Caravaca de la Cruz (‘Comarcal’ capital of northwestern Murcia): a social anthropological study of a Spanish provincial town

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INTRODUCTION

This collection of photographs is constructed as a complement to a written examination of the way of life in Caravaca de la Cruz, and as a study in its own right. The aim of these 360 black and white and colour photographs is to provide a pictorial documentary of the everyday, year by year, experience of being Caravaquenian as observed by the participating anthropologist at a particular set of points in time. It is an alternative method of 'seeing' the subject of study to that employed in the written anthropological work. It communicates other 'factual', as opposed to imagined, detailed visual references for an understanding of atmosphere, emotion, activity and some of the limits of perception in the particular 'way of experiencing the world' under discussion --- 'It looks like this: it cannot look like that'.

Anthropological studies of this nature are rare, but their value has been recognized by some important figures, and in a fully comparative discipline such studies should make an increasingly significant contribution. The largest visual anthropological study was carried out over forty years ago by the formidable team of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. Over a period of two years in Bali in the nineteen-thirties, thanks to generous funding, they produced hundreds of thousands of feet of film and tens of thousands of photographs. A selection of these photographs and some film 'stills' were published in a book entitled Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis, in 1942. The intention of the book, which was composed almost entirely of photographs, was to communicate visually the precise nature of the Balinese 'character' or personality and it presented in detail the quality of human interaction. The nineteen-thirties saw the development of a variety of similar projects with related philosophies. In America, Stryker's Farm Security Administration project of 1935, was a 'pictorial documentation of our rural areas and rural problems'. In Britain, Tom Hopkinson, anthropologist, documentary photographer and Picture Post editor, was involved in the production
of the Human Relations File of comparative cultural references which Tom Harrison established and donated to the University of Sussex. Very recently, these ideas and Hopkinson's help have made a contribution to the Newport Survey project which aims to provide 'a contemporary visual history' of a town in South Wales.

In Spain, the use of visual references to understand society has only recently involved the extensive use of photographs although for many years the most famous of all Spanish ethnographers, Julio Caro Baroja, recognized the need for a visual record. His published field notebooks, (Cuadernos del Campo, 1979), contain hundreds of pages of drawings illustrating details of existence from every corner of the country over the last fifty years. The prohibitive cost of publishing 'academic', as opposed to 'popular', books of photographs may be damaging the exploration and exploitation of the visual media by anthropologists. Published Spanish monographs have probably suffered in this way but it is also evident that little mention is made, in most texts, of how the subjects visually perceive and conceive of their worlds. In Caravaca it is clear that many of the town's thoughts, myths and activities can be represented in visual terms, and are visualized in a particular way.

Photography has the capacity to record 'events' but it does not always intend to. When it is used by the anthropologist the intention to record is always present. The anthropologist uses photography in a particular way and the results of his use of the medium may be different from the results produced by a 'photographer'. This does not mean that he need not take 'good photographs' but that the content may sometimes be more important than the image. The anthropologist takes photographs 'from the inside', as a participant. Recently this different way of seeing, where the presence of the participating-observer is acknowledged in the photograph, has been recognized to have a very important place in the history and development of anthropology and photography as evinced by the

Seeing the world 'through a lens darkly' is not a flawless means of observation. The meaning of events is not absolutely self-evident in the images of them, and photographing something does not automatically make it interesting. But as John Berger has stated:

All photographs are possible contributions to history and any photograph, under certain circumstances, can be used in order to break the monopoly which history today has over time. (Berger, J. 'The Popular Use of Photography', New Society 10 July 1980 pp.80-81).

Photographs 'freeze' the motion of processes and activities but do so honestly and unavoidably, unlike historical description which just leaves change out. Photographs do not record 'the truth': they produce interpretations and are, therefore reductionist and selective --- like any model, but this should not reduce the validity of their perception or the usefulness of the information they provide. Sequence-shots can even restore to the reader something of the continuity of an individual observer and can document a process.

A feature of fiction film creation is the use of the 'privileged camera angle' where the scene is viewed from an impossible location e.g. the eye of a fly, or the other side of the mirror. The anthropologist has to beware of taking his photographs from an equally privileged position achieving an intimacy, through the impersonality of his lens, which might fictionalize the situation. Therefore the 'unprivileged camera angle' has emerged as a more recent conceptual development currently in favour with anthropological film-makers as a perceptual corrective. It asserts:

that film-makers are human, fallible, rooted in physical space and society, governed by chance, limited in perception --- and that films must be read this way. There is no longer a compulsion to occupy an advantageous camera position at any cost;
a 'bad' shot which nevertheless contains useful information, and which would once have been removed as 'unprofessional', is now preserved (David MacDougall, award-winning film-maker of 'To Live with Herds' and 'The Wedding Camels' in RAIN June 1982 No. 50 p.10).

This photographic analysis of Caravaca de la Cruz tries to take into account such problems of perception. From the start of my research I carried my camera with me everywhere and as people accepted me they accepted the presence of my camera and became familiar with my using it. Later in the research, since I was being engaged by a local newspaper to supply them with photographs, people considered my presence, with my camera, to be indispensable on many occasions where otherwise I might have been denied easy access. I neither asked people to 'watch the birdie' nor told them not to and if they stared they have not been cut out of the finished prints. In most cases the camera could never 'interfere with the action' since this was a large town with its own 'life to lead' and work to be 'got on with'. This collection is not meant to be comprehensive, it only provides a record of some of the socially visible moments not private interaction. I have also tried never to take up any viewpoints that the people themselves would not have been able to assume, nor have I excluded some shots which are technically inadequate but convey atmosphere, movement, or include vital information. Since I developed the films 'in the field', in a makeshift rooftop darkroom, without running water, exposed to extreme winter and summer temperatures 'beyond manufacturers recommendations', after dark, and after all social activity, which I had otherwise to record, had ceased, I have had to include some prints which are of very poor quality.

All the photographs were taken in the Northwestern comarca of the Province of Murcia in the period between November 1980 and April 1982 inclusive. The majority were taken inside the término municipal of Caravaca de la Cruz between November 1980 and September 1981. All were taken on an Asahi Pentax ES II or a Nikon EM with either 28mm, 35mm, 50mm, 55mm, 80-200mm zoom, or 200mm lenses using Kodak, Agfa, Ilford, or Valca, black and white or colour reversal film at between 25 and 400 ASA. In this selection
from the much larger total number of photographs taken during the year the presentation has been used to aid the analysis and understanding of the Caravaquenian experience. Each photograph has been cut to a 2:3 or 3:4 ratio size as being the most suitable format for exhibition display when enlarged. By standardizing the form of the photograph in this way the impact and communicative quality of the content need not be affected by tricks of image form. The type of binding and paired-page arrangement makes a suggestion about the order in which the images should be encountered, juxtaposing related images within the chosen categories of the analyzing anthropologist, but the split page allows one photograph to be contrasted with other related images, or even non-related images, as occurs in any observed flow of events. A continuous caption commentary has been provided to contextualize many of the images which benefit from being looked at in the light of supplementary information about them and to place all the images within a coherent analytic framework, but this commentary has been kept separate from the pictures so that the images can be left to communicate freely to the reader within his or her own frames of experience.
LANDSCAPE

Caravaca de la Cruz is head of the Northwestern comarca of the Province of Murcia in south-east Spain. This town of approximately ten and a half thousand people is situated at an average altitude of 640 metres, cradled by mountains, in the foothills of the Betic range which joins up various municipalities of several provinces. Located in its immediate landscape are the towns of Moratalla and Cehegin, each in their own, neighbouring, municipalities. From the town Cehegin is visible further down the valley of the river Argos but Moratalla is hidden deeper in the Sierra. Severe folding, dolomite, and exposed limestone, combine with deposits of glacial alluvium to form the contrasting relief of rocky sparsely forested heights and cultivated plains. There is some underground water, and irrigation turns many of the villages into bases' distributed throughout the municipality. The weather in Caravaca is often extreme: the summer heat suffocates and the rain usually falls in thunderstorms, but the mountains provide a series of microclimates over the municipality which all contribute to the patchwork effect of the landscape.

The peaks which surround Caravaca to the north-west are over a 1000 metres in height. They are full of legends and have evocative local names: El Buitre ('the vulture'), Cerro Gordo ('fat peak'), Siete Peñones('seven tips') and La Peña Rubia ('the blonde cliff'). Looking westward from Caravaca two medieval watchtowers, La Jorquera and La Represa, can be picked out on the hillsides leading out into the municipality and the border with the old Moorish kingdom of Granada. In the countryside, low, sprawling farmsteads and larger villages lie in the pocket-like plains between the sharply-rising sheep-grazed hills. The contrast of new cement and old crumbling white-washed mortar shows signs of a conflict between pride and poverty. To the people themselves the uninviting, uncomfortable landscape is beautiful. The peaks, water-falls and caves are places for recreation, and the irrigated *huerta* and arid *secano* provide their livelihood.
A popular refrán in Caravaca sighs: 'If I only owned what the Jesuits left...'] A rich Church owned much of the land in Caravaca. Here the 'Fountain of the Friars', high in the mountains, is a local beauty spot and site for recreation.

1a. In a rocky landscape there are few places suitable for settlement and many natural barriers to communication and development.

b. Some of the mountain valleys are thickly forested with pines which make a significant contribution to the economy of the area.

2a. At the furthest end of the municipality the province of Andalusia begins and the border with the Moorish Kingdom of Granada ran for five hundred years.

b. Some 35 kilometres from Caravaca the village of Los Royos shelters beneath a peak on which a monument is being erected in honour of 'The Shepherd'.

3a. Caravaca's active participation in some of the major episodes of Spanish history is reflected in the landscape. Watchtowers like La Represa gave warning of Moorish invasion.

b. The 'hermitage' of La Encarnacion, at present the site of an important archaeological investigation, is a late Byzantine chapel on the site of previous Roman and Pre-Iberic temples.

4a. A cortijo is like an oasis on the arid plain.

b. Today many of these 'homesteads' are used as 'holiday homes' by their Caravaquenian owners.

5a. Cultural adaptation means carefully constructed shade from the sun.

b. The grace and style of building attests to the wealth and nobility of the original owners.

6a. Horse-riding, in a landscape of pines, poplars and apricots, is a traditional pastime.

b. Over eighty years ago a civil engineer building roads through the province built himself this house and farm at the side of one of them.

7a. He landscaped a beautiful garden with rose arbours in the form of the Cross of Caravaca irrigated from this natural spring.

b. Today the land bears fruit for his descendants.

8a. A village, almost ironically, named 'The Incarnation'.

b. Many of these dependent populations still remain poor. For centuries this one remained a vassalage to a single landlord.
9a. The main street is one of a few not yet paved by development.
   b. The domestic 'burro' a 'traditional' Spanish character can still laugh about it.

10a. Traditional building materials still provide habitable dwellings for those who can rent no other. And they show why this comarca is officially classified as 'underdeveloped' in 1980's Spain.
   b. No wonder washing powder manufacturers promise just as effective a wash in cold water as in hot.

11a. A border region is always littered with fortresses. This one overlooks the town of Moratalla.
   b. The head of the neighbouring municipality, the town of Moratalla has spread down the mountain from the castle.

12a. Castles are play areas and history is everyday life.
   b. Man's imagination makes even the poorest environment attractive.

13a. The town of Cehegin can be seen in the distance, beyond the avenue of poplars and plane trees which provides the main approach to Caravaca (a modern primary school has found space only on valuable market-garden land).
   b. The mystical Knights Templar chose Caravaca as a stronghold - attracted by its electric storms and magnetic hills.

14a. A panorama of the town shows it lying on the plain surrounded by its huerta.
   b. A view from the castle gives clues to the history of the town.
ENCAR
NACION.
landscape:
landscape

landscape:
towncape
The castle with its sanctuary church, high on its hill, dominates the townscape. Every part of the town and surrounding countryside is visible from its battlements and it is visible from nearly every part of the town. The evolution of the townscape can be read in the architecture. Information about the town's social and economic structure can also be gained by looking. The earliest dwellings kept close to the castle walls, and some of the streets still retain their Moorish characteristics. Further out around the castle noblemen, granted land in the Reconquest, built fine houses, and religious orders founded new monasteries and convents in this atmosphere of benevolence and devotion to the Cross of Caravaca. Gradually the spaces in between were filled. Today some of the big houses are closed and much of their social distinction has become blurred as poorer people from the countryside have moved into large old houses in the urban centre, and the rest of the population all compete for space in the new flats which make up the long Gran Vía.

The town divides into more than a dozen 'districts'. Among these barrios are distributed many significant landmarks of the local geography --- knowledge of which goes to make up the exclusive universe of residence.

A criss-cross of poor provincial roads run through and around the town, and buildings sprawl out along them as the pueblo, short of space in its hilly centre, encroaches upon the huerta. Very few concessions have ever been made to aesthetic considerations, powerlines and billboards murder every view. Streets are paved with concrete, rough tarmac, and ugly tile, and houses and flats are demolished or extended at will.

The town is not just a collection of perspectives of static buildings but also a living structure of spaces. Children play in the streets. Women sit and talk outside their houses, old men rest, and others play politics at cafe tables. Every Sunday people stroll the Gran Vía.
Stark contrasts, a feature of Spain, are provided by the modern Gran Via and the ancient castle on the hill.

15a. The Sanctuary and Royal Chapel inside the castle walls was completed in 1744.

b. The walls have been restored every century for seven hundred years.

16a. The town sprawls across the plain towards the mountains.

b. Television aerials reach up from low-pitched roofs to draw world-wide experiences into nearly every home.

17a. The rooftops of the older part of the town form a picturesque mosaic of terracota.

b. On top of modern appartment blocks people have sited the services, cold water and clothes lines, that cool patios once provided.

18a. The variation of types of street is enormous in the Caravaquenian townscape. This calle in the oldest quarter still retains one of its two Moorish end-walls.

b. The 'barrio medieval' has kept much of the flavour of a sixteenth century settlement, and today the State wants to preserve this heritage.

19a. The 'typical' decorative wrought-iron rejas add elegance to the whitewashed frontages.

b. A luxuriant new balcony shows that adornment continues to be popular.

20a. Through a window anyone can display their style of life.

b. Common to all Spanish interiors is the unphotographed cool and dark.

21a. Even in the narrow streets people stay in the shade that has been calculatedly produced.

b. Buildings and sheets bleach in the summer sun.

22a. Progress is precariously attached to a 'traditional' way of life.

b. Plastic shop-fronts contrast with 'old-fashioned' plaster and iron-work.

23a. Songsters are caged and rarely seen flying free except in the mountains where they are hunted.

b. 'Pets' are left to roam the streets - a constant cause for complaint.

24a. The poorest houses are those of day-labourers: two rooms downstairs and a loft above.

b. The style has changed little in four hundred years.

25a. Improvements are often made gradually.

b. The 'Plaza Nueva' was 'new' last century but the delapidated appearance of the house-fronts belies the elegance of their interiors. At the end of the street the Teatro Thuiller awaits renovation.
26a. Larger and larger houses demonstrate the presence of wealth in the town which has always influenced the values and perceptions of the entire population.

b. It is said that the owner of this house is an illegitimate descendant of the royal family.

27a. Huge, carved, coats-of-arms attest to power, wealth and nobility.

b. Almost every street contains an historic landmark or is the site of a significant social service and of course every house is the home of a known, named, member of the community. The oldest church in Caravaca is now the archaeological museum.

b. San Juan de la Cruz lived in this house during his two stays in Caravaca.

28a. Like the castle, the bullring overlooks the town from its own slightly lower hillside site, in the Barrio San Francisco.

b. The 'parish church of the Saviour' carries all the symbols of Caravaca's heritage: its own Cross, the Cross of Santiago, and the scallop shells of pilgrimage.

30a. The Plaza Mayor, 'the main square', is also known as the Plaza del Arco.

b. The 'calle de las monjas' - the street of the nuns - the convent and church of the St. Clara closed order is at this end of the street.

31a. El Arco.

b. The Casa Consistorial: the Town Hall building, displays the town's coat-of-arms.

32a. The bell tower of the parish church of the Most Pure Conception is at the heart of the barrio of 'the Glorieta'.

b. Glorietas, tree-lined, park-like avenues, were built in many towns in the last century and are suitable vehicles for civic display and the typical 'paseo'.

33a. In winter the avenue changes its character.

b. Old gentlemen rest on the benches all year round.

34a. The State old people's home caters for those who do not choose or cannot afford the private luxury of the 'Vera Cruz' old people's home.

b. The State Secondary School - 'San Juan de la Cruz' was opened less than 10 years ago.

35a. The 'comarcal' centre for the handicapped is soon to have new premises.

b. The State Secondary School - 'San Juan de la Cruz' was opened less than 10 years ago.

36a. A ruined hermitage high on the hill still survives in the Barrio San Francisco.

b. The Carmelite monastery has played a large part in town life for three hundred years.
37a. An image of St. Christopher in a street wall is one of many similar shrines.

b. The town's Cross of Remembrance is a recent addition.

38a. Religious images punctuate the whole townscape.

b. This former convent has now been demolished but people still recall places as they were.
PEOPLE

To those born and bred in Caravaca their own local identity is more important than any regional or national label. This means believing or feeling certain things and being part of an acknowledged historical and cultural heritage. The people of this town intensely feel something barely comprehensible for the presence in Caravaca of the Holy relic that has been the patroness of their town for over seven hundred and fifty years. This feeling is distinctive, undeniable and often made apparent in the defence or celebration of their beliefs.

The town has no remarkable demographic characteristics. It is a prosperous provincial town, lacking most aspects of extreme cosmopolitan sophistication, and still exhibiting the sharp contrasts between wealth and poverty that remain a national characteristic. The past produced a very different environment from the present and change has come rapidly. People's faces, fortunes and fabrics, reflect this.

A history of Moorish rule still distinguishes the north of Spain from the south, and here the language, street behaviour and eating habits may also bear some witness to Arab tastes. People love horses, sometimes prefer to sit on the floor, eat very sweet sweets and maintain an interest in Moorish history. Children are adored and pampered and encouraged to join in the Fiestas at the earliest age. Teenagers cannot stay in Caravaca and not participate but they do so in different ways from their parents --- reflecting all the generational tensions that post-Franco freedom has brought. Young wage-earners and the nouveau-riche of the last decade, in from the country or in business, fill the Bingo --- not the elderly who hide indoors with their dying ideas. But Caravaca is a 'traditional town': conservative in its ways. Old traditions are quickly re-shaped and new ones invented. People still eat churros and migas, wear black in mourning, wear hats in the country and in the town, and attend Mass. But the constant flow of forasteros ('strangers') that have always passed through Caravaca, never staying long, bring in the styles and ideas of every new age.
Children are the most important people in Spain, if the degree of affection and public attention lavished upon them is anything to go by. From a very early age youngsters are integrated into a specifically Caravaquenian system of socialization. Seven and eight year olds wear the costumes of the Caballos del Vino with enthusiasm and even babies of a few months might have Fiesta costumes made for them.

39a. A young girl with Moorish looks takes pride in her heritage.
   b. Only children have energy to argue during the siesta.

40a. Sitting in the shade the woman in the pale cardigan is making paniza - flour made from 'shelled' dry corncobs.
   b. Widows, in black mourning - still automatically kept on by some women 'after a certain age' - sit sewing outside their houses as they were brought up to do.

41a. A daughter learns from her mother.
   b. The street is an extension of the house.

42a. Women frequently embrace on meeting.
   b. Everyone feels the heat.

43a. Motorbikes provide cheap mobility for boys, girls and men from sixteen to sixty.
   b. Street corner groups gather outside as well as inside small bars, often the men are advertising their availability for work.

44a. Many older men wear flat caps or berets (boinas) and there are stories of those who never take them off even to go to sleep.
   b. The Monday market is a source of entertainment as well as essential supplies.

45a. The anthropologist is entertaining too.
   b. 'Dressing up' consists of doing up your top button.

46a. 'Tu puerta cerrada, tu honra guardada' - ('The door locked your honour safe').
   b. Privacy hides much that is beautiful from the public gaze.

47a. Ostentation seems part of every pleasure,
   b. and every pain.

48a. Religious images are bound to fill the dreams of the sleepers in these beds.
   b. This could be considered a 'middle-class' home.

49a. 'Migas' - the food of the campo - are being prepared from flour oil and water, with fried sardines for flavour.
   b. 'Charros' - deep fried doughnut-like confection - can be eaten for breakfast at home or in the street.
50a. The churros-seller makes them
   b. fresh each morning from 8.0 - 12.0
51a. Each circle is snipped into sticks.
   b. They are delicious with hot chocolate.
52a. Sun and shadow are part of a Spanish childhood.
   b. Even in winter open-air events are bathed in sunshine.
53a. In the heat of summer the very young are completely
    free to shed their clothes.
   b. The town's five swimming pools are an essential facility.
54a. The whole family swims.
   b. Children must learn early.
55a. As elsewhere the youth have developed their own diversions.
   b. These unemployed young graduates were asked to act as
      guides to the Sanctuary and Museum for the pilgrims who
      arrived for the Jubilee.
56a. Students from Murcia join friends in the town for the
    Fiestas.
   b. Even in costume personalities show through.
57a. A sculptor works in the town.
   b. His studio is his retreat from his job as art-master
      at the Secondary School.
58a. This bank-clerk cannot resist opportunities to ride
    and co-owns a stable which keeps his horse and others
    for the Fiestas.
   b. A workhorse built from a piece of every foreign vehicle
      which has passed through the town and been fascinated
      enough to stop is the pride and joy of its owner.
59a. Fiesta means something at any age.
   b. Dancing seems to come naturally to everyone.
60a. Each town seems to have its one respected 'communist',
    civil war survivor. Santos Olmos was tragically killed
    in a coach accident after a conference in 1981.
   b. 'Emilio' is a vegetable wholesaler and secretary of the
      Cofradía de la Cruz and President of the Association of
      Cofradías: a very committed person.
61a. First communion is a family occasion.
   b. Older women, are the regular church goers.
62a. An old man hurries home in winter.
   b. In summer there is less need to hurry anywhere.
colour

Old man with scarf

colour

Old man sitting down
POLITICS

Caravaca is cabezera, 'head' of the comarca, and has always been the most important town in the area. The comarca is divided into four distinct municipalities, but various forms of authority have their local centres of distribution in Caravaca --- the judiciary, the episcopacy, and government agencies of development. There are historical reasons which explain the wholly separate political character of the municipalities --- Moratalla is extremist, left and right, Cehegin is socialist, and Caravaca is conservative. These unique contrasts contribute to conflict between the towns.

Each municipality has one, two or more representatives on the regional council and the regions then send the requisite number of representatives to the National Assembly. Apart from this form of government, each municipality has a mayor and town council. Caravaca has twenty-five councillors, 13 'Conservatives', 9 'Socialists', 2 'Communists' and 1 'Extreme Right-winger'. In 1981, the post of mayor was still held by a 'Conservative', a member of the UCD.

In 1978 democratic elections were held for the first time in forty years. Before this the mayor was always the local head of the one-party National Movement. Membership of the ruling junta of the Cofradía more or less mirrored that of the town council. The entire system was dominated by the same power-holding elite --- the caciques. These people still play a part in town politics today but the system has changed. They were the last vestiges of the traditional land-holding elite, members of the professions' with independent power bases. Today the professions are being filled from different parts of the society.

In Caravaca another system of self-realization through power has always existed, and party politics remain, relatively, less important. This other arena is that of the Fiestas de Mayo. Competition and participation here do not breach social divides or destroy differences but they produce a context in which their everyday meaning is completely unimportant.
The Provincial Governor of Murcia emerges from the temporary offices of the Town Hall in Moratalla and speaks to one of the area's 'M.P.s'.

The name of the 'caudillo' is doubled on the wall next to the abandoned olive press in the cellar of this country house.

The Mayor ('Alcalde') of Caravaca reports the details of an important committee meeting to the local Press.

Political disputes centre around local issues. The House of the Encomienda of Santiago - the ruling overlords of Caravaca for five hundred years - is owned by a local business family who want to demolish this important 'protected' historical building to build a complex of luxury flats, and as a result, the building is being deliberately helped to demolish itself.

This plaza in the Barrio San Francisco is regarded by many as an unfortunate piece of redevelopment. Although the concrete replaces bare earth and stones there is still something missing...

The 'Conservative' mayor holds a meeting of local businessmen to discuss the plans for the new Industrial Estate outside the town. The project is supported by the Communists who have the interests of the town at heart and see someone at last doing something.

The new Industrial Estate will spread either side of a main road to Granada and the region of Andalusia.

In the mayor's office a team of Government officers discuss a project to preserve the character of the town's medieval core and improve people's standard of living.

Volunteers from Caravaca undertake the National Census in the village of Archivel and the rest of the municipality.

The final statistics are politically invaluable at every level: the municipality must 'find' itself a population just over 20,000 in order to substantially increase their State aid; and national literacy statistics can be seen as an unfair reflection of the truth when they include people who can scarcely sign their own name and cannot read.

Any association of people provides an arena for politics. The Cofradía de la Cruz is no exception. During Jubilee visits to every village church the controlling junta prominently filled every front row.

Recently the Cofradía offices have expanded out of the castle into the Gran Via.

The annual general meeting of the Cofradía - the Cabildo - takes place in an historical setting.

The election of a new Hermano Mayor still follows the traditional system of using black and white balls.
70a. The new Hermano Mayor has held other posts in the past and understands the politics of the Fiestas.

b. The leader of the Municipal Brass Band became a political issue when rejected by the bandmembers.

71a. Local politicians are distinctive in their dress.

b. One of seven Socialist councillors who are boycotting their responsibilities because a planning and redevelopment issue has gone against them.

72a. The Gran Via is the scene of continual political discussions.

b. Other political comment may be more discreet.

73a. Las Autoridades - 'the Authorities' are a traditional and essential element of all Fiestas and public display. They are known to everyone but also have their own 'uniform'.

b. The mayor identifies himself as a Caravaquenian with his Caballos del Vino neckerchief and his Cross of Cofradía membership; the head of the Civil Guard, the head of the Traffic Police and the head of the National Police represent the State.

74a. Distinctive grouping lends itself to display for political motives.

b. Every year the trophy presented by the Hermano Mayor to the first prize winner in the Caballos del Vino competition is larger and more impressive than that presented by the previous Hermano Mayor the year before.