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ORIENTATION

1 Maps for Cultural Trafficking*

The activity of trafficking is inevitably and rightly associated with business (and with busyness). It is about the to and fro of exchanges, about barter, bargains, happenstance, opportunism. These characteristics constitute not only the activity of commerce, but are the vital part of cultural exchange. This book sets out to look at cultural trafficking in Spain, and in particular to look for what is dynamic, lively and imaginative in it. Spain in the early decades of the twentieth century engaged in dynamic and extremely complex types of cultural exchange with elsewhere. Its great (and obvious) trading ‘partner’ is Europe, yet Europe is not a single entity. In concentrating, as I shall, on Europe, I am conscious that there are at least two major other significant trading areas for Spain: Latin America and the United States. Both of them will figure from time to time in these pages, but both merit their own separate treatment.

In addition to this, regrettably, it has not been possible to provide an extensive consideration of the part played by Catalonia. A great deal of the emphasis of the first sections of the book is upon urban activity, and with a prime emphasis on Madrid. The reason for this has been partly strategic, and partly determined by beliefs about the effective centrality of Madrid in the trafficking of culture. Martínez Rus (2003: 209, 222) refers to some 276 publishers existing in Spain in 1935, 120 of whom were based in Madrid and 98 in Barcelona, a feature of the cultural profile that bears out the importance of Madrid, but also signals the significance of Barcelona. I have set aside, with regret, a detailed discussion of the case of Catalonia, and specifically Barcelona and Valencia, major cities that have long been recognized as significant in cultural trafficking. The publishing activities of Sempere, for example, stand as an iconic and emblematic representation of what was achieved outside Madrid, while the *Cuadernos de Cultura* published by Marín Civera Martínez (Valencia 1930–3) serve as a major example of a socialist

* I would like to acknowledge the generous support of the British Academy whose funding of a Research Readership made the research for this book possible.

organ of transmission of information in the fields of politics, medicine and sexuality (see Sinclair 2007: 220).

Trading is more than an activity: it arises out of relationship (curiosity, desire, necessity) and forms a further relationship (importer, exporter, middleman), with consequences such as prosperity, diversity of available materials, the cultivation of taste and fashion. 'Trafficking' as a concept applied to knowledge (including cultural practice) therefore informs us about cultural relations, at the same time as it sheds a light on the nature of both sides in a trading relationship. And just as our personal relationships are founded not on objective realities but on desires, projections, idealizations, identifications and prejudices, even on paranoias, so we can think of cultural relations as driven by and nuanced by, cultural imaginaries.

This is the perspective from which this book sets out. It seeks to examine Spain's cultural relations with Europe, looking in detail at a wide spectrum of routes by which knowledge, customs, education and attitudes related loosely to Europe, or more specifically to different countries within Europe, came to Spain. It views the process not as one of simple delivery of these 'objects of exchange', but rather one in which the reception of such objects resulted from a desire, and that desire was predicated on a series of cultural imaginaries that pertained both to Spain itself and to other European countries. Nor should we think of 'objects of exchange' as stable or unchanged by their passage over borders. At the simplest level, books in translation are famously mistranslated, abridged (this is the case of various editions of the Bible in Spanish in the nineteenth century), plays in translation will be adapted for local audiences, travelling exhibitions will contain selections that relate both to the proposed viewing public and to the exhibitor's perspective. 'Objects of exchange' are also 'boundary objects'. As Golinski summarizes,

Boundary objects are things that link together different social groups, who may view and use them in quite different ways. [...] These objects exist in distinct 'social worlds', to the extent that they are understood differently and used to advance different aims by the communities involved.

(Golinski 1998: 44)

'Objects of exchange', in cultural terms, do not have a single point of entry to a country. The capital is not the province, and in the case of Spain there are significant regional activities related to cultural exchange. Cities of the periphery above all, such as Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, had their own distinct functioning in relation to cultural exchange. In addition to this, there is the fascinating (and unexplored) dynamic between the cultural importations through the regions, and cultural importations through Madrid. But this study is characterized by both its particularity and its limitation, in that my focus has been on cultural activity of reception and propagation related to

Madrid. I have tried nonetheless to retain a focus on the specificity of the centre in my discussions of cultural exchange, and an awareness of activity that was not associated with the centre. Some of the ideas of propagation of cultural knowledge, particularly those explored in the section on 'Spreading the Word', emanated from the centre, with the sort of 'centralist' and colonial conviction that accompanies such enterprises, however worthy in intention.

In the chapters that follow politics has a part, but it is deliberately placed on the margins of my discussion, as a sort of counter-balance to those histories that privilege public and political life to the detriment of detail at the level of the social and untidy. Unlike other studies on cultural and social life of the early twentieth century in Spain what follows here does not therefore take a specific focus upon political event (though political event is ever present as stimulus, restriction, complication), nor even on the life of the mind that is in conversation with political event, social context and cultural aspiration. Rather it holds as its central focus the mechanics and processes that permitted ideas to circulate. The background assumption of this study is that our view of Spain in the early decades of the twentieth century has been retrospectively simplified, resulting in part from the cultural and intellectual shut-down in the Franco regime. This simplification brought in its wake a cultural amnesia, so that knowledge of the vitality and variety of cultural and intellectual life in Spain 1900–1939 has been lost (Glick 1982: 535, 569–71). Numerous '1898' commemoration conferences held in 1998 highlighted this loss and need for re-writing. Conspicuous in what has been lost is the understanding of how far Spain was interested in what was beyond its boundaries, and, in practical terms, how it was enabled to have concepts of the world beyond its boundaries. The lack of intellectual and cultural traffic caused by Spain's isolation in the Franco years has led us to lose sight of its lively curiosity about things foreign to itself that was so evident in the period before Franco.

Much of the production of this amnesia can be traced to the Civil War and its aftermath, and the subsequent re-writing of Spain's culture and history from a perspective of Nationalist domination. This has affected scholars within Spain, but also those from outside. As Roberts (2007) indicates, there is not a lack of scholarship in the area of intellectual history *per se*, but it has its own traditions and reactions to those traditions. Initially we might be led to interpret the trends of scholarship in terms of the political context in which it took place. In the wake of 'generation' criticism, of which the offerings of Ortega (1942) and Marías (1961) are the most significant, a mode of criticism that explained events in terms of a collective cultural context (which could, of course, be presented in a reduced and highly selective mode), much of the emphasis has been on the emergence of the figure of the intellectual. Notwithstanding, and with some logical link to the preceding theory on generations, there has been some concern with context, in a manner that broadened out

the sense of the circumstances in which individual intellectuals lived and thought. Crucially Mainer (1972) spoke of intellectuals as part of a class, and his view that they constitute a 'pequeña burguesía en crisis' (1972: 84), gave rise to a new wave of scholarship. Consequently critics such as Inman Fox (1976) and Villacorta Baños (1980) extended this view of the class placing of the intellectual, and, yet more usefully, broadened their vision to include the function of institutions such as the Ateneo and the role of the press in the emergence of the intellectual as a force to be reckoned with.

Yet the intellectual does not sit easily or naturally within a class, as is observed by a number of commentators. Specifically, and in the Hispanic situation, Santos Juliá sees the intellectual as standing apart, with some horror, from the masses: 've la multitud, la masa, le produce horror y se percibe entonces a sí mismo como un ser aparte, con una misión específica ante la masa y frente al Estado' (1998: 4), an attitude that was embodied with full force by Ortega in 1930 with *La rebelión de las masas*.

This *esbozo* of the dynamic between the intellectual and the masses is, of course, one that will emerge with more nuancing and detail in the course of the following chapters, and the ambiguous positioning of the intellectual and the institutions associated with the intellectual, cross-hatched with various institutional and class lines, will be returned to with some frequency. For the moment let it suffice to observe that the view of the operational complexity of Spanish society is one that has been approached with caution, and with a regard on the one hand to the belief that 'Spain is different', while believing also that taking models drawn from other European countries is instructive.

The movement in scholarship noted above by Roberts is not confined to Spain, but belongs to a general pattern in the practice of history, and the issues associated with the writing of intellectual history are nicely clarified by Wickberg (2001). Nonetheless, putting his ideas into practice by applying them to the topic of this study throws up a number of problems. Wickberg traces a movement through the 1960s and 1970s that has altered the understanding of the practice of 'intellectual history'. He distinguishes between 'intellectual history' as that which is concerned with the history of thought, and 'social history' as that which is concerned with the social history of intellectuals, having a focus on 'intellectual biography, histories of institutions (universities, salons, reading groups, professional organizations), publishing, authorship and reading' (2001: 383–4). All this would seem to indicate in relatively unproblematic manner that the academic home of this present study should lie within social history rather than in intellectual history. Wickberg's further comment, however, that the historian of thought is interested in ideas while the social historian is interested in persons (384), and that the emphasis of historians in the 1960s and 1970s on 'demography, geography and economy, rather than mind, psychology and culture' (386), is all too

sweeping, and makes 'social history' a less than obvious academic home for this study. He finally pins his colours to the mast, and declares, that

We ought to abandon our sentimental attachment to intellectuals, whether as 'role models' of critical social activity or as professional problem solvers or as authors of texts we happen to find interesting; that attachment stands in the way of a clear understanding of the role of thought in history.

(Wickberg 2001: 393)

In response to this, then perhaps I too should pin my colours to the mast. I am aware of the pitfalls that attend the treatment of elites in a study that is concerned with intellectual and cultural exchange. I am aware also of the degree to which a study that is concerned with elites only would render the idea of 'centres of exchange' all too restricted. But I cannot ignore the fact that much of what I shall deal with will fall naturally into the concept of an elite culture, albeit one that is understood in far broader terms than is habitual. Following this line, the appropriate adoptive home of this study would seem to be 'intellectual history', given the degree to which it deals with elite and their ideas, though never at the expense of the perception of the Other, in the form of non-elite groups. Wickberg offers a final rider:

taking an appropriate lesson from social history, we should turn toward what we might call the ideational history of the social, an examination of the conceptual underpinnings of the social order. We should take the documents and subject matter of the social historian and subject it to the methods and insights of the historian of thought. (Wickberg 2001: 393)

This demonstrates the degree to which even in this radical re-thinking, there is inevitably (and thankfully) a reluctance to abandon a focus on the intellectual, even if it is through using the intellectual's capacity for critique to survey the materials considered by the social historian.

One way to frame the questions involved here is to return to a Hispanic conceptualization. Unamuno (1895) posited the notion of *intrahistoria* that would stand in counterpoint to the 'facts' of history, and the recounting of the surface events of political happenings. My contention is that there is an interest in the middle ground, where the ongoing (*intrahistoria*) interacts with the here-and-now, where ideas and culture are taken in (and therefore, logically, have been promoted or broadcast) so that what results is neither *intrahistoria* nor *historia* but something much richer. Most of all, the interest lies in just how this interaction takes place, rather than simply with what the content of the interaction might be. Just as medium cannot be separated from message so the study of centres of exchange cannot be separated from those 'goods' that were exchanged, even though such goods consisted in

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