

TOURING SPAIN: FOUR SCENES OF LITERACY AND MAPPING

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First, a photograph of a young girl reading. The image, which was taken by José Val del Omar as part of the documentation for the Misiones Pedagógicas, circulated widely during the 1930s and came to represent the reformist gestures of the Second Republic. The Misiones Pedagógicas were established by decree in May 1931 and directed by Manuel B. Cossío as a means to bring culture—literature, theater, and cinema—to the rural populations of Spain in a way that would be educational and entertaining without devaluing regional practices or conditions¹. The principal participants in the Misiones were young artists, writers, educators, and performers, largely from Madrid, who took excursions into Spain's provincial towns. The photograph, titled “Una lectora en Carrascosa de la Sierra (Cuenca),” was published along with many other images from the Misiones in the Patronato's first *Informes* (1934). Accompanying this volume, and these photographs, was a fold-out map that tracked the route of the Misiones across Spain². The large map was supplemented throughout the *Informes* with smaller maps and graphs that analyzed the Misiones's activities and achievements in distributing libraries and reproductions of works of art as part of its “Museo Circulante.” Unfolding the map and reading it alongside the photograph allows the viewer to locate her within a specific geography. Carrascosa de la Sierra becomes now a place within Spain that has a photographic identity in the face and gestures of this young girl.

Another form of cultural orientation takes place as well. Our own act of reading (of literally holding the *Informes* between our hands to see her) mirrors her act of reading. Viewer and subject create together a literate community, where reading becomes the foundation for assumptions about shared values. The power of the printed page and of education to forge what Benedict Anderson has termed “imagined communities” is critical to understanding how photography formed a bridge between urban and rural inhabitants in early 20th-century Spain³. Anderson argues that print-languages “laid the basis for national consciousness” by unifying fields of exchange and communication and by creating “languages-of-power”⁴. It was through the institutions of the census, maps, and museums that Anderson sees the articulation of community in the context of colonialism and post-colonialism. While Spain has its own historical conditions (and issues of colonialism and post-colonialism), I want to use Anderson's idea of print culture to think about the relationship between mass media and the discourse around rural Spain and documentary that informed debates on the nation, modernity, and representation during the 1920s and 1930s. It is during this period that there is a heightened attention to the forms and the figures of nationality. Photography plays a key role, but it does so by



“Una lectora en Carrascosa de la Sierra (Cuenca),” Patronato de Misiones Pedagógicas. Septiembre de 1931 - Diciembre de 1933 (Madrid, 1934).

1. MUÑIZ GUTIÉRREZ, María del Carmen, *Cultura y educación en la prensa diaria de Madrid en el Primer Bienio de la Segunda República*, Madrid, Ed. de la U. Complutense de Madrid, 1993, pp. 298-311.

2. The original and facsimile of this volume include the fold-out map. See CABRA LOREDO, María Dolores, ed. *Misiones Pedagógicas. Septiembre de 1931 - Diciembre de 1933. Informes I*. Madrid, 1934, Madrid, Ediciones El Museo Universal, 1992.

3. ANDERSON, Benedict, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London Et New York: Verso, 1991.

4. *Ibidem*, p. 44.

engaging with Anderson's notion of "languages-of-power," which here takes the form of visual and textual mappings of the rural subject and his or her participation in the values of civic culture.

Back to the little girl in Val del Omar's photograph. In addition to her appearance in the Patronato's publications, she was also included in numerous articles about the Misiones that were published in Madrid and Barcelona. For example, when the Madrid newspaper *Luz* published Luis Cernuda's "Soledades de España," which he wrote in response to his experiences with the Misiones, it was this photograph that accompanied his article. In 1937, Josep Renau selected the photograph for use in his photo-murals for the Spanish Pavilion at the International Exposition in Paris. He used her image twice, once on the exterior of the Pavilion and again on the interior in a mural dedicated to the Misiones. In both cases, it is her act of reading and the book before her eyes that draws us in to connect with her, and Renau's designs. On the outside of the Pavilion, she is enlarged to stand two to three times the size of the accompanying images of younger school children. She is, in fact, converted into a "teacher," in the sense that the group of children looking up at her from an unrelated photograph, look to her for guidance. She now plays an instrumental role in initiating others into literacy. The inside of the Pavilion was filled with maps, from those used to illustrate a particular region to others that marked the war's progress or the distribution of land and goods. In his mural about the Misiones, Renau replaces the Patronato's earlier published map with a photographic view of a rural town. Instead of the graphic notation of cartography, Renau presents the viewer with the indexical reputation of mechanical reproduction.

Through the juxtaposition of photographs, Renau teaches a lesson to his viewers about the connection between photography, literacy, rural Spain, and reform that was repeated numerous times throughout the previous decade for national audiences, and was made visually manifest here for foreign visitors to the Paris Exposition. It is a representation of literacy and mapping that, in the case of the Pavilion, became highly politicized for its stakes in the fight against fascism. Thus, being literate and participating in civic culture here also meant taking sides. Val del Omar's photograph is appropriated as a political statement about the contest over nationality that is negotiated through the act of reading.

The second scenario makes these connections even clearer, though instead of taking place within a particular image it is a scene imagined by the writer José María Salaverría as a meditation on the character of Spain. The occasion for his reflections were the photographs of José Ortiz-Echagüe, whose archive is housed at the Universidad de Navarra. Many critics agreed on the documentary and artistic value of Ortiz-Echagüe's project, which was to record images of rural types and their dress, customs, and environments⁵.

The photographer and graphic designer Pere Català-Pic observed in 1933, "trenta anys de tenacitat i sacrifici, dedicats a la recerca de la dada ètnica, enriquint com no ha fet ningú la col·lecció documental de tipus i indumentària d'Espanya"⁶. The documentary value of his work was appreciated by the Museo del Pueblo Español in Madrid, which purchased over 150 of his photographs for its collection⁷. In Salaverría's review of Ortiz-Echagüe's 1933 exhibition at the Circulo de Bellas Artes in Madrid, he made a remarkable

5. Ver, ABRIL, Manuel, "De arte popular," *Luz*, n° 556, 17 de octubre de 1933, pp. 8-9; and VELA, Fernando, "Al margen de un libro: sobre arte popular," *El Sol* 24, n° 3935, 23 de marzo de 1930, p. 2.

6. CATALÀ-PIC, Pere, "Una exposició etnogràfica," *Mirador*, n° 254, 14 de diciembre de 1933, p. 7.

7. I thank Concha Herranz Rodríguez and P. Manuel Berges Soriano for showing me these prints. See BERGES SORIANO, P. Manuel, "Museo del Pueblo Español," *Nosotros: Anales del Museo Nacional de Antropología* 3, 1996, p. 83.

observation. Salaverría connected the photographer's approach to recording Spain photographically with his own understanding of the nation as a unified whole, which could be grasped in a single glance. He explained:

Yo no concibo a España sino como uno de esos mapas que cuelgan de las paredes de las escuelas: se les enrolla en un vástago de madera, y es como si toda la topografía peninsular se reconcentrase alrededor del mástil matriz: después no hay más que desenrollar el mapa, y paulatinamente se extiende España entera a la vista⁸.

In the classroom, Salaverría pictures the topography of Spain being clearly delineated and contained within the conventions of map making and reading. It is at the critical moment in which students are initiated into the practices of a nation, through visual and verbal literacy, that Spain is defined for them through its publication in print. He places nationhood squarely in the context of education. Salaverría reiterated the relationship between reading a map and understanding the nation in his prologue to the 1939 edition of José Ortiz-Echagüe's photographic book *España: Pueblos y Paisajes*. In this text, he described Spain as a "precious document," which offered artists a challenge⁹. The difficulty in Salaverría's opinion was in capturing the diversity and exaggeration of Spain's landscape, people, and traditions. Photography, he claimed, was up to the challenge, especially when practiced by non-professional photographers like Ortiz-Echagüe.

Here we need to pause and consider the issue of the amateur, or at least the photographer who is not technically considered a professional, despite the range and development of his practice. Is it a conscious effort on the part of writers like Salaverría to distance this practice of photography from that of the commercial photographer in the city? Ortiz-Echagüe used a large-format camera and printed his negatives using the labor intensive process of the Fresson print. He traveled the country during his vacations and made a life's commitment out of capturing for posterity images of Spain that were intentionally positioned outside of the crush of industrialization and urbanization. As he recounted in a 1925 autobiographical sketch published in *Camera Craft*:

For four or five days of the year... I travel over such places in Spain as I know beforehand still preserve the characteristics of my people. In wandering through the little villages, I talk to the people, select models one by one... after overcoming the protests of the models in putting on the garb of their ancestors, I have them gather on the scene previously selected, be it the typical plaza, the humble church or the nearby hilltop, from which the town with its towering castle is included in a marvelous background¹⁰.

He saw these photographic excursions as deliberate escapes from the city¹¹. Ortiz-Echagüe set out with his camera to map rural Spain as he felt it needed to be remembered. He separated it off, catalogued it through repeated re-editions of his photographic books, and inscribed the nation's heritage within a process of education that was seen to have as much worth to the inhabitants of Spain's cities as it was to its rural populations. As the art critic José Frances explained, the worst result of modernity was the spread of mass-reproduced fashions into the rural context. Frances saw in photography a way to "reintegrate" rural Spain. As he explained in his 1932 book *La fotografía artística*, "Los artistas restituyen a personas y costumbres los atavíos olvidados, reavivan la vanidad pueblerina y enseñan a los jóvenes de cada provincia las líneas y colores de los bellos trajes características de otra época"¹². In the scenario

8. SALAVERRÍA, José María, "Entrañas de Vasconia," ABC, número extraordinario, 21 de abril de 1934.

9. SALAVERRÍA, José María, "Prólogo," *España: Pueblos y Paisajes*, San Sebastián: Editora Internacional Manuel Conde López, ca. 1939, p. 8.

10. ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, José, "My Photographic Career," *Camera Craft: A Photographic Monthly* 32, n° 9, September 1925, pp. 417 y 419. Courtesy Legado Ortiz-Echagüe, Universidad de Navarra, Pamplona.

11. ORTIZ-ECHAGÜE, José, "A Half-Century of Photography," *The American Annual of Photography* 1950, n° 64, St. Paul: American Photographic Publishing Co., 1949, p. 19.

12. FRANCES, José, *La fotografía artística*, Madrid, Barcelona, Buenos Aires: CIAP, 1932, p. 29.



Luis Buñuel, *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan* (1933), mapa.



Luis Buñuel, *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan* (1933), pies de los niños.

that Frances describes, we imagine a two-fold process taking place with Ortiz-Echagüe's photographic project. First, the trip itself. Ortiz-Echagüe instructs his subjects in the costumes they should wear and the poses they should take before the monuments and landscapes that signify Spanish tradition and nationality. Once published in one of his photographic books, like *Pueblos y Paisajes* or *Tipos y Trajes*, Frances would have Ortiz-Echagüe return to the towns in order to hold the photographs up as models for appropriate behavior, appearance, and dress. In other words, it was not only the city dweller who needed an orientation into the values of national culture, but those who lived in the country as well. Ortiz-Echagüe's impact was not limited to the 1930s; he published and re-edited his beautifully produced photographic books from the late 1920s through the 1970s¹³.

A third scenario marks the relationship that film enacts between mapping and representation. But, it is one that we need to consider in terms of disruption and censorship, as an example of the ways in which photography and film may have challenged the accepted notions of literacy and community. Luis Buñuel's 1933 documentary *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan* opens with a series of dissolving maps that move from the more general area of Europe to the specific conditions of Las Hurdes. The region is described to the viewer as a liminal, but no less politically charged, space. One of Spain's poorest and most geographically remote areas, Las Hurdes is situated visually and through the film's narration as an area of central importance to the political stability of the government: it is located between the last frontier of the Spanish Republic—Salamanca—and Portugal, a recently declared corporatist nation under the dictatorship of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. Indeed, Las Hurdes had become over the course of the 1920s and 1930s one of the most represented cases of Spanish difference. From the visits by King Alfonso XIII in 1922 and 1929 to the studies about Las Hurdes published by Maurice Legendre and Gregorio Marañón, all focused on the poverty, disease, and backwardness of the region. Photographs of Las Hurdes accompanied these texts and were also found in commercial archives like those of the Arxiu Mas in Barcelona, which supplied photographs for articles like the 1933 "Las Hurdes y sus leyendas" in *Revista Ford*. Even the radical nationalist José Albiñana Sanz included photographs with his inflammatory book *Confinado en Las Hurdes*, which repeatedly drew comparisons between his urban appearance and rituals and the morphology of Las Hurdes. In many photographs this difference is manifest on the surfaces of the Hurdano's buildings and bodies, both of which are described to the reader as poor, inadequate, and deformed.

In other words, viewers of *Tierra sin pan* would have understood the film as one of several representations of the region and used the mapping sequence at the beginning to mark their own relationship to the subject. This act of identification is not dissimilar to what was presented to readers of the Misiones's publications or even Ortiz-Echagüe's books. What was different, however, was its reception. The history of the production and reception of *Tierra sin pan* has been well documented, especially after the research conducted in preparation for the filmmaker's centennial celebrations in 2000¹⁴. Briefly, the film was shot in the spring of 1933 with a crew made up of Spaniards and foreigners¹⁵. Eli Lotar was Buñuel's cameraman and Pierre Unik co-wrote the script. It was financed by Ramón Acín and Rafael Sánchez Ventura worked as an assistant. Each came to the film with their own political and artistic agendas, bringing

13. The most comprehensive study of Ortiz-Echagüe's work to date is Asunción Domeño Martínez de Morentin, *La fotografía de José Ortiz-Echagüe: técnica, estética y temática*, Gobierno de Navarra: Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 2000. See also José Antonio Vidal-Quadras Rosales, "José Ortiz-Echagüe, Fotógrafo (1886-1980)," Ph.D. diss, Universidad de Navarra, Facultad de Ciencias de la Información, Pamplona, 1991.

14. For a review of some of the publications that coincided with the filmmakers centenary, see Jordana Mendelson, "Centennial Revisions: Luis Buñuel's *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan*," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* (London) 1, n° 2 (2000): pp. 215-223.

15. On Buñuel's crew, see the essays by Mercè Ibarz and Paul Hammond in *Tierra sin pan: Luis Buñuel y los nuevos caminos de las vanguardias* (Valencia: IVAM, 1999).

together ideas and images coming from French surrealism, Communism, and Anarchism, as well as from multiple literary and visual sources. After Buñuel edited the film in Madrid, he showed it at the Cine de la Prensa. As told by Buñuel, the film was quickly thereafter censored by the Republic's second biennium government and harshly criticized by Gregorio Marañón who considered it to be a degrading image of Spain. Marañón, as a member of the Patronato de Las Hurdes, described Buñuel's treatment of the region to be an insult to national culture. Looking below the surface, one sees that Marañón's concerns were shared by other members of the Patronato, who had protested representations of the region being produced by nationals and foreigners during the 1920s. As expressed by the Archbishop of Toledo in 1927:

Con el pretexto de investigación científica o de documentación sociológica, nacionales y extranjeros ahondaban en el análisis de esta triple manifestación morbosa: una administración pública fracasada en servir al bien general, un territorio asolado por la barbarie y carente de las condiciones primarias exigibles a un país medio civilizado, y un grupo étnico moral y físicamente depauperado¹⁶.

The complaint here was that representations of Las Hurdes perpetuated images of a dark and diseased Spain. For Marañón, Buñuel participated in this denigration of Las Hurdes (and Spain). *Tierra sin pan* included no singing or folklore and was deemed unacceptable for public exhibition. Reviews of the documentary appeared in the press, and elsewhere I have examined the publication of still images from *Tierra sin pan*¹⁷, which formed part of the same print culture that I described in relation to the photographs by Val del Omar and Ortiz-Echagüe. All three contributed to the ways in which the urban public connected with the realities (and fantasies) about rural Spain that circulated during the 1930s.

I think that the reasons why *Tierra sin pan* disturbed Marañón go beyond Buñuel's choice of typical scenes or types. Instead, I believe that it has to do with the ways in which he disrupts the relationship between mapping and literacy that, I have been arguing, are crucial for the articulation of a shared national culture. In my mind, the opening sequence of the maps, which teach the audience where Las Hurdes is located, is paired with an extended treatment of school children learning how to read and respect the rules of private property, attention, and grammar that come later. Here is where the influence of French dissident Surrealism becomes relevant. Buñuel's cameraman had previously published in the magazine *Documents*, specifically to illustrate the writings of Georges Bataille. In *Tierra sin pan*, Lotar included imagery that referred back to the photographs that he took in Paris about four years earlier, in particular his close-up images of parts of the human anatomy and scenes of violence and decay in the city. There are several moments in *Tierra sin pan* where connections between individual shots and Lotar's published photographs are visible. For the purpose of my argument, I want to focus on one sequence during the scenes dedicated to school children in which Lotar inserts an extended pan of the bare, dirty feet of the Hurdano children. This rupture takes place at a moment of cognition, when the students are being initiated into the rules of civic responsibility. In other words, unlike the relationships between viewer and subject that are established by Val del Omar and Ortiz-Echagüe, Lotar inserts an image that breaks this connection. Let me explain. The theoretical significance of the naked foot was familiar to Lotar through the photographs



Luis Buñuel, *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan* (1933), niño escribiendo en la pizarra.

16. AHN, Madrid. FC-Presid-Gov-Primo de Rivera. Legajo 202, expediente 14968, "Las Hurdes" (23 de febrero 1927), pp. 1-2.

17. See MENDELSON, Jordana, "Contested Territory: The Politics of Geography in Luis Buñuel's *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan*," *Locus Amoenus*, n. 2, 1996, pp. 229-242; and "From Documents to Monuments: The Representation of Spain and the Avant-garde in the 1930s," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1999.



"Exposición de Barcelona 1929. Pueblo Español," Fons Lluís Plandiura, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Barcelona.

that his studio-mate Jacques-André Boiffard published to accompany Bataille's 1929 article on "The Big Toe." In that article, Bataille wrote of the exposed foot and the taboos associated with its appearance in different cultural contexts, including Spanish folklore. That an image associated with transgression should be included within a scene of education is significant. It signals that for Buñuel and his crew, there could be no natural or assumed link between becoming literate and cooperating with prescribed ideals about nationality. The image of the children's feet comes just before a scene in which a boy writes "Respectad los bienes ajenos..." on the blackboard. This, in turn, is followed by a scene of two boys who are struck by the inscription, their mouths open. The pause between seeing the phrase on the blackboard and recording it on paper is drawn out. The process is not automatic, and a space is opened up in the film's syntax for dissidence. Unlike the optimistic (and activist) portrayal of education in the Misiones's photograph, here the relationship between viewer and subject is less clear. *Tierra sin pan* disrupts the relationship between mapping and literacy by calling attention to the process of learning itself, which is riddled with moments of disjuncture, misunderstanding, and miscommunication.

In all three scenarios that I've described so far, photography and film have been the media through which mapping has taken place. The focus has been on education as an allegory for the building of community and national culture. In the fourth scenario, I want to explore how this process relates to architecture, and to the staging of national identity as a public spectacle. The scenario that I am referring to is the construction of the Poble Espanyol for the 1929 International Exposition in Barcelona.

Mapping and literacy need to be thought through a bit differently than in my previous cases, not only because here we are speaking about a moment before the establishment of the Second Republic, but also because we need to consider a series of events, images and objects. First, the historical context: May 1929. General Miguel Primo de Rivera and King Alfonso XIII officially open the International Exposition in Barcelona. With the Ibero-American Exposition opening the same year in Seville, the dictatorship hoped that propaganda on a large-scale would bring international attention to the nation. Not surprisingly, along with the government's central role in the planning of the Expositions, was the establishment by Royal Decree in 1928 of the Patronato Nacional de Turismo as the means to foster travel within Spain and promote of the nation's artistic heritage abroad¹⁸. The Expositions had a political purpose as well: they formed part of Primo's strategic campaign to solidify Spanish and pan-Hispanic unity. (The Expositions functioned to make visible Spain's connection to Europe through Barcelona, and Latin America through Seville.)

Among the greatest illusions that the dictatorship built for its national and international audiences was that of a unified, harmonious Spanish state. Read as a picture-perfect display of a trip across Spain, the Poble Espanyol brought the dictatorship's promotion of tourism to visitors of the Exposition by reconstructing the country's popular architecture, traditions, and crafts for a mass audience. The town represented an ideal topography cordoned off from the realities of urban life. Automobiles were not allowed and the imposing artificial walls of Avila enforced the interpretation of the Poble Espanyol as a model pre-industrial town within Spain's most industrialized city. Publicity material

18. FARRERAS, Antoni, *El Turisme a Catalunya del 1931 al 1936*, Barcelona: Editorial Portic, 1973, pp. 26-27.

supported the parallels between a visit to the town and a trip across the country by creating maps with keys to indicate important sites, shops, and monuments.

Plans for the town had begun years before the 1929 opening, but it was under the direction of artist and art historian Miguel Utrillo that the various proposals for an exhibition about Spanish art and traditions was transformed into what would become the Poble Espanyol, with the help of architects Francesc Folguera and Ramón Reventós and artist Xavier Nogués. Over the course of two months in 1927 and during subsequent shorter trips, Utrillo led this group of artists and architects in a tour of Spain's monuments, provincial towns, and artistic heritage. Their mission was to document the architectural elements that would form part of the Poble Espanyol. The trips were financed by the Exposition's planning committee and coordinated with the industrialist and art collector Lluís Plandiura, who was the Catalán group's connection to the central committee in Madrid. It is in Plandiura's papers and those of Folguera and Reventós that we find clues about the relationship between map making and national identity.

A map of their trip across Spain was submitted to Plandiura. Like the maps included in the Misiones's Informes, one imagines Plandiura matching the photographs that were sent back to him by the group with their geographic location. The letters that Nogués and Utrillo wrote to Plandiura emphasized the critical function of photography in documenting the places they visited. It was the architects Reventós and Folguera who were in charge of the camera, and whose use of photography became legendary in these letters, and later in the press coverage that disclosed the history of the town's manufacture. Utrillo wrote to Plandiura in September: "En Folguera i en Reventós... han fet ja 380 clichés"¹⁹. Shortly after, Nogués added: "portem fetes entre ahir i avui 104 fotografies de coses tant interessants del poble que cada moment ens convenem que... sense el nostre viatge no hi podia haver Poble dedebo"²⁰. But, what form the town should take proved more delicate. Whereas Reventós seemed to indicate in interviews that their selection process was based on personal criteria and the individual characteristics of particular details, buildings, and monuments²¹, the King and Primo de Rivera weighed in during the planning of the town and requested the addition of a section on Andalucía, which had initially been left out because of the planned exposition in Seville. Leaving Andalucía out would have created a noticeable gap in the government's unifying project; it would have also omitted what was most typical, and most recognizable to tourists: the white washed houses and shaded narrow streets of Seville's romantic charm. The architects quickly incorporated an Andalusian section and added drawings on the sides of the plans that further indicated the ways in which southern Spain's picturesque reputation would be recreated in the heart of Catalonia.

Photography, which had allowed them to document Spain's popular architecture, transformed the Poble Espanyol into a place and an image that was experienced by the masses. Since the town originated in the photographs taken by the architects, it was a circular process that took isolated elements, separated them from their contexts, and repositioned them in an artificial complex that made claims to architectural (and ideological) cohesion. In this sense, during the first stage of their project, the architects and their companions worked like anthropologists, their activities mirroring those of projects like the



Francesc Folguera, "Busqueda d'idees pel Poble Espanyol," Arxiu Folguera, AHAC, Barcelona.

19. Letter from Utrillo to Plandiura, Leon, 11 September 1927. LP26-6, Fons Plandiura, AHC, Barcelona.

20. Letter from Nogués to Plandiura, LP26-32, Fons Plandiura, AHC, Barcelona.

21. REVENTÓS, R., "Com s'ha fet el Poble Espanyol. Algunes impressions d'un que hi ha treballat," *D'Ací i d'Allà*, número extraordinari, december 1929 pp. 41-42.

Arxiu d'Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya (AEFC) in Barcelona, which collected and compared photographs of specific aspects and details of Spain's scenes and types. Popular architecture formed an important category in the AEFC²², and became the central focus in related archives like the *Estudi de la Masia Catalana* housed in the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya Barcelona²³. Both projects understood photography as a key component to documenting national (in this case Catalán) identity as articulated through built form. Once the architects had repositioned the fragments into a plan for the Poble Espanyol, they used photography to reconstruct the architectural features into a fully developed, apparently unified urban complex, complete with main plaza, streets, dwellings, monastery, shops, cafés, and towers. In other words, they recognized that the technique that helped them mediate their experiences with Spain's popular architecture and fragment it into re-combinable pieces, was the same tool that they would use to fuse those elements back together for the public.

Where in the Poble Espanyol does literacy take place? It is performed through the staging of “authentic” festivals and through the passage of individual visitors through its streets. Unlike the previous three cases, here literacy takes the form of movement. As a visitor looks at his or her map of the Poble Espanyol and negotiates its streets and plazas to find a particular “region” he or she is being initiated into the architectural and geographic contours of the nation. Now, this is an optimistic view of how cultural transmission takes place. Such a reading depends on visitors becoming actively aware and willing participants. The relationship of a walk through the Poble Espanyol and a trip across Spain was encouraged by writers who commented that, “En el Pueblo Español, volver una esquina es como un viaje de muchos kilómetros”²⁴. Others argued that visiting the Poble Espanyol was like returning to one's own little corner of Spain; it offered recent migrants, who had come to the city to find work, the opportunity to revisit their birth place²⁵. To document their return to “rural Spain,” photographers were set up in the Poble Espanyol's main plaza. Visitors could get their picture taken for posterity: a souvenir recording the fact that they were one of the many inhabitants of the Poble Espanyol on a given day or moment in its history. In other words, photography became the means to visually locate a visitor within the Poble Espanyol's architectural “map” of Spain. But, these moments of recognition and recording are aimed primarily at the Poble's adult visitors. In the scenarios described earlier, it was in the school room and in the mind's of Spain's younger inhabitants that ideas about geography, culture, and nationality were being codified through education. In the case of the Poble Espanyol, there are also moments of initiation into Anderson's “imagined communities.” For example, the *Ilustración Ibero-Americana* published an illustrated cut-out of the town so that children could build their own miniature Poble Espanyol. Here, literacy takes on another dimension.

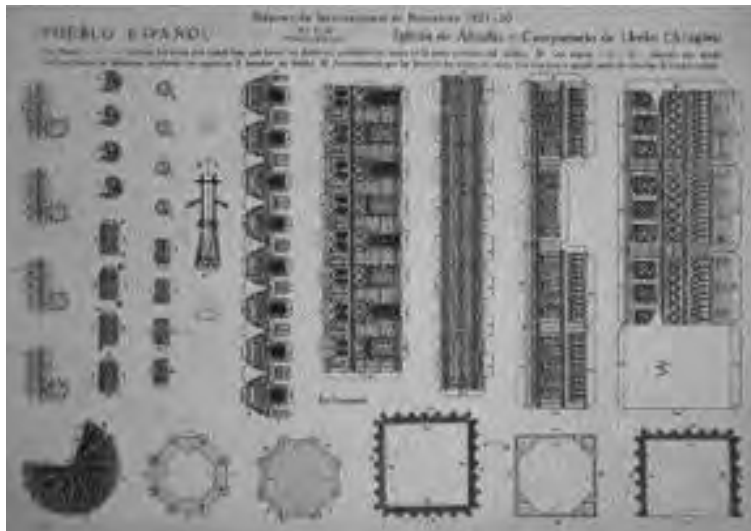
In this paper, I have argued that in order to understand the relationship between urban and rural Spain during the 1930s, we need to consider the ways in which photography and film played critical roles in communicating notions of community through images of maps and literacy. I have not specifically dealt with the issue of anti-urban ideology because I am not sure how far these images are specifically aimed against urban culture. Instead, I think that they seek ways of bringing the geography, architecture, and “imagined communities” of

22. CALVO CALVO, Luis, “La arquitectura popular catalán en los fondos Carreras i Artau,” *Arquitectura Popular en España. Actas de las Jornadas: 1-5 diciembre 1987*, ed. J. Caro Baroja, Madrid, CSIC, 1990, pp. 283-291.

23. DANÉS I TORRAS, Josep, “Estudi de la Masia Catalana,” *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*. XLIII, nº 458, Julio 1933, pp. 72-84.

24. GRIBAU, Vicente, “Retazos (Al modo de las greguerías de Ramón),” *Diario Oficial de la Exposición Internacional Barcelona 1929*, nº 25, 31 de agosto de 1929, p. 21.

25. “Inauguración de ‘El Pueblo Español,’” *Barcelona 1929-1930. Recuerdo de la Exposición. Anuario de la Ciudad. Publicación Oficial de la Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros*, Barcelona, 1920.



La Ilustración Ibero-Americana, any II, nº 2 (abril 1930). Colección Josep Maria Rovira.

rural Spain into contact with the modern ambitions of the nation's urban artists and writers. A key element in this exchange is the central role that documentary plays in 1930s Spain. It is in the deployment of documentary that one sees a negotiation taking place between advanced reproductive technologies (photography, film, phonograph) and the need on the part of Spain's urban intellectuals to use these media to create a visual archive of rural Spain. This archive was not seen as a passive construct, but one that could be periodically mined and reconfigured according to changing definitions of self and community. In the context of this congress, it is specifically the relationship between documentary and architecture that needs to be discussed. I think that the four scenarios that I describe form a starting point for such a discussion, which would also need to examine the place of anthropology and specific notions of nationality that developed concurrently with the popularization of mass media and display.