the smallest altar space and dozens of people outside. Usually those who lingered were the men, and those members of the caravan who could not bring themselves to attend another Mass. The front row of every congregation was always made up of the most illustrious members of the Cofradía (Photo.109b). The service was conducted by the Chaplain (Photo.108a) and the homily given by a Discalced Carmelite friar (Photo.109b), often known and respected by the particular community from frequent previous visits. The chapels were beautifully decorated and adorned with flowers to the best of local ability (Photo.111a).

After the Mass the entire congregation queued to kiss the Cross --- waiting their turn behind the Authorities
of the Cofradía (Photos. 111ff). As each church emptied and the people dispersed, the Cross, under palio, visited the homes of the sick, disabled and dying who were unable to attend the service. These journeys often occasioned car accidents due to the difficulty and unfamiliarity of the routes, but there were no serious injuries or damage. After each trip the Cross returned safely to the Sanctuary and, following custom, was signed back into its place of custody by the Hermano Mayor, in the record book kept for this purpose.

A record exists of the previous visit made this century to the outlying villages of the comarca by the Cross and Cofradía in 1949 and this most effectively communicates the spirit of the 1981 visits, just as a record of an address made during these visits can be regarded as representative of feelings and attitudes still held today, and which accurately reflect the religious aspect of the atmosphere of Caravaca in Jubilee Year.

Firstly, a description of an incident that occurred on one of the visits in 1949 —— when all of the visits were undertaken as part of one week-long round-trip —— shows how the stimulus of belief can create extraordinary circumstances that support the power of a multi-valent symbol like the Cross and provide the foundation for myths which further reinforce it.

...salimos para la Junquera. Allí tuvimos una gran sorpresa. La pequeña Capilla...estaba como unos cien metros separada de la cortijada; no había ni un árbol, ni una mata de todo el polvoriento camino; nos quedamos maravillados porque desde el poblado hasta la capilla, había surgido aquella noche una alameda de pinos y sabinas. Todos los hombres de la Junquera trabajaron sin descanso cortando pinos y sabinas las hincaron en el suelo toda la noche, vispera de la llegada de la Santísima Cruz y alfombraron el paso con juncoes, espliegos y tallos de romero.

(...we set out for la Junquera. We had a great surprise there. The little chapel was about a hundred metres away from the group of houses; there were not usually a tree or blade of grass on any part of the dusty track; we were astonished because from the houses to the chapel an avenue of pines and cypress trees had sprung up overnight. All the men of La Junquera had worked without
stopping cutting pines and cypress trees, planting them in the ground during the night, the eve of the arrival of the Cross and carpeted the way with rushes, lavender and sprigs of rosemary.)

The religious address made by one of the committee members of the Cofradía uses particular associations of ideas which are still common in Caravaca today, and the style of the rhetoric is still typical of the expression of faith.

Vecinos de esta Aldea, hijos tambien de La Santísima Cruz de Caravaca. Hoy llega a vuestra pedanía y a la iniciativa de la Junta Representativa de la Real e Ilustre Cofradía de la Santísima Cruz, nuestra adorada Patrona. Llega materialmente cuajada de besos, de lágrimas y oraciones de todos los habitantes de las tierras por donde ya ha pasado.

En la rica pedrería del Relicario han puesto sus labios los niños con sus risas y alborozo, los jóvenes con sus ilusiones y esperanzas; los hombres con sus inquietudes; los ancianos con sus desengaños y amargura...Para todos tuvo nuestra Cruz su dadora de consuelo y amor...Amor que no se acaba porque nuestra Santísima Cruz como madre cariñosa, no olvida a ninguno de sus hijos; aunque algunos no sean dignos de ese inmenso cariño. Tú, hombre, que hieres otra vez a Dios con tus palabras soeces...Tú, mujer, que le ofendes con tu falta de pudor... Todos en fin que miramos demasiado a la tierra y tan poco al Cielo...

Ella, la Señora y Reina de Caravaca y su campo, desde el viril de su custodia, vela y nos sirve de escala para llegar a Cristo. Allí, en su Castillo altanero —— agüullo de la Cristiandad —— entre nubes de incienso y músicas triunfales, recibió el honroaje de Fernando e Isabel cuando marchaban a la conquista de Granada;príncipes de la Iglesia, hincaron sus rodillas ante el Santo Leno y regaron con sus lagrimas, confundiéndose con ellos, los brillantes de su Relicario; generales invictos, con el pecho constelado de condecoraciones, besaron una y mil veces a nuestra Santísima Cruz... Ricos y pobres, jóvenes y viejos, todos los que han pasado por Caravaca, subieron la empinada cuesta del Castillo para adorarla...

Y hoy la Santísima Cruz viene a buscaros a vuestra casa, a vuestra hermita: viene a pediros al más puro de vuestros besos... El latido más noble de vuestro corazón. Sed vosotros en estas horas venturosas y únicas, sus hijos amantes que os entregéis a ella con alma y vida... Y en esta ermita en la que habéis y recibisteis las regeneradoras aguas del bautismo; os rezard vuestro funeral, veladla y adoradla con la fe ciega que siempre la tuvisteis.

Llega ya, Santísima Cruz de Caravaca, Leño Santo en donde nos redimió el Hombre-Dios al reencuentro de estos hijos tuyos...Van a besarte con el corazón encedido como una atorcha y con el cariño apasionado de sus mayores. Y aunque manos sacrílegas nos robaron en una noche negra la reliquia de nuestros amores, Dios permitió que S.S. nos
concediera un nuevo Lignum-Crucis; ésta como aquélla las llevó Cristo sobre sus santos hombros por la Calle Amargura, en Ella expiró, por Ella corrió su preciosta sangre, cayendo sobre las negras tocas de María formando rojos arabescos, las lágrimas de la Virgen también empaparon la Santa Madera....

Yo te pido Santísima Cruz de Caravaca, por el dolor y el llanto de María, por las torturas y sufrimientos, las ofensas y la Sangre de Cristo que derramó y padeció sobre ti, que bendigas a estas sencillas gentes aldeanas... Bendice sus cosechas que son sus afanes; bendice a sus hijos, que son sus esperanzas bendice a sus padres, que son su ejemplo... A su sacerdote, padre espiritual de sus almas, que les señala el camino directo al Cielo; a sus autoridades para que las gobiernen sabia y rectamente... Bendice a tu Cofradía, Santísima Cruz, a tu Cofradía que es el port-estandarte de tu fé, el escudo de tu coraza, la bandera de tu fortaleza, el paladín de tu causa, el Aor de Sus Amores... Bendicenos a todos Santísima Cruz de Caravaca, y cuando rindamos el último viaje, has que nos distinga a tus hijos en el Cielo porque todos llevemos una cruz de cuatro brazos en el Corazón. ---'Ast sea'. (Jose Luis Gomez-Martinez --- ex-Hermano Mayor of the Cofradía).

(Neighbours of this village, children of the Most Sainted Cross of Caravaca. Today, due to the initiative of the Committee of the Royal and Illustrious Cofradia of the Most Sainted Cross, our adored Patroness is coming to your dependency. It comes materially ornamented with kisses, tears and prayers from all the inhabitants of the lands through which we have passed.

Children's lips have touched the rich gemmery of the Relic with joy and exultation, young people with their hopes and dreams, men and women with their worries, old people with their disenchantment and bitterness.... For all our Most Sainted Cross had her gift of consolation and love.... Love which never ends because our Most Sainted Cross, like a loving mother, does not forget any of her children, even if some of them may not be worthy of this immense love. You, man, who again wound God with your mean words.... You, woman, who offend him with your lack of modesty... All, in fact, who look too much to the earth and too little to Heaven....

She, the lady and Queen of Caravaca and its countryside, keeps vigil from the transparent material of her custody and serves us as a ladder by which to reach Christ. There, in her high Castle --- little eagle of Christianity --- among clouds of incense and triumphant music, she received the homage of Fernando and Isabel as they marched to conquer Granada, princes of the Church kneeled before the Sainted Wood and spattered the diamonds of the Reliquary with their tears so that it was not possible to tell the difference between them, victorious
generals, their breasts bestarred with decorations, kissed our Most Sainted Cross a thousand and one times.... Rich and poor, young and old, all those who have passed through Caravaca, they climbed the pine-avenued approach to the Castle to adore her...

And today the Most Sainted Cross comes to look for you in your home, in your hermitage: she comes to ask you for your purest kisses.... The most noble salutation of your hearts. In these unique and fortunate hours, know your beloved children whom you entrust to her with soul and life.... And in this hermitage in which you have to, and must carry out all the transcendant acts of your lives, because in her you receive the regenerating baptismal waters, your sins have been pardoned, you have been given your loving and chaste wife and you will be prayed for at your funeral, wait on her and adore her with the blind faith that you have always had for her.

Now it arrives, the Most Sainted Cross of Caravaca, the Sainted Wood on which the Man-God redeemed us on meeting these your sons.... They go to kiss you with their hearts burning like a torch and with the passionate love of their elders. And even though sacriligious hands robbed us one black night of the relic of our loves, God vouchsafed that the Sainted Heart of our Church might concede us a new Lignum-Crucis, this one like the other Christ carried on his Sainted shoulders along the street of Bitterness, on Her expired, through Her ran his most precious Blood, falling on the black clothes of Mary forming red arabesques, the tears of the Virgin also saturated the Sainted Wood....

I ask you Most Sainted Cross of Caravaca, for the pain and weeping of Mary, for the tortures and sufferings, the injuries and the Blood of Christ that spilled out over you, bless these simple village people.... Bless their crops which are their worries, bless their children, who are their hopes, bless their father who are their example... To their priest, spiritual father of their souls, who shows them the direct way to Heaven, to their authorities so that they may govern them wisely and uprightly.... Bless your Cofradia, Most Sainted Cross, your Cofradia which is the standard-bearer of your faith, the shield of your heart, the flag of your fortress, the champion of your cause, the Love of their Loves.... Bless us all, Most Sainted Cross of Caravaca and when we take the last journey, make our children recognise in Heaven, because we all carry a Cross of four arms in our Hearts. "So be it".

In 1981, in the period building up to the great festival to which everyone was looking forward, but before the Fiestas actually began, the Cofradía planned and held a
cycle of lectures on the theme: 'The Cross of Christ' ——
'con objecto de profundizar en el conocimiento del Sagrado Madero y
aumentar, si cabe, la fé de los que son cristianos y llevar su luz
a los que tuvieron la desgracia de ser indiferentes' ('with the
aim of deepening understanding of the Sacred Wood and
increasing, if it could be any greater, the faith of
those who are Christians and carry its light to those
who have the shame to be indifferent'). From the 23rd to
28th of March 1981 the following speakers each filled the
Salon of Acts of the Town Hall to overflowing:

-D. Jose-Luis Castillo-Puche, journalist, 'The devotion
to the Cross in the popular heartbeat'.
-The Most Illustrious and Reverend Sr. D. Jose Guerra Campos
Bishop of Cuenca, 'Why the Cross is the only hope'.
-D. Luis Cortes Vasquez, Professor, 'The Cross in Art.
Dispersion of Caravaca in Spain':
-D. Ricardo de la Cierva y Hoces, Professor, 'Return to
the Cross'.
-The Most Illustrious and Reverend Sr. D. Jose Gea Escolano,
Bishop of Ibiza, 'Cross and Christian Life'.
-The Most Illustrious and Reverend Sr. D. Javier Azagra
Laviano, Bishop of Cartagena and Murcia, 'The Cross: Pain
& Glory'.

These talks were on the literary, divine, historical,
artistic, theological, philosophical and human associations
of the Cross. One can hardly imagine meetings on such
subjects being attended with such avid enthusiasm in many
other communities. They provided a serious and significant
prelude to the exhuberant demonstration of devotion that
was shortly to follow.

The main means of expressing 'faith' today, and in
which everyone in Caravaca can have a voice, are the
Fiestas de Mayo. It is the organisation of these that can
be considered the most onerous and important responsibility
of the Cofradía. The task of organising the Fiestas begins
a twelvemonth ahead. Provision is made within the Statutes
of the Cofradía for the necessary machinery.

The Comisión de Festejos ('Festival Committee') is an
autonomous part of the Cofradía. The committee is made up
of the Hermano Mayor, the vice-Hermano Mayor, the two
deputies, the Treasurer and Secretary of the Cofradía, and ten representatives to be chosen by the Hermano Mayor and five by the Mayor from councillors who are also members of the Cofradía. This committee also has its own Secretary and Treasurer. It is not only responsible for organising and planning the events that go to make up the May Fiestas but also for raising as much money as possible, to give a limited grant to each of the Fiesta groups and to defray the expenses incurred by the Cofradía. This committee organises sub-committees with responsibility for various aspects of the Fiestas, such as the production of the Fiesta brochure.

The Comisión receives a large grant from the Town Hall and connections with this body can be strong depending on the commitments and allegiance of the membership. In the past, large sums of money were raised by a system of instant lottery tickets known as 'boletos'. In every bar, café and restaurant there used to be found huge plastic bags full of minute pink envelopes, all of which contained a piece of paper with a symbol, flag or coat of arms from the Fiestas printed on the front, and one or two of which had prize money of from 5 pesetas to 5000 pesetas printed on the back. Each envelope cost five pesetas, a fraction of the price of a cup of coffee, the amount so often left on the counter as a tip. Caravaquenians easily spent hundreds of these odd five pesetas each and the floors of bars were always carpeted with piles of discarded pink envelopes. This system brought in very substantial funds but 1981 was the last year to see it in operation.

Probably the major financial contribution to the funds of the Comisión is made by personal donations which are contributed and have traditionally been contributed on the basis of each according to his means. The Hermano Mayor and mayor make door-to-door calls every evening during the months of March and April, beginning with visits to successful businessmen and then the rather less successful.
Through the Comisión de Festejos in particular, the Cofradía becomes closely connected with political and economic aspects of the social structure of Caravaca. The raw materials of power come under its influence, and vice-versa. Part of the Caravaquenian world of ilusiones is the fact that the Cofradía should not be seen to be political. However, it always has been a major part of politics in Caravaca. In some respects it is an institution which mediates between the transitoriness of everyday politics and the permanence of devotion. Its activities can delineate the boundaries between social groups, but it is so influential in the dynamic formation of the social structures of the pueblo that, in its association with the Cross, it crosses all boundaries. The most important of these social structures is the symbol complex of the Fiestas de Mayo from which no aspect of Caravaquenian existence is absent.
NOTES

1. THE CROSS OF CARAVACA

1. See notes parts I and II.

2. See Allison Peers 1939 for further information on the influence of the Orders.

3. Personal communication Lisón Tolosana.

4. Personal communication Snra. Martinez.


2. THE COFRADIA


7. See Lisón Tolosana (1966:301) for usage of this translation.
PART IV
FIESTA:
FIESTA 1

In reality, a cult is not a simple group of ritual precautions which a man is held to take in certain circumstances; it is a system of diverse rites, festivals and ceremonies which all have this characteristic, that they reappear periodically (Durkheim 1915:63).

MOORS, CHRISTIANS AND CABALLOS DEL VINO

As the writer Nina Epton has said in her short reflections on Spanish festivals (1976:264), 'the word fiesta has passed into all of the European languages because it has no equivalent'. Fiestas do not, however, as she also suggests, 'just serve to mark certain points in the annual cycle in the same way as physical changes in the human body' (ibid.). Anthropologists have only just begun to develop an understanding of this 'sine qua non' of Spanish existence. Aguilera (1978) has briefly examined fiestas in terms of a 'folk religion', without examining in any detail the nature of the relationship with the national tradition. Yet as John Davis (1977) has stressed, the urgent need in Mediterranean anthropology is to study the relationship between, in the words of Redfield, the 'big' and 'little' traditions.

Spanish fiestas are often seen by 'outsiders' as profane entertainment, even as irreligious. Caravaca de la Cruz gives the lie to this preconception. Lisón Tolosana has suggested in his inspiring book, An Invitation to Anthropology (1980) that, 'since the earliest days the fiestas in the Levante have developed the profane aspect of the fiesta relegating religious aspects to the sidelines'. In Caravaca de la Cruz, however, itself just within the Levante, all the fiestas of the Cross are, in the broadest sense, wholly religious. They are all held in honour of the Cross of Caravaca. It is the Fiestas de Mayo which provide the main opportunity within the pueblo for experience which transcends everyday circumstance. These Fiestas are the clearest expression of the devotion of the people, and are made up of many parts, which are
related to one another. Caravaquenians make little exegetical distinction between these parts. For them the fiestas are 'The Fiestas'. However, like the associations which take part in them, these have a formal structure.

The 'Fiestas de Mayo' consist of five days of all-consuming celebration at the start of May every year, forming the climax to a twelve-month of preparations. The Cabradía watches over everything, but the main participating social groups are 'Moors' and 'Christians' and Peñas of the Caballos del Vino.

Until the nineteen-sixties the Fiestas of the Cross formed a whole with the Feria de Ganados (a huge Animal Fair of economic importance throughout the comarca). The generalised economic development that exploded during the subsequent decade modified the role of the town in local agriculture, and the Feria only retained any importance at its traditionally less-significant September venue. Eventually it died out altogether on either date as agriculture became more mecanised, the market more developed, and manufacturing and service industries more important. The people who had once found the Feria to be an integral part of their social as well as their business lives found the Fiestas to be an increasingly important replacement. They soon formed and joined groups of festival Moors and Christians, elaborating upon a long-established but dormant tradition. The last vestiges of the Feria have remained, however, in another major aspect of the celebrations, the competition of the Horses of the Wine ('Caballos del Vino').

MOORS AND CHRISTIANS

This section, dealing with the social organisation of the groups of symbolic Moors and Christians, begins with an explanatory classification and history of Moors and Christians fiesta parades, and simulations of combat, in the Spanish cultural tradition. All the festivals of Moors and Christians have the following basic characteristics: a confrontation between two opposing groups, a connection
with the liturgical celebration of the local religious
together the variants of these festivals in an order of
a) from the Basque country, the simple fight between a
b) the fight with alternating episodes of drama and dialogue
c) a piece of dramatic action with dialogue but without a
d) basic dramatic actions with additional elements which
transform it into a representative confrontation between

Guillermo Gustavino Grallent in his monograph, Las Fiestas
de Moros y Cristianos y su problematica (1969), groups
together the variants of these festivals in an order of
increasing complexity, as follows:
a) from the Basque country, the simple fight between a
Moor and a Christian, without dialogue,
b) the fight with alternating episodes of drama and dialogue
between Moors and Christians, like the Aragonese sword-dance,
c) a piece of dramatic action with dialogue but without a
fight, in a rural setting,
d) basic dramatic actions with additional elements which
transform it into a representative confrontation between
festival groups, like the Fiesta of Moors and Christians
of the Valencia area.

Joan Amades in Las Danzas de moros y cristianos (1966),
classifies these events by theme and area, giving more
idea of their variety and distribution. The first theme
he recognises is the reconquest of a city, as found in the
Valencia area. The second is the confusion of a procession
and defence of a sacred image, as found in Andalusia. His
third theme is that of battles against piracy, as found
in Soller in Mallorca.

Other variations occur in Portugal, North and South
America, the Phillipines, anywhere, in fact, that has been
reached by hispanic influence. There are many possible
reasons for this phenomenon. In Las fiestas de moros y
cristianos en Mexico, as far back as 1938, Robert Ricard
remarked that:

there is no popular diversion which better
attests to the fundamental unity of the hispanic
culture than the so-called Fiestas of Moors and
Christians, since many similar elements are found
in Portugal, Mexico, Andalucia, Galicia, Brasil
or Peru.

In Spain there are three major areas in which many of the
cities, towns or villages hold forms of 'Moors and Christians' festival. In Aragon the fiesta is known as 'el dance', and occurs in more than ninety places between Ainsa (Huesca) and Fuentes del Ebro (Zaragoza). The 'dance' is just one of the acts of the cult that is offered by local cofradias to the patrons of their respective towns. It is made up of: dances, and music (provided by the traditional bag-pipes, the 'gaita'), the fight (with sticks or swords) and a dramatic dialogue or recitation (which is variously about the Reconquest, Moors and Christians, country themes or any combination of these). This fiesta has a long tradition, but it is only recently that Moors and Christians have been introduced into it, and they still have not been introduced everywhere. It is more an entertainment for the populace rather than a fiesta in which they are fully involved.

There are few participants in the Aragonese version. Usually there are only about twenty 'dancers', in groups of two or four, and at the appropriate moment half become Moors, with the use of a cape and turban, and the other half Christians. There are some of these fiestas, however, such as the morisma de Ainsa, which have more dramatic action than the others.

In Andalusia 'Moors and Christians' festivals are concentrated in the province of Granada, in the Alpujarras and peripheral provinces. About 40 places can be included, and in the provinces of Albacete and Cuenca (La Mancha) there are other towns where celebrations follow approximately the same pattern. In this list rural populations with a poor economy predominate. The event is not celebrated every year, except in the largest places. These festivals, which are called representaciones or fiesta, usually include: an assault by Moors to capture the image of the town's patron which is then carried in procession, simulated battles and parliaments mixed into parades and usually referred to as relaciones, and a climax with the victory of the Christians and consequent conversion of the Moors through the help of the supernatural. Great importance is often attached to the texts of the relaciones (which are probably
derived from traditional popular plays of 'Moors and Christians') and the spectacle is not very great in scale except where there have been Valencian influences incorporated by returning migrant workers. Music which has been brought back by these migrants still seems out of place to some.

In the Valencia area the festival has acquired its greatest splendour, most complex structure and largest movements of groups of actors and spectators. Its theme is also a provocation and the recovery of a loss. A Moorish attack upon, and the Christian recuperation of, a particular population, symbolised by its castle, is often accomplished by a miracle. Dialogues are added to this pattern, which are known in Alcoy and other places as las embajadas. The size and nature of these fiestas as spectacles has to be witnessed to be believed. There are huge parades of Moors and Christians dressed in splendid multi-coloured costumes, and battles with blunderbusses in which hundreds take part. The religious relationship with the local patron saint does not necessarily have any basis in historical fact, except in the cases of Alcoy, Villajoyosa, Caudete, and Caravaca. It is thought that in the Valencia area the festival has its origin after 1609, the date of the final expulsion of the Moors from Valencia.

In Spanish America the 'Moors and Christians' festival was brought by the Spaniards and introduced to the indigenous populations by the missionaries as a suitable substitute for the autochthonous warlike festivals that the natives fought to retain. In the texts that accompanied the battles of the Christian versus the Moor it was possible to relate liturgical acts and patronal fiestas, catechisms of Christian values, and a great variety of locally appropriate themes with only a minimal occurrence of Moors and Christians. The precise nature of the adaptations that took place can be seen in the work of Grimes 1975, for the southwest United States, and Friedlander 1975, for Mexico.

In Santa Fe', New Mexico, the Moors and Christians' event is, in Grimes' terms, 'a long and wordy public drama'
which is adapted every year in its details to the changing currents and opinions and influences in the city society. It incorporates all Church traditions and Anglo, Hispano and Indian groups in a relationship with the devotional image of 'Our Lady of the Conquest'.

In Hueyapan, Friedlander describes the Moors and Christians' festival as a dramatic representation by visiting actors which was introduced at the time of the conquest. Nowadays performances are associated with tribute paid to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico, and Saint James who is the special 'sponsor' of this particular town. Saint James is always head of the Christians and Pilate is generally leader of the Moors. The show usually ends with the victory of the Christians and the triumph of the Cross. 'Today Hueyapeno children play Moors and Christians the way American youngsters play Cowboys and Indians' (Friedlander, 1975).

Every version of the festival has its own specific reasons for being. It is too simple to say, as has Arturo Warman, that the entire phenomenon is 'a product of the middle ages, of the twelfth century, probably emerging in some point in Aragon, and advancing with the Reconquest towards Valencia, and from Galicia towards Andalucia' (1972). The opposition of Spanish and Islamic culture lasted nine centuries in Spain. 'Let us remember,' concludes the eminent Spanish historian Americo Castro in The Spaniards:

that the people who fought the Muslims gave themselves, as their ethnic designation, the title of 'Christians'...the Spaniards accented, brought into the foreground, that which most characterised them as not Moorish --- to wit their religion. All that conglomerate of Arabs, Berbers, renegades, slaves and so forth was closely unified in one common faith; in like fashion, the tie that closely bound together Leonese, Castilians, and Aragonese was their Christianity. Politically divided often fighting among themselves religion made them one, 'nationalised' them spiritually (Castro, A., The Spaniards, Berkeley 1971).

'Moor' is universally used throughout Spanish culture as
a designation for anything alien. Even French invaders were seen as 'Moors' in the eighteenth century. The opposition between Moor and Christian is a completely natural one, which contains the fundamental conflict of Evil and Good.

Since the fifteenth century and up to the eighteenth century simulations of combat between Moors and Christians with the use of Castles or assault ships were held to celebrate centenaries (as in the case of San Vicente Ferrer) or royal events (visits of monarchs, proclamations of all the Bourbon monarchs, royal baptisms and the like). Such events were simply spectacles, organised by authorities for single occasions. They were not 'fiestas populares'. Some of these are known about in great detail. For example, a special event involving Moors and Christians took place at Denia in 1599 for the visit of Felipe III organised by Juan Vives and written about by Lope de Vega. There were many similar spectacles: Toledo 1586, Valencia 1586, 1755, Benilloba 1747, Alicante 1700, 1724, 1759, and Mexico 1538. In Alcoy, the centre of the Valencian type, there is no archival evidence of any such 'one-off' spectacle at the earlier dates (Masanet Ribes, J.L. La Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos de Alcoy y sus instituciones, 1981), and it is in every way a more 'baroque' development.

The Moorish theme was taken up by literature too, and at the end of the sixteenth century a play with Moors and Christians and the theme of the Reconquest was written and frequently performed. In the seventeenth century the naming of religious patrons for every pueblo became a generalised phenomenon. This was often celebrated and solemnised with the open-air representation, in the entrances to the churches, of a pious legend related to the saint, and to the recovery of an image of the saint that had been hidden or stolen by Moors and pirates. In 1765 Carlos III abolished all such plays as 'profane games which pretended to be religious fiestas'. Nevertheless, 'los Episodios Caudetanos' a work in three acts of that epoch is still put on today and is the basis of the Fiesta de Caudete. The dialogue of these 'plays', full of threats
and insults, was very much to the popular taste, and has influenced the texts of the Andalusian *relaciones*. In many instances today the armed battle has been replaced by the battle of words.

The immediate origins of the 'mock' military character of the Fiesta in the Valencia area are thought to lie in the participation of soldiers and, later, of the local militia, in 'traditional' processions held in honour of the local patron. In every case the conversion of the militia-tradition into one of having 'dressed up' soldiers present varies in date, and lacks documentary confirmation. However, the participation of the authorities and of soldiery occurs today in a variety of ways which attest to the possible origins of their presence. In Yecla, Orgaz and other towns people accompany the procession firing blunderbusses without even dressing as Moors, and in Castalla, Petrel and Alcoy this kind of accompaniment is enacted by Moors and Christians. In the archives of most of these towns there is at least some reference to their fiesta as 'an event of soldiery' at some point in the last three centuries. In Alcoy in 1777 there is a reference to 'an event of Moors and Christians'. (Masanet Ribes, 1981).

The Fiesta of Moors and Christians in Caravaca de la Cruz is a combination of the Valencian and Andalusian forms of the festival. This is hardly surprising since geographically it lies between the two areas, and historically the date of its reconquest comes after that of Valencia and before that of Granada. However, its evolution has been complex and as far as it can be traced it serves as an example of the processes of social creativity that go into the construction of the central symbols of human organization.

It has already been noted that, until the eighteenth century, the major festival celebrated in Caravaca, as in the rest of Spain, was that of Corpus Christi. It is
supposed that a decline in this saw a rise in the fortunes of the Fiesta of the Cross. The 'Moors and Christians' confrontation is a natural element for the Cofradía to have included in the traditional Fiestas de Mayo, since the apparition of the Cross occurred at the time of the Reconquest and is claimed to have caused the conversion of Muslims to Christianity — the transformation of Moor to Morisco. Even in the epoch leading up to the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609 it is recorded that the miraculous Cross of Caravaca was occasionally brought out from its Sanctuary and its festival celebrated, but it was always well guarded.

The author of a history of Caravaca published in 1856 makes a reference to 'Moorish characters' in the festival life of Caravaca in 1814 as if they were nothing new or unusual. In a fiesta to celebrate peace he describes: 

*a retaguardia un destacamento de turcos a caballo, vestidos con gusto y magnificencia* (Marín de Espinosa, 1856) ('As the rearguard a detachment of Moors on horseback, dressed with style and magnificence'). His description of the Fiestas de Mayo, as he knew them, also provides some clues to the development of the use of the symbols of Moors and Christians:

La principal fiesta de Caravaca es la llamada del baño, que se verifica la mañana del tres de Mayo de cada año. Aunque de presente se solemniza todo lo posible, no guarda comparación con lo que se practicaba en otros tiempos, a causa de la penuria y escases que se nota en los actuales. El día dos por la tarde se baja del castillo en procesión la santa Reliquia, y es conducida a la iglesia parroquial, formando el acompañamiento todo el clero, autoridades, personas de distinción que asistir por convite, y además un número considerable de la clase del pueblo. En épocas en que ha habido tropa del ejército o milicia nacional, han ido con uniforme de gala formando a retaguardia para cerrar la comitiva. Anteriormente se componía la vanguardia de un crecido número de arcabuceros del pueblo y campo, los cuales improvisaban una compañía, según costumbre antíguas (que ya no se permite, por evitar desgracias que por lo regular solían acontecer), mandada por el Ayuntamiento; levando el segundo la vandera destinada para esta ceremonia; cuyo nombramiento o elección recae siempre en personas pertenecientes a familias antiguas y distinguidas. Los arcabuceros rompían el fuego al salir del castillo, y no cesaba hasta la entrada de la Cruz en la parroquial.
Suelen salir también comparsas de turcos; pero lo más común es una de guerreros con sus correspondientes armaduras a la antigua, y en algunos años varios niños vestidos de ángel con lujo extraordinario. La parroquia se halla toda empavesada y adornada suntuosamente. Se coloca la reliquia en el altar mayor, y congregando todo el clero en el coro, entonan vísperas, cantadas con toda solemnidad; siendo tal la afluencia de gente que concurre a esta fiesta que obstruye la entrada del templo.

Después se ejecutan fuegos artificiales, iluminación y repique general de campanas, y por conclusión música en el espacioso balcón de las casas consistoriales. Al día siguiente tres de Mayo, sale la procesión con todo el acompañamiento que en la tarde anterior, dirigiéndose por las calles de costumbre inmemorial, llevando la santa Reliquia colocada en un carro magistuoso todo dorado, y cubierto en su derredor de una rica tela de tisú de oro.

Un concursó numeroso de población, Vega, comos y pueblos limítrofes y distantes, cubren todas las calles de la carrera...(1856: 332-333).

The main fiesta of Caravaca is known as 'the bathing', this takes place every year on the morning of the third of May. Although today this is as solemnly religious as possible because of poverty and want, it bears no comparison with those which were held in other times. In the afternoon of Day Two the saught relic is brought down from the castle in a procession and is brought to the parish church, accompanied by all the clergy, authorities, invited persons of distinction, and above all a considerable number of the townspeople. In times in which there have been troops or national militia in the town, they have appeared in dress uniform to form a rearguard of the procession. Earlier the vanguard was made up of a large number of musketeers from the town and country who improvised a company, following ancient custom (how permitted to avoid the disgraceful things that regularly used to occur), controlled by a captain and an alférez named by the Town Hall; the latter carries the banner for the ceremony and his election is always made from members of ancient and distinguished families. As they leave the castle the blunderbusses fire and the noise does not stop until the Cross enters the parish church.

Groups of Moors usually process as well; but the most common is a group of warriors with their corresponding old-fashioned arms and armour, and some years various children dressed as angels in extra-ordinary luxury. The parish church is adorned and decked out sumptuously. The relic is put on the main altar, and with the whole clergy congregated in the choir, they intone vespers, sung very solemnly; the crowds of people
attending the fiesta are so huge that they block up the entrance to the temple.

Afterwards there are fireworks and all the bells in the town are rung and to finish up music is played on the spacious balcony of the Town Hall. The following day, the third of May, the procession has all the accompaniment that it had the previous day, moving along the route determined by custom immemorial, carrying the sainted relic placed in its majestic gilded carriage and covered with a rich cloth of golden tissue.

A huge crowd of all the population of the vale, countryside and faraway towns fill all the streets of the procession....'

The next records of how the fiesta was conducted which have survived are a few papers of the Cofradía de la Santísima Cruz. These papers show that at the end of the nineteenth century and into the start of this century the presence of Moors and Christians and Caballos del Vino was taken completely for granted. In the nineteen-twenties, however, a period well within living memory of some of my informants, the small group of rather poorly dressed Moors and Christians who accompanied the Cross in procession and took part in a simulated combat had to be paid and even cajoled before they would turn out at all.

When the Cross was stolen the Fiestas were suspended. Then a Cross returned and little by little the Fiestas revived. The nineteen-fifties were a time of grave economic depression for the town's traditional industry, but agriculture and then the national economy improved and began to provide increasing prosperity.

Unlike the Republic which had unfortunately coincided with a world economic depression and aggressively spreading Fascism, Spain in the 1950's was advantaged by the 'Cold War'. The U.S. economically and militarily supported the Franco regime as a bulwark against World Communism, and, together with tourism, unwittingly promoted the anti-fascist forces in the country by eventually destroying the conditions necessary for the existence of a fascist dictatorship, by promoting the prosperity of its supporters, would incidentally also enable general conditions to improve gradually.

After 1960, the Spanish economy would visibly and spectacularly 'take off'; but the groundwork was, in spite of the government, laid in the
early 1950's, and was merely a logical development in the process of Spanish economic history (Arnhold 1979:124).

The take-off... is thus anterior to the large economic measures taken by the Spanish government from 1957 to 1959, and which therefore appear to be less the reason than the effect of a growth common to the whole of Western Europe (Drain 1971:10).

The town's population increased. Although some homes were depleted by migration, money flowed back into the town from this source. In 1958 among prominent social characters in the town, members of Caravaquenian families and local business associates, emerged ideas of forming social groups for the organisation of mutual entertainment and celebration of the town's patroness which would include dressing up as Moors or Christians for the period of the Fiestas. All the symbols and ideas were already part of the town's social repertoire, able to be brought into effective use when they were needed. The renaissance of the Fiesta began with two groups of Moors and one of Christians made up of about a dozen friends each. They made their own costumes and raised the money themselves.

...siendo a la sazón Hermano Mayor D. Ramón Melgarejo Vaillan, Conde de Reparaz, en una reunión celebrada en la casa de la Torre, casa solariega de los Melgarejo, en las Navidades de 1957, se tomó la decisión de acometer la empresa de rehacer, con nueva estructura, los bandos de Moros y Cristianos.

Creo recordad que asistimos a aquella junta, el Hermano Mayor, el Tte. Hermano Mayor, que a la sazón era el que esto escribe, los miembros de la junta Representativa Diego Gimenez Giro, Feliz Martinez — Carrasco Roderias, Rafael Orrico (q.e.p.d.) Manuel Guerrero Sánchez, Pedro Beltrán y algún otro que lamento no recordar. Por el Grupo Cristiano, asistió Juan Asnar (q.e.p.d.) y Pedro López Guerrero, y por el Moro, Alfonso López Carrasco y creo recordar a José-Luis Melgares y Juan Montoy. No faltaba entusiasmo; pero sí dinero.


(Jose Luis Gomez Martinez, Revista de las Fiestas, 1978).
Ramon Melgarejo was the serving Hermano Mayor when in a meeting held in the House of the Tower, at Christmas 1957, the decision was taken to begin the project of reconstructing the bands of Moors and Christians.

I believe that at that committee were the Hermano Mayor, the vice-Hermano Mayor, who was myself, the members of the Committee Diego Gimenez Girón, Félix Martínez-Carrasco Roderías, Rafael Orrico (r.i.p.), Manuel Guerrero Sanchez, Pedro Beltran and another whom I forget. For the Christian group Juan Aznar (r.i.p.) and Pedro López Guerrero, and for the Moors Alfonso López Carrasco and I think I remember Juan Montoy and Jose-Luis Melgares. We were not lacking in enthusiasm, only money.

The decision was taken to order the costumes of the Correjo Tailors in Madrid. I think there were eleven for the cabila of Abul Khatar and ten for the Group of the Knights Templar. Sra. Ester Castillo Guerrero and Amancio Marsilla Marín and Sra. Mari Sol Zamora and Juanito Aznar were named Queens and Kings of the Moors and Christians respectively. Attendants were also appointed and we put our hope in the Most Sainted Cross.

Every year or so since then a new group has taken to the streets, either of Moors or Christians, according to the fashion of the times —— sometimes Moors seem more attractive and sometimes the Christians. Over the last ten or fifteen years in Andalusia, Albacete and Valencia, many towns have begun their own versions of the Fiesta of Moors and Christians and all the parades are unique in character. Although the fundamental symbols used have a great deal in common, as do the structures of the events, they are adapted to the nature of the social context that the symbols have to serve. Some towns have needed to attract visitors, and the fiestas are designed and re-adapted purely with the images that will please the outsiders in mind. In Caravaca, however, the Fiestas still fit even the most recent of changes in the life of the town. In Orihuela the fiestas are financed by the Caja Rural Central as 'cultural' events, and are not paid for by the people themselves as they are in Caravaca. People in Caravaca feel that this causes the fiestas in Orihuela to lose their flavour and dynamism. In Petrel the parades are more like agricultural pageants. The
groups all show their involvement in the economic processes of the area. Staves are carried and crops displayed. In Alcoy, a city of ever-increasing importance, the spectacle has grown to enormous proportions and the Fiestas can reasonably be considered to be an industry.¹

Such has been the spread and variety of these performances that an organisation has been set up on a national scale to 'protect and dignify' this fiesta form. UNDEF (Unión de Entidades Festeras de Moros y Cristianos) was born out of the Congress of the Fiesta of Moors and Christians which was held in Villena in 1974 (the documents of this Congress are published in two volumes by the Caja de Ahorros Provincial in 1976). UNDEF is a federation that at present groups together 37 festival populations, 26 in Alicante, 9 in Valencia, 1 in Murcia (Caravaca) and 1 in Albacete (Caudete). In 1978 the General Assembly of UNDEF made the following declaration:

Entre las diversas variantes de la contraposición moro-cristiana, se encuentra la variante valenciana que se conoce con la denominación solemne del Patron o Advocación local con la simbólica y ritual representación popular en forma de masiva oposición moro-cristiana para pública diversión de unos hechos relacionados con la Reconquista en su fase local o general.

La fiesta es la misma e idéntica en toda el área, sin mengua de las peculiaridades propias de cada población, con un esquema estructural básico que es la síntesis de estos factores:

1° El religioso, pues ha nacido y se ha desarrollado al amparo de la Advocación religiosa local, cuyo espíritu envuelve la celebración.

2° El histórico tradicional, con un contenido guerrero de lucha, aracabocería, embajadas y pérdida y recuperación de un castillo que simboliza la población.

3° El popular, con una fuerte proyección social, al ser el pueblo festeros y espectadores — quien masivamente la realiza para común recogijo, participando en actos adecuados a la propia génesis de la Fiesta.

4° Su organización está encomendada a asociaciones que desarrollan, además, una permanente actividad cultural

Es esta una definición que enumera los caracteres esenciales de la variante valenciana de la Fiesta, que desde el punto de vista de su ser popular es una institución que cumple una función social.
'Between the diverse variants of the Moor-Christian opposition, exists the Valencian variety which is known by the denomination of Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos, which is the solemn celebration of the local Patron or Advocation with the symbolic and ritual popular representation in the form of a massive Moor-Christian opposition of the public enjoyment of events related to the Reconquest in its local or general phase.

The fiesta is the same and identical in all the area, without diminution of the unique characteristics of each population, with a basic structural scheme that is the synthesis of the following factors:
1. The religious, it has born and developed under the patronage of the local religious advocation, whose spirit enveloped the celebration.
2. The traditional history, containing fighting, shooting, 'ambassadors', and the loss and regaining a castle which symbolises the population.
3. The popular, with a strong social projection, since it is the pueblo —— participants and spectators --- who en masse create it for popular enjoyment, taking part in suitable acts in the genesis of the fiesta.
4. The organisation is in the hands of those who are also developing other permanent cultural activity.

This is a definition which enumerates the essential character of the Valencian variant of the fiesta, which from the point of view of its popular being is an institution which has a social function.'
from every social group. Most come from the town, but there are a few from the campo, and a few more who are Caravaquenian by birth but live permanently away.

The Moors and Christians are made up of a Bando Moro and a Bando Cristiano. In their turn these are divided into Cábilas of Moors and Grupos of Christians, The average membership of each group today is about fifty. There approximately eighteen groups with names as follows, but the groups change and others have come and gone over the years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moorish Cábilas</th>
<th>Christian Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abul Khatar</td>
<td>Caballeros Templarios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abul Khatar Joven</td>
<td>Grupo de Santiago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abul Khatar Feminina</td>
<td>Caballeros de Navarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Reales Halcones del</td>
<td>Arqueros y Arqueras del Rey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desierto</td>
<td>Caballeros Hospitaleros de San Juan de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragones Rojos</td>
<td>Jerusalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Rifenos</td>
<td>Caballeros de San Jorge de Alfama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceyt Abu-Ceyt</td>
<td>Caballeros de Aragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almorahades</td>
<td>Caballeros de la Vera Cruz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almoravides</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yusuf Ibn-Abderraman Al-Firi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A history of the revived Fiestas, with the changes that have been made every year in every group, would fill several volumes, even if the information could be collected. If it could be collected, it could not be understood beyond Caravaca de la Cruz. The Fiestas are an 'internal language' which can only be learnt by those born and raised in such a distinct environment, and which can only be spoken by those for whom that environment will be continued. This language contains names, dates and relationships which can only have meaning for the speakers. The contemporary history of the development of Fiesta activities is known only to the participants. The subject matter of conversation is derived from the structure of organisation of the Bands of Moors and Christians and the Caballos del Vino, and is repeated year after year with a myriad minute variations.

The high degree of historical awareness that Caravaca manifests as a town is reflected in the Fiestas --- in stark contrast, for example, to the Fiestas of Alcoy.
Throughout the 'revival' of the Fiestas, historical accuracy, or a wholehearted attempt at it, has nearly always been the aim, and many of the names and costumes of the groups are true to the age of the Apparition and the Reconquest (photos. 147ff.). Groups, especially the newer ones with younger members, design their costumes depending on their wealth and usually try to display a new costume every few years when they can afford to do so. The pool of common values shared by the generations taking part in the Fiestas in general ensures a consistency of style and atmosphere. Unhistorical, and 'baroque', showy, costumes occasionally heard of or seen in reports of other festivals are deprecated as 'hortera'or 'fea' ('tasteless' or 'ugly' respectively) as are a few elements of long-standing within the Caravaqueño Fiestas themselves: some specific groups, certain participants, and particular ways of doing things.

Each grupo has evolved its own principles and mode of organisation according to the nature of its membership: whether old friends, business companions, men, women, family men, students, or youngsters. These are the sorts of groups that find enough in common within their category to form associations, although there are no exclusive categories. Some of the organising committees are more complex than others, but each grupo has a jefe and Junta Directiva, whether it be Moorish or Christian. At their annual general meeting these representatives, usually including the jefes of each odbila or grupo, elect a new President for their respective Bandos. Almost all of the groups have a Madrina or 'female protectress' who is usually a beautiful young girl, proposed either by herself, her family, or her friends. Most usually she is sponsored by her father. The cost is high and there is some prestige to be gained from this. The cost comes from buying new dresses and providing entertainment at the presentation of the Madrina (usually held in a discotheque or bar). The nomination, in most cases lasts for two years.
Occasionally the daughter of a family who live away from Caravaca will become a Madrīna through the strength of attachment to the town being exhibited by her parents. In addition to this collection of 'Carnival Queens', the Band of Christians are represented by a King and Queen, and the Band of Moors have a Sultan and Favourite. Participation is large-scale and must be considered to be the single most important aspect of the Fiestas. Over the years certain names become more and more well-known.

It is impossible to calculate the exact cost of the Fiestas, but recently a figure of about fifty million pesetas (about half a million pounds sterling) has come to be an accepted estimate. This is the amount of money earned or earmarked for the purpose over a year, and spent by Caravaquenians alone over the period of just one week in May.

The organisation of the Moors and Christians is distantly overseen by the Comisión de Festejos, which used to provide a grant of a million pesetas or so to the Bandos. This money was raised by the sale of boletos, in the bars of the town. However, this form of fund-raising has become illegal, and the grant has been cut. This has meant that the mayor and Hermano Mayor have had to redouble their efforts in their campaign of requests for public subscription. They traditionally make what is virtually a door to door petition for money and, since the abolition of the boletos, people are being more generous than ever before. It must be emphasised that in order to pay for their Fiestas the people of Caravaca are prepared to make economic sacrifices in other areas. From the outside Caravaca does not appear a poor town, but this is part of the essential 'show' of Caravaca. The Fiestas mask and compound real economic hardship.

In addition to funding by public subscription, every member of a Fiesta group pays an annual or monthly quota which amounts to several thousand pesetas. The time and energy and application of trade skills by group members
also save money, and the major activity of the Fiesta groups during the year is fund-raising by any method they can think up. The two most commonly encountered methods are through the sale of National Lottery tickets and through the operation of hire-purchase systems on a whole range of goods from food-mixers to fridges and cars. All the banks in Caravaca take the Fiestas completely into account and they are able to loan money on the considerable agricultural wealth that they have on deposit. There has never been any economic crisis yet.

CABALLOS DEL VINO

On the second day of the five days of Fiestas in May there is a unique entirely secular festival which is a powerful marker of Caravaquenian identity, and is completely woven into the fabric of liturgical acts on the eve of the central 'Day of the Cross' --- this is the Fiesta of the Horses of the Wine (Photos.134ff.). The ritual behaviour involved is the translation into symbolic action of another Caravaquenian historically-based myth constructed around a miracle of the Cross. Every year, the Cross, at least symbolically, performs a miracle.

The text of the myth is quoted as 'history' in a variety of different plagiarised forms by a number of 'historians' who have chosen over the centuries to write some documentary account of the past of Caravaca. In their time what they wrote was circulated among their friends and must have been disseminated in one form or other to their acquaintances. These stories were taken up by those who came after them and are today told by others, in school, in the brochure of the Fiestas, by garrulous old men or by the local priest. The process by which this myth has grown up, is common enough in the development of oral history.

A periodically active local history group published the following account in 1976:
Caravaca en esa época, el medievo (sobre todo en los siglos XIII-XIV), era frontera entre el reino de Murcia y el drabe de Granada. Frequentemente eran las incursiones de estos moros granadinos a nuestras tierras. Todas estas 'razzias' no hacían sino crear un clima de inestabilidad periódicos asaltos a la villa.

En uno de estos cercos a la plaza, ocurrió que al agua de los algibes del Castillo se decompuso, provocando una fuerte epidemia por entre los defensores del lugar.

Ante la posibilidad de ceder la plaza en rendición optaron por inventar cruzar la línea de cerco en busca de agua. Tal azana tuvo éxito y llegando al Campillo Galardon o de los Caballeros y no habiendo hallado agua, decidieron cargar con pellejas de vino. En reña batalla y veloz carrera lograron nuevamente incorporarse al Castillo con el preciado líquido. Bañada la Stma. Cruz en dicho vino, dióronla a beber a los enfermos que, milagrosamente sanaron, pudiendo así resistir al asedio.

The account given in a publication dating from 1967 shows typical evidence of being a variation on a theme:

Origin del 'Caballo del Vino'. --- Estando Caravaca sitiada en el siglo XIII, y habiéndose descompuesto las aguas del algibe del Castillo, se produjo una epidemia entre los defensores del mismo, que achacaron al mal estado del agua; por lo cual, unos hercicos caballeros templarios, burlando el cerco de los sitiadores, salieron de la fortaleza y llegaron al Campillo, en donde llenaron unas pieles de vino; y en reña batalla y veloz carrera lograron entrar de nuevo en el Castillo con el preciado líquido. Bañada la Stma. Cruz en dicho vino, dieron a beber de él y sanaron todos los enfermos, y en conmemoración de este hecho, desde entonces, todos los años se celebra la fiesta de las Caballos del Vino.

All the various versions can be glossed in the following 'translation':

While Caravaca was a stronghold against the Moor in the Middle Ages, it was subject to frequent assaults. During one such siege the water in the castle stagnated and an epidemic raged among the defending soldiers. Rather than surrender, they opted to cross enemy lines in search of water. They broke out successfully, but having reached Campillo Galardon or de los Caballeros, without encountering fresh water they decided to bring back skins of wine instead. Battling and racing the enemy to the castle walls they reached safety. The Cross was bathed in the wine and the liquid was given to the suffering inhabitants who were miraculously healed and able to successfully defend the citadel.
The Fiesta which today represents this story consists of a number of groups of four men, supported by their associates, racing a horse up the steep approach to the castle (Photos. 152a&b.). Once inside the castle the horses, which are covered in elegant embroidered tack are judged, and a prize is awarded to the group of associates who have turned out the most beautifully dressed animal (Photos. 153b).

No-one in Caravaca de la Cruz remembers when the fiesta of the Caballos del Vino was first held. But then no-one really wants to. Everyone regards it as 'traditional' --- a concept which, properly considered, does not have any necessary relationship to historical authenticity as a historian (for example) might view it. This fiesta is thought of by some people as a nineteenth-century innovation. There is one old man in the town today in his nineties who claims that his grandfather regularly took part in it, dressing up on Day 2 and racing a horse.

In the few papers of the Cofradía that are still preserved in Caravaca, the Caballos del Vino are mentioned in 1909 not as an innovation, but rather as a reorganisation. It seems likely that the original inspiration of the fiesta had some connection with the Feria in which there were horse-racing competitions held between the youths of some of the barrios in the old countryside-oriented centre of the town --- the 'barrio alpargatero'. It is possible that 'yuntas' of plough teams may have competed using harnessed workhorses. However, when they refer to their love of horses nowadays people like to think even further back, and always recall the 'tradition' of Arab horses.

As time went by the competing horses were adorned using bedcovers from the boys' mothers' 'bottom drawers'. Many families kept a chest, 'una arca', in the attic, containing family valuables or heirlooms. There was nearly always a relatively exceptional and decorative bedcover (Photo. p.173), often embroidered, included
Photograph of a Caballo del Vino circa 1952 taken by Litrán the town photographer.
among these, and boys would ask to borrow this just for one occasion in the year, to show off at the Fiestas. If the family possessed no such bedcover than it might have asked to borrow one from a 'nobler' household.

Not until the nineteen-fifties did one family exhibit a *manto* ('blanket') which was embroidered especially for the occasion. The idea caught on. Up to this point the race up the hill to the castle had always been the most important element of the competition. Now, interest is centred upon the display of the finest *manto*. This development was contemporary with the renovation of the Fiestas as a whole in the late nineteen-fifties, and went hand in hand with the growth of the groups of Moors and Christians. Since then the largest prizes (Photo. 74b), awarded by the *Hermano Mayor* of the *Cofradía*, have always gone to the horse wearing the most beautiful blanket and accompanying harnessing, known as *enjaezamiento* (Photo. 134a see also Fig. 10).

It is because the myth of the *Caballos del Vino* provides an historical, and therefore, stable, structural precedent, and an indispensable connection with the Cross, that 'true' history plays no part in the tradition. A history of the *Caballos del Vino* has just been published privately in Caravaca by the priest who is Chaplain of the Cross and the *Cofradía*. However, this 'history', a compilation of hearsay and speculation, by 'an outsider' and 'self-styled' scholar is written in such a lyrical and epic style that it serves very well to augment the 'myth' of this competition and reinforces the myths associated with the *Caballos del Vino*, having nothing to do with 'true' history. In Caravaca, what is done is 'traditional' because it obeys the rules. In the case of this competition tradition is reinforced by the institutionalisation of these rules. The motifs and style of decoration for the blankets are laid down in the rules of the institutionalised body that is the Band of the *Caballos del Vino*. The embroidered designs must be associated with the Cross and with Fiesta events.
The Band of the Caballos del Vino makes up a unique trio with the Bands of Moors and Christians. Each have their own representative juntas and are represented on the Comisión de Festejos which has overall control. The Band of the Caballos del Vino is made up of any number of member groups called Peñas, each of which will enter a horse in the competition in any one year. Only those Peñas who are showing a new embroidered manto, however, will compete for the main prize of enjaezamiento. A Peña can be made up of any number of people from four upwards, since four people are needed to run the horse on Day 2.

Undoubtedly the cost of the blankets raises admiration and brings prestige. It is admitted that during the year the Peñas say that they are spending more money than they really are, because this raises expectations, interest and enthusiasm. In 1981 forty-seven Peñas went to make up the Band of the Caballos del Vino. The Peña Mayrena, for example had forty socios ('members') in that year, nearly all of whom also bring a large family with them, and it charged an annual membership quota of 6,000 pesetas. One of the members supposed that he spent 20-30,000 pesetas on top of this on unsold lottery tickets (for which he then became responsible), and funi-raising dances and so on, without counting other 'invisible' expenses on travelling. This would be by no means untypical. The total income of this Peña in 1981 was 967,000Pts. Its total expenditure was 994,000 pesetas. The banks in Caravaca are accustomed to providing the overdrafts necessary for the Fiestas. Early on in the year a lottery win of 250,000 pesetas increased the income of the Peña Mayrena and allowed a more expensive and impressive blanket to be planned. In the end the black velvet covered with criss-crossed gold braid and dozens of small embroidered images looked very expensive indeed. This Peña raised money almost entirely through the sale of shares in the complicated institution of the National Lottery, but methods used by other groups create entire 'invisible' economy.
A recently raised standard of living has made participation in the acts and aspirations associated with the Fiestas almost universal. Successful participation is almost certainly limited to an economically defined group. However, neither the desire to participate nor the expectation of the rewards of participation are in any way restricted. Many of the Peñas are formed by groups of employees within a particular business coming together to show a horse. Apart from the personal satisfaction derived, there is a relationship between participation and the public recognition accrued. This is not a direct mathematical relationship, but can depend upon individual requirements and abilities within this system of manipulable symbols and forces.

In the nineteen-fifties and 'sixties horse were often entered in competition by single families. Even today it is said that a family Peña would be preferred and there is no evidence of co-operation in any other aspect of Caravaquenian life beyond the Fiestas. In present day Caravaca, however, there is a need for other groupings. The social system operates through and with a population which has grown in size beyond an effective kinship-based core. William Christian has pointed out the same phenomenon in sixteenth-century Toledo, where he claims that festival brotherhoods attested 'to the need for a more intimate devotional community and solidarity groups not based on kinship' (Christian, 1981:149). Incorporation still bears some relationship to a kin-based system, but today kinship is not the fundamental criterion for participation.

Participation provides its own raison d'être. If you have no name, no visible place in the folk mythology of gossip, it provides a ready-made and very serviceable identity. This is a structurally reinforced identity: the Fiestas actively work to create it. For nearly all the participants the Fiestas are an out-of-this-worldly experience, and as such are immediately highly charged with significance. A great deal of the activity is exclusive,
and also involves interiorisation of things Caravaquenian. For example, the brochures of the *Caballos del Vino* were only given to participants and close friends, and were not even distributed at all until some of the events had already passed; this was in spite of the fact that the brochures addressed tourists and visitors.

For those who already have significant social identities some of the most established *Peña*s provide an institutionalised set of self-validating relationships. Even the oldest *Peña*s were formed only eleven years ago, in response to the relatively anarchic and potentially unmanageable expansion of the Fiestas which was related to economic and demographic growth. In these *Peña*s friendship can be used internally to acquire power, or, more often, to consolidate constantly threatened social positions. This power can be extended beyond the *Peña* into the society, depending on the social position of the particular member.
Fig. 10 Prizes for the Caballos del Vino Competitions 1981.

ENJAEZAMIENTO
1. Copa Ilmo. Sr. Hermano Mayor y Trofeo Campos-Orrico + 50,000 Pesetas
2. " Excmo. Ayuntamiento y Trofeo Campos-Orrico + 40,000 "
3. " Yemas Reina y Trofeo Campos-Orrico + 35,000 "
4. " Alza y Artiluz + 25,000 "
5. " Caja Rural Provincial + 22,000 "
6. " Circulo Mercantil + 19,000 "
7. " Auto Caravaca, S.A. + 17,000 "
8. " Banco Central + 15,000 "
9. " Polideportivo Argos + 13,000 "
10. " Marmoles de Caravaca, S.A. + 12,000 "
11. " Polideportivo La Loma + 10,000 "
12. " Discoteca Pyramide + 10,000 "
13. " Caravaca C.F. + 10,000 "
14. " Industrias Carnica Fernando Fernandez + 10,000 "
15. " Almacenes Nestor + 10,000 "

CARRERA
1. Copa Excmo. Ayuntamiento + 30,000 "
2. " Cafeteria Tiffany's + 20,000 "
3. " Hostal Caballos del Vino + 17,000 "
4. " Caja de Ahorros Provincial + 11,000 "
5. " Bingo Reina Aixa, S.A. + 8,000 "
6. " La Papirusa + 5,000 "
7. " C.I.O.C. + 3,000 "

ENJAEZAMIENTO (for previous years)
1. Copa Bar Vera-Cruz + 8,000 "
2. " La Inmaculada + 7,000 "
3. " Butano S.A. + 6,000 "
4. " Feliciano Morenilla (Thomson) + 5,000 "
5. " Helados La Jijonenca, S.A. + 4,000 "

PREMIO AL MEJOR CABALLO AL PELO
1. Trofeo Automocion Caravaca, S.A. + 5,000 "
2. " Transportes Navarro, S.A. + 3,000 "
3. " Banco Hispano Americano + 1,000 "
4. " Enrique Villar (Citroen) + 1,000 "

ESPECIALES
Premio a la mejor Pena --- Copa Finmoya
Premio a la Deportividad --- Copa Armu
Premio a los Caballistas de mas edad --- Copa Seat
Premio a los Caballistas mas jovenes --- Copa Banesto

To all the participants a special trophy will be donated by the Bando of the Caballos del Vino to commemorate the 750th anniversary of the apparition of the Most Sainted and True Cross.
FIESTAS OF THE CROSS

In the past, three fiestas, held each year to celebrate the Cross of Christ, were used in Caravaca to pay tribute to their own patroness, the Cross of Caravaca. On the sixteenth of July the national Festival of the Triumph of the Most Sainted Cross used to be celebrated (in honour of the victory against the Moors in the naval battle of Tolosa) but this has now fallen into abeyance both in Caravaca and more generally throughout Spain. The 14th of September is the Festival of the Exaltation of the Sainted Cross, and the 3rd of May is the Day of the Festival of the Invention of the Most Sainted and True Cross. These last two are the major festivals of the Caravaquenian Calendar with the *Fiestas de Mayo* taking clear precedence in everyone's mind.

In Caravaca a year begins once one year's May Fiestas are over. Within a month preparations begin again for the following year. In June and July all the new elections (for the Fiesta organisations) take place and people are already trying to think how they can 'improve' next year's Fiestas beyond those just past. 'Every year is better than the last', people say. The summer in Caravaca is too hot for thinking, however, and so apart from the occasional dinner or picnic, after the elections few groups do much until the autumn. On average, over the whole year, there is a meeting of at least one of the Fiesta groups every two or three days. There are more Fiesta meetings than there are local Council meetings.

On the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th of September a Mass and exhibition of the Most Sainted Cross take place in the Sanctuary of the Castle at 8.30 in the morning and a Mass and a blessing with the Most Sainted Cross at 8 o'clock each evening. This festival of Exaltation has taken place every year within living memory, with the exception of the war years when there was no Cross in Caravaca. It is
more liturgically dominated than the Fiestas in May and is organised directly by the Junta Directiva of the Cofradía of the Cross. On each day people stream relatively solemnly up the hill to the castle, to fill the church and to kiss the reliquary of the Cross. These five days of prayers and Masses are officially a 'Quinario'. The last day of this religious sequence is the actual day of the Fiesta de la Exaltación de la Santa Cruz.

On this day at 12 o'clock midday all the bells of all the churches in the town are rung at once in a Gran Repique de Campanas. The last evening Mass of the Quinario is moved from 8pm to 7pm and a Solemn Mass is celebrated. In 1981 the choir of the parish church of El Salvador sang the hymns. Immediately following the Mass the Hermano Mayor of the Cofradía places the emblem of Cofradía membership, a medal-sized, metal, two-barred cross on a red ribbon, around the neck of new members of the Cofradía. This ceremony is followed by a solemn procession around the castle walls along the path that encircles the hilltop. The procession is led by the Cross, bajo palio, ('in its own silver chariot'), and accompanied by the Chaplain and the members of the Junta Directiva of the Cofradía. Behind this group two lines of devotees carrying lit candles stretch back along the path. In general it is the oldest members of the community who attend in largest numbers. The Authorities follow behind at the rear of the procession. As night falls, and the people make their way home, the slot that Caravaca fills between the hillside echoes with the cracks of hundreds of exploding rockets, supplied by the local firework-maker and paid for by the Cofradía.

The following day an addendum to this five-day festival is celebrated at 8.30 in the morning in the form of a Funeral Mass said for deceased members of the Cofradía. Although attendance at this Mass runs into hundreds, its importance to the pueblo lies in the knowledge that the celebration is being carried out, not in active participation.
Failure to attend does not signify a denial of the traditional value and importance of the Mass; and even those who rarely attend would think it a disaster if the Mass were not celebrated and attended by women and children. We deal with an irrational paradox..., but a paradox between belief and practice does not alter the content of belief.... Those who fail to attend Mass are content that the Mass is offered on their behalf and that it is attended by others on their behalf (Mackenzie, 1969:145).

Preparations for the main Fiestas of the year continue behind the scenes from September onwards. The continuous pressure of fund-raising has been mentioned already, but even fund-raising is probably less time-consuming than the craft activities with which many fill their leisure moments. Costumes have to be designed, accessories carefully matched and manufactured, weapons and other accoutrements carefully researched and 'faked'. Traditional crafts come into their own as embroiderers ply their needles and harness-makers revive under-utilised skills. Music too has to be planned and, in the spring, bands are booked. Sites for refugios are also searched out and hired or borrowed so that each group and adbila have somewhere to hold their dances, revues, and dinners, during the first week in May. Between the autumn and Spring most of the groups regularly organise dinners, dances or other events to maintain the spirit of friendship and joint commitment within the group, and these friendship groups, in fact, cross-cut most other social classifications within the city although membership is not hereditary as in Alcoy.

In 1981 in the months before the Fiestas the new Moorish group, Yusuf Ibn-Abderraman Al-Firi, was planned to come into existence and eventually did so, successfully. In 1982 a new Christian group was planned. The members were to be known as the 'Montañeses'. A group with this name had existed previously in the early nineteen-sixties, and some enthusiasts who had been members of other groups, and involved in Fiesta preparation over a long period of time, had the idea of restarting it. One of those
involved was a local bank clerk who also jointly ran a small stable in the outskirts of the town, which provided horses for pleasure-riding and for Fiesta events (Photo.58a). Planning the new group took up a great deal of time. The 'Montañeses' were to be mountain warriors dressed in skins, with crude hatchets and knives, and leather as their main accessories. They intended to introduce war machines, and catapults, hunting dogs and perhaps a bear in a cage, into the parades. The organising committee had to draw the designs and even travel across the province and to Madrid to find people to make all the artefacts required. The intense involvement and the reception of the crowds on the day seems to make all the effort worthwhile. The Fiestas and their organisation provide a complete system for self-fulfilment.

The publicly visible build-up to the Fiestas begins in Spring, in the months of February and March. Firstly, the appearance of beards transforms the identity of many men in the town. By the time of the Fiestas these beards will be mature growths, which will help the men more nearly fit their image of historical Moors and Christians, and will help to transform them into their other-selves. Secondly, at this time of year the groups begin to present their madrinas to the public at special presentation dances usually held on Saturday nights in one (or more if the group is large) of the town's discotheques (Photo.94b). At these dances there is usually a 'live' band hired to play in addition to the 'disco-music'. The heads of the other groups, both Moors and Christians, and representatives of the Cofradía and the Town Hall --- usually the Hermano Mayor and the mayor themselves --- give gifts to the beautifully dressed 'maiden'.

In April, in the last few years, groups who have not left the major part of their preparations to the last minute and have designed attractive refugios for their parties, hold a special event to open these to the public before the Fiestas begin. In the same month the
two Bands hold the first major events of the Fiestas, vying with one another for splendour and spectacle. On two separate Sundays, they present their King and Queen, and Sultan and Favourite. These events are usually held in the cinema, on stage, accompanied by speeches, eulogies, and a theatrical representation, with a Reconquest theme, hastily prepared in the few weeks before. The formal presentation is followed up by an invasion of the discotheques, by the crowds who have attended. These are joined by many others who were unable to get tickets into the cinema. These dances are already full of the Fiesta spirit, and wild exuberant behaviour continues into the early hours of the morning. People begin to feel they may tire of celebration even before the Fiestas have begun, yet the behaviour will later seem calm in comparison with the extremes of pain, pleasure and endurance to be experienced during the Fiestas themselves.

After this festival people's thoughts turn more frequently to the Fiestas that will take place in May. In the preparatory period of ever-increasing activity from February onwards some forms of Church attendance can be seen to increase. More and more candles are lit to many of the images in all of the town's churches, asking for a variety of Fiesta favours. A few years ago, when the showery weather so frequent in April was threatening to turn into a deluge that would wipe out the festivities of Day 2, one of the town's many Fiesta myths' was begun. Apparently so many candles were lit to ask for fine weather that the town's churches ran completely out of candles and stocks had to be massively replenished from Murcia the capital. The sun shone as usual on Day 2.

The first liturgically-related acts of the Fiestas take place on the 12th April, or the nearest Sunday. At 11 o'clock in the morning (in fact closer to half-past since timetables or appointments are not to be regarded as rigid arrangements) the members of the groups which
make up the band of enthusiasts of the *Caballos del Vino* proceed through the streets of the town, some dressed in their Fiesta costume of white shirts and trousers and a red neckerchief, accompanied by an amateur youth band of drums and trumpets. They climb the hill to the 'Royal Fortress-Sanctuary of the Most Sainted and True Cross of Caravaca', where a Mass is celebrated in honour of the *Caballos del Vino*. In the courtyard exploding rockets are set off to announce this Mass and the subsequent draw for the 'race order' of the horses on the second of May.

The second liturgically related act of the Fiestas takes place on a later Sunday in April. This is the *Solemn Misa de Coronación de los Reyes Cristianos* ('Solemn Mass for the Coronation of the Christian Kings'). In 1981 as a special event organised for the 750th anniversary of the Apparition of the True Cross in Caravaca, the Orfeon Choir 'Stella Maris' performed the hymns during the Mass, and led the singing of the Hymn of Caravaca after it. The Mass was held at 11 o'clock in the morning and by the end of the service the Sanctuary was filled to the doors. During the service, after the Holy Communion, the chaplain symbolically crowned the Festival King and Queen of the Christian Group. They were then give the reliquary of the Cross to kiss first, and they were followed by most of the other members of the Christian group who as one body had arranged to 'gain the Jubilee' at this event. Only after the queues formed by all these people had diminished did the rest of the congregation have their opportunity to kiss the Cross. This Mass was followed by pre-prandial drinks in the bars of the Gran Via with everyone dressed up just that bit more than in their usual 'Sunday best'.

A week before the Fiestas officially begin, everyday from the 25th to the 30th of April, the *tío de la pita* ('old man with his whistle') and his Giants and Big-Heads *Gigantes* and *Cabezudos*) leads chains of children, pied-piper-like around the streets of the *barrios* new and old (Photos. 132ff ).
Dressed much like any agricultural labourer, el tío de la pita is an unprepossessing but still magical figure consistently evoking his own special response from the children. The first notice that most of the town's population receive of his presence each year is the sharp oboe-like squeal of his dulzaina rasping out around the streets of the town on the afternoon of the 25th of April. This figure has been the traditional herald of the Fiestas for as long as people remember. Round the streets with him he draws the children and the picaresque figures of the town's idiots, 'tontos'.

When they reach the Placeta del Santo where many of the least movable of the Fiesta trastos are kept in the warehouse-like structure of the disused hermitage chapel, they are cheered by larger crowds of children already assembled expectantly waiting for the appearance of the Gigantes. As the Gigantes are drawn out of their hiding places, still lying down since their size forbids any other method of storage, they are greeted with jokingly abusive screams of 'Gandules!' ('Lazy things'). This is a first and important indicator of attitudes towards them.

Four giants and two shorter figures (Los Enanos or dwarves') eventually emerge. These are el gitan y la gitana ('male and female gypsies'), el negro y la negra ('the black man and the black woman'), and the bajos ('short ones') el Abuelo y la Abuela ('Grandad and Grandma'). The four giants are symbolically-clad wooden-frames about twelve feet high with painted papier-mache heads, each carried on the shoulders of one of the strong local lads who have come forward for the job, and who are paid by the Comisión de Festejos. The two bajos are similar figures about eight feet high. A further accompaniment is provided by the Big-head figures. The two traditional Big-head characters in Caravaca are the Huertano and Huertana (typical caricatures of the traditional Murcian agricultural labourer, similar in some respects to the English image of 'yokel'). There are usually three or
four other figures, also popular clowning characters of the imagination such as Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck.

As soon as the Giants and Big-heads are standing, the *tío de la pita* leads them off pell-mell down a hill and rapidly on parade along the Gran Via into the Plaza Mayor and through the old town back to the Placeta del Santo. For almost an hour this parade, with each member as ungainly as the next, the lumbering giants, the bouncing Big-heads, and anarchic children, disrupts the quiet afternoon of the town. Unlike other examples of Giants and Big-head's parades, the Big-heads do not carry 'weapons' jokingly to belabour the children. Brandes (1980) says that in the town of Monteros the Big-heads use *porras* (phallic soft stuffed clubs) to 'bonk' people with --- these are found in many village festivals in Andalusia and also call to mind the 'bladder toy' of the mediaeval jester. Although in Caravaca the size of the Giants may frighten, as may the unreal expressions of the characters, little aggression is displayed and the Big-heads do not carry 'weapons'.

Giants and Big-heads are part of the Spanish tradition of the grotesque. This tradition is exemplified, for example, by the dwarves that were kept at the Spanish court, so graphically portrayed by Velasonez in the famous painting of 'Las Meninas'. It could be seen exemplified by the host of mutilated beggars who until recently lined the route of any procession or church approach. Giants and Big-heads are traditional Spanish Festival figures with a wide distribution. As Brandes has said:

We know that Giants and Big-heads have existed in Spain throughout the past four hundred years, during which they have usually been associated with Corpus Christi and pre-Lenten Carnaval celebrations (Almerich 1944; Caro Baroja 1965; Gomez-Tabernera 1968; Pla Cargol 1947) (Brandes 1980:19).

I have been unable to find a more recent, or more conventionally anthropological, analysis. A characteristic of virtually all the accounts is the lack of a 'combination of detailed description and extensive local ethnography
that might explain the phenomenon from a symbolic, structural, or other point of view' (Brandes 1980:19). Even Brandes' own account sees the parade in the light of its place in folklore. However, his chapter of description and analysis, in the context of a book which deals with similar material, is the best and fullest study to date, of this particular collection of traditional and very specifically Spanish symbols.

The Giants and Big-heads in Monteros (the site of Brandes' Andalusian example) represent different characters from those seen in Caravaca. There are a Giant King and Queen and fourteen diverse Big-heads. Brandes analyses the parade in relation to his understanding of life in Monteros, which he sees as dominated by power relationships and in particular by class conflict. Simply sketched, his argument follows Percy Cohen's (1977) idea that 'human beings...represent or symbolise social class distinctions as if they were differences between parents and children' (Brandes 1980:31), and then shows how the tall Giants are symbolic adults accompanied by their small children, the latter characterised by the large head of the young child. He argues that the symbolic attributes of these characters, the rigid, controlled, socialised, adult king and queen, and the rampant, sexually uncontrolled, battling Big-heads, teach correct social behaviour and warn against life's dangers and against political inequalities. Brandes summarises his analysis in the following way: 'the parade is a metaphoric statement of potential social chaos, of the threat to both the individual and society if the forces of order and social control are not permitted to prevail' (1980:35). This is a generalisation which can also be seen to apply in the present Caravaquenian example, but the details and context of this parade are different, and alternative interpretations are clearly demanded. Possibly this description of Giants and Big-heads in Caravaca provides comparative data of the kind called for by both Brandes and John Davis (1976:16)
and necessary for improved understanding of Spain and other Mediterranean cultures.

I would argue that in the examples of both Caravaca and Monteros a changing social context has caused these symbols to lose much of the precise detail of their original historical social significance. Giants and Big-heads are symbols that have lasted centuries largely through their capacity to contain a multiplicity of meanings, and through their aptness for mythological statement. Symbols of this type can retain an important form of social power by turning themselves into myth. Symbol complexes of this kind gain their power because they are sufficiently polyvalent to be used in different ways in different places and at different times. They do not necessarily keep recurring simply because they embody a very limited number of universal themes.

In relation to his example Brandes claims:

...on the basis of the social composition of performers and audience alike,...that the parade is of paramount importance to the following segments of the Monteros populace: children of all ages and socio-economic strata and men of the working-class...this, by the way, is why an outsider like myself, witnessing the pageant for the first time, views it as rather poorly attended and insignificant compared with other festival occasions (1980:25).

Barbara Babcock reminds that: 'What is socially peripheral is symbolically central...' (Babcock 1978:32). Although attendance is limited in Caravaca too, this parade probably plays a similar role in Caravaquenian life as it does in some of the other Spanish towns in which it takes place. The composition of the audience and participants is much the same in Caravaca de la Cruz as in Monteros, but I believe that the parade also has significance and meaning for those who organise the event, for those who pay for it, for those who know it takes place, those who stay away from it, and those who talk about it.
Caravaca is a natural route centre and traditionally a border town. One of the fundamental problems of social definition for the people is to distinguish between outsiders and insiders and secondarily to influence social behaviour towards each category of persons. It will be remembered that the Giant figures represent Gypsies, Negroes, and in the case of the bajos, grotesque representations of the burguesía with their white gloves and 'Sunday Best'. These are all figures on the periphery of everyday experience for the children and 'working-class' men who take part in this parade. The figures are easily seen as symbols of outsiders. Their size is strange and frightening, and emphasises the potential threat or danger which they could pose. The children chase and chivvy the Giants throughout the parade and shake hands with the child-like fantastical Big-heads.

In addition to the peculiar characters which take part in it, this parade has its own particular route through the town. This is a route which is not used in its entirety by any other parade or procession during the year, and which contains in its unifying circle one of the poorest residential areas of the city (the home of many of the 'traditional' Caravaquenian families) and the residentially elite area of the Gran Via (where outsiders arrive and 'traditional' families live 'mixed-up' with outsiders who stay).

Giants and Big-heads are an example of 'symbolic inversion' (see Babcock 1978:21 for a pedigree of the anthropological usage of the word 'inversion' --- which dates back at least as far as Durkheim). Since Giants probably do not exist, the presence of these figures and that of the unnatural Big-heads immediately produces an atmosphere of unreality. They change the classification that it is possible to make within the lived reality of the moment. Inversion usually means that the behaviour represented has the opposite meaning from the actions observed (Babcock, 1978).
The use of percussive sound to mark separations of periods of time is well-known, and the tío de la pita has the same function here. The unusual sound produced by his pipe presages the Fiesta period of 'out-of-timeness' and also creates separation from everyday experience. The tío is accompanied by a drummer-boy, and his tune has space for participation, but very controlled and limited participation, by the children. At the end of the musical passages the children scream the refrain 'Serafina', and they are transported into this world of 'new' classifications.

In discussing the seasonal rites of reversal among the Pueblo Indians, Ortiz argues that no one factor 'can stand by itself to explain numinous phenomena like these' (1972:153). In doing so, he implicitly argues against the two separate schools of thought which would explain such phenomena either as 'catharis' for the sake of preserving order, or as of help in establishing group awareness and identity (Gluckman and Marz respectively for example). It seems that a single explanation nearly always provides reductionist interpretations of symbolic phenomena in complex contexts. I will show how both of these two 'famous' explanations of symbolic phenomena apply in the case of Caravaca and Monteros, but in different ways as a result of the different contexts in which they take place.

Babcock's discussion of the usages of inversion asserts that such symbols are part of the process of socialisation. Babcock quotes from Peckham's Man's Rage for Chaos: Biology Behaviour and the Arts, in a discussion of why man, creator of order, should also consistently seek experiences of disorder, of which Giants and Big-heads may be considered an example. Peckham (1967:314) states that: 'framed disorder in the form of the aesthetic negative is "variability training", rehearsal for those real situations in which it is vital for our survival to endure cognitive tensions, and provides reinforcement of the capacity to endure cognitive disorientation so that a real and significant problem may emerge'.

The children are shown 'outsiders' in the context of 'disorder' so that they may resolve the tension caused by the disorienting appearances of real strangers in the town into positive or correctly ordered behaviour. This correctly ordered behaviour will be reconciliatory: the opposite of the behaviour encouraged in the parade.

The Giants, distinctive, threatening, provoking ridicule and rejection produce identities and actions which occur in the context of the most massive affirmation of Caravaquenian identity - the Fiestas. The symbols of this parade therefore tell that outsiders are socially visible as 'outsiders' and are potentially, but only potentially, dangerous; and that as long as they remain as 'outsiders' they can be treated in a particular fashion.

Geertz (1972) points out that symbols are mostly used to transmit culture from one generation to the next. Since the change of political regime brought about by Franco's death, the Giants and Big-heads parades have been associated with a whole festival of less symbolically weighted children's entertainments, emphasising the specificity of these 'lessons' for children. More recently too, children have come to play a larger and larger part in the main Fiestas. By their teenage years they are fully-fledged and are creating even stronger internal identification in their own Fiesta groups; after these years they become full members of the Cofradía. In this way the Fiestas also create a life-cycle system, and the Giants and Big-heads give some of the system's first 'lessons' in how to experience the world.

Brandes argues that in Monteros this parade both maintains the social order and reinforces class boundaries. In this example the 'status quo' is preserved through symbolic civic control and legitimation of the Fiesta through the distribution of gifts as 'sops' and the use of the symbolic space of the Town Hall and main square. The preceding exposition has already shown how the process of classification in Caravaca also influences
social order, but in Monteros the claim is also made that the boundaries of a particular social class are strengthened by the same symbolic behaviour. In Caravaca this behaviour also strengthens group identity but the different social context ensures that it is other than a class-defined group, illustrating just how contexts can have as significant an effect on the meaning of symbols as internal structure.

Any symbolism which confirms a classification of 'outsiders' also reinforces the identity of the 'insiders', of the people that are Caravaquenian. The parade, like the processions, unifies through encompassing important Caravaquenian space and making no class distinctions. The association of the parade with the Fiestas in honour of the Cross and therefore with the commonly held values associated with the adoration of the relic is probably the most important influence in binding together the 'whole' group that is Caravaca.

The use and generalised social significance of the Giants and Big-heads parade in Caravaca is increased by the translation of verbal lore into myth through reproduction in written form. Literary eulogising of the tío de la pita and his companions, published in the Fiesta handbook, which is sold exclusively in the town, reflects the attitude of those members of the community who do not participate in the parade. These are the adults who may have experienced its 'lessons' and who know of the tío's existence, talk of his presence and pay for it. Written some ten years ago, the following description of the arrival of the tío contains an understanding of the fascination which the 'pied piper' holds for a child.

Los viajeros comenzaban a bajar. El tío de la pita siempre el primero o el último. Ni una sola vez defraudó la juvenil curiosidad despertada, con un descenso anónimo de viajero vulgar. Consciente de su personalidad, solía bajar el último pero permanecía unos momentos en el estribo, mirando a uno y otro lado, sonriente, y luego, con el aire parsimonioso de un viejo rito, muy lentamente, sacaba de algún oculto bolsillo su pita. Dos cañas sonoras, que empalmaba con una gracia impar, ajustándolas,
The travellers began to get off. El tío de la pita always the first or the last. Not once did he defraud the awakened juvenile curiosity with the anonymous arrival of the ordinary passenger. Conscious of his personality, he used to get off last, he'd stand a few moments on the step looking one way or the other, smiling, and then with the parsimonious air of an old rite very slowly, take out from some secret pocket, his pipe. Two melodious canes, which fit together with an unequalled grace, adjusting them, caressing them, so they say, with a maternal petting between his wise vellumy hands. Another smile and now, his right hand disappeared into the depths of his waistcoat, they say that, looking for a reeky, miniscule box, of cough sweets, from where he took out the reed of the pipe, which he then placed to his mouth....

There and then the first sound. The preamble to the initial 'ora pro nobis'. On the step of the coach, the first notes of this summons to the fiestas, of this happy convocation, whose music —— which my friend has repeated to me many times with its precise timings and exact tone —— moves winds and mountains towards the far away paths of La Junquera and El Entredicho.

An example of eulogising prose, and rhetorical Fiesta speech discussed earlier, this description also illustrates the emotional way in which adults view this significant event. When thought of in this way events become mythologised whence they act as charters for action (Malinowski, 1926). Such events are easily preserved as legitimated, functioning symbols.

Although the presence of the tío de la pita and the parades of Giants and Big-heads symbolically inform the pueblo of the imminence of the Fiestas, these last have still to be publicly and officially announced.
The announcement of the Fiestas is called the Pregón, and is also organised by the Comision de Festejos. The Pregón is a traditional formalised proclamation or announcement of a major festival occasion of at least townwide importance. This form of declaration is common throughout Spain and is heard in most towns, particularly before the beginning of Holy Week celebrations.

The pregonero, the person who is to give the Pregón, is always a local or national figure of some standing in his specialism. In 1981, for example, Caravaca's Pregón was given by Don Jose Antonio Melgares Guerrero, the Director of the Archaeological Museum of Murcia and official Chronicler of the Fiestas of Caravaca de la Cruz. Some years ago the guest was Antonio Mingote, the celebrated Spanish cartoonist whose work Kenny used in his 'Spanish Tapestry', written in 1960. The subject matter of the Pregón is predetermined. It is always Caravaca de la Cruz and her Fiestas.

As the years go by the Fiestas have grown in popularity and in scale, and they have had to be put on an ever more commercial basis. Events that in the past and for a much smaller population were free and open to all, may now have to be paid for and have restrictions placed on attendance. However, in a country or a city where wealth or its appearance has become a traditionally accepted symbol of power, the Pregón and other fiesta events become open to subtle and complex forms of social manipulation.

In 1981, the Pregón was held in the local cinema, in the centre of the Gran Via, on the 27th of April at 8 pm. Restrictions on entry, through the issue of invitations and the limited sale of tickets at 200 pesetas each, were seen by some people as a means of attaching greater importance to the event and thereby to the people who attended it. In the light of similar sorts of exclusive behaviour associated with the Fiestas this may be a justifiable assertion, but there are also rational and commercial explanations. The event could perhaps have been held in the large main square, free and open to all,
but the delivery of the _Pregón_ was to be accompanied by the screening of a 16mm film made of the 2nd Day of the Fiestas in 1979. This had been shown as a 'short' in various cinemas throughout Spain. The film 'immortalised' many Caravaquenian activities and personalities, put them on the screen of fantasy, and made them larger than life, like the King and Queen of Spain who were also shown on film during their visit to the town. Whether the _Pregón_ and the film had necessarily to be associated is not clear; what is important to note is the presence of the potential for opposition and conflict over issues of wealth and power, and the absence of an actual conflict because grievances were overtaken, as usual, by fiesta celebration.

The use of the social act of personal invitation to public events plays a significant and observable role in Caravaquenian life. People like to be invited personally to social events. Under such circumstances their presence is almost invariably guaranteed, and those not invited express a desire to attend. Public events announced merely by poster can expect a limited level of attendance from any social sector other than the ever-curious youth.

People have very strong social aspirations. As if to emphasise this last point a dinner dance was held by the _Cofradía_ after the _Pregón_ at 10.30 that night in the restaurant 'Meson de los Caballos del Vino'. Attendance was by 'invitation' but invitations could be bought for 1100 pesetas each from a sports shop on the Gran Via. The purpose of the occasion was the naming of the winner of a national literary prize, instituted by the _Cofradía_, 'In honour of the most Sainted Cross of Caravaca'. The prize was worth 100,000 pesetas and the 'literati' of Caravaca and some national 'journalists' or 'historians' had been competing for several months. Clearly attendance at this dinner is an 'honour' that can be bought, but it has to be said that today in Caravaca the price is within reach of almost everyone. It offers participation in the 'home-produced' world of public prestige. Details of the _pregonero_’s speech and the content of the film and
of the literary competition also help to create the complex system of symbols that support pride in belonging to an 'exclusive' society. The literary prize provided eulogies and histories of the Cross, nearly all in high-falutin styles, which appeared regularly in the local and provincial newspapers over a period of several weeks, and which repeated the name and identifying features of the town over and over again. The Pregón, besides extolling all the Actos of the Fiestas, made a particular point of referring to the geography known locally, and to the emotions and feelings of Caravaquenians, emphasising those distinct 'markers' of their existence. In the Pregón people's 'artificial', 'symbolic', fiesta identity, such as Sultan or King is recognised publicly as their 'real' identity, and these identities are put on the same level of 'reality' as those of the mayor or Hermano Mayor.

Un Pregón es un clarín, una campana, un conjuro, pero no un encyclopedía. Fiesta de la Cruz en Caravaca es el tío de la pita, son las Gigantes, es la tierra, son las Migas y el arroz, los Caballos, las campanas, los Moros y Cristianos. Pero ante todo es una ansiedad larga, colmada con tantas cosas que no sumen en los brazos de la Cruz. A los Caravaquenos ausentes, los que esta noche no me oyen pero sienten la voz del pregón en la distancia, mi llamada de júbilo a participar en las fiestas. Caravaca no será Caravaca mientras uno de sus hijos se encuentra lejos... (from a tape-recording of the 1981 Pregón made by the anthropologist).

'A Pregón is a clarion, a bell, an incantation, but not an encyclopaedia. The Fiesta of the Cross in Caravaca is the tío de la pita, the giants, the land, the Migas and the rice, the horses, the bells, the Moors and Christians. But before everything it is a great anxiety, heaped up with innumerable other things. To absent Caravaquenians, those who this night don't hear me but sense the voice of the pregón en la distancia, my call of rejoicing to take part in the Fiestas. Caravaca won't be Caravaca while one of her sons is far away...'

This Pregonero, a Caravaquenian, echoed popular feeling in declaring that from the first sounds made by el tío de la pita no-one is an outside (forastero) in Caravaca. But it
must be noted that he drew the boundary at the start of Fiesta time. Many of his words had a bearing on how seriously identity is taken in a Spanish peublo. He remarked that: 'anyone who hasn't a town, lacks the basic human prerequisites', and that 'everywhere there is a Caravaquenian there is a Dos de Mayo'. Caravaquenians have completely forgotten the national festival on this date. Repeated assertion of Caravaquenian identity creates and redefines the very idea which is being evoked. Dan Sperber has treated this in discussing the mechanism of symbolism: '...in interpersonal relations symbolic utterances or behaviours constantly evoke what the relation may become and contribute to its transformation' (Sperber, 1975:144). If it is continually declared that the Fiestas of Caravaca are marvellous and will become better, then they will become better, or at least will be perceived to be.

Each new evocation brings about a different reconstruction of old representations, weaves new ideas among them, integrates into the field of symbolism new information brought to it by daily life: the same rituals are enacted, but with new actors: the same myths are told, but in a changing universe, and to individuals whose social position, whose relationships with others and whose experiences have changed (ibid. p.145).

Also expressed on this occasion were the even deeper feelings that give these rituals their particular power. In referring to an event of special local import, the pregonero's words were deliberately enigmatic: 'los premios para los mantos de los Caballos del Vino...este acto apocaliptico que tiene un razón que la razón comprende.' ('the prizegiving for the blankets of the Horses of the Wine, this apocalyptic act that reason itself does not understand').

The weekend before the Pregón, on a Saturday night, the organising committee or junta hire the largest of the local discotees, La discoteo Vera Cruz, for the Tradicional Baile del Pañuelo (the traditional dance of the neckerchief). This dance is held for the presentation of the 'Great Amazon Queen of the Band'. Although the presentation only occurs every two years the dance has been an annual event
since its innovation in 1975. This event is fiercely Caravaquenian, and overwhelmingly enthusiastic Moorish tunes and popular songs from the Fiestas are performed to the bounds of endurance.

To follow up these various announcements of the approaching Fiesta period the Comisión de Festejos has to organise an official opening of the Fiestas. The Inauguración takes place at ten o'clock in the morning on the 30th of April, after a hired brass band has played a Gran Diána (a full reveille) first thing in the morning. The inauguración, on the balcony of the Town Hall in the main square is attended by most of the Authorities and the officials of the Cofradía and Comisión de Festejos. There are few members of the public present, however. An additional collection of public money to contribute towards the financing of the Fiestas also takes place at this time.

That night is the eve of the week-long main Fiesta period. In the square of the Caballos del Vino there is a huge dance and a tournament competition for the best cooked Migas. These migas are a local dish once commonly eaten in times of extreme hardship, in order to stave off hunger. Still eaten regularly in the remoter parts of the countryside, migas consist of mountains of doughy crumbs made from flour, water, and olive oil. The dough is separated with a giant spatula as it is cooked, if the cook knows what he or she is doing, and can be flavoured during this process with pork, in a variety of forms, or with fish such as sardines. This competition provides yet another opportunity for informal friendship groups las peñas migueras to organise themselves to some mutually beneficial end. It seems that it is mostly the youngsters, who play a smaller part in other areas of the Fiestas, who make the greatest contribution to this open-air cooking competition. Many of these groups take their involvement so far as to decorate empty garages or storerooms to meet in, to practise in, and to hold a party in afterwards.
The dance is a huge open-air gathering attended by at least half the pueblo. There are those who are kept away by their parents, some girls and perhaps young children, but others 'escape' from their houses and attend. In 1981 the 'live' band did not stop playing until about 5 o'clock in the morning, and there were still stragglers sitting in the square at six: sleeping, being sick, 'chatting-up' visitors, or even 'smoking a joint'.

On the first full day of the Fiestas after the day of the official inauguration, at twelve o'clock midday the Authorities, the Cofradía, the Comision de Festejos, the town's traditional dance group, some members of the groups of Moors, Christians and Caballos del Vino, and representatives of the pedantías in the comarca, along with the general public, all gather in the main square. The assembled crowds ascend to the Sanctuary where the medallion-like crosses of cofradía-membership are placed around the necks of more new members of the confraternity. Following this ceremony all the groups make offerings of huge sprays of flowers to the Cross, crowding in on the blossom-bound altar. In 1977 this particular act, La Ofrenda y Bendición de Flores ('The offering and blessing of the flowers'), was an example of the sorts of frequent innovations that are brought into the Fiestas as a result of, as was said at the time, 'la voluntad unanime de los caravaqueños de rendir homenaje en comunidad a su Santa Patrona' ('the unanimous desire of Caravaquenians to pay communal homage to their Sainted Patroness'). The blessing of the flowers is full of the symbolism of the fertility of spring that punctuates much of the symbolic repertoire at several points. Once again homage and identification is also rendered in song with the performance of the Hymn of Caravaca. The novelties show the life and vibrancy of the celebrations and also give evidence of the opportunity the Fiestas provide for social creativity. Nearly all efforts of imagination in the pueblo are diverted towards the Fiestas.
Once outside the Church into the courtyard of the Castle, the crowds linger to watch the regional dances and songs performed by children and young girls dressed in traditional costume. This group of dancers is formed of more than fifty members, fired by the enthusiasm of one-time members of the Sección Feminina of the Movimiento. This organisation provided the only possibility for social entertainment for young women and girls during the Dictatorship.

Another traditional part of the Fiesta throughout Spain is the bullfight. Caravaca is no exception in holding a bullfight. This is organized by the Comision de Festejos to take place on the first of May at 5.30 in the afternoon, 'with the permission of the authorities'. The symbolism of the bullfight, 'la Corrida', and its place in Spanish life has been remarked upon by Corbin (1978), Jauregi (1976), Mira (1976), Pitt-Rivers (1978). All of this work is tentative and almost none of it is published. It may be that the bullfight, an integral part of the whole enormous national culture, has been judged as perhaps too large a field for effective anthropological analysis. Pitt-Rivers in fact left out all reference to bulls and bull-festivals from his first monography, despite the fact that they play a significant part in the life of Grazalema. Ernest Hemingway's Death in the Afternoon, 1932 almost certainly remains the most important and inimitable study of bullfighting. Perhaps it is more fitting a subject for a more wide-ranging culture specialist than the young anthropologist can today be expected to be. Most recently (1981) Serrán-Pagán, a writer with some anthropological training, has summarised some of the work on the meaning of bullfighting in Spain, and has made a brief re-study of Grazalema from this point of view. He has also made a short investigation of various aspects of the festival of the bulls in Pamplona. This book is limited, however, to a television interview style, and does not supersede the valuable understanding that Hemingway so comprehensively provides.
Since the bullfight in Caravaca de la Cruz has no further significance for the Fiestas of the Cross beyond the national cultural involvement any further reference to it here would be inappropriate and all too brief. It will suffice to remark that the Corrida is a closed system, within the closed system of the Fiestas, 'where the aficionado responds to the bullfight in terms of a self-contained aesthetic, an assessment of skill and performance which takes the premise of the event for granted' (Corbin, 1978).

From the end of this event the organisers and crowds rush to the scene of the previous night's revelry for a very new event --- a showing of the horses that will participate in the competitions of Day 2 (Photo.135a & b). The square of the Caballos del Vino is once again packed with spectators, and within it the unadorned beasts, only half under control, bring shrieks of fright and cries of appreciation from horse-loving Caravaquenians. Following this display of the horses, the beautiful blankets and other adornments with which the horses are to be covered the following day, are set out for public view in at least some of the refugios, or in garages and empty car showrooms (Photo.134a & b). It is pointed out to any visitor that this exhibition can have no effect on the competition since the whole effect is quite different when the blankets are displayed on the horses, and many other important factors come into play, such as the shape and style of the horse and most significantly the skill of the 'dresser'. The sense of anticipation that fills the pueblo can be felt in every barrio.

El dos de Mayo is thought of by almost all Caravaquenians as their own special day. For some, the day begins before other 1st day celebrants have gone to bed. Between four and five o'clock in the morning a few men in each barrio, with the passionate support of their wives or closest kin, make their way to the stables or garages where they will assist their chosen dresser in the 'sacred rite', preparing and decorating the horse for the race ('carrera') and the
competition of enjaezamiento: (Photos. 137ff. ). In a bare-walled concrete garage illuminated by a single forty-watt light bulb a white horse, which is representing the Peña La Pura Sangre ('The Pure Blood'), is washed and combed. 'Arturo', veteran of thirty such occasions, and probably the most experienced caballista in the whole of Caravaca, is offered a cup of linden flower tea (tila) 'for the nerves' by his sister. They are both serious and grave-faced. There are only three other people present along with the anthropologist as 'Arturo' begins the 'rite' of plaiting the horse's mane. It is important, someone explains, that there should be little light, few people, and very little space, so that the horse will be tranquil and cooperative. There are some 'dressers' who carry out the operation in the open-air of a stable-yard or similar place, but 'Arturo's team' did not think much of this. The atmosphere is dim, cold and silent, like a little chapel. With great care each piece of the horse's decorated harness is brought in separately as it is needed, so that it should not be inadvertently stained or damaged at this late stage. Even in this light the embroidery looks beautiful.

Step two in the ritual order, after washing the beast, is to 'do the tail' (hacer la cola) --- that is, to fix on the tail-strap, with pom-poms (las bolas de atacola). Step three: the mane decoration (la orílera) is sewn into the mane. Almost like a surgeon 'Arturo' constantly, quietly, requests scissors, thread, needle or knife. Outside an occasional exploding firecracker hints at the contrasts that the day to come will bring. Every form of today's worship has already begun. At six a cock crows nearby. Step four: the 'culatera' or faldoneras are firmly attached around the horse's hindquarters. Step five: further attachments are made, creating the 'culata'. These pieces have been made without ribbons with which to attach them. There is annoyance and a sign of panic as it is realised that more ribbons and tapes will have to be sewn on. Gold ribbon costing 4000 pesetas a metre is used for this task, which is finished off with tiny red-ribbon bows.
One by one the four caballistas who are to accompany the horse throughout the day manage him and run a race holding onto him for their lives arrive in the garage. The small space of the garage begins to fill up a little. Cups of brandy are passed around. At six-thirty the Chaplain of the Cross, 'Pedro el cura', drops in to see 'how things are going' and to give his good wishes. This horse is his personal favourite too, it seems.

Step six: the cabezal or brído is put in place on the horse's head. Step seven: muñequeras with little bells are placed around the ankles. Step eight: the pecho pretal with its embroidered picture is hung around the horse's chest.

It is seven o'clock and 'Arturo' stops and says 'everyone outside for a moment please, because what I am about to do next is a professional secret which I'd rather no-one knew about'. He is arranging some way of ensuring that the beautiful blanket (manto) which is to be placed over the horse next, sits perfectly and will not fall off; any such disaster would mean total failure and humiliation.

The members of the peña are let back in, and there are more this time. Step nine: the manto is brought out, held up for my camera, and placed over the horse. This costly example of folk-art is pulled and tugged and adjusted this way and that. Some more little bows are affixed, and this part of the rite alone takes twenty minutes. Step ten: at last the pendón ('flag') that is to be attached to the horse's back and to stand up from the blanket is fetched and attached. The final touches are carried out and comments passed by 'Arturo's' sister. It is said that a 'woman's touch' and eye for detail is always needed at this stage. Only after all this is the horse allowed to emerge into the daylight for the first time. It is almost half-past eight. In 1981 in more than forty other locations in Caravaca this same ritual was being enacted.

The Peña Pura Sangre, based in the barrio of the Calle Larga (Long Street), is composed of about two hundred quota-paying members. They have all contributed to the
cost of producing this blanket and all the accompanying paraphernalia. This particular blanket in 1981 probably cost around 500,000 pesetas, although estimates vary. It was cheaper than most because of the talents of those in the Peña whose time and resources could be called upon. The blanket, and most of the other pieces, were made from thick black velvet and gold and silk thread. The larger pieces bore an embroidered design and picture which had to be associated with the Cross of Caravaca, the Fiestas, the history, and the tradition of the Caballos del Vino. This year the pecho pretal of the horse of La Pura Sangre carried a motif which announced the 750th anniversary of the apparition of the Cross, and the manto itself was decorated with the imagined scenes of the apparition and of the carrera of the Caballos del Vino. The style of adornment and the detail of the pictures was designed by a member of the Peña. The member was a tailor by trade, and the whole work was hand-embroidered by a girl called Amelia, and by him, in pure bright colours. For the last few years, there has been no change of designer and the mantos of La Pura Sangre therefore exhibit a distinctively recognisable style. The 'ceremonial' costumes of the four male caballistas are distinct too, and are also determined by tradition. The white shirt, trousers and alpargatas, and the neckerchief and bandana which are coloured to match --- in this instance navy blue --- are usually sewn or assembled by a wife or girlfriend. The blanket can only be shown publicly on a horse on this day of the year, and unless it wins it will probably never be seen again.

On leaving the shelter of the garage in its barrio the horse is shown off around the streets in which most of its supporters have their homes. All these early risers are already imbibing the Fiesta spirit. A breakfast of chocolate and churros is being served in the streets, and once this has been greedily consumed the whole barrio, trotting and dancing, follows its horse through the streets to La Plaza Nueva (the new square
which is not very new at all). Here all the horses, and those members of Moors and Christians who are awake, gather for the first time. The people fill the bars and queue up alongside less partisan revellers who are receiving their breakfast, of as many cups of hot sweet black coffee with anis as they can manage, from 'those from Benidorm' --- who out of their own pockets over nine years now have made this special contribution to the dos de Mayo. The next scheduled event of the day is the traditional Mass of the Apparition, held in the open-air Templete (Photos. 149ff ), on the other side of town at about half-past ten. All the assembled celebrants therefore have an hour and a half to cross the town to this event, at which the discrete but official judging of the horse's adornment will also take place. The first procession which people create is a sporadic and wildly informal affair (Photos. 144ff ). During this time all the bars 'en route' are emptied and filled over and over again. Caballistas with their wine-filled boto, stop in the street every few yards to quench the thirst of anyone and everyone who presents themselves open-mouthed and screaming, or gasping, and some who don't but who are made to scream and gasp nevertheless. If pandemonium were ever to be seen on earth then it might look like this. Such is the superb irony of the practice of religious celebration in Catholic Spain. A donkey runs in and out of the crowds, a group of youngsters break away to smoke a joint behind an ice-cream cart, a file of Christians are stopped by a girl with a bota who pours wine into the line of open, breathless mouths; there are laughs, cries and screams already, and the sun has yet to peep over the tops of the blocks of flats that shade the Gran Via. Two brass bands strike up with tunes which clash - 'el chimo' and the 'chocolatero' - then half a dozen others crash in with military marches. The Cabila Ceyt Abu-Ceyt begins its long-legged march to its own Moorish tune down the Gran Via to the Templete. A spinning horse dressed in
blue stops its already slow progress. The Moors still have their swords thrust high in the air, and the crowds of participating spectators mingle with them, linking arms to dance the rest of the parade.

Along the main street or Gran Via, everyone, clad in red and white, dances jumps and jostles with Moors, Christians and gaudy horses. The stands which have remained empty and silent for weeks previous are now dangerously and dramatically over-filled with cheering, shouting crowds, who have no sooner reached the highest platforms than they find themselves dragged back onto the street again into the midst of the hurly-burly. Eventually the street is more than half empty, and as many people as possible have squeezed themselves into the surrounds of the Templete.

The Mass is held at the Templete at about eleven, and some Moors and Christians attend while others dash away, while they can, to grab a *merienda*, as they will not have eaten since their alcoholic breakfast. For many the day is already seven hours old. All the crowds that have formed parts of the morning's chaotic and explosively exuberant cavalcade converge on the small outdoor temple. There are several tens of thousands of people concentrated in this part of the town, hundreds of whom are crushed up against the walls of the narrow moat which surrounds the temple. Inside the gates the Junta Directiva of the Cofradía are in attendance on the priest as he conducts a Mass, which is in many ways symbolic of the Mass performed 750 years ago by Chirinos in the Moorish castle.

As the ceremony begins a carved and painted wooden Cross with representations of two angels holding it is lowered by cords from the roof of the temple. Outside the gates the Authorities form a solemn line, not taking part in the tableau (Photo. 73b). Either side of the gates guarding the entrance in accord with their symbolic office, stand the *Arma'os*. *Arma'os* is a Caravaquenian corruption of the word *armados*, meaning 'the armed ones'.

'The armed ones' are four men dressed, bizarrely to the eyes of the outsider, in heavy very simply designed armour, and holding round shields and flat swords. Their impractical helmets are further embellished by what can only be described as a metal mantilla full of pretty Spring flowers. Their presence and appearance is a peculiar contradiction, and their existence and display of flowers are surrounded by myth. In fact they probably have their origin in the late mediaeval period. The basis for this speculation concerning their origin, which is so typical of the mythical nature of most popular Caravaquenian history, lies in a reference in the first Libro Capitular of the municipal archive in the town hall, to the fact that on the 2nd of May 1545 regidores had to guard the Cross. These regidores were caballeros or Knights of the city, and in the first archival reference to the Fiestas of the Cross in 1593 the entry reads: 'viene la Cruz con su arma' ('the Cross comes accompanied by its arms'). It can justifiably be assumed that the Arma'os are a symbolic vestige of this guard.

From the Templete the crowds surge through the streets of the old town. Dancing and singing to the rhythms of two dozen town bands, the links of the arm-in-arm procession stretch from wall to wall and end to end of the city. There are 50,000 people packed into the space where all the rest of the year no more than a few hundreds go about their daily business. All the normal rules of space and time have been reversed.

Once the Mass is completed the priest, the Cofradía and the Authorities hurry away, and lead the procession towards the Sanctuary through some of the older streets of the town. On the way, the Hermano Mayor stops at the Carmelite convent in the Calle Mayor, to receive from the hands of the Mother Superior 'la tradicional y artísticia bandeja de flores' ('the traditional and artistic tray of flowers'). On reaching the Town Hall, the Hermano Mayor gives the Bandeja to the mayor, who then proceeds to the
Sanctuary where he offers the Bandeja to the Cross on behalf of the pueblo. The church is filled to the doors, mostly with the more elderly members of the community who no longer wish to take part in the wild processing that spills from the streets of the town into the courtyard of the castle. On the altar the next solemn rite of the Fiestas begins: the Baño del Vino and the Bendición de flores ('The Blessing of the Flowers').

Beforehand, the official Cooper to the Cross, an honoured position which has always been held by the Tudela family (Photo.86a) has prepared a quantity of sweet wine of the Cross (Photo.86b), which used to be distributed free in barrel-fulls to the participants in centuries past, but which today stands on the altar in an antique jug. The ceremony of the Baño del Vino is a blessing of this wine, effected by putting the cross-holder, in which the reliquary of the Cross is carried, into the silver jug of wine, and making three crosses in the air with the reliquary. The Bandeja and other sprays of flowers are sprinkled with the blessed wine in these distinctly vernal rites, and the congregation then surges forward with out-stretched arms, as the priest begins to distribute the flowers among them.

By the time the horses make their way to the castle for the competitions that are the climax of this part of the festival, it seems impossible to know how the horses are ever going to reach the castle through the crowds which throng the approaches to it. As if by some miracle the crowd opens up, to allow each galloping horse and its four foolhardy caballistas passage through into the courtyard. Each horse is timed against the clock and if any of the four men looses his grip or is flung off into the crowd or the wall during the ascent, then the horse is disqualified. All the horses compete in the carrera but only those displaying new mantos are competing for the most prestigious of the present day trophies (Photo.74b), that of enjaezamiento.
There are awards too, however, for many of the older blankets and older competitors. As the crowds wait in anticipation of the prize-giving, exhausted in the heat of the sun beating down on the shadeless courtyard, they ring their favourite horses, closer and closer, until suddenly, a horse rears up or tries to gallop, only half restrained. The skill of the handler ensures safety, but the crowd always panics, drunkenly, euphorically, or in terror, and struggles back, person against person. Only the announcements of results over the microphone stills the crowds. It is said that in addition to the expected abuse as the winner of the *enjaseamiento* is announced, fights often broke out in the past between rival *barrios*, and even stones were hurled --- feeling runs high. In 1981, however, when the winner was the horse Mayrena from the *barrio* Mayrena, there were no fights, but only intense disappointment in the other camps, especially that of the Pura Sangre which came second. This was all overshadowed by the rejoicing of the winning *Peña*. Besides, it was late in the afternoon and past time to eat. Hunger took precedence. The *Peña* Mayrena ran their horse back through the streets to their *refugio* where they had a celebration banquet. Members of the other *Peñas* hurried back to their own *refugios* to eat. Families, with their visiting relations often making groups as large as twenty or thirty, went home to share food together slightly more intimately. And for everyone else there was a vast quantity of chicken with saffron rice prepared in huge *sartenes* over open fires in the Plaza de los Caballos del Vino --- all of which was laid on by the Band of the *Caballos del Vino*. This gigantic affirmation of the power of commensality is traditionally the end-point of the Fiesta of the *Caballos del Vino* for another year.

At eight in the evening after disappearing completely from the streets, dancing in the *refugios* after their lunch, or drinking further, the Bands of Moors and Christians assemble on the hill to the Castle, where earlier the *Caballos del Vino* raced, in order to perform the first
simulated combat of the Fiesta. In fact, there is very little that seems simulated about the fighting as groups of Moors and Christians rush at each other full pelt with swords: Rifenos, Almoravides and the others against Santiago, San Juan, Aragon and so on; even the female warriors of the Almohades join in. I saw Pepe almost lose his thumb, and two other people received cuts on the head.

The Moors successfully attack the defending Christians and break through their lines to take the Cross which stands behind the lines under palio and fixed to its silver chariot. The battle is ended and in the spreading darkness a candlelit procession begins. The Cross is taken by the Cofradía and the Authorities down the hill to the parish church of El Salvador. It is accompanied by all the spectators and followed by two lines of penitents carrying lighted candles and often descending the tarmac-surfaced hill barefoot, in compliance with promises they have made to the Cross for favours asked. The procession of Moors and Christians comes down into the town behind the Cross in a parade which is only one step removed from the morning's anarchy, since the Moors have taken their Christian enemy prisoner and all are mixed up together. Paired Cabilas and Groups now march together down the hill through the Plaza Mayor and into the Gran Via. It is past midnight when the last groups reach the end of the street, and only then do people leave the stands of seats that line the route to join the Moors and Christians at dances in their refugios. Nowadays the spectators can only join many of the groups if they are lucky enough to have, or to have bought tickets beforehand (Appendix). In the past everything was free.

At 10.30 in the morning on the following day, the Day of the Invention of the Cross, a Solemn Mass, presided over by the Bishop of the diocese, is celebrated in the Parish Church of El Salvador in the presence of the Cross. The Cross has come down into the town and into
a church which is under the control and authority of the body politic of the Catholic Church. However, in the wake of the special character of the 1981 anniversary celebrations, this important Mass came further under the control of the pueblo instead. Through the machinations of the Cofradía, and due to the huge crowds in attendance to receive the blessing of the Pope conceded for the Jubilee and delivered through his Bishop, the ceremony had to be held on the approaches to the castle, in between the Sanctuary and the parish church. The singing at this High Mass was led by another famous Orfeon choir from Murcia, adding to the brilliance of the occasion.

After the afternoon football match between Caravaca and another regional or sometimes an exhibition side, the Moors and Christians gather in the Plaza Nueva behind the parish church to follow the Cross from the church to the Templete. The Cross is placed in its chariot, candles are lit, and wax begins to drip to the ground to form tangible reminders in the weeks that follow of these transcendent and intangible events. As the Cross is carried through the narrow steeply-rolling streets of the town along a traditional and invariable route the groups of Moors and Christians, in their costumes once more, form a much less solemn introductory parade, with their Kings and Queens and horses and glinting and glorious brass bands, all making their way to the outdoor temple. There they take up positions at the end of the Glorieta. The surrounding crowds are enormous, people crowd balconies and children hang from wrought-iron rejas that cover the outsides of windows. The Christians follow down the hill led by their King and Queen, as the Moors were led by theirs. All the Fiesta royalty ride their horses down this very steep, stepped street, and justify the weeks of training that they have behind them (Photos. 93b).

The Christians mass behind their King and Queen, whose golden cloaks spread out over their horses. They stand and wait for the Parlamento with the Moors. From
the back of the crowd the jewelled turban of the Sultan can just be seen as the two rulers confront each other to speak the lines they have learnt by heart. Some of the crowd hold printed copies of the text in their hands, but other know it from memory (Appendix). The words are felt to be significant. This parliament ends with the withdrawal of both leaders and another clash between the warriors on both sides. This time the Christians are victorious and the conversion of the Moorish ruler to Christianity is assumed.

During the battle the Cross, presiding over the history of the town, stays at the high point of the steeply stairered street which leads the procession down to the temple. The step which it occupies is known as the 'cabeza de la Cruz' ('height, peak or summit of the Cross'). Once the Christian victory marks the end of the battle the Cross and its procession descend to the temple for the 'Baño de la Cruz' and blessing of the waters. In the rapidly fading twilight the temple appears romantic and magical. Yellow lights glow around the temple moat and cast shadows up on to the pillars and arches of the building. In the moat the fountains have been cleaned and made to function, and they bubble and disturb the flow of the water. The Cross, once again in its ceremonial holder, is carried into the body of the temple by the chaplain. The crowds hold back in suspense at the outside edges of the moat. The chaplain solemnly plunges the cross-holder into the water of the fountains, once from each of the five arches of the temple. From the richest to the most humble, men, women, and children stoop into the moat and then invade the temple to drink the water, which flows into it from the countryside. They splash each other, and the most enthusiastic bathe themselves in the water. Both the act of bathing the Cross and the results of the act are involved in the Caravaquenian web of myths. Many miracles or prodigious occurrences are claimed to take place, or have taken place, as a result of contact with the 'efficacious' water. The
origin of the ritual has its associated myth as well.

In a history book written at the end of the sixteenth century Robles Corbalan declared that the first Baño de la Cruz took place in 1348.

...en el de 1348, con ocasión que en la ciudad de Lorca y en la villa de Totana había tanta langosta en aquel año que taluía los campos, viñas y huertas de maneras que era caso imposible con medios humanos poder librarse de tan grande mal, se determinan a embiar personas de sus ayuntamientos a pedir al de Carabaca u Vicario bañassen en agua la S. Cruz, y se ladiessen, enuya fe esperuauan en nuestro Señor tendría remedio aquella plaga y se apacaría su furia: hecho así llevaron el agua...el daño fue un poco en comparación del que esperuauan. Y desde entonces queda la costumbre más se su ordinaria procesión de bañarla....

...in 1348, in the city of Lorca and the villa of Totana there were so many locusts in that year that the fields, vineyards and allotments were devasted to such an extent that it seemed impossible to free the area by any human means from so great an evil, they decided to send people from the Town Halls to ask of Caravaca and her Vicar that they would bathe the Sainted Cross in water, believing in Our Lord that they would have relief from that plague and that his fury would be placated: when it was done and the water was carried over the land the damage was little in comparison with what they had expected. And since then the custom has existed of bathing the Cross in addition to its usual procession....

The date may not be correct, but it adds to our understanding of the ritual, as does any associated myth, such as the contradictory explanation of the origin of this rite quoted by another 'historian' of Caravaca.

Era la vispera de la fiesta de la Invención de la Stma. Cruz. A eso de la medianoche salió la Stma. Cruz de la torre donde se guardaba, en medio de muchas luces muy resplandecientes. Fueron muchas las personas que observaron este suceso maravilloso y vieron que llegaba hasta el lugar en el que se halla ahora el 'Templete' y, después de sumergirse tres veces en el agua, volvió de nuevo al Castillo, con el mismo acompañamiento de luces. Según la tradición de Caravaca, la Stma. Cruz siguió el mismo trayecto que se recorre actualmente en la procesión llamada del 'Baño del agua'.
It was the eve of the Fiesta of the Invention of the Most Sainted Cross. At midnight the Cross left the tower in which it was kept, in the midst of many shining lights. Many people saw this marvellous event and they saw that it came to the place which is now known as the Temple and after submerging itself three times in the water it returned again to the castle with the same accompaniment of lights. According to the tradition of Caravaca the Most Sainted Cross followed the same route that is used today in the procession known as the 'Bathing of the Water'.

Further evidence that there is nothing about the Fiestas that is immutable, except for the adoration of the Cross itself, comes from the many restructurings of the 'traditional' Fiesta timetables. In the mid-nineteenth century Marin de Espinosa (1856:210) describes the 'Baño del Agua' ceremonial as taking place on the same day but in the morning --- still attended by 'bastantes incurables buscando salud' ('plenty of incurable cases looking for health'), (Bas y Martinez, 1887:11).

At the end of this ritual the whole procession is reorganised. Now the Cross and its solemn accompaniment are at the head. Very slowly the procession makes its way along the tree-lined Glorieta to the Gran Via, where it continues its progress in front of the crowds who wait to see the Cross as it returns to the parish church. This is the night of gunpowder, and some groups bring out old trobucos (the local name for arroabucenos, 'blunderbusses' or perhaps 'harquebusses'), which when filled with explosive make deafening blasts. As the groups disperse to their refugios and dances and galas the firework show begins in the sky above the castle (Photo. 162b.).

Fireworks are another prominent feature of the Fiestas which are the responsibility of the Comisión de Festejos. Exploding skyrockets or firecrackers producing echoing 'bangs' are a common feature of Spanish festivals. In Caravaca, their private use, scaring people in the streets and causing accidents, has been banned for several years --- although the first year or so after this ban was enforced people were willing to travel
as far as two provinces distant to buy them. Now they are used only by the Cofradía or the organisers of the Fiesta groups to announce the beginning or end of special festival occasions: to mark off ritual time periods. Brandes mentions the use of skyrockets during the patronal fiestas in Monteros but he does not go into detail except to say that they represent a monetary sacrifice in honour of the Lord. In Caravaca de la Cruz a colourful fireworks display from the castle battlements forms the culminating act of the centrepiece of the Fiestas --- the Day of the Cross (Day 3). This display itself ends with the spectacular illumination of a giant firework Cross clearly visible in the battlements from the whole of the Gran Via and all the roof-tops in the centre of the town (Photo. frontis. Fiesta.).

Every night the dancing continues until dawn, and the Fiesta experience continues non-stop for the whole period with the universe-creating intensity of Wagner's Ring Cycle. Even walking normally is difficult; with the marching tunes of the brass bands ringing in one's head it is impossible not to step out rhythmically up the centre of the car-free streets, in the pale light before the sun has completely risen, and in bed, dreams become one long dancing procession as mind and body refuse to forget. In unfocused moments, mosaics, carpets, and flames take on the shape of Moors and Christians with fabulously patterned capes and costumes.

On the fourth day of the Fiestas the more or less liturgical elements of these ceremonies are carried into people's homes. In a few special cases people's worlds are changed as 'the private' is made 'public' through incorporation into the Fiestas. The ceremony which performs this is known as the 'Cruz de Impedidos' ('The Cross of the Invalids') --- 'este aspecto íntimo, callado, pero profundamente emotivo y bello de nuestras fiestas patronales' ('this intimate aspect of our patronal fiestas is quiet but profoundly emotional and beautiful'). While many of
the Fiesta's revellers sleep, the Cross *bajo palio*, accompanied by the *Arma'os* and the *Junta Directiva* of the *Cofradía*, and held by the chaplain, visits all the enclosed-order religieuses, the hospital, the town gaol, and the sick and infirm in their homes, wherever they may be. Having travelled all over the town the Cross is finally taken to the other major church in the town, at the end of the Glorieta, the Church of La Purisima Concepcion. In the church the Cross is displayed in its resplendent stand for the admiration and adoration of the faithful, and it is again offered to be kissed.

Day Four is also the day of the *Gran Parada - Desfile de Moros y Cristianos*; the huge parade of all the groups, with space between each party for their own brass bands, in which all can show off their finest costumes, in marching rhythm, in front of every section of the crowd from the bottom end of the Gran Via right up to the Plaza Mayor. All the *tribunas* are packed from late afternoon and all the balconies are quickly filled too. The parade does not begin until 8.30 and lasts for about five hours, as each group takes its own time; every year there are more groups taking part.

Before each parade begins, it falls to one of the Groups and one of the Cabilas to collect their royal leaders from their homes in the town. In 1981 on Day 4 it was the turn of the Almohades to escort the Favourite to the house of the Sultan. On that parade I was with them, 'the first foreigner ever to take part'. The free-flowing Moorish costumes were cool and comfortable but the swords were heavy and the street hard. At six o'clock the Almohades marched through the town to the road leaving for Moratalla where the Sultan's family home was --- a large old chalet' in a beautiful garden. It was his duty to provide us and our hired band with drinks and *'tapas'* --- brandy, anis, coke and canapes and cakes. At eight o'clock we escorted him and his Favourite to the Gran Via and waited for our turn in the parade. The Christian Groups had to march up the
street first and our wait lasted some three hours. Finally, we began, and had to concentrate all our energies to keep step, to show off and receive the adulation of the crowds who had come in from the countryside, the capital and all over Spain. Thrusting our heavy metal swords high in the air while we danced and keeping our faces covered with our cloaks, this was an exhausting experience. Just to travel a few hundred yards took almost an hour, and as the parade continued we wove our way back through the crowds to our refugio. There we danced for our band as a thank-you to them, then changed our clothes, and saw that our bar was running well; some people stayed and others moved from one refugio to another, eating strawberries with the jefes seated on cushions around tables in the 'Jayma' of the Almoravides, watching a transvestite 'show' in the refugio of the Halcones Negros, or peeping through the walls to watch the Templarios dining in their 'hideout'. At half-past four in the morning with the streets still thronging with people, we ate churros and drank chocolate in a garage turned into a makeshift café, filled with tables of exhausted but happy 'friends'. (Photos. 59a. ).

On the fifth and final day of the Fiestas some of the groups of Moors and Christians do not appear at all, although some of the groups send representatives with their Standards to attend the procession of the Cross. In 1981 some of the Christian groups attended almost in their entirety, and so did the Almoravides who marched up the Gran Via brandishing razors in place of their swords, seeing the shaving off of their beards as the last ritual act of the festival and by so doing breaking the traditional solemnity of the day. This was not the only break with tradition, however, since in place of the previously held Mass for the deceased members of the Cofradía, the 'Cruz de Impedidos' was continued at 9 o'clock in the morning from the parish church of the Purisima Concepcion and then returned again to the parish church of El Salvador.
At seven o'clock in the evening the last act of all began, another slow solemn procession, headed by the Cross and closed by the Civic Authorities, left the church of El Salvador. After four hours of candle-carrying pilgrims had made their way along the route through the town to the Sanctuary, rather than taking the short direct route, the Cross was once more reinstated in its Sanctuary and twenty minutes of unceasing and ever louder explosions of skyrockets celebrated the fact and informed the pueblo. This *Gran Traca Aerea* at the end of Day 5 is a series of explosions which build up to the final 'huge thunderclap', the *Trueno Gordo*, that echoes across the city and into the countryside, marking the end of this whole period of symbolically controlled time.

In the days following the Fiestas, a reminder of the very real impression that they can make upon people's lives is seen in the numerous bandaged arms, legs and ankles, in the sporadic appearance of walking sticks and increased sales of sticking plaster. In 1981 manifestations of the Fiesta of the *Caballo del Vino* continued well into May for the first time ever. A Mass for the *entrega del manto a la Cruz* ('the gift of the blanket to the Cross') was announced for Sunday 24th of May. In honour of the 750th anniversary the *Peña Mayrena* had decided to make a gift to the Cross of their prize-winning *manto* to promote the foundation of a museum of the Fiestas, associated with the Sanctuary. In most other cases the blankets are raffled among the members of the particular *Peñas*, and will never be seen in public again, as the winners hang the blankets on the walls of their sitting-rooms, in private displays of public participation.

The ceremony of the Mass was held at 12 o'clock in the Sanctuary. The space was full to over-flowing. During the service it was possible to observe that the priest, although well-known in the pueblo and not exceptional in any complimentary way, is still seen as a knowledgeable and special person. His duties make him
special, but he also constantly tries to include words of science in his homily, and even refers occasionally to Anthropology. He knows that little of what he says is heard, and that even less is understood. He speaks vaguely, often saying 'etcetera, etcetera', but the occasional specific direction to the congregation becomes very prominent indeed. Something that came over strongly as part of a vague rambling digression, at one point was the phrase, 'Aborto, divorcio etcetera, de esto NADA!' His point was made.

The last prayers of the service were dedicated to the health of the Pope after the attempt on his life.9 As usual the Cross was brought out and the congregation blessed. The officials of the Cofradía and their guests were all arrayed in the area of the altar. The caballistas, dressed as for the second of May, placed the horse's blanket and adornments on the altar around the Cross. As is the custom for the final act of the Mass in Caravaca the reliquary of the Cross was removed from its stand to be kissed by a church-full of people. This act of kissing the Cross is one of the most important repeated acts in the life of any Caravaquenian (Photos. 112a &b ).

For the Caballos del Vino however, this was not the end of the occasion. At 1.30 a buffet lunch began in the Discoteca Vera-Cruz for the Peña Mayrena and its invited guests, which included the anthropologist, the officials of the Cofradía, the town councillors and the Presidents of the other Peñas. A selection of those invited came, with the fullest attendance from the officials of the Cofradía and their families and friends, many of whom were members of the Peña Mayrena. This was the last event of a festival year which runs from June to June. Time is restructured by devotion.
NOTES

1. MOORS, CHRISTIANS, AND CABALLOS DEL VINO

2. THE FIESTAS OF THE CROSS
   2. The Caja Rural paid for the performance.
   3. This is a commonly encountered translation also used by Brandes.
   4. Davis, M. 'The changing role of the Dulzainero in Leon'.
   5. This, and similar translations is as literal as possible to illustrate the structure of the sort of language that is produced on these occasions --- ungrammatical and declamatory.
   6. This festival nationally held celebrates the uprising against the Napoleonic invasion.
   7. Arturo is a nickname.
   8. The details of which I was unable to recover.
   9. An attempt was made on the life of the Pope in April 1980 in the Basilica of St. Peter's, Rome.
PART V
DEVOTION:
At that moment they caught sight of some thirty or forty windmills, which stand on that plain, and as soon as Don Quixote saw them he said to his squire: 'Fortune is guiding our affairs better than we could have wished. Look over there, friend Sancho Panza, where more than thirty monstrous giants appear. I intend to do battle with them and take all their lives. With their spoils we will begin to get rich, for this is a fair war, and it is a great service to God to wipe such a wicked brood from the face of the earth' (From Don Quixote, Part 1, Ch. VIII. p. 68 of the Penguin translation).

THE MECHANISMS OF FAITH

In Caravaca the windmills nearly always appear to be giants. Most Caravaquenians find it easy to accept appearances as reality even when they may not be. This feature of Caravaquenians' perception of the world is so prominent in every facet of their existence that it might justifiably be described as a 'culture theme'. After all the fundamental raison d'être of their social habits and entire way of life, the Cross of Caravaca, is in fact an apparition which everyone accepts as an unquestionable reality.

The extent to which Caravaquenians value appearances is recognised by their neighbours and by some of the people themselves. A refrán which is commonly heard in the area runs:

Compra a un Caravaqueño por lo que es
y lo vende por lo que aparenta
y ganeras dinero.

('Buy a Caravaquenian for what he is
and sell him for what he appears to be
and you'll make yourself a good profit').

To have the appearance of being rich or of having importance may be as necessary to self-esteem and social distinction in Caravaca as being either wealthy or holding a really key position in the community. Cehegíneros call Caravaquenians 'fanfarrones', meaning 'boastful show-offs', and the taunting reply is one of 'culiverdes' ('greenarses'),
implying a lack of sophistication and an agricultural involvement so ingrained that they are easily accused of being prone to consuming immoderate quantities of spinach. Both reputations are to some degree objectively justifiable.

Some Caravaquenians can also be heard to admit that theirs is a town of 'mucho ilusión'. This does not mean illusion but rather something more akin to 'dreams'. What are people to believe if they are constantly being told by people who are supposedly the fount of all authority and wisdom that, miracles are possible in Caravaca de la Cruz? If they are told often enough then it must be true. Anything achieved in Caravaca is potentially miraculous and any mystery becomes an everyday reality and is made sense of.

The presence of all these feelings is a consequence of the particular quality of devotion which is pursued by the Caravaquenians through their Fiestas. The Fiesta experience is an essential part of the life of every member of the community. People have a Fiesta identity, fixed in the thousands of photographs which are taken of them and hung on 'washing lines' in the main street for everyone to see and recognise. It is an identity as 'real' as that of their everyday lives. The Fiestas are an essential part of Caravaquenian reality. In all, the many Fiesta images make up a mosaic which can only be put together in a certain way. It is a unique combination and produces an experience which delineates the limits of Caravaquenian perception.

Examination of public ritual as an evolving system throws light on performances as 'metalanguage': no mere reflection or expression of reality, but the very means by which a city reflects upon its own growth and development and reminds of its own flaws and shortcomings (Turner, 1976:9).

How do their Fiestas produce an experience which for the Caravaquenians justifies their existence and makes sense of their world: an experience that transcends everyday living? At this point it is useful to consider the personal experience of participation of some individual Caravaquenians ---
Ana, a seventeen year-old from a nearby village called Benizar, goes to school in Caravaca and was a member of the Group Caballeros de San Juan in the Fiestas in 1981. On the morning of Day Two Ana woke up too late to dress up in time to join the first parade.

'I joined in on the Glorieta wearing my ordinary clothes and then during the Mass I went off to have some lunch which had been prepared for us --- beer and sandwiches.'

'After the Mass we went off dancing in the Calle Mayor. We started off behind a band drinking from botas like absolute loonies, disco-dancing, rushing forward changing places, trying to catch up with the band in front and then the band in front of that, stopping in every bar to buy something to drink --- because when you're sharing it out with everyone it's quickly used up. Up at the castle I just lay out in the sun. Lots of people went back down straight away.'

'The race began on the hill and I stayed for it although some people were going down to the Plaza del Hoyo. My group were eating in the refugio.'

'I was too exhausted to stay any longer and went home to eat with my family where lots of people had dropped in.' [During the Fiesta her family was staying with relations in Caravaca].

'I got my costume ready to wear that afternoon.'

'When I got to the castle where the fight was going on I was taken prisoner. Then we lined up for the parade, one Christian between every two Moors.'

'The Cross went down before so we had to wait for ages and meanwhile my friend Marie Carmen was off chasing after a boy at the time.'

'The parade gave one an interior joy. As all the world were applauding I felt so happy.'

'I finished parading at about half past twelve and went home to have dinner. Then I came back out to go to the refugio (to go man-chasing without any hesitation). I met a guy called 'Torero'. From so much shouting I had completely lost my voice. But this happens to lots of people during the Fiestas. I had such a good time with so many people. I went home to bed at about three or four.'

'The next day I got up late again. Then I showed my brother-in-law around the sights of Caravaca because he was visiting us for the Fiestas. We went off to have a beer before lunch.'
'That afternoon it was my group's turn to escort the King and Queen of the Christians from a house in the Calle Mayor to the start of the parade. We were all invited in for cakes and drinks and the whole thing took ages.'

'During the \textit{Parlamento} we went to a bar, and only joined up with the rest of the parade a bit later on.'

'When I eventually got home that night my father was furious and he forbade me to go out again after dinner. I didn't go because I was too angry and exhausted.'

'I slept all the next morning. After lunch I dressed up and went out for a \textit{paseo} --- waiting for friends from San Pedro de Pinatar to arrive. I had a beer and hung about waiting. The parade that night went the whole length of the Gran Via. We were one of the first groups to march up the street, so afterwards we went and had a beer and visited the family of some friends before going off home for dinner.'

'I didn't eat a lot over the whole time because my stomach was fairly upset. After changing out of my costume, I went to the \textit{refugios} and got completely 'smashed'. I hardly remember anything about it. We went everywhere; met some old friends and went flirting. I must have gone up to five or six guys and asked them to come and sleep in the garage. A whole group of us did sleep there for a while --- we were so exhausted by then.'

'Day Five of the Fiestas was a completely ordinary holiday though. We went to a bar and then watched the candlelit procession, by which time it was completely dark and we went off to the discotheque --- "El Quijote".'

'That was it --- \textit{Fin de Fiesta}!'
activity. Excess, participated in as excess, reinforces the acceptability of normal behaviour during the rest of the year. Participating in lessons about social rules and, at the same time, undergoing a unique transcendant emotional experience, during the parades and processions, contributes to the process of becoming socially whole, and of being devotedly Caravaquenian.

For Alfonso (de la Cruz del Santísimo Cristo de los Voluntarios Lopez Sanchez) after having been Rey Moro (festival King of the Moorish band) in 1977 and 1978, which was so 'indescribable and glorious', it seemed that just being a group member again could not be fulfilling enough. His girlfriend was a member of the Peña Mayrena so he thought that he would see what this could bring for him. In the first year of his subscription, since he joined only two months before the Fiestas began, his participation was restricted to dancing and processing behind the horse on Day Two. By 1980, however, Alfonso had come to be one of the four caballistas handling the horse in the competition of the Caballos del Vino. In 1981 he did this for the second time. From the start he had 'always wanted to control the horse':

'During the year there are many people who say that they want to be one of the caballistas but at the "moment of truth" they say that really they feel more comfortable and think that they would enjoy themselves more behind the horse drinking and revelling.'

'There are always some people who are 'true caballistas' ('caballistas de verdad'). Probably four or five in each Peña. And they feel it very truly.'

In 1980 there were five men in the Peña Mayrena who wanted to 'llevar el caballo', and at the last moment the President of the Peña gave up his place to Alfonso. If there are too many potential caballistas in any Peña the men usually draw lots for the places.

'From having lived in this atmosphere with horses and other animals people know more or less how to handle a horse.'

They certainly have the confidence and the commitment.
On the day itself the first one of the four caballistas to wake up, say at half two or three, calls the others. They begin to make hot chocolate and have their first cups of brandy in the refugio of the Peña. At four they bring the horse out of the stable or garage where it has spent the night. They plait the mane and tail—- wetting the hair to make it manageable. After dressing the horse --- which takes about four hours in all, what with trying to find the closest thing possible to perfection (it's like dressing a bride). Between 6 and 6.30 the other members of the Peña arrive. And this can make one really angry, because they criticise so much. The horse is taken out into the street at eight with the musicians and everyone waiting. And with the early morning sun lighting up everything it's really beautiful. The horse joins the procession in the order that was drawn on the last Sunday in April.'

'During the Misa de la Aparición the Presidents of each group who together make up a fair and representative jury mark the horses and hand in their votes in sealed envelopes.'

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'At this point the caballistas have already been up for twelve hours --- drinking all the time and hardly eating at all. You feel dead, and unable to catch your breath at all.'

'When we won I cried.'

'The vice-president fractured his ankle when going up to receive the enormous trophy from the balcony.'

'Everyone expresses their joy in their own way. To win this year of all years was very special. The designs for the manto were mine. I was secretary of the Peña and the only student member (meaning that I had less money and felt that I was making a greater sacrifice). My involvement has led to lots of fights with my girlfriend. It has all cost a great deal of work looking for a horse, an embroiderer etcetera. I had a great deal of faith that we were going to come first. I even made a secret sacred promise to the Cross, that I would give up smoking (but I haven't been able to).'

'When the winning horse gets back to the Peña's refugio there's absolute madness. There are so many people. The place is absolutely packed out with people trying
to eat with the winners. After eating, some of the other Peñas visit the winners to drink champagne from the cup.'

'I went to bed eight or nine, and didn't see any of the parades or dances, and slept absolutely solidly until the next day. The Fiestas have finished for "el autentico caballista".'

There are social and personal levels of participation in the Fiestas, and political and economic aspects to any involvement. For Alfonso this degree of participation is part of his way of life, even part of his career; he will try as hard as he can to become one of the caciques of the town. There is a future in being known and being felt to be respected in a town which provides comfort and satisfies a certain range of demands. This sense of belonging, of having position, of being 'a big fish in a little pool', is a feature of provincialism in many societies. It contributes much to the appropriateness of the term 'provincial' when used of Caravaca.

Participation is of the essence for the majority of people living within the closed 'provincial' system of Caravaca. In the Fiestas, as in life, everyone has different expectations and demands, so it is likely there are some very personal reasons why particular people join particular groups or play particular parts. Many reasons derive from the structural relationships of the individual --- who or what they are --- in the town's social system: many from a need for interaction of a specific kind. But, whatever affects their personal choice as to the manner of their participation, it is evident that the Fiestas provide opportunities for everyone to find a way of accepting the details of their own existence in their own way.

Participation puts people in touch with experience beyond everyday life, experiences of transformation. To allow such widespread participation the symbols (which have been included in such detail here in order to facilitate further anthropological work on them) must be open to interpretation. In this way they survive. Of
course, a strong Catholic faith is present but to survive material social change people have to have a very responsive meaning system. The only way to produce response, and to feel its effects, is to participate. Participation maintains the community, as Brandes and other writers have shown, but it also helps changes to take place. Changes can take place because the Fiestas provide the opportunity for social definition and redefinition.

Cohen (1974) and Murphy (1971) stressed that social processes are undeniably dialectical in character. Victor Turner has succinctly described how symbols act on the people who are using them.

The basic unit of ritual, the dominant symbol, encapsulates the major properties of the total ritual process....Within its framework of meanings, the dominant symbol brings the ethical and jural norms of society into close contact with strong emotional stimuli. In the action situation of ritual, with its social excitement and directly physiological stimuli, such as music, singing, dancing, alcohol, incense, and bizarre modes of dress, the ritual symbol, we may perhaps say, effects an interchange of qualities between its poles of meaning. Norms and values, on the one hand become saturated with emotion, while the gross and basic emotions become ennobled through contact with social values. The irksomeness of moral constraint is transformed into the 'love of virtue' (Turner, V., 1964:32).

In Caravaca de la Cruz, the Cross is the dominant symbol. It is the inspiration for all the devotional activity, and it contains within it many interrelated meanings. A very important aspect of the Cross in relation to the Fiestas is, for example, the way in which the latter is an unconscious transformation of the Mass. People dress up, as the priest does for his every ritual, to celebrate a rite of conversion: to make appearances a reality in the same way that the Mass does. Grimes states that, 'The Mass has a hierarchical structure in which occurs a process of exchange and transformation (1976:84).
Just as the Mass is the centre of Roman Catholic everyday religious practice, so the Eucharist as symbol and as reality is central to all local Spanish Catholic Fiestas. Apart from its obligatory presence it is also the legitimising charter for the ritual activities. This could not be better seen than in the case of the 1981 Caravaquenian celebrations where the Jubilee Indulgences were only attainable through the Eucharist. The central power of the Mass can provide the conditions for the successful generation of new liturgical forms. It can also legitimise without contradiction in the face of unifying and egalitarian claims of hierarchical symbols and metaphors. Most of the events that occur in the Fiestas are created wholly by Caravaca itself drawing symbols from other already established and coherent symbol sets. The use of Church symbols provides sense and is acceptable to the Church itself because it sees it as strengthening faith, and, therefore, the influence which the Church can still maintain over people. In the Fiestas de Mayo in Caravaca the Church and the people have different motivations; both achieve their aims.

Turner has explained how 'ritual is precisely a mechanism which periodically converts the obligatory into the desirable' (Turner 1964:32). The Fiestas are made up of symbols and actions. These are the components of ritual behaviour. Communion is the central act of the Catholic faith. For all Catholics, attendance at Mass at least once a year, under certain conditions is obligatory. The sacrifice of the Eucharist is an obligatory experience. The Fiestas are also the great Caravaquenian sacrifice: the great Caravaquenian transformation. They are a desirable obligation.

Coronation is another symbol used by the Fiestas and is drawn from the symbol sets of hierarchical power. It too is legitimised by the Catholic faith. With these and a host of other references the town creates new liturgies of its own. Rituals are constructed around the blessing
of water and of the fruits of the earth and of various forms of the handiwork of man. It is a religious dialogue containing so many combinatory elements it is hard to describe without writing a new theology.

Because people do not inquire into the consistency of the symbols as a system but treat them as a varied collection, the contradictions of public ritual seldom become an issue (Grimes, 1976:264).

In the symbol system of the Fiestas de Mayo contradictions abound, for it has not only clearly Christian connotations but contains within it the traditions of pagan, Spring fertility festivals long since incorporated into the Christian calendar rather than give any population reason for rebellion. This is a type of practice analysed in detail by Godelier (1972), examining the economic power of the colonising Inca Empire.

Also dating back to the earliest traditions is the involvement of people and animals in Spanish culture. In particular, a special cultural relationship has developed with the bull. This animal and its social place is deeply present in the most fundamental symbol system of language: used in phrases and aphorisms in the same way as the sport of cricket is in English. In many places in Spain the 'fiesta complex' is synonymous with the presence of bulls. (This is literally the case in a town as near Caravaca as is Moratalla, and on occasion can be true in Caravaca too).

'The bull, in mythology and ritual, in sacrifices, in fiestas and in games is an essential element, whose antiquity perhaps goes back to the neolithic, to that common Mediterranean background of which we know so little for certain; and there is no Iberian region where the fiesta of the bull --- from the youths running before it, or the rites in enforced captivity and including the insipid act of watching it on television --- does not continue in some way to impose its presence' (Mira. 1980:105).

The presence of the corrida ('the bullfight held in the Plaza de Toros') in the Fiestas, which goes back as far as records can show, involves man with animal ---
culture with nature. It brings in the outside world. It is a special event in the altered time period of any fiesta programme and its presence heightens emotion and guarantees the presence of death --- proving the seriousness of the occasion. (When Sta. Teresa de Jesus was canonised two hundred bulls were sacrificed. [Mira, 1980])

The use of the horse as a symbol probably has as long a pedigree as that of the bull. Frequently admired for its virility and esteemed as an emblem for freedom and individuality, even in its captive state, it is especially revered in Caravaca's neighbouring province of Andalusia. The thousands of horses. there enjoy a privileged position. Their welfare and grooming is a matter for particular pride and their dress on festive occasions, a splendid spectacle. At the Feria in Seville the bull is even fought from horseback, the rejoneadores giving dazzling displays of horsemanship. In Caravaca there is a deep fascination for, and love of, horses and an unequivocal admiration for the Arab style as being the most handsome. This interest must derive in part from traditions of the agricultural base of the area and a common assumption of the nobility's use of and respect for horses while also being partially a result of Moorish influence.

The area's Moorish heritage can also be traced in a respect for water, the key to cultivation and much to be prized in arid areas. Fountains and pools are a feature of Moorish architecture and faith in the purifying qualities of water is central to Moorish culture. The sea lanes to Spain were the natural routes to Islamic expansion. Irrigation systems, and water used to bring cool relief in quiet shady courtyards, are among reminders of the Moors' stay in Spain.

The Caravaquenian's love for water is therefore explicable on a basis other than simply that of Christian baptismal symbolism. In those provinces of Spain where the Reconquest raged with the most ardent fervour it was replaced with a love of fire. The Inquisition
purified everything with a blazing brand of Catholic faith — hence the fiesta of Las Fallas in Valencia where hundred feet high carved wood floats are set alight every night for a week. The Inquisition never entered Caravaca and here, although far from the sea, water seems always to have been regarded to be a sacred element. Many Caravaquenians can hold forth at length on the properties and tastes of all sorts of water. Mountain spring water is held in tremendous favour and guzzled whenever encountered. It is appreciated almost as wine. In the Fiestas all the water of the area is blessed and water plays a variety of roles in some of the other rites.

In the myth associated with the Caballos del Vino water and horses have equal import. It is a lack of fresh drinking water that initiates the sequence of events which are said to have given rise to the present day competition. It is the strength, speed and bravery of horses that is celebrated as 'freeing' the people. It is the turning of water into wine (an important Christian symbolic reference to the Marriage at Canna and a transformation very reminiscent of the Mass once again) that is the heart of the story.

Today's enactment of the event sees pellejos ('wine-skins') replaced by decorative and costly blankets which tell the story of the town's history and its Fiestas, in their embroidered pictures, and carry the town's sacred emblem. Dressed up animals --- a typical ritual reversal --- covered in money and myths, transport these images of identity through the geographical space of the town and then race to enter the castle where the first to arrive brings about a 'miraculous' experience in the lives of the prizewinning Peña. The emotion and the glory are theirs, but whichever horse wins, Caravaca and its history, carried on the animal's back, are always victorious.

The 'Caballos del Vino' embodies innumerable other symbols. With its sacred dressing rite, costumes, popular approval and institutionalised structure it is a perfect
ritual. The all important blankets (Photos. 134-136) rely on the local craft tradition of embroidery and are a major mode of creative expression. Most are embroidered by hand and made in Caravaca, though some, made by machine and sometimes outside Caravaca, are often the subject of heated debate. They can incorporate most of the other symbolic elements of the Fiesta. Colours, patterns and styles are manipulated by each of the peñas. Gold is held in special esteem. Traditionally, many women and some men create them in private as they would accomplish a religious devotion.

To see the horses racing in their blankets is to witness an amazing, colourful, almost 'unbelievable' sight. The splendour of these animals is as anachronistic a contrast to the actual wealth of their handlers as it is to the details of the myth which it purports to reinact. As such, it is just one of many examples of how norms are reaffirmed by the presentation of their opposites in the reversed or masquerade behaviour that contributes to the liminal nature of the Fiesta out-of-timeness. Horses do not usually wear gold and silver. No work is done at this time. People live all night and sleep much of the day, and the character of social space, normally moral space where only certain behaviour is acceptable, is completely transformed with banks of seats in the streets and Moorish palaces in the basements of apartment blocks, where private dances are a reversal of the traditional popular Verbena ('public dance').

Moors and Christians, historical symbols, are also simple representations of a fundamental opposition between Insiders and Outsiders in the same way as the Gigantes and Cabezudos. Associated with them is the important symbol of 'conflict'. Weapons are brandished and battles are fought and names and costumes construct boundaries between social groups. The Fiestas are also full of the symbols of hierarchy and the Establishment,
and ordinary people, by a process of role reversal, become Captains and Princesses, and Kings and Queens. Music and colour assist the control of, and play upon, the emotions.

Food symbolism also plays a large part in the manipulation of the sensual stimuli of the Fiestas. No-one can hold any values with an empty stomach (see Colin Turnbull, 1974). Through food the whole experience can be fully internalised. A common feasting element runs through the five days. Re-united families eat together. Much food is consumed at strange times. Revellers breakfast together on chocolate and churros at four in the morning (Photo. 51b). Feasts are held in the refugios and continual eating in public becomes another reversal of normal behaviour.

Commensality is important to any shared cultural experience. The Fiestas begin on the night of April 30th with the competition to make the most edible Migas. The most essential acts of the 'Competition of the Caballos del Vino' also culminate in an enormous meal. This is a paella cooked and served to several thousand people in the Plaza de los Caballos del Vino (list of ingredients and quantities for this feast —— fig. 11). Most of the festival groups finish their participation in the Fiestas with an intimate farewell meal in their refugios, on the evening of Day 5.

In a week-long Fiesta the events of whole historico-religious calendars are condensed into a few transcendental days. Patterns of events of this kind and other similar ones have evolved in many places although all the specific details differ. Emmanuel Le Roi Ladurie, in particular, has drawn attention to the analysis of this in relation to his own example, that of a sixteenth century French Carnival which was used to foment a social revolution (Ladurie 1975:303). He points out that Leach has drawn other examples from many cultures, Christian and otherwise, and that Van Gennep's analyses of rites of passage have proved to be a valuable tool in understanding their mechanics.
FIG. 11 Contributions to the communal meal on Day 2

Jose Martinez Yglesias "Maysa" 100 kg. meat
Dimas Sanchez Diaz 115 kg. rice
Co-op del Campo "Virgen de la Esperanza de Calasparra" 30 kg. rice
Manuel Sanchez 10 kg. rabbit
Augustin Sanchez 18 kg peas
Salvador Garcia 10 litres oil
Antonio Marin (Bros.) 125 kg tomatoes
Tudela (Bros.) 36 kg tomatoes

Cervezas "El Agila" provided 'All the beer you can drink'.
Bodegas Capel (el tio de la bota) provided 'All the wine you need'.
Ramon "el pera" 1500 plastic bags
Jose Moreno Martas y Juan Alvarez Moreno provided wood for the fires

There were many other contributors of smaller quantities too numerous to mention.

From the total ingredients 7,500 meals were provided.
[Leach] proposes a 'pendulum view' of the flow of time in traditional and festive cultures (no matter what their Christian belief or historical evolution or the 'end of time' might be). Time flowed normally during the year then ran briefly in reverse during the festive period, returning to its normal flow during the course of the following year or season. This paradigm of alternation harmonises with the immediate experience of time flow (night and day, life and death and so forth). The festival thus supposes a first 'preliminal' stage (to borrow Van Gennep's terminology), or phase (A), setting it off from time as experienced in normal life, or during the past year. A second or 'liminary', (B) phase, is the transitional period during which the threshold is crossed, a quick swing of the pendulum, into time running backwards or role reversal properly speaking. Finally a third phase (C) is one of reintegration or aggregation into profane or ordinary time, which will prevail until the next alternation and so on.

Leach holds that there is an explicit connection between this three-part time flow and Carnival themes properly speaking, and that there are also three types of ritual behaviour encountered on festival occasions: masquerade, role reversal, formalities.

The masquerade is a striking expression of the breaking away from ordinary or profane time, the entrance into fictive or sacred time. Rites of role reversal signal that the transition period has begun, indicate that the human group serving as the societal base for the festivities is momentarily turned upside down. According to Turner (or Sartre) this is the divine instant of communication between revellers. The group is 'fused' in a mutual state of role reversal.

Formalities finally (no fake or mud-daubed noses here, but silk top hats) coincide with the entry into phase (C), the repressive or what Turner calls the 'redressive' stage. The emphatic accentuation of normative dress (like a magistrate's cap and gown) in effect signifies the act of compulsory return to the rules governing ordinary time. Other concatenations may change the order of these three phases without transforming the process itself in the least. For instance a wedding a rite de passage, if ever there was one, begins with formalities and may end with orgiastic rituals, possibly a masked ball.

In conclusion, Leach emphasises the alternating swing between life and death (from the beginning to the end of the year), then from death to life (during the brief moment of resurrection provided by Carnival) (op. cit.).
Following this now fairly conventional paradigm, in Caravaca the year can be regarded as pre-liminal from July to the end of April. The Fiestas provide a liminal role reversal period. This is followed in June by a period of social reconstruction with all the elections, settlement of accounts and such like. This period of reconstruction is so all-embracing as to involve repairing broken legs and broken relationships (or creating new ones) and taking national exams and school tests. Perhaps this makes the Fiestas the Spring fertility festival 'par excellence'. A similar tri-partite structure is evident within the Fiestas themselves on a small scale.

The Caravaquenian Fiestas are built either side of the Day of the Invention of the Cross on May 3rd. The National festival of the Cross is part of a National religious structure. In Caravaca it has been surrounded by 'pagan' celebrations which emphasise the relationship between the people, whose festivals these are, and this symbol.

One level of the mechanisms of symbolism outlined by Van Gennep has already been mentioned above. The same structure appears to operate on several levels, each within the other. The month of April displays many characteristics of a pre-liminal period. The Fiestas are five liminal days and are followed by a post-liminal month of reintegration. Within this structure Day 1 also displays some pre-liminal characteristics, Days 2, 3, and 4 are distinctly liminal and Day 5 is full of post-liminal restitution. Within the structure of activity the Moors win the first simulated battle, the Christians win the second. On the next day there is no battle before the obligatory parade and both of the groups parade separately as autonomous identities, taking turns to go first up the street in alternating years. Since the dominant symbol of the whole Fiestas, the Cross, is connected most strongly with the Christians this third stage can be seen to contain post-liminal qualities of restitution. It is clearly, unifying, conciliatory and
and more formal. Their remodelling of the structure of the national celebrations can be seen as emphasising the people's control over the meanings of this multivalent symbol.

There is another class of major symbolic structures which, for the participants, effects contact with experiences of 'the ethical and jural norms of the society' and with 'strong emotional stimuli'. This is organised movement through social space.

A very strong tradition of procession and pilgrimage is present in the whole of the Spanish world. The images and symbols of pilgrimage persist everywhere. This is particularly the case in Caravaca as in several other Spanish towns which remain the goals of pilgrims, and in which processions are frequent. Turner (1974) has shown the symbolic power of pilgrimage:

The pilgrim becomes himself a total symbol, indeed, a symbol of totality; ordinarily he is encouraged to meditate as he perigrinates, upon the creative and altruistic acts of the saint or deity whose relic or image forms the object of his quest... with the aim of achieving a step towards holiness and wholeness in oneself, both of body and soul. But since one aspect of oneself consists of the cherished values of one's own specific culture, it is not unnatural that the new 'formation' desired by pilgrims should include a more intense realisation of the inner meaning of that culture. For many that inner meaning is identical with its religious core values (1974:208).

Writing together with his wife (Turner and Turner 1977) he approaches the study of pilgrimages by concentrating on the detail of a few specific instances. They pay little attention to the generalised phenomenon of the symbolic social effects of movement through space. They also ignore the strength of this tradition in Spain. It is Grimes who points out the significance of tradition:

Any human gesture can become ritualised; therefore emphasis on one gesture rather than on another tells us something vital about the people using that gesture (Grimes 1976:63).
He also draws a parallel between the ritual of the Mass and the act of procession:

The Mass created the ritualistic conditions under which worshipers can approach God with gifts of bread, wine, money, praise, and repentance. The condition under which these can be transformed into effective spiritual power is that they be offered by the worshipers mediately through the hierarchy. The gifts are offered 'up' through the ranks. They are transformed and given 'down' to the people. The hierarchical movements of ascent and descent parallel those of the processions except that in the case of the Mass, 'space' is metaphorically 'vertical'. If in the processions devotees symbolically 'take possession' of what is 'horizontal', in the Mass they receive (rather than take) what is 'given down' (Grimes 1976:84).

B.I. Mullah has said that, 'prayer to the pilgrim is walking with God' (1967:819). He also suggests that processions are theologically associated by Christians with the movement out of Egypt, following Christ on the road to heaven, and the Church's pilgrimage on earth. Pilgrimages and processions then, even if not synonymous, are at least related in the minds of adherents of the faith. No Caravaquenian interviewed would be so full in his interpretive associations as Mullah, but there would be no contradiction and procession is certainly seen as an important expression of devotion and essential communication with the central aspects of their religion.

Processions are less of an accomplishment than pilgrimages, but in Caravaca at least, they contain many of the elements that Grimes claims are not maintained by the procession tradition in New Mexico. Procession is a strange and difficult physical experience, undertaken in a heightened atmosphere of tension and expectancy. Private selves can be under the public gaze and certainly have to be confronted by each individual. The strain and the companionship can affect common social bonds of friendship, and a degree of commensality is occasionally present to reinforce the group experience and the physical sensations. Most importantly processions are not separated off from the whole fiesta complex as they
are here in this exposition, and they are therefore associated with all the physical rigour and spiritual power that they contain as a whole.

In a procession many ordinary human actions such as walking, carrying, showing, viewing, praying, singing, and being seen, can take on an extraordinary symbolic significances. A common experience of processions allows them to be used symbolically in the expression and understanding of experience. For example, it becomes known that the world can be processed in, that it should be processed in on certain occasions and that this is what happens under such circumstances. Devotion is generalised and intensified and the 'intellectual' is made physical. It will be noted that the Cross of Caravaca itself also processes and makes pilgrimages. It visits the *pedantas* and the *impedidos*. Like so much Catholic prayer it seems almost a case of we'll process to you and you'll process to us, but this is to debase and oversimplify. In fact this is ritual exchange and transformation.

Caravaquenian processions are not pilgrimages but the links between these two forms are vital ones. Their connection with the symbol-laden parades of the Fiestas is also important. All these symbolic movements through space use the geography of the town. The main areas generally used are the surrounds of the Sanctuary, the Calle Mayor a traditional route through the older residential part of the city leading to one of the highest points of the town, the towering modern status symbol of the apartment-block-littered Gran Via, and the Plaza Mayor which is the site of the Town Hall and seat of the civil authority in the town. Clearly the significance of civil participation in any of the ceremonies can be emphasised by the inclusion of the Plaza Mayor in any itinerary. Statues can be manipulated and identified by the use of already symbolically marked space. It is worth noting that all of the parades, but few of the liturgically-oriented processions pass through
this centre of civic significance. The processions of
the Cross can make some important statements about sacred
power and the nature of specifically Caravaquenian
experience through their use of processional itineraries.
Parish churches in the town are important symbol centres
in their own right. The parish Church of El Salvador is
the seat of the most senior priest in all the parishes
in Caravaca. It has traditionally been the church
which has represented the presence of the Catholic Church
in Caravaca. The parish church of La Virgen de la Concepcion
is a separate symbol centre with its own complicated
history connected to the minor powers of its Virgin and
to the more tangible miraculous gifts of the figure of
the Virgin kept in the chapel of the pedanía of La Encarnacion
several kilometres away. The Church of San Francisco in
the barrio of that name does not play any part in the
Fiesta processions and remains 'unseen' in the same way
in which this barrio and its problems of poverty and
deprivation remain 'unseen' and unrecognised by the rest
of the town in any public statement. By processing to,
or past them, from its Sanctuary within the dominant
castle on the hill, the Cross of Caravaca asserts its
supremacy. These sacred places are being deliberately
juxtaposed to the Sanctuary, and the superior powers of
the Cross; and are being subjugated in the same way that
an invading Christian army marching into a Moorish town
makes its authority clear by setting up its standard.
However, it is also true that another aspect of the
procession deriving from the structure of its itinerary,
its circular nature, causes the processional form to be
used symbolically as a uniting force. In this way it
acts like Fiesta parades, on the plane of civic symbols:
emphasising Caravaca as one pueblo and demonstrating
the unifying character of the Fiestas.

Parades, like processions and pilgrimages,
are ritualisations of space, but parades do not
issue from promises and vows as pilgrimages often
do, nor are they a bearing witness as processions
are. Although parades, like processions and pilgrimages,
instill certain values and extol certain virtues, their primary purpose is to be seen. Though processions bear witness, the ones for whom the witness is borne need not be different from those participating in the procession. Parades demand distinct audiences and participants; processions do not. Even though a procession typically has an audience other than those participating, it does not require spectators. And pilgrimages need spectators even less. But a parade fails unless it is a spectacle, unless it is seen. Some individuals participate in parades by riding horses, driving cars or whatever, for the sole purpose of being in the public view. A parade is a show, not a sacred display nor a journey to a sacred place (Grimes 1976:74).

In a parade the 'essential' spectators are made such an integral part of the performance that they participate in the experience and absorb the feelings and ideas produced, the lessons learnt. The parade --- forward movement through the geographical space that is their world --- involves a transformation for every individual who is also part of a distinct social group, historically referenced. In Caravaca the parades take place at a time of pilgrimage in the midst of processions.

For many Caravaquenians who live in other parts of Spain away from their home town, the return to Caravaca every year for the Fiestas is a variety of pilgrimage. They make a journey with a devotional goal, involving self-denial, offerings and possibly even physical or at least psychological cures or changes. Therefore the differences between pilgrimages, processions and parades must not be emphasised too strongly for Caravaca. For a Caravaquenian, whether ex-patriot or resident, being in Caravaca for the Fiestas results in intense personal experience, emotional and transcendental, provided by the transformations of participation, linking every individual with the subject of the parades, processions and pilgrimages, the Cross of Caravaca, and with their own place in the world.
DEVOTION AS WORLDVIEW

'Caravaca son las fiestas de Mayo' ("the people of Caravaca are the May Fiestas"). In Caravaca a worldview has emerged which is based on devotion. The complexity of the symbol system through which this is expressed has been demonstrated and indicates that this is an adaptive structure. It allows for social reproduction and definition and redefinition of individual and community identities. It provides a security which allows inevitable internal conflict to generate politics capable of active participation in the national political and economic structure. The town cannot and will not disappear decimated by more powerful external political and economic forces like many towns and villages in the South and the remoter parts of Spain. The latter foundered as economic and social change left them lacking a focus to give meaning to their survival as a community. Caravaca has its Cross and its Fiestas.

In Caravaca the importance of the effects of personal politics and party politics is reduced and kept well within the bounds of the transitory and everyday by their inclusion in a community-wide system with a long-term structure. Through the use of myth and historical legitimation the overall structure supersedes everyday tension, and local politics are drawn into the context of national and international and political and religious structures.

There is conflict in Caravaca. There is generational conflict, which is similar to that discussed in expansive detail by Lisón Tolosana for Belmonte de los Caballeros (1966). There are also economic differences in the town between rich and poor, but there is no discrimination in participation in festival life. There must also be aspects of everyday life which contribute to the formation of political differences, but these are inevitable. Samuel Johnson pointed out that: 'No two men can be half
an hour together, but that one shall acquire an evident superiority over the other'.

The town's social structure has space to allow everyone to participate in it --- there are some areas of social life in which Fiesta prizes do not matter much at all. The Cross and the Fiestas do not provide the only arena for self-determination in Caravaca. Politics are not just about parties and national issues, they are also about power and self-determination. There is a well-developed political system in Caravaca through participation in which people can also achieve a sense of being and one particular understanding of their existence. However, as Balandier (1970) has remarked: 'power is never completely emptied of its religious content'. In Caravaca most of the political controversy that exists in every generation is created in relation to the Cross, because in the worldview that dominates the town the maintenance of the devotion to the Cross is considered more important than any economic or political development.

Political conflict in the town has never, to date, been destructive of the Caravaquenian social system because it does not bring about changes which affect the social reproduction of Caravaca over time. In the Middle Ages the Knights Templar must have had some mysterious connection with the propagation of a cult of the Cross in this then war-torn territory --- devotions to the Vera Cruz being clearly connected with their presence in other regions of Spain and Europe. Their lust for temporal power which went hand in hand with their devotion to the Cross, leading to struggle with Church and State, was surely, even then, reflected in the town's internal politics. Certainly, the Order of Santiago who succeeded them (one of the strongest economic forces in the peninsula, easily on a par with the Crown itself) found that in addition to disputes with the Crown there were also occasions for conflict between the Order and the Town Hall, such as those of 1558 and 1608 (Marin de Espinosa 1856:202). Unity between the Town Hall and
those who consider themselves 'true guardians of the Cross' (not necessarily its nominal keeper) when threatened from outside, is however a recurring theme in Caravaquenian politics.

The Order's major conflicts occurred between it and the Catholic Church. In many of them it had the full support of the Town Hall. For example, in 1725 the Town Hall and the Order named Juan Angulo Nieto, priest of the neighbouring town of Moratalla, vicario (the religious leader of the community) as successor to Andres Suarez. The Church, however, supported the Chaplain of the Sanctuary, Dr. Cuenca. The furore produced caused the Pope to intervene --- on the side of the Military Order. Such was the accepted authority of the Order in uniting secular and spiritual power, that Caravaca never had to undergo the ordeals of faith-questioning that the Inquisition imposed upon so many towns of similar standing but without such obvious religious adherence.

Conflict continues to this day between the united community, devotees of the Cross, and representatives of the Church establishment. It should come as no surprise to discover that the Bishop of the Diocese is, in general, an unpopular character in Caravaca since in 1980 he expressed his disapproval at what he considered to be an over-prideful request for the declaration of the Jubilee Year and a visit from the Pope. The Papal Indulgence, granted without the promise of a visit effected an uneasy compromise which again prevented a major rift between congregation and Church. The archives of the Town Hall attest to the tradition of the feelings held in the town. On two previous occasions --- in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries --- unsuccessful requests have been made of the Pope for the honour of his presence in the town. Feelings run high whenever Caravaca's Cross comes under attack.

Earlier this century when the Cross was stolen from the Sanctuary prior to the Civil War the Chaplain responsible for its care was stoned by the people of
the town and driven from the pueblo for his negligence of their devotion. The return of pieces of 'lignum crucis' to the town after the War and the revival of the devotion to the new Cross was easily accomplished with no contradiction because the granting of the new Cross was a validation from the highest authority for all of their previous beliefs. Not only was the opportunity for devotion restored but that devotion itself was undoubtedly strengthened.

The Cross of Caravaca was taken at the start of the Civil War. During the war this area became a Republican stronghold with close associations with Anarchist Andalusia despite the presence of rich landlords and prosperous businessmen in Murcia. Caravaca itself was spared the ravages of a war that completely destroyed some communities and has made life difficult in others ever since. Nevertheless, when, in the war, a group of drunken railway employees, who are not now considered to have been responsible for their actions, broke into the Sanctuary which was being used as a prison for some of the captured 'fascists', a massacre took place. The descendants of the families who held sway before the war are today once again in some of the positions of economic and political power, and since it was they who suffered most they find it easier than others to express their enmity or to harbour grudges, but Caravaca has always been conservative and since the war the left-wing population of the town has never been large enough to make disputes easy to continue. As Pitt-Rivers has remarked: 'It must be remembered that in fact the majority of the pueblo strongly disapproved of shooting anybody' (1954:32).

When in the aftermath of the war the Cofradía remembered those who were butchered it was not just celebrating the side of the 'pious' señoritos but was acting as the Cofradía, the people's institution, which is there to join people together in their devotion to Caravaca's Cross. On the 14th of September 1949 the Cofradía, as a result of public subscription, had a black marble plaque placed in the
Committee rooms of the Cofradía in memory of the eleven Caravaquenians that had been killed in the Sanctuary in 1936, and making those who died in this massacre (all members of the Right) religious martyrs.

No-one forgets the revenge taken against the ' Reds' outside the town in the new cemetery at the end of the war either, but since these Socialists did not believe in the Church they could not be commemorated. However, in the town today, the allegiance of all those who remain is greater to the Cross of Caravaca than to either Catholicism or Socialism.

Suggesting that those who were murdered, died for the Cross of Caravaca more than for anything else, had as its primary effect that of reducing public antagonism through a universal commitment to the symbol of Caravaca (a commitment able to be held by religious and non-religious alike) rather than, as might have been the case in so many other places, of provoking further bitterness and hatred through the traditional association of the rich with the Church and with overtly pious and devout behaviour. A secondary but deliberate symbolic effect was also, of course, one of reestablishment of the 'status quo' through marking the end of a period of 'displacedness' for the dead persons with the very solid physical presence of a stone plaque.

After the war the Cofradía in strength. An association of people in any significant numbers creates the possibility of organisation for social power. And it has to be admitted that despite aims and appearances the Cofradía of the Most Sainted Cross is no exception. The modification of Article 18 of the Statutes of the Cofradía as they stood in 1949 is clear evidence of the involvement of political motives. Article 18 said that the post of Hermo Mayor is incompatible with those of Alcalde ('mayor') or Parish Priest. However, during the pre-democratic nineteen-fifties a particularly prominent local landowner held the positions of Hermo Mayor and Alcalde concurrently. There was opposition but the man's administrative competence
sent by the Cofradía and this blatant display angered the school authorities and did not go unnoticed at the Town Hall or in the town. For many people it was just a symbol of the power of the tío de la pita and the pre-eminence of their Fiestas — strengthening the symbols. For others this was at the heart of local politics.

On the last day of the Fiestas in the same year the final procession was headed as usual by the Cross and the junta of the Cofradía with the Authorities bringing up the van behind one and a hours of processing faithful and, supposedly, arriving in the Sanctuary to signal the start of the Mass and the giving of the blessing. However, the Cofradía instructed the Mass to begin before the arrival of the mayor and the Authorities. It was a significant move and the mayor as a result did not attend the formal dinner held in honour of the Hermano Mayor of the Cofradía. There are other examples of similar opposition between these two bodies. The junta of the Cofradía, for example, claimed the credit for obtaining hundreds of thousands of pesetas from the government to restore the castle, when this had been achieved wholly by the Town Hall who subsequently went to pains to point this out.

However, it is important in any political and economic planning not to face opposition from the Cofradía. Where issues which will concern the way electors vote are involved it is important to have the Cofradía on one's side, or better still to have some control over it. People attend the Cabildo in their hundreds but no more than half a dozen ever turn up at a council meeting or are paid up members of the political parties. In 1981 the Town Hall intended to try to gain some influence in the Cofradía through the elections for the Hermano Mayor.

The moment the Fiestas were over in 1981 and the election of the new Hermano Mayor of the Cofradía was imminent, electioneering and lobbying began. In strategic bars candidates for new cabila and group leaders were considered, political directions had to be assessed and
leaders of the Bands and Caballos del Vino were chosen. Leadership of the Holy Week Cofradías also changed hands at this time.

In 1981 it seemed likely from discussion in the bars that there would be three candidates for the post of Hermano Mayor of the Cofradía of the Cross: two coming from various parts of the already established hegemony and a third who was said to be 'in the pay' of the UCD but who was favoured by many young people and the cabilas of Moors and Groups of Christians. At one time it seemed likely that a UCD councillor might stand as a fourth candidate. This was an unpopular proposal in the town's tertulias and the third candidate, an independent and successful small industrialist, managed to convince people of his authority and independence from political bias (Photo.70a). (That he might be in the pay of UCD was considered as a possible disqualification, so he had to work hard to scotch these rumours, whether they were true or not).

On the day of the election, to most people's surprise, this industrialist turned out to be the only candidate to stand at the Cabildo held in the modest, committee rooms of the castle (Photo.69a). However, a last minute bid from the outgoing junta forced a vote of ratification and tried to get the then current Hermano Mayor kept in office until the end of the jubilee Year 'in recognition of his services'. Argument was extremely fierce but those more open to change in the pueblo held sway. The election of the new man was ratified. In the face of such obvious disapproval the outgoing Hermano Mayor declined to stay on and it seems the new man may look very favourably on UCD after all and opposition between the hopes of the Town Hall and the aspirations of the Cofradía will in future, for a while, be reduced.

More so than twenty years ago most of the politics that materially affects the town today may take place at a regional or even at a national level. Politicians are part of the community. Local ordinances have been
abolished and most laws are equally applicable over the whole national territory. Gradually more regional provision is being made. Over the years a series of development programmes have been formulated by central government. There was a not wholly unrepresentative week in Caravaca 1981 when Caravaca was mentioned at least three times in the Palace of the Moncloa (the Prime Minister's residence — the Spanish equivalent of Number Ten, Downing Street).

From time to time in Caravaca it is possible to encounter more concrete proof than the substantial feelings provided just by everyday life, that the people's involvement with and devotion to the Cross is a widespread, almost universal, phenomenon within the town and transcends the political motivations of a few individuals (who may in any case appear to be equally as motivated by spiritual concerns). The internal commitment in the heart of every Caravaquenian is so strong that it can be seen demonstrated in a variety of examples of extreme forms of social behaviour:

In 1980 the desire of one poor father to ride a horse in the Fiestas was so great that although the family as a whole were very poor indeed, living in a cueva, short of proper facilities and often short of food, he was managing to spend 200 pesetas a day for the care and feeding of a horse. There were five children in the family and one day in November 1980 they were locked into the house by the mother when she went out. The father was elsewhere and the unsupervised children, apparently huddling together around the parafin heater for warmth, were all tragically burnt to death. The town was horrified and the negligence deplored but the man's vanity was comprehended.

Another aspect of the understanding of what constitutes true 'devotion' in Caravaca is illustrated by the way in which the town defends the integrity of all its symbols from unnecessary change and, unconsciously, from attacks
by outsiders. A few years ago a sculptor who lives and works in the town and is the art teacher at the local secondary school had an idea to try a different sort of participation in the competition of the *Caballos del Vino* changing the type of art and of personnel. He thought that the essential decorative blanket could be admirably well-made from worked and sculpted leather in place of the 'traditional' embroidered silks and velvets. To work the less elaborate parts of the leather, to run the organisation of the *peña*, and to undertake the rite of dressing and presenting the horse the sculptor engaged the help of some schoolchildren. By all accounts the leather was beautifully worked and the whole 'ensemble' looked quite impressive but it obeyed none of the unwritten rules of the competition and in fact contradicted many. In the judging by the heads of all the *penas* this entry came last out of fifteen.

Such an experiment has never been tried again, more because of the disapproval expressed than the last place. It had been a challenge to the system, trying to be decorative without displaying wealth which was derived from social unity and without commitment to the Fiesta ideals of honouring the *patrona* and 'busting a gut' to produce something more impressive than the neighbours. Significantly, it was frequently pointed out that this man, the sculptor, was an outsider --- even though he had lived in the town for more than fifteen years. The underlying problem of this attempt at symbolic change was not that it just disobeyed the rules but that, unconsciously, it threatened to undermine the whole system. The system exists as a response to local circumstances and requirements. Embroidery is a traditional local craft. Leather as an expressive medium is an alien concept in sheep-country where cloth and money from the sophisticated marketing of meat are the expected products. Sheep-men are diametrically opposed to cattlemen, and leather-work is considered by the former as crude, 'primitive', craft-work and not a part of the 'civilised'
world to which they aspire — a world full of fine woollens, silks, velvet and cloth of gold.

Another example shows not just the depth of everyone's involvement with the Fiestas but the ability of the pueblo to mobilise its forces in defence of its symbols:

A short, badly written article by a pupil at the state secondary school, which was published in the third edition of a periodical/comic printed under the auspices of the school with the title of 'The Failure' ("El Insuficiente") set in motion an astounding sequence of events. At first, under the independent authority of the school, the article was not seen to pose a threat to anyone. It expressed a personal opinion which called into question the degree of attachment and devotion to the cult of the Cross. Written by a child, certainly it was insensitive, ill-thought out and badly-written: but it was also insignificant.

As it happened, the magazine, a cyclo-styled collection of stapled-together pages was sold to parents and public alike outside the independent bounds of the school. As anything relating to the Cross attracts people's attention, the article was read by many and caused a great deal of offence to very deep-seated feelings within very many sincere Caravaquenians. Interest, concern and involvement spread, to the extent that 'El Chavo' (one of the town's formal photographers), for example, spent several days producing photocopy after photocopy of the article to circulate among customers and acquaintances for further discussion and consideration.

Many people were so indignant that they looked for the boy all over the town to tell him personally what they thought of him, or to give him the good hiding that they thought he deserved, from the point of view of their faith and their Cross. A middle-aged man entered the bar Dulcinea on Friday afternoon with the article in one hand and a stick in the other — so it is said — and, reading out the name of the author of the article let it
be known that he felt the said author of the article to be a 'bastard' and that if he was present he should stand up and defend himself.

Other 'loyal Caravaquenians' went to the Town Hall to ask that something be done about this scandal and insult. The mayor had no alternative but to call a council meeting and to make five resolutions about the case. People were even threatening to go around to the boy's home and eject him from the town if the Town Hall and of course the Cofradía did not act to represent their feelings.

The Town Hall reacted swiftly. It saw the danger to the child's safety as serious and it saw the offence. It was also clear that in the light of the social position and personal character of the Headmaster of the Secondary School, who could easily be held responsible, there were some personal political motives involved in the way in which pressure was built up against him. The situation was engineered through the distribution of photocopies and conversations which ran the gamut of every bar and shop in Caravaca among a certain 'controlling' generation, but this was a factor overshadowed by the visible offence to the identity of Caravaca and to the innermost feelings of the vast majority. The Town Hall held an emergency meeting and published the following notice to the three Press correspondents in the town, each of whom were immediately contacted at their homes. The 'Press' coverage which is included below, in my translation, is the best example of the further effects of the article over a period of only a few days.

NOTICE FROM THE TOWN HALL

As a result of the article published in the magazine 'La Insuficiente' edited by a group of pupils from the local Secondary School, we have decided after full and long deliberation, to:

1) Present a case against the article to the local Magistrate; since we consider that it offends the most profound feelings and deeply rooted beliefs of Caravaquenians, constituting in the opinion of this Corporation, a transgression of the Constitution which obliges respect for the beliefs of all people, and we therefore consider the article a libel which could disrupt public order.
2) Show ourselves to be part of the process which can be invoked in defence of the general interests of this municipality as the legitimate representatives of the people.

3) Inform the Department of Education and Science of our decisions so that they can take the appropriate disciplinary measures against those responsible for the said article.

4) Declare 'personas non grata' in this city of Caravaca those who come to be declared responsible.

5) Show concern for the subversion of the correct formation of the Caravaquenian youth that ought to be provided by the premiere cultural centre of Caravaca.

LINEA: Daily Paper of the Murcian region, Sunday 28th March —— p. 14
Written by a pupil of COU (the sixth-form) at the local Secondary School.

INDIGNATION IN CARAVACA AT AN ARTICLE DISRESPECTFUL TO THE MOST SAINTED CROSS: the Town Hall has submitted the case to the Magistrate.

Caravaca (from our correspondent, Cecilio Juarez): --- The piece of writing which has brought about this Extraordinary session of the Council, enormous discomfort, indignation and repulsion among all the people of Caravaca, reads as follows:

'Sainted and true Cross. You know kid! Caravaca is what it is for all that stuff about the Cross. Yes, for that legendary myth that has even brought about the creation of books. Why, is revealed by showing this mythological Cross as a real thing. It is unusual not to come across in any house, of a pure Caravaquenian or on his breast hanging from a chain, a typical Caravaquenian Cross. They even hang from the battlements a lighted Cross to protect this priveleged pueblo.

Dependence upon a cross, a cross surrounded by history (invented) which they show us as true real and proven history (fitting only for poor people). The ultimate is reached when they give cult to this symbolic symbol, in which they look for protection, forgiveness and even from which they ask help in passing their mathematics exam.

This is handicapped Man who limits his individual ability, his rationality, and weighs his existence in a cold symbol, empty and metallic. And, all of that, yes, is surrounded by a convincing legend which you need to believe. ---Juan L.G. (Velez-Rubio). COU-D.'

The headmaster of the school Juan Manuel Villanueva, has written a reply and condemnation, explaining that this magazine was published without any permission from the School.

LA VERDAD: Daily Paper of Murcia and Cartagena, Sunday 28th March —— p. 27
As a result of offence

CARAVACA --- THE POLEMIC CREATED BY THE ARTICLE ABOUT THE CROSS GROWS

Caravaca (from our correspondent, Joe Lopez Marin): --- The publication of the article 'Santa and Vera Cruz' in the 2nd edition of the magazine 'La Insuficiente' edited by a group of pupils of the 'San Juan de la Cruz' Secondary School, is producing 'altos revuelos' in this city, and is the reason for innumerable discussions and extraordinary meetings of local bodies and organs.

Saturday last, elements of the Cofradía of the Most Sainted and
True Cross, met to discuss and pronounce on the said article, agreeing to denounce the matter to the police, communicates it to the Ministry of Education and Science so that they can open a file and inform the Bishop as the entity on which they are dependent. At midday the Council held an extraordinary meeting to deal with the matter, agreeing:...........

They did not present the magazine to the Headmaster.

As a result of what has occurred we contacted the people directly involved in the matter (the author of the article, group of pupils of the school who edit the magazine, head of studies and headmaster) to give us their version and opinion of those who held a meeting yesterday morning to discuss the matter.

The headmaster, Juan Manuel Villanueva, told us that he 'profoundly lamented that the Town Hall had made assertions about the magazine without having asked me for a single clarification or having mentioned the declaration that I have made'.

The author of the article, Juan L.G. of COU-D for his part told us that he wrote the article in 15 minutes to fill a space in the open pages of the magazine, with no more than a desire to stimulate discussion in the school, and equally he lamented that no-one had asked his permission to reproduce the article in a certain local paper, nor was it reproduced truthfully since the phrase 'An opinion (of course)' is omitted, and the note 'Velez-Rubio' is included although it is not included in the original of the magazine but has been added to the photocopies that somebody has made of the magazine and which they are passing around the pueblo.

Apparently the head of studies had instructed the pupils through their representative Fernando Carreño, that when they finished the magazine they should present it to the Headmaster. This was something which they did not do since 'because they did not think that it contained anything offensive' --- and in this way in the words of the Headmaster, quite apart from the contents of the magazine, a grave error of judgement was committed, consisting in the use of the name of the School without the permission of the Headmaster. For their part, the pupils editing the magazine suggested that the pueblo had not exactly understood the meaning of the article 'Santa y Vera Cruz' and that the magazine had been published without any intention to offend, and the Head of Studies and the Headmaster had even told them that they should not speak in ways which might be offensive to a pueblo.

JUAN MANUEL VILLANUEVA FERNANDEZ, HEADMASTER OF 'SAN JUAN DE LA CRUZ' SECONDARY SCHOOL, IN THE CITY OF CARAVACA DE LA CRUZ DECLARES:

with respect to the magazine 'La Insuficiente' nº. 2 ---1982 --- I.N.B. 'San Juan de la Cruz', Caravaca (Murcia).

1. This authority did not know of the publication of this magazine until after its publication, and therefore had not given its authorization or permission.

2. Even financially, that the magazine is independent of the School, which does not signify that it can be published, under the name of the School, without the permission of this authority; because of this, the first thing that this authority did, as soon as it found out about the publication, was to prohibit the circulation of the said magazine and call, a very definitely, extraordinary, urgent
meeting of the members of the Governing Body that it was possible to locate at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th current.

3. Apart from the contents of the said publication, the transgression of those responsible for the same is a serious action against the discipline of the School; and in consequence, this authority has already taken the appropriate measures in order that the corresponding organ of government (the Governing Body, formed of teachers, representatives of parents, and representatives of pupils), and apply the appropriate measures and corresponding sanctions.

4. Now that the independence of that publication has been declared, I want to proclaim my condemnation and repulsion at the offensive contents, in some cases, to education, good taste, secular beliefs and public order.

5. In the concrete instance of the article entitled 'Santa y Vera Cruz', I consider that the author has not taken into account the respect owed to the beliefs and feelings of others (even though, taking into account how badly written it is, it is possible that he did not intend to say the offensive things that it is possible to read into it).

Lastly, as on so many other occasions, I would like to take this opportunity to proclaim that all the members of my family proudly display around their necks the most sainted Cross of Caravaca, sign of our redemption. Never have I permitted and never will I permit whilst I stand that the Cross receives offence. Reading the aforesaid article wounded my profoundest feelings, now that, among other things my two youngest daughters were born, because I wanted it that way, under the shadow of the most sainted Cross... My actions and writings, up to the present, show the truth of my words... And, in conclusion, I consider that any Caravaquenian should condemn that unfortunate article.

Juan Manuel Villanueva Fernandez
Headmaster of the State Secondary School 'St. John of the Cross'.
Caravaca de la Cruz, 27th March 1982.

DECISIONS TAKEN BY THE STAFF MEETING OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL:

1. To courteously answer the Town Hall and loyally point out its mistakes. To declare anyone 'persona non grata' is not permissible within the terms of the Constitution. Therefore the School is not subverting the pupils, but the Town Hall could be suspected of doing such a thing as a result of the very firm and reactionary line which it seems to be over-dogmatically proposing. And if the pupils make mistakes it is because they are in a period of formation.

2. To present a countersuit to the Magistrate's against the Town Hall for libel. (This proposal was rejected by the teachers.)

3. Sanction punishments against the pupils. (This proposal was also rejected by the teachers.)

LA VERDAD: Daily paper of Murcia and Caratagena, Saturday, 3rd April

As a result of its action on the polemical schoolboy article CARAVACA SECONDARY SCHOOL VERSUS THE TOWN HALL 'The spread of the argument has been against the interests of civic harmony'
CARAVACA: (From our correspondent, Lopez Marin) —— Because of the argument about the article 'Santa y Vera Cruz' published in the magazine 'La Insuficiente' the Governing Body of the School has sent a letter to the Town Hall manifesting its disturbance at the way in which the matter was treated by the Town Hall without any contact with the school authorities.

The note from the Governing Body of San Juan de la Cruz indicates that the said Body only found out about the matter through the Press, adding that 'it does not seem correct that the Council's decision has been spread, firstly because of the grave negative consequences for public order in the civic community, and secondly, for the bad feeling that has been created in the educational community represented by the San Juan de la Cruz Secondary School.

In another part of the note it says that 'the parents, teachers and pupils that make up the Governing Body as representatives of the corresponding components of the educational community that is the Secondary School San Juan de la Cruz, respect and accept article 27 of the Constitution of Spain, paragraph 2, where it says that the object of education will be the full development of the human personality with respect to the democratic principles of co-existence and to the fundamental rights and freedoms.

There was a considerable amount of support for the boy's position in the School; if not for the Headmaster. Some of the teachers who come from other parts of the country had their opinion confirmed that this is a 'pueblo carea' —— ('provincial, backward, with ideas above its station'). Talk in many of the bars and coffee-drinking tertulias was positively venemous. At three different levels the information reached out and around the pueblo to surrounding towns. It was discussed in Town Halls, in the Secondary Schools and in the bars of the region as a result of the newspaper coverage. For many sectors of the outside world it reinforced an image of Caravaca which they already held.

There was speculation in the town that this would finally be the incident that 'finished' the Headmaster who had often been unpopular in his intrusion into the life of the town; that it would be instrumental in his leaving the pueblo. However, friends of the Headmaster's who are very close to the spiritual heart of the community probably helped to provide him with another veiled opportunity to fight back. For the first time for many years and due to the recent growth in interest and enthusiasm for the celebration of a 'traditional' Spanish
Semana Santa, the week of festivities and processions was to be publicly announced in Church with a speech from a distinguished public figure. The Headmaster was chosen, as on many similar occasions, to perform this duty. His speech, written during spare moments on the day on which he had to deliver it, emphasised, above all, the Christian virtue of forgiveness, and he spoke of the importance of sensitive and responsible commitment rather than cold blind faith. His references were subtle and his audience was small, probably for the obvious reason of his circumstantial unpopularity, but the speech may have had some effect.

As this fortnight of violent emotional and political upset came to an end the town was, typically, plunged into religious fiestas and Holy Week: other thoughts and activities became the all-consuming preoccupation of the pueblo. In the Spring, the period before and around the Fiestas of the Cross, Caravaca de la Cruz is at its most sensitive. The sort of activity aroused by the affair of this magazine article could probably not have taken place during the summer or dying autumn months. This is the nature of time in Caravaca.

The Cofradía also played its part in this affair, it held meetings and expressed its indignation but the participation of the Civic authority became indispensable and showed how easily an issue of belief, feelings and emotion could become a political matter if it was allied to the Cross. It was very possible that the weight of feeling raised by this moral offence which was really a questioning of the identity of the pueblo, of the whole sense-making system of their existence, could remove a relatively powerful 'outsider' from the community. It also demonstrated the nature of behaviour towards outsiders in Caravaca which has been mentioned previously (p. 264). 'Outsiders' are treated with the utmost tolerance and generosity, as was the Headmaster, and allowed to participate in everything, unless they threaten
the stability of the community as the Moors once did. Then the force of the whole symbol system can move against them. It has happened many times before, and some notable instances remain within living memory.

Support for the argument for the strength of community commitment and the deep-seated and universal feeling for the symbol of the Cross, and everything it stands for, comes from previous examples of the strength of expression of the pueblo's 'devotion'. In 1977 a similar incident took place to the one involving the Headmaster.

In those days, as has been seen, a major financial contribution to the Fiestas was made by the sale of boletos in every bar. In fact, this system was illegal and had been for many years. Every year the Captain of the Civil Guard in Caravaca received a list of activities considered illegal by the State and which it was his duty to prohibit. For years the Captain had, wisely, 'turned a blind eye' to the sale of boletos. In 1977 however, a new Captain felt differently. No sooner had he expressed his intention to prohibit these practices than immediately opposition was organised. He was 'sent to Coventry': talked about behind his back, but always within his hearing. He encountered obstruction and lack of co-operation in every quarter. Graffiti were daubed on walls demanding: 'Capitán fuera de aquí' ('Captain Out!'). Rumours were spread about his personal life disturbing his wife and family. Eventually he could stand it no longer and requested a transfer. Many people in Caravaca still feel that for a town capable of removing a Captain of the Civil Guard a Headmaster should not prove much of a problem, and that particular story may not be over yet.

Such is the emotional sensitivity of the people of the town with respect to their Cross that a reaction is easily provoked. In 1980 when the pilgrimage to Rome was undertaken by two coachloads of Caravaquenians, the day after the travellers had left a rumour began in the town that since the chaplain and the Cofradía had left they had taken the Cross with them. As the 'Romancero'
said, 'of course everyone believed this story'. Some said that in fact the Cross had been placed in the vault of one of the Town's banks and everyone began to ask questions of the mayor and the town councillors. Finally contact was made with the party of pilgrims in Rome and it was ascertained that all that had happened was that the Chaplain had quite properly taken with him the key to the safe of the Sanctuary in which the Cross has been kept since its return after the War. So the Cross had remained in Caravaca all the time and the waves of panic and gossip which had spread through the pueblo were unfounded except for the popular and conscious fear that their Cross was in the control of 'caciques' over whom they might have no power.

In 1981 the universal presence of the symbol of the Cross in this community was shown in a surprising way by an exhibition staged in honour of the 750th anniversary (Photos..100ff ). A gallery in the Gran Via was filled with hundreds of images of the Cross of Caravaca. All were versions that had been produced by Caravaquenians over the last hundred years or so and now usually decorate houses all over the town. They varied in size, and style, from oil paintings and paper cuttings to silver jewellery and a 7ft. high plastic facsimile. All were considered beautiful.

The Cross is a symbol which seven hundred and fifty years ago gave order, meaning and identity to a population in a border area subject to powerful political forces. The exact details of the contextual circumstances have changed but the role of this adaptive symbol has not. The social structures built around it provide security, sense and, ultimately, the opportunity for individual self-determination. Hence the social unit can reproduce itself. The processes by which the system is maintained in the face of circumstantial change have been outlined above. The result is a devotion of incomprehensible dimensions.
NOTES

2. DEVOTION AS 'WORLDVIEW'

1. Fernandez (1972) 'there is a structure to sentiment'.

2. The 'Romancero' is a satirical cartoon commentary on people's feelings and activities related to the Fiestas: written by a local and respected bar owner it pulls no punches.
CONCLUSION
We have said that there is something eternal in religion: it is the cult and the faith. Men cannot celebrate ceremonies for which they see no reason nor can they accept a faith which they in no way understand (Durkheim, 1976:430).

CONCLUSION

All religious expression in Spain still has the colour and the passion of the paintings of El Greco and the poetry of St. John of the Cross, not the piety of middle-class English protestantism. The greyness of everyday life is contrasted with the radiance of Glory. St. John of the Cross said: 'I do not live till I die'. Churches are filled with flame and gold. Holy Week is purple and blue and red and green and all fiestas are rainbow-filled. The realism of the people lies only in their recognition, acceptance and open expression of such ultimate contrasts.

Evans-Pritchard pointed out that: 'For the anthropologist religion is what religion does' (1965:120). It has not been the intention here to examine the theological basis for people's beliefs, nor have I questioned the nature of miracles: by definition they exist for those who believe in them.

...it is ordinary people the anthropologist is chiefly interested in. To him what is most important is how religious beliefs affect in society the minds, the feelings, the lives and the inter-relations of its members (ibid. 119).

That is the subject matter of this study.

It is of course true that religious conceptions can only be derived from experience, and the experience of social relations must furnish a model for such conceptions. Such a theory may, at least sometimes, account for the conceptual forms taken by religion, but not for its origin, its function, or its meaning (Evans-Pritchard, 1965:77).

In this research I have not used history to provide a supplementary background to the study, but to show what is the community's range of experience of social relations. Historical information has been included throughout the...
text wherever relevant to show today's events as part of a set of processes.

Religious and legal institutions, among others, only cease to be bundles of dead or cold rules when they are seen as phases in social processes, as dynamic patterns right from the start. We have to learn to think of societies as continuously 'flowing', as a 'dangerous tide...that never stops or dies....And held one moment burns the hand', as W.H. Auden once put it (Turner, V., 1974:37).

This brief concluding summary, and supplementary remarks, may serve to remind the reader of just how the aims stated at the beginning of the work have been met in the subsequent material presented.

A preface first explained my own involvement and outlined the stages of description and analysis that I have pursued. The introduction that followed in PART I:1 showed that there are probably few areas of anthropological investigation which have been so racked by debate within the discipline as has Spain, and after thirty years it is now possible to compile a list of everything that has been said to be lacking.

Andalusian anthropology has so far failed to examine changes in community structure through time (Dreissen, 1982:453).

[History must be] integrated into the ethnographic account as a device to detect a structure in the flux of time, in which the ethnographic present --- a contradiction in terms --- is part (ibid. p.453).

More analytical attention should be paid to the regional context of the local societies (ibid. p.454).

Further aspects of the class structure and dynamics have been largely neglected... (ibid. p.456).

From the People of the Sierra to Gilmore's book, country dwellers on isolated farms and in hamlets have been a neglected category in the monographs (ibid. p.456).

The 'Structuralist' approach which singles out cosmology, symbolism, the realm of concepts by which people order their experience, for direct and primary study, remains unexplored (Corbin, J., 1977).

To understand many of the social variables of rural Spain, in particular the critical roles of
class consciousness and of class conflict, we must look therefore beyond the little peasant communities to the larger more heterogeneous towns in which these variables are exhibited (Gilmore 1976:101).

Emotions in human affairs may easily and regrettably, outweigh the influence of logical structures. And those who want to write their ethnologies where they conceive the action to be, in the midst of affectivity and the conditioning of the emotions, are entitled to our attention....Might there not be a structure to sentiment? (Fernandez 1972:41).

Anthropological literature on Spain presents inventories of ceremonial events in various regions —— such things as lists of village patron saints, saints in the village church, the days on which Masses and processions are held, and the schedule of activities taking place on specific feast days. But it fails to examine the role of religion in village culture (Freeman 1968:34).

Spanish local religion deserves independent analysis for the crucial role it plays in social and economic organisation (Freeman ibid. p.48).

I have tried to take these criticisms into account in this work. The merits of previous works have also been accepted, and I have not described features of this complex society, which have already been well-covered in the literature: the peasant landscape (Pitt-Rivers) for example, or language use (Brandes).

The existence of a relatively large number of inter-related monographs has enclosed the nature of the anthropological debate on Spain. Consequently this literature has never drawn for its analysis on the central core of anthropological theory applied elsewhere. I have suggested that it is time to 'spread the net wider', since Spain can no longer be treated like a 'simple', 'peasant' society.

PART I

This study of Caravaca de la Cruz was first set in the context of what has been learnt from other extant anthropological communities in Spain. Many of the ways in which the town is integrated into the national society were also shown. Its relationships with the comarca,
with other towns, and with the countryside population, were all analytically described.

The focusing of a study upon a town of some size and status brings to light information on social structures which have developed in the conceptual space between villages and cities. In a country in which the majority of the population are only one generation removed from a lifetime working on the land, towns are major centres of the adjustment of social values and the mediation of change. Data from towns can provide useful comparative evidence for the many studies made of isolated villages.

PART II

In the section on Everyday Processes a large body of ethnographic details offered an analytic understanding of the nature of the mundane in Caravaca: of how it is part of a national pattern of economic forces and choices.

The liturgy of the Catholic faith elaborated to form a structure of familial and societal relations affects every aspect of daily existence in Caravaca to such a degree that it has become the major source of symbols for the play of the human imagination, especially since the history and national influence of the last forty years have restricted knowledge of other worlds. Only recently has television come into every home to constantly suggest wider horizons, a range of alternatives and the plastic attraction of 'revolutionary' American influences.

PART III

Concentration on the Cross emphasised the distinction drawn in PART II between religious practices and beliefs at a local level, and the tenets of official Catholic doctrine.

Caravaca de la Cruz is the centre of one of the more important cults encompassed by the Roman Faith. The people of the town hold values in common which make sense specifically within the context of their community as long as justification for such chauvinism can be obtained
from the wider international mesh of social relations. If no such justification can be found, or constructed through the use of myths then, and this is a proposition which would need further investigation, specifically local beliefs might not be held. Lucy Rushton's work on the structure and operation of Greek Orthodox religion at village-community level in contemporary Greece, where the participation of local people in the main body of belief is guaranteed through the power of ikons and the Church's insistence on the ordination of native priests, seems to suggest that support could be found for this proposition.

In Caravaca people share an identity in relation to the Cross. The rest of this study shows the system which has been constructed around this belief and which allows the defined identity to be re-defined and re-experienced in relation to social change.

In the second chapter of PART III the Cofradía de la Cruz was described in detail to show its structure, purpose and role. It is the dominant institution in the town. No other institution has such a complex form or is so specifically Caravaquenian. The cofradía is a social institution unique to the Catholic world, and this study of it provides comparative material which should throw light on other situations where it is present. The Jubilee Year which the Pope granted and which was organised by the Cofradía was a rarely recorded event within the Catholic experience. This event emphasised the nature of Caravaca as a centre of pilgrimage. Caravaca illustrated aspects of pilgrimage which are not usually considered --- the life of the destination rather than of the pilgrims.

PART IV

The whole of the annual patronal Fiestas of the Cross of Caravaca were described here in ways by which the
exegetical experience of the Spanish Fiesta might be understood as completely as possible. Moors and Christians festivals are known all over the Spanish world but they have received no previous anthropological attention in Spain itself. Like the phenomena of Gigantes y Cabaezudos they are not a homogeneous group and can be used in different ways in different places. Their role in the life of Caravaca de la Cruz was explained and set in the context of similar festivals.

The Caballos del Vino, etymologically a nonsense, are the subject of a Fiesta which is unique to Caravaca, described here, in full, for the first time. The Caballos del Vino remains part of a liturgically-related Fiesta complex which connects people's own historical experience of themselves and of their community with the wider world of Capitalist and Catholic structures. As a result of the town's history the Church liturgy alone cannot be effective in that way. The Fiestas are a universal and constant concern within the community, attendance at Mass and celebration of Communion is not.

Evans-Pritchard said that:

we have to account for religious facts in terms of the totality of the culture and society in which they are found, to try to understand them in terms of what the Gestalt psychologists called the 'Kulturganze', or of what Mauss called 'fait total'. They must be seen as a relation of parts to one another within a coherent system, each part making sense only in relation to the others, and the system itself making sense only in relation to other institutional systems, as part of a wider set of relations (1965:112).

Catholicism and to a lesser extent Capitalism provide the fundamental 'symbol pools' which are 'dipped into' to construct frameworks and structures which are capable of rapid modification in direct response to national events such as the death of Franco, the introduction of democratic elections, or the failure of the alpargata industry.
PART V

It was shown here, that the cult is a set of symbols that go to make up a way of facing the world, a worldview.

The cult is not simply a system of signs by which the faith is outwardly translated; it is a collection of the means by which this is created and recreated periodically. Whether it consists in material acts or mental operations it is always this which is efficacious (Durkheim 1976:417).

Creation of specifically Caravaquenian experiences involves the repetition of both material acts and mental operations. These are embodied in symbols whose mode of operation was demonstrated in the first chapter of PART V. Centring, as it does, upon the dominating role of a symbol in local culture, this study shows how social creativity works through symbols. Within the system new symbols can be incorporated from time to time to enable the system to remain flexible.

On a small scale, the process of social creativity is best illustrated by the inclusion of an example --- that of the origins of the symbolic status of the food known as Migas, mentioned earlier in the work in connection with Fiesta activities. Migas was the basic sustenance of the poor and starving agricultural labourers and of everyone who lived in the countryside in the most difficult times. Although this food was time-consuming to prepare, it was filling and could be made from very cheap ingredients.

In the early nineteen-seventies a group of friends involved in the Fiesta organisation used to meet regularly once a week to eat a meal together, usually of Migas, since it was a very convenient communal plate. One week someone suggested 'why don't we do this for the Fiestas?' Have a competition to see who can make the best Migas?' So for one year, organised by the group of the Caballos del Vino, it was decide to try it. The event was so popular that it has been revived every year since. Now everybody uses a meal of Migas for any celebration of friendship or just being Caravaquenian, where commensality
is important. The process of turning a primitive food into a developing symbol of local identity began with a concept built on shared experience. This was translated into a ritual act. Once open to public acceptance all its connections, sensual and intellectual, past and present, when called upon, were sufficient in number and were sufficiently ambiguous to mean something to everyone, and so a symbol was born.

This, on a small scale is what happened with the Fiestas on a large scale in the nineteen-fifties, proving Abner Cohen's proposition (1974:58) that: 'at times of radical change there is a search for a modified symbolic order to accommodate the self within new alignments of power'. Further investigation will be needed to study the gradual but continuous process of change since the introduction of democratic elections. Democracy has already begun to alter the political configuration of the community.

PART V also showed that the imbalance of landholding in agriculture, the disagreements between Town Hall and Cofradía, and the frequent party-political disputes, are all evidence --- if such was needed after the damage that the Civil War did everywhere --- that conflict is a part of everyday life. Social distinctions exist and are recognised. They even create situations of everyday conflict, but they pose no threat to the community (unlike the situation in Gilmore's 'Fuenmayor') because in Caravaca participation is demanded and encouraged in a set of related activities which communicate that conflict is ultimately unimportant. For conflict to occur on a large scale there must be two opposing systems of symbols of identity. The only symbols which are present in Caravaca on this scale are those associated with the Cross and the identity of being Caravaquenian.

In conflict, 'syntagmatic' relations are important --- the relationships and circumstances of a society at any one point in time. In social reproduction and group survival it is 'paradigmatic' relations that operate
--- those which give meaning to existence in space and time. There is no contradiction between the presence of conflict in a society and that society's ultimate survival over time.

Caravaca de la Cruz is a self-contained social unit which is, and always has been, open to a great deal of outside influence. It is used to coping with the potential threats which 'the outside' can bring, and has evolved to have impregnable beliefs. The historical, economic, political and religious organisation of the town ensures that the many relationships with the wider society are all well-regulated. Caravaca is head of a comarca and of a cult. It is a pilgrimage centre, a route centre, a banking centre; it is enclosed because it is the centre of a dependent population --- a dependent 'world'. The people of the town look disparagingly on the people of the countryside. Their centrality, their importance, are sustained by their myths: the stories that they tell about themselves. They internalise the whole historical experience of being Caravaquenian from an early age, with tales of Moors and Christians, of priests and princes and kings and princesses. It is said, for example, that a secret underground passage runs from the castle under the whole town to the stone tower at the Fuentes del Marqués on the outskirts of the town. In such ways the whole of the town is linked together, not just conceptually through the Cross, nor just physically through the processions which follow circular routes through its streets, but also physically within the conceptual form of local myths.

A culture of appearances, of 'display', of elaborate show, faces out from the centre. Displays show people to themselves; they create an air of self-importance and provide a security and self-assurance which protects against the possible harm of outside influences. The Hymn of Caravaca says it all --- 'there is none better': 'This is the most sublime'. 
Unlike many other places in the Western World Caravaca de la Cruz does not have any over-riding political reasons for its existence today, no fundamental mainstay, no dominant economic system. Yet, when the Alpargata industry collapsed the community survived, and with much less of a struggle than the neighbouring town of Cehegin which, twenty years later, is still trying to halt its destruction as a viable social unit.

Caravaca resolves conflict through its Cross. A few other examples of a culturally central festival have been studied. Grimes showed the same pattern for the resolution of racial tension through fiestas in New Mexico, Ladurie (1980) showed the role of Carnaval in political conflict in mediaeval trance, for Kurtz the Virgin of Guadalupe played the same role in sixteenth century Mexico, and Silverman (1974) demonstrated group conflicts resolved and life-giving identity provided by the Palio of Siena.

Social institutions composed of symbols which provide a comprehensible way of life are present in complex societies --- the Corporation, the University, Trades Unions, political parties --- but none of them can alone provide for the regeneration of society century after century. They do not all survive. The devotion to the Cross in Caravaca survives, like the Virgin of Guadalupe or the Palio, because it is an adaptive structure with a central symbol which is ambiguous enough always to provide reasons for its own regeneration. As Durkheim explained:

...a society is not made up merely of the mass of individuals who compose it, the ground which they occupy, the things which they use and movements which they perform, but above all it is the idea which it forms of itself. It is undoubtedly true that it hesitates over the manner in which it ought to conceive itself; it feels itself drawn in divergent directions. But these conflicts which break forth are not between the ideal and the reality, but between two different ideals, that of yesterday and that of today, that which has the authority of tradition and that which has the hope of the future (Durkheim 1976:423).
In Caravaca de la Cruz that which has the authority of tradition remains the hope of the future. The influence of the Cross and its history, the whole experience of Caravaca, through whatever form the May Fiestas may take, will remain powerful in the town. Encroaching urbanization and economic development in the last ten years have not seen it diminish. The degree to which devotion is expressed and has always dominated life in Caravaca allows this local society to create organised forms of behaviour that are adaptive to changing situations in the world around. Even young people will not leave the town while an entire mythology helps to generate enough reasons to stay.
GLOSSARY

Spanish words and expressions are translated or explained when they first occur in the text. This glossary refers only to those which are most frequently repeated.

alcalde  town mayor
aldeas   hamlets
almuerzo lunch
alpargata hemp-soled canvas sandal
arca     family trunk
arma     arms
Arma'os  'The Armed Ones'
bajo palio under a canopy
bando    band/group
barrio   neighbourhood
becerrada calf-fight
blando   soft
bocadillo sandwich
burguesía bourgeoisie
caballeros horsemen/knights
caballistas followers of the Caballos del Vino
Caballos del Vino The Horses of the Wine
cabezera head town
cabezudo big-headed
cáliba   Moorish group
cacique  "boss"
campana bell
campesino peasant
campo   field/countryside
cañamo  Indian/Chinese hemp
caramelo boiled sweet
carrera race
caserios homesteads
chorros doughnuts
cirio pasqual Easter candle
cocido   stew
cofradía confraternity
comarca  'county'
comida  meal/food
comisión  commission
concejal  councillor
cortijos  farms
corrida  bullfight
cristiano  Christian
cruz  cross
Dos de Mayo  The Second of May
dulce  sweet
enjaulamiento  corraling of a calf
extranjeros  outsiders
Feria  Fair
festeros  revellers
finca  estate
forasteros  foreigners
gigante  giant
grupos  groups
Hermano Mayor  chief brother of the confraternity
hombre  man
huerta  garden/market garden
impedidos  invalids
ilusión  dream
jefe  chief
 Junta  committee
madrina  festival group 'mother'
mantilla  headcomb
manto  blanket
matanza  annual pig slaughter
merienda  snack
Migas  a countryside food of fried bread
Mili  'National Service'
moro  Moor
Movimiento  the political party during the 40 years
muleta  a bullfighter's cape
municipio  municipality
nazareno  a Holy Week penitent
negro  black
olla    stew
padroncillo little census
paseo   stroll
paso    Holy Week float
patrón  patron
patrona patroness
patronazgo patronage
pedanéo administrator of a pedanía
pedanías dependent villages
peña    association
péSAME  funeral regards
pita    whistle
potage  vegetable hotpot
pregón  herald
procesión procession
prendimiento cloth
prendím  aphorism
refrán  festival meeting place
refugio irrigated land
regadío ancient knights
regidores queen
reina   king
rey     lament singer in Holy Week see note 30:2
sáeta   saint
santo   un-irrigated land
deco    dry
Semana Santa Holy Week
señorito 'master'
socio   member
sol y sombra sun and shade
temporada season
tertulias gathering of friends
tío     uncle
tocayos ancestors
vendimia wine harvest
verbena public dance
'viva' 'long live'
yunta  plough team
ABBREVIATIONS

A.M.C.  Archivo Municipal de Caravaca
Act. Cap.  Actos Capitulares
I.D.E.M.U.R.  Instituto de desarrollo económico en municipios urbanos y rurales
I.R.Y.D.A.  Instituto de regulación y desarrollo agraria
M.O.P.U.  Ministerio de obras públicas
P.C.E.  Partido comunista española
P.S.O.E.  Partido socialista obrero española
U.C.D.  Unión central democrática
U:N.D.E:F.  Unión de entidades festeras
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Handbill from the Cofradia of the Cross announcing a Mass to be said for the Pope after the attempt on his life and a special journey of the Cross to visit the people of the distant village of Topares

Invitation of members of the Cabila Almohades to a supper together in a local bar

The Accounts of the Bando Moro for the Fiesta year 1981

Handbill announcing the barrio fiestas of San Pedro

Handbill announcing the barrio and national celebrations of the fiesta del Carmen

Handbill announcing the corralling of a young cow as an 'unofficial' part of these fiestas

VOL. 2 --- A PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTFOLIO

LANDSCAPE
TOWNSCAPE
PEOPLE
POLITICS
OCCUPATIONS AND ACTIVITIES
THE CROSS
FIESTA
MUERTE
CANTAR DEL ALMA QUE SE HUELGA DE CONOCER A DIOS POR FE

Qué bien sé yo la fuente que mana y corre,
aunque es de noche.
Aquella eterna fuente está escondida,
qué bien sé yo do' tiene su manida,
aunque es de noche.
Su origen no lo sé, pues no le tiene,
mas sé que todo origen de ella viene,
aunque es de noche.
Sé que no puede ser cosa tan bella
y que cielos y tierra beben en ella,
aunque es de noche.
Bien sé que suelo en ella no se halla,
y que ninguno puede vadealla,
aunque es de noche.
Su claridad nunca es oscurecida
y sé que toda luz de ella es venida,
aunque es de noche.
Sé ser tan caudalosas sus corrientes,
quie infiernos, cielos riegan, y las gentes,
aunque es de noche.
La corriente que nace de esta fuente
bien sé que es tan capaz y omnipotente,
aunque es de noche.
La corriente que de estas dos procede
sé que ninguna de ellas le precede,
aunque es de noche.
Aquesta eterna fuente está escondida
en este vivo pan por darnos vida,
aunque es de noche.
Aqui se está llamando a las criaturas,
y de esta agua se hartan, aunque a oscuras,
aunque es de noche.
Aquesta viva fuente que deseo,
en este pan de vida yo la veo,
aunque es de noche.

San Juan de la Cruz - 16th cent.
LA CRUZ DE CARAVACA

Sobre blanco montecillo
que su silueta destaca,
frente a un poblado sencillo,
se alza el célebre Castillo
de la Cruz de Caravaca.

En su recinto, cercado
por rojizos murallones,
se ve el Santuario preciado,
que el orbe entero ha llenado
con sus bellas tradiciones.

Y en el Santuario, bañada
como en un nimbo de luz,
y en diamantes engarzada,
está nuestra joya amada:
¡nuestra Santísima Cruz!

Desde la iglesia citada
a Caravaca se ve
xual sultana enamorada
coquetonamente echada
del viejo Castillo, al pie.

Pueblo devoto y creyente,
que un himno de amor entona,
lleno de piedad ferviente,
a su Cruz resplandeciente,
a su Celestial Patrona.

Pueblo, que así en sus cantares
como en hondas afligaciones,
para calmar sus pesares,
de la Cruz en los altares
leva sus oraciones.

Todos llegan a implorar
su protección infinita,
pues no pueden olvidar
la eficacia singular
de su patrona bendita.

La madre que alborosada
de a su tierno pequeñuelo
mil besos, entusiasmada,
piensa mientras: ¡Cruz amada,
guardame este ángel del cielo!

El infeliz moribundo
en cuyos ojos la luz
se extingue, al dejar el mundo,
dice en acento profundo:
¡Salvame, divina Cruz!

El sufrido labrador
que cruza sus olivares
y sus campos de verdor,
en donde vertió el sudor
al son de dulces cantares
mientras mira aquel hermoso
bullente mar de verdura
de sus campos, orgulloso,
¡Santa Cruz! —dice afanosamente—
guardame tant hermosa!

Y en fin, hasta el peregrino
que, sin miedo a desmayar,
emprende largo camino
por ventarse a prostrernome
ante el Madero divino,
todos, santa protección
le piden, en su fe ciega.
Mas, para gran devoción,
hay que ver la procesión
 cuando el tres de Mayo llega.

Muchedumbre abigarrada
acude a nuestra ciudad
por ver la Cruz adorada,
que en su carroza es llevada
con toda solemnidad.

Lucen Caravaca enteramente
sus atavíos mejores
por la Cruz, a quien venera,
quedan por la carrera
bajo una lluvia de flores.

Y así van, hasta llegar
con además fervoroso
al Templo singular,
en donde tiene lugar
el "baño de agua" famoso.

De la Custodia preciada
coge con noble actitud
el Cura la Cruz sagrada,
mientras resa arrodillada
la creyente multitud.

Bajo el Templo citado
el Sacerdote camina
y, en el sitio designado,
baña el Madero sagrado
en el agua cristalina.
Se oye inmenso vocerío
que aclama a la Cruz bendita,
y, con ardoroso brio
en el transparente río
la gente se precipita.

y se ve a muchos lisiados
que en el cauce que rebosa
se arrojan, esperanzados
por ver sus males curados
de manera milagrosa.

Y causa dulce emoción
aquel acto tan grandioso,
y se ensancha el corazón
al ver aquella explosión
de entusiasmo religioso.

Y todos van a porfía
a adorar la Santa Cruz,
cuya rica pedrería
la besa el astro del día
con sus efluvios de luz.

Todos le piden que envíe
su protección bienhechora:
el que sufre y el que ríe,
el que a la suerte sonrie
y el que sus desdichas llora.

Y en sus piedad acendrada
todos reciben consuelo,
que es nuestra Cruz adorada
la Intercedora sagrada
entre el pecador y el Cielo.

Juan José Ibañez 1916.

NUESTRA CIUDAD

Pueblo de calles empedradas,
y plazas sucias enredadas
de urbanas acacias ateridas.
Fachadas abombadas de casas renegridas
Calles que trepan a los montes
buscando bellos horizontes.
Negras pizarras de tapiales
que cercan mustia flora de huertos conventuales
Tiene su historia y sus leyendas,
viene Castillo de contiendas
donde la fe del mundo se vino a guardar.
Contra su sensualismo moro
usa mitra y casulla de oro
en la gracia dorada de un lento atardecer.

Elias los Arcos (Jesus Martinez) 1947.
IN MEMORIAM

EXCMA. SRA.

Dña. María de la Trinidad Pérez-Miravete Pascual del Riquelme
VIZCONDESA VDA. DE RIBERA DE ADAJA
(MADRINA DE HONOR DE LA PEÑA EL JALOQUE)
Falleció el día 1 del corriente
Confortada con los SS. SS. y la Bendición Apostólica
de Su Santidad

R. I. P.

La Peña EL JALOQUE invita al pueblo de Caravaca, a la MISA-FUNERAL por su eterno descanso, que tendrá lugar el Martes, día 4, a las 7'30 de la tarde, en el Real Alcázar Santuario de la Stma. y Vera Cruz, por lo que quedan eternamente agradecidos.

Caravaca, 3 de Noviembre de 1980

«Vivió para servir a los demás y su corazón siempre estuvo joven y alegre.»
Inventario y valuación de los bienes que dejó de poseer Pedro Antonio Pitarrán y Pébida al acto de su fallecimiento

En el Coto de la Cueva de San Benito, dentro de las Tierras pertenecientes a la Ciudad de Puebla a cuarte de la Villa y alrededores, que a mí se me ha transferido por el caso que hubo en el año de 17...

Para el inventario y valuación de los bienes que dejó de poseer Pedro Antonio Pitarrán y Pébida, se ha trazado el siguiente procedimiento:

1. Inventariado y valuación de la casa principal.
2. Inventariado y valuación de los terrenos.
3. Inventariado y valuación de los muebles personales.
4. Inventariado y valuación de los bienes muebles.
5. Inventariado y valuación de los bienes inmuebles.

El inventario se ha realizado de acuerdo con los requisitos legales y se ha registrado en un acta oficial.

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*Digas...*
Grastadas cuentas con mi hijo Antonio hoy 11 día de 1807: la renta de todas cuenta
in dinero
Brigo 50
D Centeno 30
A Cobada 10

Se conoció para este año de 1807 a 99 con
16 días de feria y más para patatas y el vino
la renta de todas cuenta
E. Cobada 200
Brigo 50
D. Cobada 10

Se conoció para este año de 1802 a 92 y
12 días de feria y el vino para
Patatas cobrada cumplió el 30 de noviembre de
el año
Ajustadas las cuentas con mi hijo Antonio hoy 11 de febrero 1807: la renta de todas cuenta
in dinero
Brigo 50
D. Cobada 10
Se conoció para este año 1802 el 92 y
12 días de feria y el vino
Patatas cobrada cumplió el 30 de noviembre de
el año
Relación que supresa la roja y demás ropa que yo Antonio Martínez y Matiña y José Sanz
y Castellanos nos hizimos el día 13 de septiembre del año
1817 a mi hijo Juan Bautista casado con Adulp
Martínez y Zetina.

Habiendo

1. Una corta con cordón y llave
2. Unas camisones con estrenar a cheo
3. Puestas cinco
4. Lino de usados a cinco puestas cinco
5. Dos pares de calzónillos a a cinco
6. Puestas cinco
7. Dos pares de usados a cuatro puestos cinco
8. En rebajas de calzones de algodón a
9. Un poco de lana a 99.80 con para
10. Cinco quintos de lana
11. Dos coronas de hilo
12. Una tara de algodón
13. Pelaje negro de tienda
14. Otro de charqueta y chalaco rojas y pantalones para 4.7

Antonio
Pelaje de lana
Pezo paja larga
Una moneta de plata
Una de platina
Una almohada y cabecera pintadas
Mas botas negras
Mas de rojas
Mas agarratas para dibujar
Una sombrero negro
Una gorra
Una chapa
Un papel que le llevó a los bastardos
Y en dinero
En el año 1922-5 le de trigo Giján
En el año 1923-2 le de trigo Acole
En el 1924 pa la tienda
Y después en otra cuenta dos
Fueres dejando el botín
El cual murió su suegra
En el año 1925-5 le de trigo y candel
En el año 1926-7 le de trigo Giján
Idem

372.90
3.0
2.12
3.5
2.20
2.20
1.20
0.3
0.8
0.2
2.5
2.00
2.00
2.90
2.30
1.00
3.5
2.0
12.60

24.2
Relación que expone la compra y demás efectos que hizo D. José Martín, labrero, y demás interesados, en la partición por fallecimiento de nuestra señora Isabel Martín, viuda que ocurrió el día 11 de abril del presente año 1804, entregaban a su hija y su hermana Antonia, cónyuge con Juan Pons Martín, hoy 13 de agosto del dicho año, lo siguiente:

Una cama camasota
Una cama con cama de llana y llana y cajones en la delantera -
La cama con cama de llana de llana listada -
Una delantana de cama
Una cebona de cama con puntilla
Una cebona de lienzo con puntilla -
Una cebona de lienzo sin puntilla -
Dos cebonas de llana -
Dos cebonas de llana con puntilla -

Otros:
- Un cebona de llana
- Un cebona de llana
- Un cebona de llana con puntilla
- Un cebona de llana con puntilla
- Un cebona de llana con puntilla
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- Un cebona de llana con puntilla
- Un cebona de llana con puntilla
VERA-CRUZ BRAND

R. E. 17412
MU 216

Contiene sales de calcio
Peso neto 800 grs.
Peso escurrido 480 grs.

Fabricado por
M. M. Giménez Hermanos, S. A.
Caravaca de la Cruz
Murcia - España

TOMATE AL NATURAL PELADO

---

TEMPLOTE

Marca Registrada

Conservas
López López
Caravaca-Murcia

Fabricación 1984
Peso neto 420 grs.

Melocoton en almíbar
This "taxi" which has a capacity of eight or nine people and as much luggage as you care to have strapped on, was to carry you to or from Barcelona to Caracas for only 2000 patacas—although it does take ten hours or so. This means sitting somewhat relatively uncomfortably in the company of as mixed a crowd of Spaniards as is possible to find anywhere.

This particular crew were most keen on trying to pass the night as quickly and quietly as possible and although they asked for the cassette player to be on most of the time they still managed to cover almost every possible topic of conversation from football through the Church to Fleming and female honours.

In the comfortable front seat, alongside our fat and very jolly maquillo (young driver) sat Antonio, slouched down with his beret pulled almost to his eyes this little man is reputedly the very first migrant from Corral to Maracaibo but he cares little to tell anyone about it. He supports Real Madrid for some unexplained reason and this was one piece of ground on which the other passengers knew they could always get the maestro rico—and they proceeded to do so, as often as the opportunity even half presented itself.

I sat at one end of the small front fold-down middle-seat behind the driver, my sandwiches on the floor at my feet along with a bottle of water and clutching my coat across my lap.

In the back seat behind me sat a very cute young guy and next to him a middle-aged couple. The husband squashed in the middle was completely unable to sleep and his wife continually tried not to though always failed, and she was not even offered frequently reaching right across her to stretch his constricted limbs.

We travelled in this relatively comfortable manner as far as Alicante stopping once on the way for dinner, and then a second time to actually catch the following days dinner—since the driver spotted a live chicken just sitting at the side of the road as if he were thinking of hitching a lift. Our driver stopped the taxi, got out, swept up the chicken in his arms and thrust it with hardly a protest into the boot of the car. Whether it died of asphyxiation by carbon monoxide fumes or whether the driver had cut off its neck at some point I cannot say, but we heard no more of it.

At Alicante we picked up a younger wife and her three or four year old son. This promoted plenty of blue jokes and even a tape of them on the cassette player. A little further on space in the taxi became even more uncomfortably restricted when someone was swapped into our taxi from another which was making almost the same journey but coud not fit in his particular destination.

We arrived in Caracas just after 5 in the morning and after half-an-hour or so of pottering about I went to bed until midday.
Ante los gravísimos sucesos que han tenido lugar durante los días 23 y 24 de Febrero y en los que grupos golpistas intentaron destruir las Instituciones Democráticas que el pueblo español mayoritariamente y libremente eligieron, secuestrando e injuriando gravemente al Congreso de los Diputados. Los partidos políticos y Centrales Sindicales reunidos en Murcia convocan a todos los ciudadanos de la Región de Murcia a manifestar masivamente y responsablemente su firme apoyo a las Instituciones, su inequívoca defensa de la Democracia y la Constitución y su apasionada voluntad de vivir como seres libres.

Por ello os convocamos a manifestaros en las calles de Murcia el viernes día 27 de Febrero a las 8 de la tarde, para expresar la serena y unitaria voluntad común. Una sola pancarta encabezará la manifestación con el lema:

**POR LA LIBERTAD LA DEMOCRACIA Y LA CONSTITUCION**

y no se utilizará ninguna otra. No permitiéndose ningún tipo de slogan banderas o pancartas. La manifestación se formará e iniciará en la Redonda terminando en la Glorieta de España. Así el pueblo libremente expresará su determinación de vivir en libertad.

**POR LA LIBERTAD LA DEMOCRACIA Y LA CONSTITUCION**

**ACUDE A LA MANIFESTACION**

UGT, CC. OO, USO, PCE, AP, UCD, PSOE
BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus Carthaginensis in Hispania, occasione sacrorum sollemnium quae ob septingentesimum quinquagesimum anniversarium apparitionis, prout dicitur, Ss. maec Crucis D.N.I.C. in "Caravaca" anno 1981 celebrabuntur, humiliter petit ut christifideles - suetis conditionibus confessionis, communioinis et orationis ad mentem Sacritatis quae adimpletis - consequi valeant plenaria indulgentiam semel durante anno jubilari, die ab unoquoque christifidelii eligendo, si ad ecclesiam de "Caravaca", ubi lignum Ss. maec Crucis veneratur, peregrinati fuerint ibique alicuii celebrationi turgicæ vel pio exercitio adstiterint; insuper ut ipse Episcopus, vel alius Episcopus ab eodem delegatus, impertiri posset, in praeceptua celebratione prædicti anniversarii, Benedictionem Papalem cum adnexa indulgentia plenaria, lucranda a christifidelibus qui, uti supra dispositi, memoratam Benedictionem devote acceperint.

Et Deus, etc.

Die 2 ianuarii 1981

SACRA PAENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA, vi facultatum a Ss. mo D.N. IOANNE PAULO Pp.II sibi tributarum benignae annuit pro gratia iuxta praeces servatis is quae circa Benedictionis ritum servari debent.

Praesenti durante prædicto anno tantum valituro.
Contrariis quibislibet minime obstantibus.

J. Card. Paolini
P.M.
JUAN CASTEX ANAYA, SECRETARIO GENERAL DEL OBISPADO DE CARTAGENA, CERTIFICO:

Que la traducción del documento de la Sagrada Penitenciaria de 2 de enero de 1981, dice lo siguiente:

"SAGRADA PENITENCIARIA APOSTOLICA. Oficio de Indulgencias. SANTISIMO PADRE: El Obispo de Cartagena en España, con motivo de las sagradas solemnidades que han de celebrarse en Caravaca durante el año 1981, setecientos cincuenta aniversario de la aparición, así es la tradición, de la Stma. Cruz de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, humildemente suplica que todos los fieles (cumpliendo las acostumbradas condiciones de confesión, comunión y oraciones por las intenciones de Vuestra Santidad), puedan lucrar indulgencia plenaria, por una vez dentro del año jubilar, en el día que cada uno elija, con tal que peregrinen al templo en el que se venera la reliquia de la Stma. Cruz y allí asistan a alguna celebración litúrgica o piadoso ejercicio; que, además, el Obispo propio u otro Obispo delegado por él pueda impartir en la celebración más solemne de dicho aniversario la Bendición Papal con la indulgencia plenaria que podrán ganar todos los fieles que, bien dispuestos como arriba se dice, la reciban con devoción. Y Dios, etc...

Día 2 de enero de 1981, LA SAGRADA PENITENCIARIA APOSTOLICA, en virtud de las facultades a ella otorgadas por Nuestro Santo Padre el Papa Juan Pablo II, benignamente otorga la gracia que se pide, observando todo lo que se prescribe para el rito de la Bendición. Gracia que tendrá valor por todo y sólo el año antedicho. Sin que obste nada en contra."Firmado: Cardenal Giuseppe Pappini, P.M. M. Venturi, Ayudante. Hay un sello en relieve que dice: "Sigillum Officii Sacrae Paenitentiæ Apostolicae".

Murcia 22 de enero de 1981.
La Real e Ilustre Cofradía de la Santísima y Vera Cruz

comunica a la ciudad de Caravaca que el próximo SÁBADO día 31, a las 4'30 de la tarde, tendrá lugar en el Santuario del Castillo, la Solemne Apertura del AÑO JUBILAR concedido por Su Santidad el Papa JUAN PABLO II.

Durante todo el día del Viernes día 30 y la mañana del Sábado 31, habrá confesores en el Santuario para atender a quien lo solicite.

LA REAL E ILUSTRE COFRADÍA DE LA STMA. Y VERA CRUZ

Pone en conocimiento que a partir de hoy y Sábados sucesivos y a las 6 de la tarde, saldrá la Stma. Cruz a visitar las Pedanías.

Lugar de concentración para los que deseen acompañarla: GRAN VIA.

LA COMISION.
El obispo abrió el Año Santo

«Caravaca ha hecho de la Cruz algo más que un símbolo» (monseñor Azagra)

CARAVACA. — (Servicio especial de POZO ROMERO y DONÁZIGALO GARCÍA).

«La Iglesia tiene establecidos unos tiempos determinados para unos determinados acontecimientos, y cuando éstos llegan, les presta una especial atención y los hace Año Santo. Esto ocurre en Santiago y también en Roma; ahora este acontecimiento significativo se produce en Caravaca, porque es hoy cuando celebramos aquí los 750 años de la aparición de la Santa Cruz. Esto no podría decirse si no fuera por la cruz que llevamos viendo la Santa Cruz, sintiéndola y llevándola dentro. Especialmente vosotros, y también porque, además, Caravaca no sería Caravaca si no fuera por su Cruz. Con estas palabras iniciaba poco antes de las 5 de la tarde de ayer, el obispo de la diócesis de Murcia - Cartagena, Javier Azagra, la apertura del Año Jubilar conmemorativo del 750 aniversario de la aparición de la Santa y Vera Cruz de Caravaca.»

La esplanada del castillo presentaba un aspecto impresionante. Más de 5.000 personas en una tarde de sol dejaron vacía a la ciudad para acudir hasta la puerta de su castillo - santuario y desde allí participar en el inicio de este Año Santo, tan importante para Caravaca.

DESCUBRIR EN LA FE

Monseñor Azagra se preguntó en la homilía qué era lo que se había despertado, lo que era lo que regia en Caravaca que de tal forma conmovía al pueblo. Para el obispo, lo que había era una esperanza, un despertar en la fe.

«Esperar que Dios nos mire de una manera singular, dijo monseñor Azagra, porque los años son los tiempos singulares de la Iglesia». Más adelante hizo una reflexión sobre lo que ha de hacerse dentro de este Año Santo que ahora se inicia, y, para ello, remitió a lo que «nos ha dado el propio Papa Juan Pablo II. Son 750 años, dijo el obispo, que la Cruz recibe un culto singular en esta ciudad y es lo que ha movido a la Santa Sede a conceder este Año Santo. Esto es lo que le pedí al Santo Padre y esto es lo que nos ha concedido a todos».

Seguidamente el obispo leyó las palabras que Juan Pablo II pronunció a los peregrinos de Caravaca cuando éstos le visitaron en el Vaticano meses atrás.

PRESENCIA DE TODOS LOS GRUPOS

El acto se inició a las 4:30 de la tarde. Una media hora antes, en la plaza del Arco, frente al Ayuntamiento, el alcalde y el hermano mayor de la Cofradía de la Santa y Vera Cruz recibían al obispo, al gobernador civil de la provincia y esposa, al capitán general del Departamento Marítimo de Cartagena y a representantes de la Diputación y Consejo Regional de Murcia. Al acto asistieron también importantes autoridades de la Guardia Civil y Policía Nacional. Seguidamente, las autoridades eclesiásticas, civiles y militares se dirigieron a pie hasta el castillo - santuario, en donde comenzó el acto religioso que duró casi dos horas. La misa fue concelebrada, y terminada la misa se fue dada a besar la Santa Cruz a las distintas autoridades y seguidamente, al pueblo que llenaba la plaza del castillo. Al acto asistieron los representantes de todos los grupos: Cristianos, Moros y Caballos del Vino, junto con sus familiares. En el altar, colocado en la escalinata de la puerta principal del santuario, estaban presentes los estandartes de todos los grupos.

LA IMPORTANCIA DE LA CRUZ

Antes del acto, LA VERDAD preguntó al obispo el sentido de este Año Jubilar, a lo que monseñor Azagra contestó: «La Iglesia, cada vez que hay tiempos especiales, tiempos fuertes en los que Dios ha querido hacerse presente de una manera muy singular, los convierte en Año Santo. Esto es lo que ocurre con la Cruz de Caravaca, cuya importancia es algo singularmente valioso. Caravaca ha hecho de la Cruz algo más que su nombre. Ha hecho del...»
símbolo de Cristo, el centro de su fe. De ahí la especial importancia de este acto litúrgico.

Preguntado el obispo sobre si el Papa va a venir o no a Caravaca, nos participó que es el Papa el que tiene que decidirlo y el que, por supuesto, si quiere lo hará.

Por su parte, para el hermano mayor de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz, Juan Martín Fuentes, el acto de esta tarde era el inicio de un año particularmente importante para Caravaca. «Proyectos, nos dijo, hay miles, y sobre todo, grandes esperanzas en que el Papa pueda venir a Caravaca. Hay que tener en cuenta, nos señaló, que junto al centenario de Santa Teresa, la aparición de la Cruz en Caravaca, forman los dos actos religiosos más importantes de España en este año».

Para los meses siguientes nos informaron que está prevista la celebración de una misión por todas las pedanías de Caravaca, que terminará en marzo en la ciudad. Asimismo, se celebrará del 23 al 28 de marzo una Semana de la Cruz, bajo el título «La Cruz de Cristo», en la que participarán los obispos de Elza y Cuéncas, Ricardo de la Cueva, Luis Cortés y Castillo Puche. Cerrará esta semana nuestro obispo Javier Azagra.

El Año Jubilar de Caravaca, desde ayer por la tarde, ya está en marcha. Se espera que en fechas próximas acudan peregrinos a este segundo Año Sano que ahora se inicia.
Aniversario de la Aparición de la Santísima y Vera Cruz de Taravaca
PRIMERA PARTE:

Proclamación de la Sultana

con imposición de distintivo y entrega de regalos por parte de distintos miembros de nuestras fiestas.

SEGUIDAMENTE:

Dramatización lírica de

"La Muerte, la Guerra y el Amor musulmanes"

Dirección y realización: Juan Manuel Villanueva Fernández.

SEGUNDA PARTE:

ARTURO RIGEL, presentará al mantenedor

Exmo. Sr. D. Manuel Augusto García Viñolas

Diplomático, poeta, periodista y escritor.

Para finalizar el acto el Presidente del Bando Mora, D. JUAN LOPEZ Y MOYA, obsequiará al mantenedor con una placa conmemorativa del acto.
750 Aniversario de la Aparición de la Stma. y Vera Cruz

Grupo Joven de la Cábila Abul Khatar
LA NOCHE DE LAS MIGAS

En esa Verbena, sencilla pero alentadora, en la que todos los caravaqueños nos hermanamos, como principio de unas jornadas dedicadas a nuestra Excmia Patrona, vemos el derrame de alegría y el bullicio de todo un pueblo. Es la noche mas corta del año, ya que el sol al escuchar el bullicio, deja asomar en el horizonte lejano sus rayos, como espuntada de reflejos dorados. Es la noche de las migas.

En este año cumplen su primera década de existencia como concurso, ya que como monjar su vida es dilatada, y lo que comenzó como cosa casi relleno, a través de estos años, ha pasado a convertirse en un festejo multitudinario y tremendamente popular. La gente de Caravaca esperamos esta noche con una alegría, pues es el portico de los días grandes de nuestra fiesta y todos los que nos congregamos en el Hoyo, caravaqueños y forasteros, enseguida nos contagiamos del tremendo ambiente de alegría y fiesta que tiene esta noche.

Todos observamos atentamente los preparativos del concurso miguerolatención va comenzar! Al compás de la música, como alentado por ella, el fuego empieza a calentar las renegrediadas sartenes. El agua, la harina, el aceite, la sal se mezclan en el fondo de la sarten. Los migueros todos, esmerándose por la noble rivalidad de ser el mejor a costa del interés y la concentración.

Atención, el jurado va a pasar! Viene para probar este suculento plato. Unas ooharadas, unos comentarios, unos susurros entre ellos. El gesto contraído, las miradas de los migueros concentradas en los movimientos del jurado y, a otras sartenes a deleitarse con otras gustosas migas. Y, en seguida, la hora más emocionante del concurso; el fallo del jurado. La Rasera de Oro al que atinó mejor, tal vez en el aceite. La de Plata al que le faltó por avaro o le sobró por egoista y, la de Bronce, al que algo más que la sal, le faltó, tal vez se pasó en el agua o tal vez lo retiró antes del fuego.

Botas que se pasan de unos a otros desinteresadamente para deleitar el jugoso caldo. Gentes que saltan, bailan y ríen al compás de las notas musicales y una alegría, una ilusión y un contento general que tienen todos los presentes, porque esa noche anuncia el periodo de las fiestas. Pero, lo más importante, es el haber participado y el haber pasado una noche inolvidable, premios aparte, porque esa es la Noche de las Migas.

Alfredo Mendoza (seudónimo)

From the brochure of the Caballos Del Vino 1981.
Programa de Fiestas en honor a la Santísima y Vera Cruz
ABRIL - MAYO 1981

Día 4 de Abril - Sábado
A las 10:30 de la noche, en el Cine Gran Vía
Actuará de presentador el Excmo. Sr. Manuel Augusto García Viñolas.

Día 11 de Abril - Sábado
A las 10:30 noche, en el Cine Gran Vía,
PRESENTACIÓN DE LOS REYES CRISTIANOS
Gracia-María Martínez Rivero y José-Luis Martínez-Iglesias Marín-Espinosa.

Día 25 de Abril - Sábado
A las 5 de la tarde, en la Placeta del Santo,
CONCURSOS INFANTILES.
A las 6 de la tarde,
Cabalgata de Gigantes y Cabezudos y Personajes Infantiles,
amenizados por el TIO DE LA PITA
A las 11 de la noche, en los Salones Vera-Cruz,
Baile del Pañuelo
organizado por el Bando de los Caballos del Vino
Dia 26 de Abril - Domingo
A las 10'30 de la mañana, en el Real Alcázar San-
tuario.
**Misa de Coronación de los Reyes Cristianos.**
y bendición de Banderas del Bando Cristiano,
actuando el Orfeón Stella Maris de Alicante.
A las 5'30 de la tarde, en la Placeta del Santo.

**Concursos Infantiles**

Dia 27 de Abril - Lunes
A las 5'30 de la tarde, en la Plaza del Santo,

**Concursos Infantiles**

con la actuación de **MARI-SOL** y sus muñecos
y el Profesor **FRANCIS**.
A las 8 de la tarde, y en el Cine Gran Via,

**Pregón de Fiestas**

actuará de Pregonero el Ilmo. Sr. D. JOSÉ ANTO-
NIO MELGARES GUERRERO, Director del Museo
Arqueológico Provincial y Cronista Oficial de Fiestas
de la Cofradía de la Santísima y Vera Cruz.
Se exhibirá la gran película filmada durante el
día 2 de Mayo de 1980.

Dia 28 de Abril - Martes
A las 5'30 de la tarde,
**Cabalgata de Gigantes y Cabezudos**
con el Tío de la Pita.
Día 29 de Abril - Miércoles
A las 5'30 de la tarde, en la Plaza del Santo,
FESTIVAL INFANTIL
con la actuación de JULIO ROBLEDO y su espectáculo infantil.

Día 30 de Abril - Jueves
A las 8 de la mañana,
GRAN DIANA
por la Banda de Música de Moratalla.
A las 10 de la mañana,
Inauguración Oficial de las Fiestas 1981
con asistencia de Autoridades, Cofradía y Comisión de Festejos.
A las 5 de la tarde, en la Plaza del Santo,
Concursos infantiles y Cabalgata Infantil
de Gigantes y Cabezudos y Tío de la Pita
A las 11 de la noche, en la Plaza de los Caballos del Vino y del Santo,
X Certamen de Migas del Sures-te y Verbenas Populares,
organizado por el Bando de los Caballos del Vino,
Dia 1 de Mayo - Viernes

A las 12 de la mañana,
Concentración en la Plaza de José Antonio, de Autoridades, Cofradía, Comisión de Festejos, coros y danzas de la Ciudad, miembros de los bandos Moro, Cristianos y Caballeros del Vino, representaciones de nuestras pedanías y público en general, para la subida al Real Alcázar-Santuari.

A continuación imposición de Cruces a NUEVOS COFRADIES y seguidamente

Ofrenda de Flores a Nuestra Santísima Cruz

Finalizada la ofrenda de flores, actuarán en la explanada del Castillo los Coros y Danzas de la Ciudad

A las 5'30 de la tarde,

Corrida de Toros

A las 7'30 de la tarde, y en la Plaza de los Caballeros del Vino

Exhibición de Caballos

A las 8 de la tarde,

Romancero Satírico Humorístico

a cargo del Grupo Caballeros de San Juan,
Día 2 de Mayo - Sábado

A las 7 de la mañana,
Espectacular Traca Aérea
a cargo de Pirotecnica Canete.

A las 9 de la mañana.
Gran Desfile Cabalgata
de los Bando Moro y Cristiano y Caballos del Vino. Acto seguido, a la llegada al Templete,

Tradicional Misa de Aparición
Inmediatamente después de terminar la misa, la Cabalgata volverá por la Corriente, Calles de Iña-
cael Tejero y Mayor, y al llegar al Convento de las MM. Carmelitas, el Hermano Mayor recogerá
de manos de la Superiora la tradicional y artísti-
ca BANDEJA DE FLORES que, a su vez, entrega-
rá, al llegar al Excmo. Ayuntamiento, al Sr. Alcal-
de, el que en nombre del pueblo, ofrecerá a la
Santísima y Vera Cruz.

Inmediatamente de celebrado este acto y en el
Real Alcázar-Santuario, se procederá al
Baño del Vino, Bendición de Flores,
Carrera de Caballos del Vino
y desfile de Caballos, entregándose a continua-
cción los premios de carrera y enjuzamiento por el Hermano Mayor y Autoridades.

Acto seguido y en la Plaza de los Caballos del
Vino, Tradicional ARROZ.

A las 8 de la tarde.

Simulacro de Combate
entre los Bando Moro y Cristiano, en la Cuesta del Castillo.
Acto seguido.

**Tradicional Procesión**
de Nuestra Excelsa Patrona la **Santisima V**
Cruz, desde el Real Alcázar-Santuario a la **P**
quía del Salvador.

A las II de la noche, galas y bailes en **Pabellón**
de los Bandos

**Dia 3 de Mayo - Domingo**
**DIA DE LA SANTISIMA Y VERA CRUZ**
A las 10:30 de la mañana, en la **Explanada**
Real Alcázar-Santuario,

**Solemne Misa Concelebrado**
presidida por el Excmo. y Rvd. Sr. Obispo de
Diócesis, D. Javier Azagra Labiano, que ocu-
la Sagrada Catedral. En este acto interviene
 impartirá a los fieles la **BENDICIÓN PAPA**, cede por Su Santidad el Papa con motivo del
Año Jubilar de la Santa Cruz.

La parte musical correrá a cargo del **Orfe-
Fernández Caballero de Murcia**

A las 5 de la tarde, **Gran partido de Fútbol**
**AGUILAS - CARAVACA**, correspondiente al
Campeonato de Liga de 3ª División.

A las 7 de la tarde.

**SOLEMNE PROCESION de la Santisima**
y Vera Cruz.

A su llegada al Templete,

**Parlamento entre los Reyes Moro y Cristino**
y a continuación,

**Simulacro de Combate**
Seguidamente,

**Baño de la Cruz**

y bendición de las aguas, continuando la Procesión con la Sagrada Reliquia hasta la Parroquia del Salvador.

A las 11 de la noche, maravillosa exhibición de **Fuegos Artificiales**

dado de Pirotecnia Canete.

A continuación, y en los refugios de los Bandos, Grandes Galas y Bailes.

**Dia 4 de mayo - Lunes**

A las 9 de la mañana,

**Cruz de Impedidos**

Al finalizar la misma, exposición y adoración por los fieles de la Sagrada Reliquia, en la Iglesia de La Purísima Concepción.

A las 6'30 de la tarde, en la Avenida del Generálisimo,

**Gran Parada-Desfile de Moros y Cristianos**
Dia 5 de Mayo - Martes

A las 9 de la mañana,

**Cruz de Impedidos**

Desde la Parroquia de la Purísima Concepción

A las 7 de la tarde

**Procesión final**

En la que se restituye la Santísima y Vera Cruz a su Real Alcázar Santuario desde la Parroquia de El Salvador.

Cuando la Santísima y Vera Cruz llega al Santuario,

**Gran Traca Aérea**

Finalizando las fiestas con el trumpeo graduado de Pirotecnia Canete.

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El Hermano Mayor,

Juan María Fuentes

El Secretario de la Comisión de Festejos

Manuel Guerrero Sánchez

Caravaca de la Cruz, Abril de 1958
CARAVACA
VIERNES, 1 de Mayo de 1981 - A las 5,30 de
150 Aniversario de la Aparición de la Santísima y Vera Cruz
Se celebrará, si el tiempo no lo impide y con superior permiso, una
Enorme Novillada con Picadores

Hermosos Novillos - Toros, 6 de la acreditada ganadería de
SÁNCHEZ FABRES, de Salamanca,
on Divisa Blanca y Encarnada, serán picados banderilleados y muertos a estoc por los famosos novilleros

ALBERTO MENDOZA
PEPIN JIMÉNEZ
DE COLOMBIA
GANADOR DEL PRIMER TROFEO DE LA PRENSA DE GRANADA
Y
JOSE CUBERO "EL YIYO"
Acompañados de sus cuadrillas de picadores y banderilleros

No deje de presenciar esta Enorme CORRIDA

Las puertas de la Plaza se abrirán una hora antes de empezar el espectáculo.

Se observará con todo rigor cuanto preceptúa el Reglamento Taurino, aprobado en el B O del E. de fecha 15 de Marzo de 1962.

PRESIÓES DE LAS LOCALIDADES
(Incluidos los Impuestos)

<table>
<thead>
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<td>Contrabarreras</td>
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<td>Tendido General</td>
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<td>Jubilados</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Especial niños</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
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Caja de Ahorros de Alicante y Murcia "la Caja"
Día 4 de Mayo

A las 8'30 de la tarde

GRAN PARADA DE

MOROS Y CRISTIANOS

Precios de Tribunas y Sillas

Sillas sin numerar 200 ptas.
Tribunas sin numerar 300 ptas.
(Estas Tribunas están situadas en la Prolongación Gran Vía a partir de los semáforos)

Tribunas Numeradas

1.ª Fila 500 ptas.
2.ª Fila 400 ptas.
3.ª y 4.ª Fila 300 ptas.
(Estas Tribunas están situadas en la Gran Vía)
Invitación

Entrada a los bailes que se celebrarán los días 2, 3 y 4 de Mayo de 1981 en nuestro refugio, sito en la calle Gran Vía (Junto a Dulcinea) entrada por la calle Salón.

Caravaca de la Cruz - 1981
El Califa Almohade, el más fidel y absoluto de los cumplidores de la Ley Celiánica.

IN VITA al portador de este salvoconducto a que nos acompañe en nuestro REFUGIO a realizar las abluciones de cuerpo y alma que nos enseñó nuestro Profeta.

CABILDA ALMOHADES. Mayo 1981.
entre los Reyes

Moro y Cristiano

Original de José Ortega Martínez

Cristiano: Cita te di y a la cita acudiste presuroso, que el cielo te haga dichoso le pido a mi Cruz bendita.

Sultán: Parlamento me anunciaron los sones de tus clarines y vengo a saber los fines que para ello te impulsaron. Sé breve.

C.: Ya lo has de ver.

Pues me abruma la impaciencia por cumplir de mi conciencia con un sagrado deber.

S.: Pues di cristiano.

C.: ¡Sultán!

Ya nuestros bravos soldados frente a frente situados, prestos a la lucha están.

Ya el relinchar de los brutos y el crujir de las corazas oyense cual amenazas de desolación y lutos.

Bien pronto los resplandores de ese sol que nos alumbran convertiránse en penumbra. Llena de sangre y horrores.

Y esta alfombra matizada de violetas y tomillos: y esos tiernos pajarillos que trinan en la enramada y esas fuentes cristalinas y esos mansos arroyuelos y esas bordadas colinas ruinas quedarán mañana de la destructora guerra y no habrá un palmo de tierra que no haya una tumba humana.

S.: Tética es la descripción que me haces de la guerra ¿crees que mi ánimo se aterra?

Termina ya tu sermón.

C.: Se indulgente, gran Sultán y un momento más escucha.
vamos cristiano a la lucha.
c.-es que la quiero evitar.
2 quiero que seamos hermanos como tales nos adoramos
solo al Dios adoro los cristianos.
2 no busques otra luz en el mundo en nuestro camino.
2 que jamas ostentar dejes tus reliquias mentidas en sectas envilecidas.
2 que en verdad y no en broma.
2 que os inspire en mi Dios.
2 que sea un criado de Mahoma de los de mas baja esfera.
c.-impio calla esos labios.
s.-cristiano, no alces el grito.
2 que para un lefio y un mito no hay ofensa ni hay agravios.
2 que es su valor tan menguado y tan mezquino su precio.
2 que solo con mi desprecio lo encuentro mayor bien pagado.
2 ya veras, gran General.
dentro de breves mementos esas cruces y esos cuentos a donde van a parar.
2 ya veras el fin que tienen tus orgullos altaneros y esos miseros guerreros que a luchar contra mi vienen.
sangre, lodo y confusion quedara tan solo de ellos antes que el Sol sus destellos retire de esta mansión.
y al golpe de los alfanges de mis huestes agarradas cubriran estas arenas los cuerpos de esas falanges, y una por una segadas sus desgrenadas cabezas en mis altas fortalezas ordenaran sean colgadas, do el aguila y el milano con sus garras como el hierro no dejen rastro de un perro de ese ejército cristiano.
y esa Cruz tan altanera, falsa, enganosa y mentida la miraras convertida en asta de mi bandera.
2 que dije?, locura fuera elevarla a tal destino:
AVISOS de la Real e Ilustre Cofradía de la Santísima y Vera Cruz:

1.° Esta tarde, a las 6, en el Real Alcázar Santuario, se celebrará una misa, para pedir por el total y pronto restablecimiento de Su Santidad Juan Pablo II, víctima ayer de un atentado que hiere en lo más profundo a toda la cristiandad.

2.° Ante las devotas e insistentes peticiones del pueblo de Topares (Almería), mañana día 15, también a las 6 de la tarde, se iniciará el traslado de nuestra querida patrona, desde el Castillo a la indicada pedanía.

A ambos actos quedan invitados todos los hermanos cofrades y vecindario en general.

Caravaca de la Cruz, a 14 de Mayo de 1.981.
En el nombre de Allah el clemente, el misericordioso, 
El Amir Al Muninin, príncipe de los creyentes, comunica 
a sus seguidores en la fe que Allah por medio de las mujeres del califa se ha manifestado a El diciéndole que antes de co-
menzar el ayuno del Ramadán hay que purificar el cuerpo y el alma y purgarla de malos espíritus que impiden la guerra con-
tra el infiel.

Por lo que se invita a todos los seguidores del Unitario el CalifavAlmohade que el día 6 del mes de Junio del año de 
la hégira nos reuniremos todos en el " Contamos contigo"

Para purificar el alma las vestiduras de oración obliga-
torias serán: camisa blanca y emblema de la Cábila( los no 
Almohades sin emblema ). Y para purificar el cuerpo, reposo y comida necesaria para poder efectuar las abluciones del ritual.

Fdo. El Visir.

LUGAR DE REUNION : BLANCO Y NEGRO - 9°30 noche.
Saldo del año anterior .............. 40.972,—
Recibido de Cofradia ............... 1.000.000,—

Suman las entradas .................. 1.040.972,—

SALIDAS

CABILAS .................................. 600.000,—
CONMEMORACION 750 Aniversario .... 114.170,—
Banda Música Moratalla .......... 22.500,—
Frª Vima Placas Reyes .......... 49.727,—
35 Cenas Reyes ................... 29.400,—
Rep. Fotos Juarez ................. 13.000,—
REYES (para Cabildos) ............. 120.000,—
PRESENTACION REYES ................ 167.275,—
Alquiler Teatro .............. 50.000,—
Frª Florista ...................... 30.000,—
Gratificacion Gª Viñolas .......... 25.000,—
Frª Ros 3 Escudos ................. 35.000,—
Frª Vima Obs.nombamiento ........ 5.600,—
" Molina Banda Reina .......... 1.000,—
" Molina telas escena .......... 6.725,—
" Fotos Juarez ................ 4.750,—
" Grf. Haro ..................... 6.000,—
" Hnos Mixtas .................. 2.500,—
" Portero Teatro ................. 700,—

REGALOS .......................... 18.300,—
Frª Liceo. Madrinas Caballos

VARIOS .......................... 2.810,—
Frª Liceo y Simon Gimenez de Fotocopias

Suman las Salidas .................. 1.022.555,—

SALDO PARA EL PROXIMO EJERCICIO 18.317,—

Caravaca de la Cruz 6 de Mayo 1981

Vº Bº
EL PRESIDENTE

EL TESORERO
Verbenas de S. Pedro
(Calle Larga)

Patrocinado por el Excmo. Ayuntamiento
y organizado por la
Peña «PURA SANGRE»
durante los días 27, 28 y 29 de Junio de 1981.

DIA 27, SABADO.
INAUGURACION de la Verbena por las
Autoridades locales
A las 11 de la noche,
Actuación del Conjunto EQUUS

Día 28, Domingo A las 8 de la tarde
Misa de Campaña
en honor de San Pedro.

A las 10 de la noche,
ACTUACION DEL CONJUNTO
CANELA EN RAMA

Lunes, día 29 (Festividad de San Pedro)
A las 8 de la tarde
Magníficos Concursos Infantiles
y como fin de Fiestas,
GRAN VERBENA
ESMERADO SERVICIO DE BAR
¡Precios popularisimos!

Restaurantes
«CABALLOS DEL VINO»
Ctra. de Murcia, s/n.
Teléf. 70 08 90
Fiestas del Carmen 1.981

Festejos Populares en el «Patio de los Fralles»

**DIA 14 DE JULIO**

A las 10'15 noche. Proyección de los largometrajes

«EL ARMARIO DEL TIEMPO» (con Mortadelo y Filemón)

Y

«Héroes a la Fuerza»

ENTRADA LIBRE, Patrocina Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Caravaca de la Cruz

**DIA 15 DE JULIO**

A las 6 de la tarde. Juegos infantiles (cucaña, carrera de sacos, carrera de cintas, etc.)

A las 11 de la noche:

**GRAN VERBENA** amenizada por el conjunto **RUSADIR**

en el transcurso de la cual se presentará a la REINA y DAMAS 1.981.

**DIA 16 DE JULIO**

A las 11 de la noche:

**GRAN VERBENA FIN DE FIESTAS**

amenizada por el conjunto local **DISTORSION**

CARAVACA DE LA CRUZ, JULIO DE 1.981

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**CENTRA**

Dimas Sánchez Díaz

Caravaca de la Cruz
¡Gran Becerrada!

El Sábado, 18 y el Domingo, 19 de Julio a partir de las 5 de la tarde, en el PATIO DE LOS FRAILES

Con premios para quienes consigan arrebatar al animal alguno de sus adornos

¡Abuelete, papá, mamá, joven niño, niña, diviértete durante unas horas, como protagonista o como espectador!.


Calzados MANE

Gran Liquidación de temporada Verano.

Rafael Tejeo, 12
Teléf. 70 03 93

CARAVACA DE LA CRUZ