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Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea



WHY *EUZKO-GOGO*A?

THE BASQUE LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL IDENTITY IN THE DIASPORIC CULTURAL MAGAZINE *EUZKO-GOGO*A (1950-1960)

Ziortza Gandarias Beldarrain

Zuzendariak: Mari Jose Olaziregi Alustiza (EHU/UPV)

Xabier Irujo Amezaga (UNR)

Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea
Hizkuntzalaritza eta Euskal Ikasketak Saila

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CULTURAL MAGAZINE *EUZKO-GOGOIA* (1950-1960)

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Basque Studies

by

Ziortza Gandarias Beldarrain

Dr. Xabier Irujo/Dissertation Advisor
Dr. Mari Jose Olaziregi/Dissertation Co-Advisor

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

We recommend that the dissertation
prepared under our supervision by

ZIORTZA GANDARIAS BELDARRAIN

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Xabier Irujo, Ph.D., Advisor

Mari Jose Olaziregi, Ph.D., Co-Advisor

Justin Gifford, Ph.D., Committee Member

Mario Santana, Ph.D., Committee Member

Joseba Zulaika, Ph.D., Committee Member

Meredith Oda, Ph.D., Graduate School Representative

David W. Zeh, Ph. D., Dean, Graduate School
December, 2018

Abstract

A magazine written only in the Basque language with the focus of maintaining alive a culture and language on the brink of extinction under the hands of a totalitarian government. A cultural work created by an exiled priest who was able to develop a network of fellow Basque intellectuals to save and rebuild their beloved motherland through their language. This dissertation examines the imagined community created in the cultural magazine *Euzko-Gogoa* published in Guatemala and Biarritz (Northern Basque Country) between 1950-1960.

The War of 1936 and the subsequent Franco dictatorship depleted the Basque cultural initiatives promoted during the Spanish Second Republic. This project analyzes the reconstruction of the defeated Basque nation made in *Euzko-Gogoa*'s pages that helped maintain and rebuild a wounded nation. The dissertation will give both a historical and cultural background of the Basque Country and the magazine while also analyzing the publications and the result of its work.

Through different forms of analysis such as cultural, national, and postcolonial studies, it will demonstrate how *Euzko-Gogoa* not only created an imagined community, but also a national consciousness that would create a bridge for the next generation of Basques. This imagined community was created based upon a traditional Basque nationalist ideology seen in the preindustrial Basque Country as a reference for the nation's future. As described throughout the dissertation, one will understand the differences of life lived in exile and the Southern Basque Country and how an imagined community built in the pages of *Euzko-Gogoa* conflicted with the reality of a nation.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family.

And above all,

To Josu for his advice, his faith, his support, his jokes, and his patience. Because he always believed and understood.

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Last but not least, I am immensely grateful to my family and friends/kuadrilla for their support throughout this journey. Without their love and assistance this would not

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Notes for Readers

- The majority of translations from Basque and Spanish languages to English were performed by the dissertation writer, Ziortza Gandarias Beldarrain, and are indicated by parentheses.
- The Basque names, words, and references in the dissertation are written in their original spelling.
- When analyzing the Basque Country, since the country is divided between Spain and France, the term “Southern Basque Country” is in reference to the Spanish Basque area, that in Basque is referred as *Hegoalde* (South) and “Northern Basque Country” in reference to the French Basque area, that in Basque is called *Iparralde* (North). The provinces that shape the Southern Basque Country are four: Nafarroa, Araba, Gipuzkoa, and Bizkaia. The Northern Basque Country has three provinces: Lapurdi, Zuberoa and Nafarroa Behera. The Basque Country is a small geographical area, the total territory is about 7.7 square miles. It can be said that the Basque Country has “one people, two states, and two journeys” (Ahedo 259).
- The term “War of 1936” will be used instead of “Spanish Civil War.” As the scholar Xabier Irujo states:

Most historians use the term Spanish Civil War to describe the conflict. However, Narcissus Bassols and Isidro Fabela, representatives of the Mexican Government at the League of Nations, criticized the categorization of the war as “civil” conflict. US ambassador Claude G. Bowers stated that the war was neither Spanish nor civil but a prologue to the World War II, and Congressman Jerry J. O’Connell offered a similar critique by saying that the bombing of Gernika was the work of German planes, German bombs, and German pilots. O’Connell asked Secretary of State Cordell Hull “to take official notice of what is common knowledge,

namely, that Germany and Italy are in fact belligerents in the war of invasion now going on in Spain” Congressional Record: Appendix of the First Session of the 75th Congress of U.S.A., vol.81, pt.9, January 5-May 19, 1937 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1937) (“Gernika 1937” 225)

- The following maps demonstrate the geographical location of the Basque Country in respect to the rest of Europe as well as the seven provinces of the Basque Country.

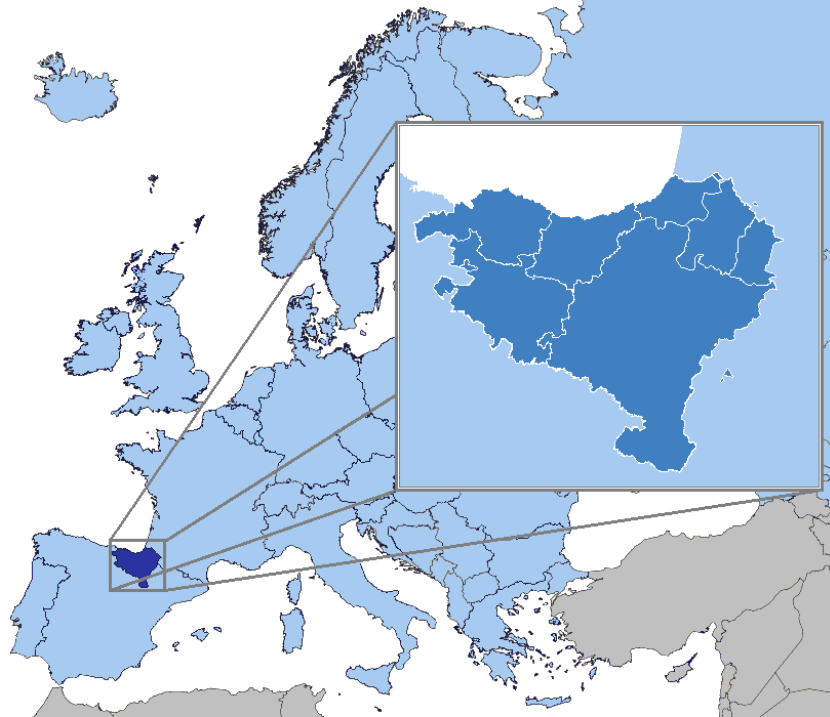


Figure i: User: Zorion. “Location of the Basque Country in Europe.”
Basque Country (greater region), 21 December 2010,
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Country_\(greater_region\)#/media/File:Euskal_Herria_Europa.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Country_(greater_region)#/media/File:Euskal_Herria_Europa.png)



Figure ii: Fernandez de Betoño, Unai. “The seven provinces of the Basque Country.”
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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Country_\(greater_region\)#/media/File:Euskal_Herriko_kolore_mapa.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Country_(greater_region)#/media/File:Euskal_Herriko_kolore_mapa.png)

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Introduction

Guatemala, 1954. A black and white photo. In the portrait, baptized by Andima Ibiñagabeitia as, “Euskal Hirutasun Santua” (The Basque Holy Trinity), the three men are smiling in front of the Santa Mónica Residence in Guatemala City. It is a sunny day, the sky is perfectly, ominously clear, a perfect allegory of the calm before the storm. The three smiling men are the epitome of a generation of Basque writers. The image itself embodies an event, a memory, a history and a literature. Perhaps this well-known image is the one that best represents the cultural magazine *Euzko-Gogoa* (Basque-Will) and its generation. To the left Andima Ibiñagabeitia, in the middle Jokin Zaitegi and to the right Nikolas Ormaetxea “Orixe.” In other words, the “Three Basque Quixotes,”¹ a paradigm of how it was possible to have a dream and how the dream ultimately transformed the Basque literary world.



Figure 1: “Picture of Andima Ibiñagabeitia (left), Jokin Zaitegi (middle), and Nikolas Ormaetxea “Orixe” (right).” In *Guatemala in 1954*. Velez de Mendizabal, Josemari. Iokin Zaitegi. Izarra, 1981.

¹ See Velez de Mendizabal 225. Also, the scholar Paulo Iztueta refers to Zaitegi as Quixote. See Iztueta, *Erbesteko euskal penstamendua* p.17.

After the War of 1936 and the following years of dictatorship, the Basque culture and language was condemned to disappear. The Basques fought on the losing side with the Republicans and were now under a totalitarian regime. It was in the darkest hours when those in exile took the lead in the fight for the survival and development of the *euskara* (Basque language) and culture. In the fall of 1949, Jokin Zaitegi wrote *Asmoa* (Goal), a brief report about his goal of creating a cultural magazine, titled *Euzko-Gogoa*, that would be written only in Basque. The title of the magazine “Euzko-Gogoa,” has a strong semantic and symbolic value as it could mean different things all of them connected with the will the course of action (goal) of the magazine, which gives a deeper significance and level of interpretation of the magazine. *Euzko* (Basque) is a neologism created by the father of Basque nationalism, Sabino Arana Goiri which comes from *euzkera* (Basque) as *euzko-era* (The way Basques speak) and *Gogo* (Will) a polysemic word in Basque which at least has three different meanings. The first definition of *Gogo* could be: “Soul, spirit; thought, mind, memory.” The second one being: “Will, the act of wanting”, and the last one: “Intention, thought; purpose.”² The magazine’s title, similarly to Zaitegi’s “Asmoa,” symbolizes the “will” of both himself the Basque people to act on behalf of their beloved community, culture, and language. Specifically, the letter explained how the magazine was determined to awake the Basque language, to promote collaboration among Basque writers, and fight through the use of language and literature for the freedom of the Basque Country:

Atzerrietan barna gabiltzala-ta, geroago ta euskerakera urriago darabilgu, gure izkeraren etorkizuna goibel ageri da. Erdara non-nai sartu nairik dakusgu. Guda ekaitzak yota, Yaungoikoaren eskubegidunaren mendean,

² Definitions from *Euskaltzaindia orotariko hiztegia*.

eguzkipeko bazterretan an or emen barreiatutako euskaldun zintzoenak euskera galtzeko zorian daude. Euskal-idazleak berak aspaldi ontan ixilik daude. Guda-aurrean inolako gara iritxi zigun euskerak. Bazterrak arrotu ta arritu ziran. Euskararen aldeko ekinaldi artan euskal-olerkariak genitun aurrerengo gudari. Orixe, Lizardi, Lauaxeta, Loramendi, Yauregi, Barrenso, t.a. Oietatik zenbaitek betiko agur egin digute. Yainkoak ala naita. Oraindik bizirik dauden euskal idazle ta olerkariak iratzarri nai ditugu, euskeraren alde bildu gaitezen. “Euzko-Gogoa” k dei eginda gatoz guziok. Non-naiko alderdietatik: iparralde, egoalde, sortalde, ta sartaldetik. Eguzkiaren galdapean, zuriaren zuriz dizdizka dauden eskualdeak ezagunak ditugu: baita, urte-erdian, elurpean datzaten aldeak ere izoztu gaitue. Alare, eusko-gogoa geroago ta barnerago ezagutu ta zaldu nai dugu: euskaldunaren biotzondo, zarrada ta ikarak. Ez diogu otsemallearen antzera, aurrera, mutillak, yo barnera bano. Yo ezak, etengabem berneruntz: barnean baiduk izarrari dizdikorra: mamia ala bikaina, azala gogorra. Arrezkero, euskaraz bakarrik idatzi nai dugu, eusko-gogoaren barne-muinetarano eldu gaitezen: azkatasunaren giltza galdu bai-dugu, euskara galdu eskero; eta bere izkera galdu dun erriak, erri berri eta zindoan artean bizitzerik ez du artze. Soinez inoren morroi, gogoz ordea, bere buru yabe dan erria, inoiz ezpaita inoren izango, naiz-ta egoera lazgarriena izan. Beraz, gure azkatasun osoaren egin aundirako urren izanki gure buruak gertu bear ditugu. Orregatik, atzerrietan barna gabiltzan euskal idazleok oro elkartu ta “Euzko-Gogoa” deritzaken euskal-aldizkaria sortzea erabaki dugu. Ipuia, olerki edo beste azalpenen bat euskeraz ba’duzu, bidali iguzu, otoi. Edota, beste ezagunen batek alako lanen bat da’du arren, gure asmoaren berriemaiozu...Datorren urtearen Ilbeltzean, “Euzko-Gogoa” deritzan aldizkaria ateratzeko gerata, len-bailen gure deyari erantzungo al diozu. Agur, Yaunak!

(“Since we are abroad we are not using the Basque language as much as we should. The Spanish language is everywhere. Due to the war, under God’s eyes the Basque people are spread all around the world and are about to lose the Basque language. The Basque writers are in silence. The Basque language has shown its value and strength in the battleground. The poets of their time fought in favour of the Basque language and culture: Orixe, Lizardi, Lauaxeta, Loramendi, Yauregi, Barrenso, etc. some of them are not with us anymore. We want to awake the Basque writers spread all around putting together the Basque writers. We are following the echo of the “Basque-Will” that comes from the north, south, west, and east. We know about the pure Basque town under the sunshine and the ones that are covered by snow. We want to spread and promote the Basque Will; the heart inside of the Basques, their shudders and fears. We have to go inside our heart and dig, the shell can be hard, but the inside is mellow. From now on, we only want to write in Basque, we want to get together all the Basque writers and create the Basque magazine Euzko-Gogoa. Next

year, in January, Euzko-Gogoa will be published. Goodbye everyone!"; my trans.; Zaitegi, "Gure Asmoa" 8)

During these years under Franco's dictatorship, there were many other magazines published in exile, however this thesis will focus specifically on the cultural magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*. In 1950, when Jokin Zaitegi founded the magazine in Guatemala, it was the first postwar magazine, excluding *Argia Euskaldunak Euskaraz* (*Light the Basques speaking in Basque*, 1946-1948).³ *Euzko-Gogoa* focused on the cultural development of the language and create an imagined community or foundation for the future of the Basque nation through its writings.

Under Zaitegi's direction, the very best Basque writers in exile and homeland were brought together: Nikolas Ormaetxea "Orixe," Jon Mirande, Andima Ibiñagabeitia, Seber Altube, Telésforo Monzón, Federico Krutwig, Gabriel Aresti, and many others collaborated in *Euzko-Gogoa*. *Euzko-Gogoa's* main contributions were its belief in the linguistic capacities of the Basque language, and its success in creating a bridge between the prewar and postwar generation of writers. Benedict Anderson argues newspapers can change the concept of space and time and connect a community of readers spread all over the world (22). In this regard, it can be said that *Euzko-Gogoa* represented the creation of an imagined community. The magazine was a platform that allowed the building of an imagined community that could be a reference for the future Basque nation.

³ "Argia. Euskaldunak Euskaraz deserves to be qualified as the first publication in the Basque language of exile (...) it had an attitude away from the cultism, even elitism, of the later *Euzko-Gogoa*. *Argia* is, above all, a tool of communication for Basque speakers, without any type of complexity due to its limitations"; my trans. Zabala "Contra el silencio impuesto" 104)

The cultural magazine *Euzko-Gogoa* was undoubtedly an emblematic leader in the history of the Basque press and a symbol of the resurgence of the Basque language and nation during Franco's dictatorship. However, there is very little academic research on the contribution that Basque literature in exile made to the secularization and modernization of Basque literature, and even less research about the magazine published in English. *Euzko-Gogoa*, since its beginnings, played an important role in the Basque culture. The symbolic, idealistic and vocational understanding of culture, which was characteristic of the 1950's, created such a vital and dynamic movement that it is almost impossible to talk about the Basque cultural renaissance of the 1960's without properly examining this magazine. The decade of the 1950's brought new hopes for Basque literature, not only in the Basque Country but also in exile. Although it was a turning point in Basque literature, it is a decade that has been generally overlooked.

It is important to highlight that *Euzko-Gogoa* was a cultural magazine. It was first published in the Latin American exile, in Guatemala (1950-1955), and later in Biarritz, the Northern Basque Country (1956-1960), where it ended its publication in 1960. Exile in the analysis of the magazine is being referred to as a forced migration for political/ideological reasons. As Paul Tabori asserts: "An exile is a person compelled to leave or remain outside their country of origin on account of well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion" (27). *Euzko-Gogoa*'s journey in the Northern Basque Country would also be considered exile, since Jokin Zaitegi was forced to leave his hometown, in *Hegoalde* (Southern Basque Country) and move to Biarritz, in *Iparralde* (Northern Basque Country). It was the only way to have the freedom to keep publishing the magazine.

The historical upheavals during this decade were unique and played a pivotal role in the redefinition of the Basque nation. In fact, the main pillars of modern Basque literature were established during those ten years, 1950-1960. After the loss of the War of 1936, the Basque Government fought with the allies during the Second World War, believing that after defeating Hitler and Mussolini the allies would help to remove Franco from his position. However, the Cold War changed the world's course. Franco's totalitarianism didn't become the main enemy as communism took that role. The global course of history drastically conditioned the future of the Basque culture and language.

Despite the global outlook, the Basques worked to establish and promote their culture whether at home or in exile. Clear examples of their efforts include the creation of *Euzko-Gogoa* or the Basque publishing house *Ekin* (Charge 1942-) in exile. The scholar Gorka Aulestia states that Koldo Mitxelena, Santi Onaindia and Antonio Maria Labaien represented a group of Basque writers in the 1950's that tried to keep the Basque language alive in *Hegoalde*. Due to the Francoist censorship, the War of 1936 couldn't be discussed in their writings, so their productions reflected the lack of freedom in the Basque Country (39). In the 1950's, the publishing house *Itxaropena* (Hope) and the magazine *Egan* (Flying 1948-) became the main Basque cultural platforms in *Hegoalde*. Both institutions obtained the approval of the Francoist authorities. In 1949, *Itxaropena* published the poem *Arantzazu: Euskal sinesmenaren poema* (Arantzazu: The Poem of the Basque Belief) written by Salvatore Mitxelena. In 1950, the collection of poems *Euskaldunak* (The Basques), written by Nikolas Ormaetxea "Orixe," and the historical novel *Alos-Torrea* (The Tower of Alos) written by Jon Etxaide, were published. *Alos-Torrea* was indeed the first Basque novel published in the *Hegoalde* after the War of

1936. These works were not a menace for the Francoist regime since their topics were related with religion and the traditional or bucolic Basque Country. In 1953, the Franciscans published the magazine *Anaitasuna* (Brotherhood 1953-1982). In 1956, the Basque magazine *Jakin* (Knowledge 1956-) was created. Additionally, two significant meetings were organized to discuss the situation of the Basque language. The first in Arantzazu, in the Southern Basque Country, organized by *Euskaltzaindia* (The Royal Academy of Basque Language 1918-) and the second in Paris organized by the Basque Government. In this regard, the 1950's brought some changes to the Basque culture.

Gorka Aulestia explains that *Egan* was the first magazine published completely in Basque in *Hegoalde* (40). Although the magazine was born in 1948, it wasn't until 1954 when it began to be published only in Basque (before it was a bilingual magazine). The magazine was a literary supplement of the journal *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País* (Bulletin of the Basque Royal Society Friends of the Country 1944-). *Egan* represented the urban and modern Basque world, always under the scope of the Francoist limitations. The topics of the magazine were varied: poetry, literary criticism, Basque linguistic, theater, and more, but never political issues.

In his book, *Euskal idazleak gaur* (Basque Writers Today), Joan Mari Torrealdai notes that the 1950's marked the revival of Basque literature (83). He asserts that it is the cultural magazine *Euzko-Gogoa* in Guatemala that made the awakening of Basque culture and its language possible. Martin Ugalde in his work, "El exilio en la literatura vasca. Problemas y consecuencias" (The Exile in Basque Literature. Problems and Consequences) argues how in the Basque literature, the exile marked the tone for change:

Las contribuciones más importantes de América a la literatura euskérica fueron además del clima de libertad que permitió la expansión cultural y política de las colonias vascas y su desarrollo económico, dos centros clave: la editorial Ekin y la revista *Euzko-Gogoa*.

(“The most important contributions of America to the Basque literature were the climate of freedom that allowed the cultural and political expansion of the Basque colonies and their economic development, two key centers: were the publishing house Ekin and the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*”; my trans.; 245)

The awakening of the Basque literature was not only because *Euzko-Gogoa* was created but also because the number of publications grew, and because two literary generations began to merge. In other words, the 1950's became a reference in Basque literature. It was the beginning of the modernization and the institutionalization of the Basque literature.

What is clear is that the Basque culture was spread apart and weakened after the War of 1936, but began to be rebuilt little by little during the 1950's. Nevertheless, when the Basque culture is analyzed the 1950's are still greatly overlooked, but even more so the culture created in exile which began gaining momentum during this period. The impact of exile was instrumental in the process of planting the seeds for future nation building. With a country defeated and its culture outlawed, it was in exile that the Basque nation could be rebuilt and reimagined. *Euzko-Gogoa* created a foundation of ideas that would serve to maintain the dialogue of a desired community while maintaining and developing the Basque language and culture.

Although it isn't the most analyzed decade of Basque literature, there has been publications in regard to Basque works of the 1950's. In 1976, José Luis Abellán published a hexalogy titled, *El exilio español de 1939* (The Spanish Exile of 1939). The

third and fourth volumes deal with magazines of exile, culture and literature. The sixth and final volume analyzed the Catalan, Basque and Galician literature in exile. In 1979, Joseba Intxausti wrote two articles about *Euzko-Gogoa* coinciding with the death of its creator, Jokin Zaitegi. Intxausti suggested that the Basque culture was in debt to Zaitegi (“Euzko-Gogoaren lankideak” 120). In the 1990's, the scholars José Ángel Ascunce and María Luisa San Miguel edited a book called, *La cultura del exilio vasco* (The Culture of the Basque Exile), where different scholars tried to analyze the impact of the exile in the development of the Basque culture. Another important work is Josemari Velez de Mendizabal's book, *Iokin Zaitegi*, a biography of Jokin Zaitegi published in 1981.

The scholar Larraitz Ariznabarreta also remarks the importance of exile. In her work, *Martin Ugalde: Cartografías de un discurso* (Martin Ugalde: Cartographies of a Discourse in Exile) she acknowledges the exceptional nature of the “experience of exile,” and how it always reveals an obligatory reinterpretation of the exiled personal identity. Ander Gurruchaga argues that the biggest aportations of the Basque exile to the culture was the political attitude which rejected the Francoist system, as well as to give the continuity to the culture (187). According to Gurruchaga, the desire of the Basque exile was to link the old generation with the new generations in order to keep the memory of the past alive, especially in the political and cultural areas.

The Basque exiles maintained the nationalist code based on a traditional Basque nationalism inline with the utopic preindustrial Basque society. The *euskara*, the Basque laws, tradition, and historical peculiarity were the main ideas promoted.⁴ Basque

⁴ See De la Granja, *Nacionalismo y II República*. Beltza, *El nacionalismo vasco (de 1876-1936)*, and Gurruchaga, *El código nacionalista vasco durante el franquismo*, for an insightful analysis of the traditional Basque nationalism.

nationalism produced its own space, redefining its limits in exile. *Euzko-Gogoa*, faithful to the traditional nationalist ideals, tried to maintain the Basque Country by rebuilding the Basque national identity. In other words, generating an idea of a Basque community based on the traditional, linguistic, and symbolic Basque world.

Research on *Euzko-Gogoa* did not begin until the 21st century. Up until this period, there were publications where the impact of the journal is mentioned, however they do not exclusively discuss it. The topics of exile, diaspora or the repression of the Basque culture are more commonly discussed. In 2001, Paulo Iztueta published *Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua. Bi belaunaldien lekukoak: Euzko-Gogoa eta Zabal* (Thought of the Basque Exile. Two Generations: Euzko-Gogoa and Zabal) where he analyzed the generational change in Basque culture through the examination of two magazines, *Euzko-Gogoa*, as a representation of the prewar generation, and *Zabal* (Wide, 1973-1976) as the allegory of the postwar generation. He examines both magazines, their similarities and differences.

In 2009, the scholar Xabier Irujo published *Itzulpena erbestean: Bingen Ametzagak Ameriketara euskarara eramandako lanak (1938-1968)* (Translation in Exile: The Translations made by Bingen Ametzaga in America (1938-1968)) and *Homo Spelens: Bingen Ametzaga Aresti (1901-1969) Algortar baten bizitza erbestean* (Homo Spelens: Bingen Ametzaga Aresti (1901-1969) the Life of a man from Algorta in Exile), where he examines through the life of Bingen Ametzaga the impact of the Basque intellectuals in exile, concretely in America, during the rebirth of the Basque language and culture. One of the main pillars of the book is the analysis of the translations made in exile during the postwar years. Bingen Ametzaga was indeed one of the writers of the

cultural magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*. Irujo dedicates some chapters of his book to the magazine and to the intellectuals who worked side by side with Ametzaga to revitalize the *euskara*. Likewise, in 2011, Pako Sudupe published the trilogy *50eko hamarkadako euskal literatura* (The Basque Literature of the 1950's) where he analyzed the disputes over the literary language, and the importance of different Basque intellectuals and the platforms used to promote the Basque language and culture. He makes special emphasis on the figure of Zaitegi and the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*, especially in the first volume. Finally, in 2013 *Jokin Zaitegiren ekarpenak euskal curriculumean. Eginak eta asmoak* (The Contribution of Jokin Zaitegi to the Basque Curriculum. What he Made and his Goals) was published by Jon Diaz Egurbide. The author analyzes the life and works of Jokin Zaitegi. The focus of the book is the analysis of the relationship of Zaitegi's work and education. This same author with the collaboration of Paulo Iztueta published in 2007 the books *Jokin Zaitegi: gutunak* (Jokin Zaitegi: Letters) and *Jokin Zaitegiri idatzitako gutunak I-II* (Letters to Jokin Zaitegi I-II).

These previous studies have given us a general cultural context as well as quantitative analysis of the magazine, *Euzko-Gogoa*. They have also shown the character and personality of Jokin Zaitegi. These previous publications allow one to understand the context of Zaitegi's motivation and ambition for creating a magazine during a decade of changes and difficulties. They give a strong historical background and information, which offer the ability to further appreciate the impact of the magazine's creation of an imagined community in its pages.

The present study focuses on analyzing the imagined community created in *Euzko-Gogoa*. It was in exile where Basque literature began to flourish. The War of 1936

and the ensuing Franco's regime changed the course of Basque literature and culture. The repression and robust censorship implanted by the dictatorial government made practically impossible any cultural manifestation in *Hegoalde*. Because of that, one can believe that *Euzko-Gogoa* was the allegorical representation of the cultural rebirth of the Basque nation, culture, and language. This study combines the works made by Basque intellectuals, related to *Euzko-Gogoa*, and explores the magazine through different lenses including cultural, national, and postcolonial studies.

In addition, it will analyze the historical background to show the importance and the links between the historical context, the Basque cultural institutions, and the magazine. The objective of this work is to further contribute to the previous studies in order to fill in the gaps and develop the significance of the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*.

The dissertation is divided into four chapters. In chapter one, the theoretical framework will be introduced and will further examine aspects of nationalism based on the studies of Adam D. Smith, Ernest Gellner, and Benedict Anderson. Anderson's theory of "imagined community" will be the center of the dissertation, as he believes that culture is the fundamental pillar of the nation. The link between culture, nation, and nationalism is very important to understanding the contribution of the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*. Postcolonial theory and cultural studies are also analyzed in the chapter. The works of Frantz Fanon and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o will be used to analyze postcolonial theory. Referring to the work of Elizabeth Fraterrigo and Justin Gifford will be useful in examining the importance of new literary spaces for the reconstruction and redefinition of identities.

The second chapter investigates the historical framework of the Basque Country starting from the late 19th century to the early 1960's. The analysis of the historical events is important to understand how and why *Euzko-Gogoa* was created in the Basque exile, and why it is the allegorical representation of the rebirth of the Basque culture. A solid understanding of the historical context will also give a better understanding and appreciation of the magazine's literary content.

The third chapter analyzes Jokin Zaitegi's life with a special focus on his time in Guatemala and Biarritz analyzing the connection of the author and his geographical space. This chapter will also develop a quantitative analysis of *Euzko-Gogoa* to demonstrate the number of issues, pages, topics, writers, etc. This analysis will help provide a better understanding of the identity and foundations of the magazine.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the exploration of the imagined community created in the pages of *Euzko-Gogoa*, and its positioning of an archetype of Basque language, religion, gender, and nation. It will describe how the writers imagined the defeated Basque Country and how they reinforced a sense of collectivity amongst the Basques spread all over the world. In other words, how the magazine imagined the Basque nation and how it would like to rebuild it through its pages. To perform the analysis of the third and fourth chapter, archive letters and the magazine will be referenced. The conclusion will demonstrate how *Euzko-Gogoa* is a missing chapter in Basque literature and a magazine that goes beyond the "cultural" label.

Chapter One

The Theoretical Framework:

The main Pillars to examine *Euzko-Gogoa*

Throughout the ten years of its publication, *Euzko-Gogoa* published a variety of literary texts that created a unique corpus for maintaining and building an imagined community amongst its members. This community served not only to cope with the struggles following the War of 1936, but also to combat the censorship and create a space for cultural dialogue in hopes of one day turning the imagined community into a reality. With the *euskara* as their cohesive element, they tried to rebuild the defeated Basque culture and nation.

The War of 1936 cut the course of Spain's cultural life, and therefore the Basque Country's too. The repression and the iron censorship implanted by Franco's regime condemned the "losers" to death, to prison and to exile. The ones that decided to stay in their homeland were condemned to a silence that, in the case of the Basque literature, didn't break until the 1950's. Joan Mari Torrealdai in his article "Euskararen zapalkuntza" (The Repression of the Basque Language) quoting Rafael Ninyoles states that, it was towards the mid-1950's when a new technocratic language policy began, in which certain forms of cultural expression in non-official languages were tolerated (10). It was therefore from the exile where Basque literature, culture, and language was revitalized and promoted. In the Basque Country, Franco's regime imposed a policy of persecution of the *euskara* that made any cultural manifestation in Basque impossible. In this regard *Euzko-Gogoa* became a lighthouse for the Basque language.

In order to analyze the imagined community created by *Euzko-Gogoa*, the work of Benedict Anderson's view of imagined communities will help to create a lens to view their goals, accomplishments, and failures. Other authors such as Anthony D. Smith and Ernest Gellner will also assist in understanding the nation building process and the relationship between culture and nationalism. In addition, to analyze *Euzko-Gogoa* as an imagined community it is important to review the magazine from the scope of other theories such as cultural and postcolonialism that will help to further understand the depth of its content and influence.

Anthony D. Smith defends in his book, *National Identity* the importance of culture in nation building. According to Smith, nations and nationalism are not only ideologies, but a cultural phenomenon: "More than a style and doctrine of politics, nationalism is a form of culture— an ideology, a language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness" (91). For Smith, the key to nationalism is the creation of national identity, achieved through various pillars in order to form a common civic culture and ideology. What Smith promotes is the understanding of the cultural roots of nationalism, rather than cultural nationalism. To further explain his ideology, Smith uses the metaphor of Oedipus, the drama written by Sophocles. From Smith's point of view, the identity is not singular, but rather, there are "multiple identities" (3). The combined identities are those that constitute the national identity. Therefore, various voices, viewpoints, generations, realities, and backgrounds are required to build a nation. In the case of *Euzko-Gogoa*, various authors from an array of backgrounds contributed to the magazine which enriched the process of nation building.

According to Smith, it is the culture that constitutes the essence of nationalism: “Nationalism is a *form of culture*” (91). In the cultural nationalism promoted by the author, intellectuals have an unparalleled function. For Smith, it is the intellectuals who propose and elaborate the concepts and language of the nation, and through their musings and research, give voice to wider aspirations conveyed in images, myths and symbols (92). Smith identifies national identity as a collective cultural phenomenon. In *Euzko-Gogoa*, the intellectual writers were in charge of the maintenance and elaboration of the Basque language and literature. Their aspirations are obvious in the magazine, where the authors used literature to build their desired nation. The literary works contributed can be further reviewed in Table four, page 58.

For Ernest Gellner, the formula for nation building consists of both power and culture. Industrialization brings with it the need of skilled labor, made possible in thanks to education that transmits to all citizens a high culture with a unique and shared language. Gellner argues that nationalism arose because it fulfilled an important function and genesis for the modernization of society: “A man’s education is by far his most precious investment, and in effect confers his identity on him” (35). One of *Euzko-Gogoa*’s main objectives was to further improve and develop the Basque language to a level capable for academia and education. As it will be discussed in chapter four, the authors found it important to begin the process of the normalization of various Basque dialects and to promote the future of a Basque university.

For Benedict Anderson, culture is a fundamental component of nationalism. According to Anderson, a nation is: “An imagined political community and is imagined as both inherently, limited, and sovereign” (6). Meaning, it is imagined because, although

it is impossible to know all the members, each member can evoke in their mind the image of a communion between them. Using Anderson's ideas of an imagined community will be further used for the analysis and understanding of the communion created in *Euzko-Gogoa* for the maintenance of the Basque culture. As Anderson states:

It is imagined as limited because even the largest nation, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. It is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings (7)

One of the most important pillars of the nation building process according to Anderson, is language. He asserts that nationalism is born from the interaction between the cultural system and political ideology. Therefore, the “print-language” provides the necessary technical support to “represent” the imagined community: “Language has the capacity to generate imagined communities” (133). The development of print was connected with the ideas of nations and nationalism. In fact, the cultural products — poetry, prose, music, and art— were used as a discourse. In short, the nation is conceived by the language, it is a community imagined through the language

The ideology of Anderson is useful when analyzing the goals and influence *Euzko-Gogoa* had on the Basque culture and nation. The network of writers allowed for the creation of an imagined community and place of dialogue to develop a national consensus. *Euzko-Gogoa* was conceived with the notion that the Basque language written

in a variety of publications would allow its community to survive and build its state. As it will be further explained in chapter four.

When using Anderson's theory of nation building it is important to note the limitations of its use in the analysis of *Euzko-Gogoa*. The magazine was founded under Jokin Zaitegi, and although the works published in *Euzko-Gogoa* were quite heterogeneous and allowed for a variety of writers, it was ultimately Zaitegi's project.

From the scholar Justin Gifford's point of view, literature is the perfect platform to create new spaces: "The novels of the 1970s push the genre of black crime literature in new directions by providing utopian resolutions to spaces of white containments" (99). It gives to the readers and writers an unequalled location to create something unique, as well as a place to think, rethink, define, and redefine its attitude towards the world. *Euzko-Gogoa* created a space where Basque culture could be forged. The object of *Euzko-Gogoa* was to provide an imagined community, separate from the Basque Country's cultural reality.

Elizabeth Fraterrigo, the author of *Playboy and the Making of the Good life in Modern America*, argues that: "*Playboy* emerged as a contestant in an ongoing dialogue about a society in transition" (26). It was the representation of a new generation eager to overturn the old order in America. In other words, the generational change, comes to represent the convulsive world and the vertiginous changes that occur in there (49). *Playboy* represents a transition in society inspired by a new generation. *Euzko-Gogoa* was also a space for change in an imagined, written community. This space allowed for two generations to converge their ideas. The magazine was a platform for their goal of

creating a reality of their imagined community. The aim of this dissertation is to prove this argument with a deeper reading and analysis of *Euzko-Gogoa*'s issues.

Elizabeth Fraterrigo and Justin Gifford both show how marginalized communities that don't necessarily have a current space in society can use literature or magazines to create a space that allows for the reconsideration of new voices and canon. Similarly, *Euzko-Gogoa* represents a unique opportunity to rewrite the space of Basque literature since exile offered a way of escape from an oppressed culture in its country of origin. During the time of Franco's dictatorship, Spanish culture and language was imposed on *Hegoalde*. The Basque language was forbidden, and its use was punishable. In this sense, the use of postcolonial theory will address the situation and "internal-colonialism" that occurred during the Franco dictatorship.

Postcolonial theory, as a literary theory, analyzes the literature produced in countries that were or are still colonies of other countries. The theory addresses many aspects of societies that have suffered colonialism: such as the dilemma of establishing a national identity, the articulation of their cultural identities, the perpetuation of an image of inferior being, but also the anti-colonial revolts through the literature. Postcolonialism analyzes the psychological dimension of the relationship between the colonial author and the metropolitan literary tradition. Postcolonial theory studies the relations of the culture and the empire, also the resistance to the empire in the textual and symbolic field.

The scholar Frantz Fanon argues that the colonized cultures themselves have been constructed culturally and subjectively through the internalization of the forms of inferiority advocated from colonizers themselves ("Black Skin, White Masks" 9). For example, the inferior status that the colonizers attributed to the native language while

promoting their own as the language of civilization was a key factor in understanding why the colonized adapted the speech and writing styles of the colonizer. However, Fanon found that in order to reject this imposition and reverse the situation, literature would be required as a powerful weapon of emancipation and disalienation (“Black Skin, White Masks” 25).

The author seems to openly endorse the idea that literature has to engage itself in the task of bringing the community to a point of reflection and intervention. In his book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, an openly political work, Fanon states: “The cultural obliteration is made by the negation of national reality, a national culture in underdeveloped countries should therefore take its place at the very heart of the struggle for freedom” (188). Fanon wants to create a resistance against the ambivalent power between the empire and colony that affects the colonized through national literature. Fanon argues that national culture under colonial domination is a culture under interrogation whose destruction is sought systematically (171). In order to stop this destruction, the people must wake up and literature must shake and awaken them. Because if the colonized do not write their own story they are condemned to immobility and silence (31). This mentality was also shared by Jokin Zaitegi and the contributors of *Euzko-Gogoa*. Through the use of literature and their words, they were combatant and fought in an effort to maintain and develop their nation and culture.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s book, *Decolonising the Mind*, speaks about the importance of language and the connection it has with the culture and identity of a country. This Kenyan author argues that to eradicate colonialism and obtain cultural freedom, it is necessary to write in the mother tongue by renouncing the language of the empire (4). For

Thiong'o, native languages have the identity and expressive capacity of the colonized, and it is through them the only way to achieve decolonization. Thiong'o states that language is not merely a string of words: "It has a suggestive magical power" (11).

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o observes that languages imposed by colonizers try to break the native souls (9). He argues that colonizers vex the native language and its speakers, trying to associate the native language with low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, and slow-footed intelligence. This breaks the dual character of language, which is on the one hand a communicative tool and on the other a cultural carrier: "The domination of people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised" (16). Language is one of the stronger identity signals. It is an inseparable tool of any human community that makes them specific from a character, a specific history, and a specific relationship with the world (13). Thus, when a language is erased, the culture falls down into the abyss of the forgotten. The decolonization is therefore carried out through a linguistic policy in which the native language must be recovered, a symbol of the spirit and soul of a people.

Culture, language, and politics (power) constitute the fundamental bases of the nation. Intellectuals play a predominant role, and in this sense *Euzko-Gogoa* represents the intellectual elite that was responsible for the maintenance and development of the Basque language, Basque literature, and Basque identity. As the scholars Xabier Irujo and Iñigo Urrutia state: "The history of Basque in the last 220 years has been plagued by prohibitions and political persecution" (9). That is why politics (power), culture, and language are intrinsically connected in the achievement of national construction.

Chapter Two

Historical Representation: Through the Utopian preindustrial Basque Country to *Euzko-Gogoa*

Prior to the publication of *Euzko-Gogoa*, decades of events shaped the political, cultural, and linguistic reality of the Basque Country. Historical upheavals influenced the ideology and mindset of Jokin Zaitegi and the collaborators of the magazine. Various predecessors shared fundamental beliefs and goals to *Euzko-Gogoa*, especially in the preservation of the Basque language and culture. In order to understand the objectives behind the magazine, it is essential to examine the historical events that took place leading up to its publication. Namely, the Second Carlist War, Sabino Arana's nationalist views, the Basque Renaissance, the War of 1936, and the exile experience. This chapter will shed light on *Euzko-Gogoa*'s main foundation of creating a magazine to stimulate the Basque culture and promote the Basque language.

Prior to the Second Carlist War in 1876, the demographics of the Basque Country began to change. The Basque Country experienced an industrial revolution where major cities like Bilbao had a large influx of immigrants from various regions of Spain due to the labor demands. This migration began to change the Basque Country's reality. Larger cities began to emerge and replace rural lifestyles. With this change in demographics came new ideologies, religious beliefs, and the increased use of the Spanish language. The working-class immigrants, many of them socialists and atheists, didn't share the Basque dogmas, *Euskaldun fededun* (Basque and faithful). The scholar Belen Altube argues that, if anything has been clear at least until the second half of the twentieth century, being a "good Basque" meant to be faithful and with a strict adherence to

Catholicism (17). This wave of immigration drastically changed the Basque Country's demographics where the urban areas became more Spanish speaking and the use of Basque was relegated to the rural areas. This created a polarization between the Basque and Spanish languages where many Basques saw this as a threat to their identity and homeland.

The scholar Beltza analyzes the impact of the Industrialization in the Basque Country between 1876-1936. Examining his data below, one can see the correlation between the rise of the Spanish immigration and the decreased use of the Basque language.

Basque Regions in 1876	Inhabitants	Basque Speakers
Northern Basque Country	123,000	80,000
Araba	95,000	10,000
Navarre	300,000	60,000
Gipuzkoa	176,000	170,000
Bizkaia	180,000	149,000
Total	874,000	469,000

Table 1: The amount of Basque speaker in the Basque Country in 1876. Beltza, Nacionalismo vasco 1876-1936, Ediciones mugalde, 1974. p.10

Although Beltza argues that the number of Basque speakers in the 1930's was randomly collected data, upon further analization of the data in Table 2, one can extrapolate the fact that the number of inhabitants went up, but not the number of the Basque speakers. The farmers and fishermen used Basque as a vehicular language, on the contrary to the commercial and industrial workers who used Spanish. Beltza states: "El español es el idioma del sistema capitalista y el vascuence del sistema precapitalista" ("Spanish is the language of the capitalist system and the *euskara* is that of the pre-

capitalist system”; my trans.; 218). In short, social, economic, and political relations were linked to the Spanish language, with Basque linked to the farmers and fishermen.

Southern Basque Regions 1931	Inhabitants	Basque Speakers
Araba	104,176	10,000
Navarre	345,883	80,000
Gipuzkoa	302,329	N/A
Bizkaia	485,205	N/A
Total	1.237,593	N/A

*Table 2: The amount of Basque speaker in the Basque Country in 1931. Iztueta, Paulo. *Intelligentzia kimatuaren orbelak*, Kutxa Fundazioa, 1996. p.308*

With these changes in society, many people began to view Basque as an inferior language. It became marginalized and was treated as an uncultivated language for illiterate people. Martin Ugalde analyzes that Basque intellectuals like Miguel de Unamuno that in 1901 promoted the idea that: “El vascuence es un lenguaje de tipo inferior” (“the Basque is a lower-type language”; my trans.; “Unamuno y el Vascuence” 100). His argument was that the Basque language wasn’t a literary and cultured language, and as a result wouldn’t resist the clash with a stronger language like that of Spanish Castilian.

Some Basque intellectuals clashed with the hypotheses of Unamuno. These individuals also had a key impact on the Basque Renaissance (1876-1936) that emerged from the end of the Second Carlist War in 1876. Resurrección María de Azkue, Arturo Campión, or Sabino Arana among others, had a great concern about the Basque language and they saw it as the national language of the Basques, and therefore the sublime expression of their spirit. These intellectuals wanted to break with the stereotypes

imposed on the Basque language, in which Basque was defined as a rural language with no literary tradition. The Basque academic Jean Haritschelhar states:

Mende hastetik gerlatara, gazte batzu agertzen dira, Azkue, Urkijo, Arana Goiri... “Le Congres de la Tradition Basque” delakoaren ondotik denek senditzen dute batasunaren bidea hartu behar duela euskarak eta euskal estudioak behar direla gorpuztu, behar zaiela eman bizi berri bat.

(“In the beginning of the new century, there are young people, Azkue, Urkijo, Arana Goiri ...who, after the congress “The Congress of Basque Tradition,” they realized the importance of unifying the Basque language and the importance of the materialization of Basque studies, and gave birth to a new life; my trans.; 11)

Through the efforts of these individuals, *Euskaltzaindia* was created in 1918. The scholar Estibaliz Amorrortu states that the goals of the academy were to regulate spelling, to codify new lexicon, and to enhance literary Basque (57). The *euskara* has a pronounced variation and differentiation in its *euskalki*'s (dialects). As Koldo Zuazo states, the Basque language has five *euskalki*'s and eleven *azpi-euskalki*'s (sub-dialects) (“The Dialects of Basque” 17). However, the first dialectal map of Basque dialects was made in 1863, by Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, the nephew of Napoleon, who classified the dialects into eight groups. However, in current studies it is suggested the classification of *euskalki*'s in five groups. Therefore, the standardization and normalization of the Basque language was one of the main priorities of *Euskaltzaindia*. A standardized *euskara* would be able to carry across various institutions, universities, publications, and allow for the growth of the language.

The Bizkaian linguist and *Euskaltzaindia*'s first director Resurrección María de Azkue (1864-1951), was the main axis and promoter of the academy. The scholar Jurgi Kintana explains that *Euskaltzaindia* was founded without the support of various social

authorities. Some supporters of the *Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea-Partido Nacionalista Vasco*, EAJ-PNV (The Basque Nationalist Party, 1895-) were in favor of *Euskaltzaindia* and Azkue's project to invigorate the Basque language. Detractors, including those who were pro-Sabino Arana, didn't support the academy and its proposals for the Basque language standardization (35). The relationship between Azkue and Arana was tense, given their different approaches towards the *euskara* and culture. The nationalist writers followed, almost without exception, the model of language that Sabino Arana had advocated, with its orthographic model, a purist version of the language that replaced Romance roots with neologisms and a safeguard of the Basque dialects, especially of the Biscayan dialects. The followers of Azkue, on the other hand, advocated another orthographic model, as they were not so purist in the lexical aspect and advocated the creation of a unified literary dialect.

Azkue proposed the use of *gipuzkera osatua* (enhanced Gipuzkoan) as the basis for literary Basque, while using other dialects to enhance it. Since Gipuzkoa is geographically central, it was thought to be the easiest for speakers of other dialects to understand. Mari Jose Olaziregi states that Azkue did a prodigious work on the consolidation of Basque studies, especially in the area of philology: his *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés* (Basque-Spanish-French Dictionary, 1905–6), as well as the *Morfología Vasca* (Basque Morphology, 1923), the ethnographic collections of the *Cancionero Vasco* (Collection of Basque Verses, 1922) and *Euskalerrriaren yakintza*, and with the *Literatura Popular del País Vasco* (Popular Literature of the Basque Country, 1935–47) were crucial for investigative work in ethnography and philology as well as for the standardization of the Basque language (“Basque Literary History” 141). Azkue's

work was very influential in the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*, with the magazine's director Jokin Zaitegi promoting his literary form of Basque.

Among the protagonists promoting Basque culture, language and politics of this period, Sabino Arana served as a figurehead of the movement. In 1895, he founded EAJ-PNV. His main objective centered on the formulation and dissemination of the nationalist ideology. His anthem, "Jaungoikoa eta Lagi-Zarrak" (God and the Old Laws), explained the religious and nationalist foundations of his political ideology. As Paulo Iztueta argues, for Arana, the identity of the Basque Country and its people were based upon the elements of race, language, customs, and historical identity ("Orixeren belaunaldia V" 231). The Basque nationalist discourse was marked by the feelings of a defeated people in successive Carlist Wars who were fighting for the *fueros* (the old Basque laws, local laws forming a sort of civic agreement) mixed with religious sentiments, and who refused to accept a Castilian-based totalitarian national state. Sabino Arana states in the magazine *Bizkaitarra*: "Los Bizkainos no somos españoles ni por la raza, ni por el idioma ni por las leyes, ni por la historia" ("the Bizkaians are not Spanish, not due to the race, neither for the language, laws or history"; my trans.; 181).

Sabino Arana's ideology and figure marked the path of the Basque Renaissance and the prewar generation. Arana inspired a deep emotional calling for the motherland, an unconditional love for the Basque Country. He also stands as a key figure in *Euzko-Gogoa's* analysis. He is one of the main figures which Basque intellectuals evoke in order to promote the Basque culture and language. His ideas about the motherland, the idea of the Basque nation, and his linguistic purism are some of the fundamentals of *Euzko-Gogoa's* main concepts, as it will be seen in chapter four. Ultimately, Sabino

Arana created the image and consciousness of “Euzkadi dugu euzkotarren aberria” ‘The Motherland of Basques is the Basque Country.’

Although Arana was an important character in the development of the Basque identity and nationalism, not everyone agreed with his ideas. Joxe Azurmendi describes how the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), amongst others didn’t see in Arana or in his ideology any positive virtue. The socialists believed that he was crazy, and the Spanish Catholic Movement (MCE) argued that Arana was the founding father of the small bourgeoisie nationalist ideology, but not the founder of the revolutionary Basque patriotism (“Arana Goiri-ren pentsamendu politikoa” 18). Inside the Basque intelligentsia there were those who did not share the totality of Sabinian ideology. Azkue, for instance, had mixed feelings with Arana. Azkue tried to consolidate the foundations of the standard Basque, but the extra purity and the neologism promoted by Arana was not overly appreciated by Azkue. Alfonso Irigoien states: “Politika arazoak mundu abertzalean Aranaren bidetik zihoaztenez gero, haren joerak nagusitzen baitziren, eta horretan ez baitzeturren bat” (“the political conflicts in the nationalist world were following Arana’s pathway, also the linguistic sphere and [Azkue] did not agree with that” 396).

During this time of cultural upheaval, women also began to play a role in politics and promoted the nationalistic preachings of Sabino Arana. In 1922, *Emakume Abertzale Batza*, EAB (Association of Nationalist Women 1922-23, 1931-36), was created. Authors such as Leyre Arrieta, Policarpo de Larrañaga, Miren Llona, Maite Nuñez-Betelu, and Mercedes Ugalde are the main authors who have analyzed EAB. The EAB had its precedents in the Irish association named *Cumman na mBan* (Women’s League) established in 1914. The association was born in Bilbao in 1922, by women of the EAJ-

PNV. These women went from village to village spreading EAJ-PNV's ideology, and more concretely a woman's role inside the party and in the community.

Policarpo de Larrañaga analyzed the main objectives of EAB as such: "Difundir por Euzkadi la doctrina nacionalista vasca, desarrollar actividades e iniciativas en el orden cultural, y desarrollar actividades e iniciativas en el orden benéfico y social" ("disseminate by Basque nationalist doctrine in the Basque Country, develop activities and initiatives in the cultural order, and develop activities and initiatives in the charitable and social order"; my trans.; 45).

In order to understand the role of women in the development of Basque nationalism and the creation of the Basque imagined community, the analysis of the EAB Manifesto would be helpful in understanding the female figure of the prewar period that would thrive in the pages of the magazine. The manifesto lays out the religious, political, and social goals of the organization. On the religious front, women were seen as needing to instill the religious and moral education within the home. Politically, women were seen as having the making of future patriots. They were to both preserve the Basque language and encourage their children to use it. In the social realm, they were expected to educate the family in the social ideas exposed by the Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. They also were to advise submission but not servility. The press was to be one of their greatest concern: to spread it and improve it must be the concern of every patriot. They also had to be the consolation of those who suffered.⁵ After the War of 1936, EAB disappeared from the Basque territory to act only in the exile.

⁵ See Larrañaga, especially chapter 3 for an insightful analysis of this trend.

During the nationalist movement headed by Arana and in conjunction with Azkue and others, a number of cultural events and organizations were born. In 1927, the society *Euzkaltzaleak* (an association committed to the development of the Basque culture in the Basque language) was created in Arrasate-Mondragón, Gipuzkoa, during the *Euskara Eguna* (Basque-Day). As the scholar Lourdes Otaegi explains, it was an entity that promoted the most important cultural initiatives and activities during the pre-Republican years (“Aitzolen proiektu kulturalaz” 20-21). Manuel Lekuona states that the motives behind the society were focused solely on the promotion of the *euskara* while maintaining a politically neutral society (362). This mentality and political neutrality would be an important factor in the publication of *Euzko-Gogoa*. However, it was difficult for both organizations to be completely non-politicized or have no political undertone in their works. For example, in 1931, Nikolas Ormaetxea “Orixe” began to write the Basque national poem, following the wave of other countries. In his poem, *Euskaldunak* (The Basques), Orixe wanted to personify the living image of the Basque peoples’ soul, with its legends, traditions and folklore. Although the poem was completed in 1936, as a result of the War of 1936, it would not be published until 1950.

Although the Basque nationalist movement made a strong campaign to promote the Basque language, the use of the language was foreign in various intellectual spaces. Iñaki Aldekoa states: “A pesar del impulso recibido por el nacionalismo vasco en el siglo XX, el uso literario, periodístico y científico de la lengua continuaba siendo minoritario” (“despite the efforts of the 20th Century Basque nationalism, the use of Basque in literary, journalistic and scientific works continues to be a minority”; my trans.; “Historia

de la literatura vasca” 129). *Euzkaltzaleak* worked to promote the Basque language to a higher level of social and intellectual prestige.

The central figures of *Euzkaltzaleak* were José Ariztimuño “Aitzol” and José María Agirre “Xabier Lizardi.” Aitzol and Lizardi promoted the *euskara* through their poetry, in an effort to grant it more prestige. Lizardi realized that previous styles of poetry needed to be revolutionized in order to reach the deepest knowledge of the language. The intellectual Xabier Lete remarks: “Lizardik euskara nagusi bat nahi du; bere betiko izaerarik galdu gabe, gaurko mundu bihurriaren adierazle izan litekeen euskara bat” (“Lizardi wanted a superior Basque language; without losing its essence, but in which it may be an intermediary of the sinuous world in which we live”; my trans.; 16). Lizardi took the *gipuzkera osatua* as the written form of the language, adding other dialects, words, and structures. Lete states that: “Zail da, hizkuntza sintetizatu, landu, osatu, berrituratu baten bitartez espresatzen delako; batez ere aberastasuna, eta xehetasun guztien parekotasun plastikoa aurkitzen saiatzen delako” (“his poetry was difficult because it was expressed through a synthesized, thorough, complete, and renewed language; his language is the paradigm of wealth and precision” (21). Lizardi was the first to create a special poetic language in Basque. However, Lizardi’s writings caused controversy in its time between the critics and writers, such as Aitzol, who were more inclined towards “popular” writings. Actually, other members of his organization argued that his writings were too complex for the common man. Lizardi countered:

“Gure bideak euskara txukuntzekoak ez omen dira, naspillatzekoak baizik. Negargarrizko etsia benetan, berez ezerez samarrak izan arren, maitasunaren indarrez euskarari aintza-bideak urratzen laguntzea amets gendunontzat” “Bide berriak?... Bide guziak?...”

(“Our written language is criticized because it is too elaborate. What a shame for them to surrender so readily, meanwhile we try to glorify the Basque language”; my trans.; 122)

The main contribution of Lizardi was to elevate the culture of the Basque language. Otaegi argues: “Euskaltzaleak erakundeak Lizardiren gidaritzapean duen helburu edo xede nagusienetako bat euskara kultura maila erabiliz prestigiatzea da” (“one of the major objectives that the organization *Euskaltzaleak* had under the command of Lizardi, was to use the Basque language in culture and thus to honor it”; my trans.; “Lizardiren poetika” 74). This mentality that Basque literature could become an instrument of national awareness and promotion of a higher level *euskara* would carry over through the pages of *Euzko-Gogoa*.

Amidst this cultural activity of the Basque Renaissance, the Spanish Second Republic was established on April 14, 1931. During its reign, the Basque cultural arena continued to flourish. Luis Villasante mentions that it was during this period that Basque literature began to establish itself. Books were published on a regular basis and there were a stable group of writers (312). With the Republic came one of the key figures of Basque nationalism, José Antonio Agirre, the first *lehendakari* (Basque President).⁶ According to the scholar Beltza, the Basque political and cultural movement took great breadth with the Republic, which gave it a more favorable atmosphere for their interests and needs (“El nacionalismo vasco” 195).

Despite the Second Republic’s progressive beginning, it was shadowed in the end due to an abrupt turn of events resulting in the change of powers under the General

⁶ See Irujo and Olaziregi’s book *The International Legacy of Lehendakari Jose A. Agirre’s Government* for an insightful analysis about Agirre’s life.

Franco. The Second Republic was not exempt from what was happening across Europe, and its destiny was very much marked by the international economic crisis, the triumph of extremism in Europe with Hitler's victory in 1933, and the establishment of Stalin in the USSR. All these socio-political struggles radicalized the already tense situation in Spain.

During the elections of 1936, Spain was immersed in an atmosphere of immense social instability as it was polarized between two forces. The elections of 1936 gave the victory to the *Frente Popular* (Popular Front, leftist parties). However, on July 17, the generals Emilio Mola and Francisco Franco initiated an uprising to overthrow the democratically elected Republic. The Catholic Church also approved the uprising. The EAJ-PNV was a decidedly Catholic party. Nevertheless, the EAJ-PNV did not join the military uprising and fought with the republicans. Actually, many Basque priests were imprisoned and killed. Even though the EAJ-PNV was a Catholic and conservative party, it suffered the repression of the conservative and Catholic forces. The scholar José Álvarez argues that it was a conflict between the two versions of a nation that came from the nineteenth century: the liberal, secular and progressive versus the conservative Catholic (461). In my opinion, these two extremes were equally dangerous, as they shut out reason and avoided any form of compromise, preventing any productive result. This coup d'état was supported by other European fascist powers, such as, Germany and Italy, who offered aid with their military support and strategies.

The War of 1936 represented a dress rehearsal for the Second World War, an unresolved conflict between the forces of democracy and fascism. Álvarez argues that:

Fue un conflicto muy complejo, en el que hubo aspectos internacionales (tropas y armamento proporcionados por Hitler, Mussolini y Stalin), sociales (lucha de clases), culturales (la España laica contra la católica), diversas concepciones de la estructura estatal (tensiones centro-periferia), enfrentamiento entre España urbana y rural.

("It was a very complex conflict, in which there were international aspects (troops and armament provided by Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin), social (class struggle), cultural (secular Spain against the Catholic Spain), various conceptions of the state structure (tensions between center-periphery), confrontation between urban and rural Spain"; my trans.; 461)

The war produced thousands of Basque political refugees, although it has been impossible to find exact numbers of the exiles who left the Basque country. The scholar Beltza estimates that 150,000 to 200,000 fled the country. It is also uncertain the number of those who died, were executed and were imprisoned during the War of 1936 ("El nacionalismo vasco" 322). The *Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, INE (Statistics National Institute), shows the population in the Southern Basque Country to be 1,237,593 inhabitants, with approximately 12% of the population going into exile. During these three years, the EAJ-PNV was characterized by its democratic and humanitarian role in the conflict.⁷ In 1937, the *lehendakari* José Antonio Agirre made his final message to the Basque people from Basque soil. In his address, he attempted to encourage his people despite the imminent inevitable struggles: "El territorio habrá sido conquistado; el alma del Pueblo Vasco, no; no lo será jamás" ("our territory may have been conquered: but not the soul of the Basque people; it will never be conquered"; my trans.; 1). Iñaki Aldekoa argues that many Basques finished in jail and exile, in desperation and in silence, a

⁷ Several studies point out this same idea. See Mota 25-75, Lekuona and Garrido 135-152, Arrieta 52-60.

silence which, with respect to literature, did not break until the 1950's ("Euskal literaturaren historia" 149).

From its creation in 1939, the new dictatorial regime had a number of very ideological tenets. All political power was gathered in the dictatorship, the claim of "unity of the fatherland" countered any political autonomy of the regions and Spanish was promoted as the only language in Spain. Any peninsular languages or cultural manifestations besides Spanish were forbidden and punishable. The academic Gorka Aulestia states: "Uno de los objetivos prioritarios del nuevo régimen en Euskal Herria fue la desaparición de la lengua y cultura vascas" ("one of the primary objectives of the new regime in the Basque Country was the disappearance of the Basque language and culture"; my trans.; 15). Thus, exile became the only safe-conduit for the *euskara* and culture.

José Luis Abellán recounts how those who fled the War of 1936 and the Second World War emigrated to various locations of Europe and Latin America ("El exilio español de 1939 (III)" 15). Most of those in exile were well-educated, commercial elite, intellectuals, clerics, and upper-class Basques that found themselves forced to find a place in the diasporic communities. America offered the opportunity to reunite with family and relatives that had previously immigrated. The new world offered a familiarity of culture, and chain migration allowed these exiles to find opportunities while maintaining their cultural roots and language. Argentina, Mexico, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Uruguay, Cuba, and Panama were all home to diasporic communities that hosted many of these exiles.

Within Latin America, the scholar José Ángel Ascunce states that Mexico, Venezuela, and Argentina played a particularly decisive role in granting asylum to Basque refugees (“La cultura del exilio vasco I” 27). As a result, the majority of the cultural work for the Basques was published in these countries. However, other countries in South America offered a destination for clerics of various religious orders who had a great deal of passion and zeal for their culture. However, despite the offering of a haven, the distancing of exiles from their motherland was a form of passive punishment and purge.

This forced exile would last for forty years, when some of those exiled were able to return to the Basque Country. However, many would never return. Some in exile, particularly those without any pending issues with Franco’s regime, returned during the dictatorship. Those who remained in exile fought for the hopes of the next Basque generation, despite the separation from their homeland.

Although the Basque exile marked the rebirth of the Basque literature and culture, the emotional and personal suffering endured by the exiles in having to leave behind their homeland cannot be forgotten. Gorka Aulestia describes the experience of exile with emotions of isolation and dispersion, problems of adaptation, the incognita of the time of return, the bitterness of defeat, and the nostalgia for the distant homeland (17). Although their love for the Basque language gave them the strength to fight for the motherland, the agony of the unsatisfied soul can last a lifetime. Exiles undergo a deep uprooting, and often does not find their place in a world that has not provided a community/place/area for themselves. For that reason, decades later the Basque writer and exile Joseba Sarrionandia described the exiles as “apatrida” ‘stateless’ since they don’t have a point of

reference. With this sensation of limbo, they found in magazines a platform upon which to rebuild their lost nation.

José Ángel Ascunce, analyzes the uprooting and alienation suffered by the exiles and the basic principles that define them. Exile reveals the tragedy undergone by the subject through two indicated principles: the geographical breakdown and the breaking of one's identity ("El exilio: debate para la historia y la cultura" 37). The uprooting and alienation favor the creation or recreation of an imagined or utopian story, which functions as a compensatory force of consciousness and loss or banishment. Ascunce remarks:

El exiliado, consciente de sus carencias físicas y afectivas, recrea crítica o evocativamente o bien lucha políticamente para reconquistar la tierra perdida y recuperar una historia personal en el lugar patrio. La validez de esta lucha presenta, desde una perspectiva exiliar, el mismo valor si los medios empleados para su realización son la política, el estudio crítico, la creación o evocación. Toda manifestación que toma como referente la razón trágica de la expulsión en cualquiera de sus caras es una conducta de signo indiscutible exiliar.

(The exile, aware of his physical and emotional deficiencies, recreates criticism or evocatively or politically struggles to reconquer the lost land and recover a personal history in the homeland. The validity of this struggle presents, from an exile perspective, the same value if the means used for its realization are politics, critical study, creation or evocation. Any manifestation that takes as a reference the tragic reason of the expulsion, in any of its faces, is a conduct of indisputable exile sign"; my trans.; "El exilio: debate para la historia y la cultura" 42)

It was in America, the archetype of freedom, where the Basque culture found the perfect space to grow. The scholar Jon Kortazar states that the first generation of the postwar period is a generation in exile (99). Exile became a fundamental pillar of the modernization of Basque culture. Edward W. Said asserts in his book *Reflections on Exile* that modern Western culture is largely the work of the exiled, migrants, and

refugees (179). These exiled individuals acted with pragmatism in order to survive, adapting their own identity to new spaces, times, and experiences. While integrating into their new environments, these individuals did not break off completely from their motherland. One way of maintaining their ties and identity was through newspapers, magazines, journals, and other forms of published media. The newspaper archive of the Basque diaspora, *Uranzadi Digital*, has collected a total of 136 exile and diasporic magazines and newspapers, with the majority from the late 19th century and 20th century.

The Basque magazines published in exile and in the Basque diaspora before *Euzko-Gogoa* included topics related with homesickness, the nostalgia of the Basque Country, the sorrows of the War of 1936, the promotion of the Basque language, personal experiences, and local affairs amongst others. They were not exactly intellectual magazines, but more popular magazines. However, the intention of *Euzko-Gogoa* was to promote a high Basque culture, something new in the cultural Basque reality of those years. In fact, *Euzko-Gogoa* had the collaboration of the best Basque writers, who maintained an almost unattainable literary perfection. *Euzko-Gogoa* can be described as an innovative literary product in the Basque cultural arena of the 1950's.

One of the first Basque magazines published outside the Basque Country, *Californiako Eskual Herria* (The Basque Country of California, 1893-1898), was founded by Jean Pierre Goytino in Los Angeles in 1893. The weekly newspaper was the first to be written entirely in the Basque language in the United States. At the end of the 19th century, there were approximately five thousand Basques living in California and the magazine's aim was to preserve a connection amongst the population while maintaining the use of the Basque language. As Xipri Arbelbide argues, like many promoters of the Basque

culture, language was the cornerstone of the Basque identity, the strength of this identity is a result of this “sacred” language (50). In a time in which Basque people were still settling in the American West, the Basque language had to continue since it was the main symbol of the Basques, and it needed to be spread and grown in every corner of the United States. Goytino’s work was truly patriotic and it sought to build a connectivity within the Basque diasporic community.

In the diasporic communities, both migrant and exile, magazines have been the link between Basque culture and the Basque people. Xipri Arbelbide states that *Californiako Eskual Herria* had more than 3,000 subscribers in America and about 500 in the Basque Country (54). Matthew Jacobson argues that newspapers are an important transnational and diasporic element: “Immigrant journals redressed isolation and bridged trans-atlantic distances by defining and addressing their readers as members of a cohesive diaspora community” (56). In migrant communities, especially during times of war, the author finds that nationalism was a powerful component and topic of discussion. The Basque media overseas (written in Basque-Spanish-French) was necessary in order to maintain the concept of belonging. In fact, the newspapers were an important tool to promote and unify the fundamentals of the nation, provide freedom of expression, and awaken people’s spirits. As Benedict Anderson mentions, when print-capitalism arrived on scene, language moved into the marketplace of generating imagined communities (133).

With the loss of the War of 1936 and the following years of censorship under Franco, those exiled became immersed in the diasporic population. Publications became more than a simple bridge of “everyday life events” but now a space to maintain, develop, and enrich their culture. The magazines that were published during the War of

1936 whilst in exile, condemned the war and tried to evoke the patriotism among Basque communities in the diaspora and in the Basque Country. Such magazines include *Euzko-Enda* (Basque Race, Northern Basque Country 1939-1940), *Aberri Aldez* (For the Motherland, Mexico 1937) or *Nación Vasca* (Basque Nation, Argentina 1924-1940). Although *Nación Vasca* was founded before the War of 1936, Miren Barandiaran states that it was the only official publication that EAJ-PNV had in America during the war (37). After the War of 1936, a variety of magazines besides *Euzko-Gogoa* were published in exile during Franco's dictatorship. The majority of them were nationalistic, carrying the view and arguments of EAJ-PNV. For example: *Aberri* (Motherland, Mexico 1946-1947), *Acción Nacionalista* (Nationalist Action, Caracas 1966), *Basques* (The Basques, New York 1943-1944), *Branka* (Prow, Buenos Aires 1967), *Euzko-Deya* (The Basque Call, published in Paris, Buenos Aires, and Mexico), *Gernika* (Gernika, Northern Basque Country-Buenos Aires 1945-1953), *Gudari* (Basque Soldier, Caracas 1961), *Erri* (Country, Caracas 1949), *Irrintzi* (Basque Scream "Neigh," Caracas 1958-1962), among others. Their main objective was to disseminate the Basque culture, to unite the globally dispersed Basque population, to preach the doctrine of the EAJ-PNV, to advocate the idea of a free Basque Country, to create bonds of solidarity, and to promote Basque nationality.

Within the framework of the culture of exile, literature played an important role as transmitters of ideology, transoceanic movement of culture, knowledge, publications, and language. Martin Ugalde analyzed these first publications, arguing that they symbolized the blossom of the Basque literature after a decade of erasure. In 1943, the book *Xabierto* (Little Xavier) was reprinted, in Buenos Aires, it was originally published in

Hegoalde in 1925. In 1945, in Guatemala, Jokin Zaitegi, published a Basque translation of H. Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline. Urrundik* (From Afar) written by Telésforo de Monzón was published that same year in Mexico. In 1946, three works were published. Two were written by Zaitegi and printed in Mexico. The third, *Joanixio* (Johnny) by Joseba Andoni Irazusta, was edited in Buenos Aires by the publishing house *Ekin* (Charge), which was founded in 1942 ("El exilio en la literatura vasca" 235-239).

After a long convalescence where the Basque language and culture was forbidden in the Basque Country, it was in the 1950's that the Basque culture began to awake in exile. This rebirth was described by Torrealdai as "a shy wake up:" after a long period of silence, literature began to flourish little by little ("La censura de Franco y el tema vasco" 39). *Euzko-Gogoa* was created during this period and became a leader in the rebirth of the *euskara* and culture through its works. With its collaboration of writers, the magazine created an intellectual alliance that formed a resistance against the Basque cultural genocide and censorship happening in Spain. It was the first step for the rebirth of the Basque culture and language from across the Atlantic. This magazine was the first postwar magazine written entirely in Basque. Within its pages, writers in exile and in the Basque Country, from the prewar and postwar generations would work together to create an imagined community, a transnational network, and a space of cultural flows.

The scholar Edward W. Said describes the exile as a scar which can't be healed imposed between the human being and their native place (179). This wound is impossible to cure, the achievements made in exile can't close it. As many other exiles, Zaitegi was always enshrouded by the loss of his homeland. In 1951, Andima Ibiñagabeitia wrote a letter to Zaitegi about the harshness of exile: "Erbesteraturik aurkitzen garenok noragabe

ibili bearko dugu etsaiez inguraturik” ‘the ones we are exiled are condemned to be wandering aimlessly from side to side surrounded by enemies’ (my trans.).

Euzko-Gogoa represents the utopian paradigm of exile: 1) rupture and distancing of the natural environment as a consequence of a force action on the individual subject or collective subject. 2) uprooting and alienation. 3) vindication of the lost country (objective or emotional). 4) Ideological commitment (Ascunce, “El exilio: debate para la historia y la cultura” 43). It seems reasonable to maintain that, Jokin Zaitegi, from the antipodes of the Basque Country, played a predominant role in the Basque cultural scene. Bringing together Basque writers scattered across the world in an effort to unite and mobilize the public and official opinion abroad and in the Basque country in favor of Basque culture. I believe that Zaitegi was a revolutionary intellectual forged in exile. Through the pages of *Euzko-Gogoa*, connections were created amongst writers and readers. They were able to share ideologies, interests, perspectives, and more. Zaitegi contributed to the creation of an imagined community which influenced the perception of what a Basque nation could be.

This cultural effort was not only limited to writers. The Basque Government (mainly the *lehendakari* Agirre), as well as other delegations and groups, promoted and participated in this effort with different types of contributions. Such as *Eresoinka* (Singing with footsteps), a multidisciplinary group of artists that were escaping the war in Sare (Northern Basque Country), became a cultural embassy of peace to share Basque culture all around Europe through dance, art, and music.⁸ *Eresoinka* became a

⁸ See Martija, *Eresoinka: embajada cultural vasca 1937-1939*, for an insightful analysis of the group Eresoinka.

transnational cultural movement formed by two hundred Basque women and men specializing in various aspects of Basque culture. The main point of these cultural resistance and promotional works was to keep alive and unite the Basque community, as well as promote solidarity from other cultures and countries. Basque culture became the main tool for the Basque Government in the worldwide diplomacy. *Euzko-Gogoa* could be inserted in the same strategy and atmosphere, as a tool to promote national identity and culture.

In contribution to the efforts, the Basque Government organized the first Basque World Congress in Paris in 1956. The Basque World Congress brought people from the Basque Country, from the diaspora, and those exiled together with the aim of proposing a future program for the Basque society. The congress sought to analyze the past, present and future of the Basque people through different sections (Congreso Mundial Vasco, 13). It is remarkable to mention that this congress was not only organized for Basques, but it had an international purpose, where people of different nationalities and ideologies came together to discuss the future of the Basque Country. David Mota argues that the objective was to revitalize the action of the Basque resistance, to foment its unity and to elaborate a program of government in which all the political forces of the exile participated (297). The Congress was organized in four sections: Politics, Society, Economy, and Culture. In the cultural section one of the main topics was the status of the Basque language where Jokin Zaitegi expressed his concerns and ideas for its development. He used *Euzko-Gogoa* as an example of a medium for the promotion of the language and that other entities should continue to follow in its footsteps: “*Euzko-Gogoa* aren agerpena denontzat akullu bat izan da. Ta agertu zenetik beste eusko izparingi ta

aldizkariak toki geiago eman diote euskarazko idazkiai” (“*Euzko-Gogoa* was an encouragement for everyone. And after its publication many other magazines followed it by publishing their works in Basque”; my trans.).

Euzko-Gogoa was a magazine published following decades of change for the Basque Country and its people. In order to understand the pillars of the magazine and the rationale behind its publications, it is important to know the historical scenario and context in which its creators lived and gave birth to its pages. Using this historical framework as a reference, the following chapters will analyze the accomplishments of *Euzko-Gogoa* and how the magazine itself became an influence for the following generations seeking to in promote Basque literature and culture.

Chapter Three

***Euzko-Gogoa* as an Allegorical Representation of the Rebirth of the Basque Culture**

Jokin Zaitegi could be compared to the fictional character Don Quixote. He was a visionary, a madman, a dreamer, a wandering knight, but above all a believer. Zaitegi represents a dichotomy of character, a complex human who was forced to choose between his faith and his love for the Basque language. Two antagonist realities in a period where the polarization of individuals and ideologies were compulsory without middle ground. He is therefore one of the most fantastic and interesting characters in Basque literature, language, and culture. In his dream to promote and grow the Basque language he created against all odds a magazine written only in *euskara* and was able to distribute it throughout the world.

This chapter will describe the life and efforts of Zaitegi in order to bring to light an incredibly unique literary project which sought to enrich the Basque language and rebuild a defeated nation –through the creation of an imagined community. The quantitative analysis of the magazine will allow one to value the accomplishments of Zaitegi and his collaborators. These accomplishments will aid in further chapters when evaluating the qualitative results of the magazine. The challenges and failures of the magazine will also be explored in order to demonstrate not only the charisma of Jokin Zaitegi but also the rationale for the demise of the magazine, *Euzko-Gogoa*. After analyzing the life of Jokin Zaitegi, the description of the magazine will follow.

Jokin Zaitegi and the Beginning of *Euzko-Gogoa*

Jokin Zaitegi was born in Arrasate-Mondragón, Gipuzkoa, July 26, 1906. When he was fourteen, Zaitegi expressed a desire to join the Society of Jesus, and went to school in Durango, Bizkaia. There he grew close to his classmates Andima Ibiñagabeitia and Esteban Urkiaga “Lauaxeta”, who also became key figures in Basque literature and culture. Ibiñagabeitia became his best friend and biggest supporter throughout his life. The scholar Gotzon Garate states that after a year they all went to the Jesuit monastery of Loiola in Gipuzkoa. Zaitegi was there for five years, between 1921-1926 (4-5).

Those years in Loiola were critical in Zaitegi’s relationship between the *euskara* and the Basque Country. The scholar and Jesuit, Patxi Altuna, mentions that during Zaitegi’s studies, the Jesuit community of Loiola was home to a Basque language rebirth. He had the guidance of several professors: Father Apalategui, Father Olabide, Father Errandonea, and Father Estefanía (103). These priests left a strong imprint amongst their disciples and were a remarkable group of *euskaltzales* (Basque language lovers). Several would later contribute to *Euzko-Gogoa*, including Andima Ibiñagabeitia, Francisco Sarobe, Guillermo Larrañaga, Plácido Mujika, and Jon Goikoetxea. Many of them were essential members and played pivotal roles in Basque literature and devoted themselves to its cultivation throughout their lives. The priests’ passion for the language deeply influenced Zaitegi’s own enthusiasm and devotion. Altuna claims that it was Father Estefanía, with his personal and literary qualities, who exercised enormous influence on several Basque students, playing a leading role in the enrichment of prewar Basque literature (104).

Gotzon Garate stated that Zaitegi was the most vehement Basque language enthusiast, who gave his whole life in favor of God and the Basque language (13). In addition to the influence and teachings of Zaitegi's mentors, his Basque cultural identity matured with the reading of the "forbidden" catechism, *Ami Vasco* (1906), written by the Capuchin monk Evangelista de Ibero. The book discusses Basque nationalism and the Basque Country. The text contains the first ideological basis of the Basque Nationalist Party, the Sabinian Ideology based on "God and Old Laws" meaning, Catholicism and the historical Basque independence based on *fueros*.

With the support and the help of their priests, these Basque students created *Euskal Elerti Bazkuna* (Basque Literature Association) with the goal of training future Basque Jesuits in the use of the Basque language. They also made their first collaborations and writings in the magazine *Jesusen Biotzaren Deya* (The Call of Jesus's Heart). Paulo Iztueta argues that one of the ideas that began to take root during those years in Loiola was the necessity of translating the Greco-Roman classics into the Basque language, with the aim of building the cultural pillars for the future Basque University ("Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua" 73-81). Translations continued to be a major focus in the publications of *Euzko-Gogoa*, where the full capacity of the *euskara* continued to be demonstrated.

Jokin Zaitegi later went to Oña, in Burgos (Spain), where he completed his Ph.D. between 1926-1929. Following their studies in philosophy, students were required to complete three years of mastery –oftentimes abroad. It is worth noting that some of the authorities in the Jesuit order did not approve of the Basque language, as they saw it as tied to politics. It was also very common in religious orders to send seminarians and

students who showed an inclination and love for the Basque language to the Americas, in order to separate and uproot them from their motherland. Accordingly, after studying philosophy, Zaitegi was sent to Mérida, Venezuela to complete the remaining three years of his studies.

After his stay in Venezuela, Zaitegi returned to Europe, and in 1932 he studied theology in Belgium. He spent three years there and was ordained a priest. As Jon Diaz explains, during those years he focused in poetry and translations in addition to his religious activities (86). After finishing his years in Belgium, his superiors sent him to El Salvador to the Jesuit seminary of San José de la Montaña. Zaitegi spent seven years in El Salvador and in 1944 he decided to leave the Jesuit order.

Paulo Iztueta and Jon Diaz recount a letter Zaitegi wrote to his mother: “Como sabes, mamá, tuve que salir de la sociedad de Jesús, porque era ya inaguantable lo que sufría” (“as you know, mama, I had to leave the Society of Jesus, because it was unbearable what I was suffering”; my trans.; “Jokin Zaitegi gutunak” 100). Zaitegi left the order and he became a secular priest. With the War of 1936 and later the Franco dictatorship, the Basque language was proscribed by the order that supported Franco’s rebellion. We have to remember that the Spanish Republic had strong laws against the Jesuits and many Jesuits were forced to leave Spain. When Franco upraised against the Republic, the Jesuits saw Franco as a saviour. Franco was smart, and he changed the law in favour of the Jesuits, as Gotzon Garate argues the atmosphere became more favorable to Franco (7). The new institutional reality was unsustainable for many Basque Jesuits that suffered the hatred and exclusion within the order. Many Basque Jesuits felt forced

to choose between their faith in God and the Basque language. Zaitegi chose the latter, but he never forgot his faith.

Jokin Zaitegi left the Society of Jesus in June 1944 following repeated and increasingly serious disagreements with his superiors. The outbreak of the war and the following years of dictatorship accentuated Zaitegi's differences with the Jesuits that backed Franco. This same year he settled in Guatemala as Josemari Velez de Mendizabal recalls Zaitegi's words:

Nik Goi-Ameriketara joan nahi nuen eta baita honela eskatuta euki ere. Jose Antonio Agirre lehendakaria New-York-en zegoen eta berari laguntzen lan polita egin nezakeela iruditu zitzaidan. Baina Lagundiak hara bidali beharrean...entzungorrena egin zuen. El Salvadorreko Apaizgaitegian erresponsabilitate handia neraman nere gain eta, itxuraz, ezin gelditu nere kolaboraziorik gabe. Beranduxeago hobeto pentsatu omen zuten nere nagusiek eta Idahora bidali nahi ninduten, baina ni, ordurako, Guatemalako artzapezpiku zen Arellanorekin mintzatu nintzen. Beso zabalik hartu ninduen.

("I wanted to go to North America, and I asked the order to transfer me. The Basque president Jose Antonio Agirre was in New York and I thought I could be of good service for him. But the order, instead of sending me there, they turned a deaf ear and told me that my work at the seminary in El Salvador was irreplaceable. Later on, they thought that I could go to Idaho. But by then I had already contacted the Bishop of Guatemala Arellano who welcomed me with open arms" my trans.; 66)

Jokin Zaitegi's arrival in Guatemala was immediately eventful. His Basque identity and his stubbornness were so strong that he entered in Guatemala with his Basque passport rather than his Spanish passport. The Basque passport was an irregular form of documentation in the eyes of the Interior Minister. Unsuccessfully, he tried to convince Zaitegi to change his Basque passport for the Spanish one, to which Zaitegi flatly refused. Then President of Guatemala, Jorge Ubico, also tried to change Zaitegi's passport, but he too could not change Zaitegi's mind. From that day on Zaitegi had free

entrance into the Presidential Palace. It is curious to believe that Zaitegi and Ubico could get along with their differing backgrounds and ideologies.

Analyzing the socio-historical framework of Guatemala, the academic trajectory of Zaitegi coincided with the Democratic Revolution of Guatemala from 1944-1954, also known as the “ten years of spring in the land of eternal tyranny” (Cardoza y Aragón 9) which ended with Jorge Ubico’s regime. The importance of this concrete space and time in Guatemala, allows one to understand the creation of *Euzko-Gogoa* and its development. Guatemala became, by coincidence, a new space for the Basque culture and literature.

Zaitegi had a very active life in Guatemala, he worked as a professor and as a secular priest. These activities would become very important later on when he created his cultural project *Euzko-Gogoa*. Those years became a turning point in Zaitegi’s career since he was able to establish himself amongst the Guatemalan intellectual and political leaders and institutions. His position in Guatemala, allowed him to also become a very good friend of *lehendakari* Agirre. Zaitegi’s primary goal and commitment was to the *euskara*, his political beliefs created networks and collaborations within the Basque Government in exile. As Joseba Intxausti mentions, Zaitegi was an enthusiast of the Basque language, a patriot, and member of the EAJ-PNV, but above all a devotee of the language (“Euzko-Gogoa’ren lankideak” 102). Velez de Mendizabal states that Zaitegi became the representative of the Basque Country in Guatemala, indeed he had the free entrance to the Presidential Palace (69).

During his time as a professor and as a secular priest, Zaitegi developed the revolutionary idea to create a magazine written only in Basque, and in 1949, the cultural

magazine *Euzko-Gogoa* was born. The driving force behind the project was a necessity to have a cultural platform printed only in the Basque language. In an interview with Josemari Velez de Mendizabal, Zaitegi mentions why he decided to publish the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*: “Aldi hartan ez zegoen ezertxo ere aldizkaririk euskaraz. Ni aspertuta nengoen, egia esaterako erdarazko aldizkariak irakurtzeaz” (“during those years there weren’t any magazines written entirely in *euskara*. I was bored of reading non-Basque language magazines”; my trans.; 87). *Euzko-Gogoa*’s biggest goal was to bring together the Basque writers spread throughout the world after the war, to rebuild the Basque nation, and to create a community of writers and readers. In fact, the magazine wanted to become the Basque cultural reference for the Basque’s dispersed throughout the world: Argentina, United States of America, Guatemala, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Salvador, Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Spain, France, England, Italy, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Philippines, Israel, and China.

In December 26, 1949, Zaitegi registered the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa* in the post office of Guatemala, to be distributed across the world. Before the first issue of the magazine was published, Zaitegi wrote an announcement explaining the goal of the magazine and shared it among the *euskaltzales*. The title of the paper was *Asmoa* (Goal), it explained the main purposes and ambitions behind the magazine. Paulo Iztueta summarized the main goals of the magazine as such: to be a meeting place for exiled writers, to recover the Basque identity, to proclaim the *Euskara* as the national language, and promote a Basque University⁹ which cultivated the culture and the language

⁹ *Euzko Irakastola Nagusia* (Superior Basque School) was the first public university in the Basque Country, created by the Basque Government in 1936. The first course was launched on December 1, 1936, at an

(“Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua” 59). *Euzko-Gogoa* wanted to become the place where all the Basque writers globally dispersed could find a platform to write together. The Basque literature was thwarted, and it was mainly from exile that Basque culture could continue to evolve as it had before the War of 1936.

The magazine was a lofty goal that required assistance both financially and in terms of distribution. In 1950, the first issue was printed with an annual subscription of \$10. Although Zaitegi invested almost all of his savings into *Euzko-Gogoa*, it still wasn't enough to sustain the magazine. In fact, the production of the magazine was incredibly expensive. In 1952, in order to earn extra income to help pay for the costs of the magazine, Zaitegi opened his own school in Guatemala called, “Liceo Landibar.” Despite the income from the school, finding personnel to help distribute the magazine was an additional challenge due to the censorship in *Hegoalde*. Joan Mari Torrealdai states that the Basque writer Jon Etxaide was fined 5,000 pesetas (\$40) and put in jail for smuggling and distributing the magazine in the Basque Country (“Barne exilioan euskaltzale” 65). *Euzko-Gogoa* was immediately considered propaganda and a conflicting element contrary to the Spanish regime. There were many tasks required in order to have a successful distribution of *Euzko-Gogoa*. The issues had to be distributed between subscribers, entities, and readers. It required an infrastructure that was responsible for networking between the magazine and the readers. Nevertheless, the involvement of the delegates wasn't the same as some of them were much more involved than others.

opening ceremony held at the School of Medicine of the Hospital of Basurto in Bilbao. In July 1937, the university had to close the doors due to the War of 1936 (Euskal Herriko hezkuntzaren historiako dokumentazio basea <http://www.ehu.eus/euskal-hezkuntza/euskara/>).

Jokin Zaitegi began the magazine mainly by himself, overcoming many difficulties. The first publication in January 1950 was mostly written by himself, using several nicknames or alternative names: Etxetxo, Ibartzabal, Urizar, Udalaizpe, and Izurtza. Luckily for Zaitegi, while reading the magazine, *Oficina de Prensa de Euskadi*, OPE (the press office of the Basque Country, an official communication media of the Basque Government in exile between the years 1947-1977), he realized that the Basque writer Orixe was in Argentina. Orixe was at that time a literary icon and the cornerstone of the Basque literary world. Zaitegi saw in him the possibility of a productive collaboration and an enriching partnership for the magazine. Orixe could be a contributor who would give greater credibility, strength, and reputation to *Euzko-Gogoa*. Iztueta argues that after six months Orixe decided to end their partnership, due to irreconcilable differences rising from their equally strong characters (“Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua” 30).

Although the collaboration didn't work out, in this short period of time the magazine improved a great deal, especially in gaining prestige Txillardegui states: “Orixe zen azken hitza” (“Orixe's word was Godly”; my trans.; 31). Thanks to Orixe, the magazine had the approval and credibility it needed for the Basque community. A contemporary of Lizardi and Lauaxeta, Orixe is the most important figures of the early 20th century in the Basque cultural panorama and one of the most important authors of Basque literature. Orixe has left a copious amount of work in both prose and verse, both original and translated works. Juan Iñazio Goikoetxea asserts that Orixe's success in the formation of new words, precision and transparency in literature is extraordinary (xxxii). Within his literary production, his poetic work *Euskaldunak* and the essay *Quiton*

arrebarekin (In Quito with my Sister) are the most recognized. *Quiton arrebarekin* was published in *Euzko-Gogoa* between 1950 to 1954 in ten issues.¹⁰

After Orixe's resignation, Zaitegi was once again by himself. The management of the magazine and his work as the director and teacher of his school, in addition to his duties as a priest, were too great of a burden for a single person. He insisted that his best friend, Andima Ibiñagabeitia, come to Guatemala to help him with the direction of the magazine and with managing the school. At that time, the publication had already a certain entity, which developed its own linguistic and literary conventions, and had the cooperation of more writers. By 1954, the magazine published nineteen issues and fifty different writers were collaborating in the magazine, such as, Jon Mirande, Federiko Krutwing, Jon Etxaide, Nemesio Etxaniz, Jon Etxaide, Txomin Peille, or Salvatore Mitxelena amongst others.

A Brief Description of *Euzko-Gogoa*

Euzko-Gogoa was a cultural magazine, where the maintenance, development, and use of the Basque language was its main pillar. The magazine was a first step towards the rebirth of the Basque culture and language from the other side of the Atlantic. *Euzko-Gogoa* rearranged the spaces and identities that were forbidden in the Basque Country under the Franco dictatorship. The magazine also analyzed and developed other areas of study such as: history, natural science, religion, philosophy, and more. This section will describe from a quantitative approach the distribution of topics, political tone, demographics of the writers and subscribers, as well as its limitations.

¹⁰ To know more about Orixe's life see Iztueta, *Orixe saiogilea* and Azurmendi, *Zer dugu Orixereren alde*.

Euzko-Gogoa was published during two different periods and two locations: The first period of publication took place in Guatemala (1950-1955) in the Latin American Basque-exile. Latin America was one of the first geographical areas in which exiles, both Basques and Spaniards, sought refuge during the War of 1936. The second period of the magazine took place, also in exile, in the coastal town of Biarritz, Northern Basque Country (1956-1960). In Guatemala, twenty-seven issues were printed: seven in 1950; six in 1951; six in 1952; five in 1954; and three in 1955 with a total of 734 works. During publications in Biarritz, seventeen issues were printed in total: six issues in 1956; five in 1957; four in 1958, and two in 1959 (the last issue of 1959 appeared the following year in 1960) with 437 works.

After 44 issues, a total of 1,171 works consisting of 3,658 pages were published with the efforts of 153 writers (five of whom were women) with the vast majority of the Basque writers of the time collaborating in the magazine. In 1960, the magazine ended its publications. Table 3 demonstrates the general quantitative data of *Euzko-Gogoa*.

Magazine	Years	Issues	Works	Pages	Writers
<i>Euzko-Gogoa</i>	1950-1960	44	1,171	3,658	153

Table 3: Quantitative data of *Euzko-Gogoa*

Euzko-Gogoa's original intention was to publish every two months, however this only occurred during three of the years of publication (1951, 1952, 1956). As stated before, the magazine covered a variety of topics and was divided into three main sections: introduction, body of works, and closing arguments.

The introductory section of *Euzko-Gogoa* was called, "Ataurrekoa" (Introduction): 1954, (1-2); (3-4); (5-8); (9-10). During its time in Biarritz, they

maintained the introduction section, but it was called “Atarikoa” (a synonym for Aturrekoa): 1956, (1-2); (3-4); (5-6); (7-8); 1957, (5-6); (7-8); (9-12); 1958, (1-2); (3-4); (5-8); (9-12); 1959, (1-2), (3-6). In the sections “Aturrekoa” and “Atarikoa” the directors of the magazine, Jokin Zaitegi and Andima Ibiñagabeitia shared their “ideology.” The magazine continued to develop a discourse in favor of developing the Basque language. The editorial line implied that the Basque language was the cornerstone of the Basques and therefore their existence and continuation was connected to their language. Similar to the ideas promoted by the scholar Fanon, Zaitegi and Ibiñagabeitia also saw language as a form of disalienation from the colonizer, which could be used as a weapon of emancipation, as explained in *The Wretched of the Earth*.

The magazine was written by people with different ideologies, but with the same goal: to enrich and endure the *euskara*, and therefore the Basque nation. Despite their differences, all of them created a Basque imagined community from different political perspectives. As noted in chapter one, the scholar Anthony D. Smith argues in *National Identity* that efforts similar to those of Zaitegi are key in the nation building process where various viewpoints and realities share a similar ideology to create a sense of nationalism. This nationalism is built on various pillars that are seen in *Euzko-Gogoa* such as language, religion, and gender amongst others. *Euzko-Gogoa*'s contributors shared a common goal of discussing, maintaining, and growing the Basque culture through its publication. By doing so, they could create a community or nation that was otherwise impossible in *Hegoalde*. Following Benedict Anderson, we could say that this imagined community aimed to create the cultural, the religious, the gendered and the political conceptualization of the Basque identity and Basque Country in the magazine.

They also highlighted that the magazine wasn't part of any political party or agenda. Indeed, all these writers emphasized the idea that *Euzko-Gogoa* did not follow any political agenda. However, the magazine echoed the political and philosophical position of the traditional Basque nationalistic views. In most of the issues of the magazine, the use of conventional nationalist representations and symbology of the Basque nationalism was used, such as: the tree of Gernika, the *ikurriña* (the Basque flag), the *fueros* and Sabino Arana, among others.¹¹ Remember the importance given by scholars to symbols, such as Smith, who states how symbols are an important part of creating a cultural nationalism and can function in creating an imagery of a country or community (92).

While Zaitegi's main concern was the Basque language, his political ideas and inclinations are clear in the magazine. In fact, both Jokin Zaitegi and Andima Ibiñagabeitia were good friends of the *lehendakari* José Antonio Agirre. The *lehendakari* was described by Ludger Mess as a "pragmatic prophet." In fact, Agirre was a moral leader of the Basque diasporic community, and a common reference for Basque nationalism and the nation building process.

The magazine wanted to open new paths in order to give new capacities to the Basque language. Through a variety of topics, *Euzko-Gogoa* sought the social normalization of the Basque language and showcased its linguistic possibilities. Joseba Intxausti has analyzed the percentages of the topics covered in the magazine as shown in table 4:

¹¹ See de Pablo et al., *100 Símbolos Vascos. Identidad, cultura, nacionalismo*.

Topics	Subtopics Percentage	Topics Percentage
Prologue		1,03
Introduction		4,68
Literature		57,48
Poetry	10,7	
Tale	12,02	
Drama	19,5	
Review	15,26	
Linguistics		14,43
Sociology		4,15
History		5,86
Religion		4,71
Fine Arts		1,59
Philosophy		3,35
Ethnology		1,47
Natural Science		0,94
Psychology		0,26
Others		0,05
		100%

Table 4: Topics of Euzko-Gogoa. Intxausti, Joseba, “Zaitegi eta Euzko-Gogoa Hamar urteko lana 1950-1959.” *Jakin*, 13 Jan. Feb. 1980, pp. 96-119.

Analyzing the table, literature and linguistics stand out as the most common topics, with literature at 57.48% and linguistics at 14.43%. Mari Jose Olaziregi states that the magazine represented the process of secularization of Basque literature (“Basque Literary History” 139). It is also interesting to see the relevance of the arts, sciences, and philosophy in the magazine, showing both the intellectual restless attitude towards

questions that arise in life, as well as demonstrating the literary capacity of the Basque language. As previously stated, one of Zaitegi's dreams was to create the basis for the future Basque University. As Karmele Artetxe states that *Euzko-Gogoa* was a project to use the Basque language to transmit high-level knowledge. A project to transform Basque language into cultural language. *Euzko-Gogoa* was a project to use in high level Basque in different topics such as philosophy, psychology, ethnology, history, sociology, theology, etc. To have the Basque language ready (Basque materials) for when the Basque university was rebuilt (36). This advancement in the literary Basque language would also contribute to the Basque culture and nation building.

Throughout the magazine, literary translations played an important role. The translations showed the linguistic capacities and wealth of the Basque language. Works written by William Shakespeare, Sophocles, Cicero, Charles Baudelaire, Paul Verlaine, Edgar Allan Poe, Selma Lagerlöf, Franz Kafka, Pío Baroja, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Jacinto Benavente and others were translated into the Basque language. These gave increased credibility and support to the linguistic ability of the *euskara*. As we will see in chapter four. Translations created a corpus of works that helped build a foundation for literary Basque. By translating this canonic literary works, *Euzko-Gogoa* was designing the references for its imagined community. Above all, the literary translation had an important relevance in the magazine. The idea was to internationalize the Basque language and demonstrate its linguistic richness of the Basque. See tables six and seven.

On another level, social issues, in a lesser extent, found a space in *Euzko-Gogoa*. "Euzko-langilliei" (To the Basque Workers) written by Erraimun Argarate, was an article divided in six issues that was published between 1950-1952. The goal of the article was

to speak about the Basque union *Euzko Langille Askatasuna*, ELA (Basque Workers Solidarity 1911-), a union created by members of the EAJ-PNV.¹² The article promoted the union of the Basque workers whilst making references to Christianity. ELA is a Basque union rooted in the traditionalist and nationalist impulses.

With the aim of legitimizing the Basque community, *Euzko-Gogoa* also offered a space for other individuals who did not belong to the Basque diasporic community to publish their own writings and in turn help finance the magazine. In fact, *Euzko-Gogoa* offered a space for the Spanish speakers of Guatemala. The publications “El INFOP esperanza de Guatemala” (The INFOP the Hope of Guatemala, 1950) and “Hacia el Futuro Agrario” (Making the Agrarian Future, 1954) analyzed the situation of the Guatemalan working class and farmers. One of the articles discussed how the *Instituto de Fomento de la Producción*, INFOP (Institute of Promotion and Production), an institution created in Guatemala in 1949, operated in favour of the workers of Guatemala with the purpose of materializing the economic improvement of the Guatemalan people and country. The other article analysed the benefits that Guatemala had experienced through the agrarian reform made across the country. In this way *Euzko-Gogoa* became a portal for the social concerns that many of the inhabitants of Guatemala lived.

The last section of the magazine was reserved for “Aldizkariak” (Magazines) and “Irakurlearen Txokoa” (Readers Corner/Comment Section). Andima Ibiñagabeitia was largely in charge of these last sections. In “Aldizkariak”, Ibiñagabeitia would mention

¹² See Garde, *ELA a través de dos guerras (1936-1946)* (Through Two Wars 1936-1946). Elorrieta, *Renovación sindical. Una aproximación a la trayectoria de ELA* (Social Renovation. An Aproximation to the Trajectory of ELA) and Fusi, *Política obrera en el País Vasco 1880-1923* (Workers' policy in the Basque Country 1880-1923) for an insightful analysis of this union.

other Basque magazines that were being published both in the exile/diaspora and in the Basque Country including: 1951 (9-10): *Boletín de la R.S Vascongada, Egan, Boletín del Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos* (Bulletin of American Institute of Basque Studies, Buenos Aires 1950-1993), *Gure Herria* (Our Country, Baiona 1921-1976), *Alderdi* (Party (Politics), Iparralde 1947-1974), *Herria* (Country, Iparralde 1944), *Euzko-Deya*. 1952, (5-6): *Aranzazu* (Aranzazu, Oñati 1921-2001), *Alderdi, Eusko-Jakintza* (Basque Knowledge, Sara-Baiona 1947-1957), *Boletín de la R.S Vascongada, Egan, Boletín del Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos*, (9-10): *Gernika, Gure Herria, Aranzazu, Alderdi*. 1954, (9-10): *Othoizlari* (Prayer, Bello ~1950), *Euzko-Deya, Alderdi, Euskaldunak* (The Basques), *Euskaltzaleak*, (11-12): *Egan, Luberri* (Newland), *Euzko-Deya, Boletín del Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos, Boletín de la R.S Vascongada, Urrundik, Elgar* (Together, Paris 1948), *Gure Herria, Zeruko Argia* (Light for Heaven, Southern Basque Country 1919), *Anaitasuna, Aranzazu*.

Finally, in the section “Irakurlearen Txokoa,” usually published at the end of the issue, *Euzko-Gogoa* promoted the discussion and dialogue between the readers and the writers. The topics of discussion varied, consisting of reflections as well as debates or arguments. This section was very eclectic, where many different ideas were discussed, such as, the esthetics of the magazine, the accomplishments of *Euzko-Gogoa*, the Basque intellectuals that passed away, information about Basque writers all over the world, cultural activities in *Hegoalde*, amongst others: 1954, (1-2); (3-4); (5-8); (9-10); 1955, (3-4); (5-12); 1956, (1-2); (5-6); (7-8); (9-10); (11-12); 1957, (1-2); (3-4); (5-6); (7-8); (9-12); 1958, (1-2); (9-12); 1959, (1-2). This commentary section was especially strong during the magazine’s second period.

Although the magazine defined itself as a cultural entity and tried to “avoid” any political statements, the scholar Joseba Intxausti states that it had a political inclination, especially during its first years (“Euzko-Gogoa-ren lankideak” 131). Mercedes Ugalde affirms that *Euzko-Gogoa* was a publication with nationalist influence (578). The political identity of *Euzko-Gogoa* can be also appreciated by its covers during its two periods. The magazine had two different covers one that was used while the magazine was created in the Latin American exile, and the second during its years in Biarritz. The publications in Guatemala had artwork with Basque political references shown in figure 2 that was avoided in the later editions. Its size was 11.8 x 8.6 in.



Figure 2: *Euzko-Gogoa*'s cover pager in Guatemala 1950-1955.

When analyzing the cover of *Euzko-Gogoa* during its Guatemalan period, one can see the significant nationalist symbols: the coat of arms, the mountain, and the sun, demonstrating Zaitegi's political affiliation. The coat of arms *zazpiak bat* (seven in one) represents the seven territories of the Basque Country. Next to the coat of arms stands a mountain that appears to be Aralar. Aralar is located in the heart of the Basque Country and has always been an important location in Basque mythology. It is an iconic mountain and is a symbol for the Basque terrain. Above the mountain, a huge sun shines symbolizing the poem *Itxarkundia* (Hope), written by Sabino Arana. This poem was also

a nationalist hymn from the Sabinian period: “The sun of freedom comes out through the mountain/His light is spread all over the sides/ Wake up Basques! /Hurray for all Basques! /Come up the old laws!” The sun reflects the symbolic universe of the Basque nation that in turn contributes to creating an imagined community in Guatemala with religious overtones. Jacques Blot states that in the Basque culture the sun has a special place, where the sun is «the light of the day», «the eye of God». The son of the Earth and its morning rays scare away the evil spirits (24).

From the very beginning, the cover page was a topic of discussion amongst the readers. There was a desire for a more functional and durable cover with a cleaner look. The following excerpts from *Euzko-Gogoa* demonstrate how they wanted to change various characteristics of the cover page. For example:

Arantzibiak, idazten digu: «Nire ustez neurri txikiagoak euki biar leukez gure aldizkarijak, esate baterako 23 x 15 obeto litzakijo: batetik bestera sakelean eruateko, ez bijurtzeko, ta abar; gañera, gañeko azala, gogorragua, ta latzagua be bai, eragozpen barik beste batzuei irakurtzen izteko». Bai adiskide, alegin guztiak egiten ari gera, gure aldizkaria obeagotzeko; tankeraz, neurriz eta mamiz. Bai eta irar-utsak urritzeko.

(“Arantzibia argues: «From my point of view the magazine should be smaller, 9 x 5.3 in; it would be easier to carry, I would also recommend a stronger cover to read it easier». Yes, my friend, we are trying to do our best to improve our magazine; aesthetically, from the size, and for the content”; my trans.; “Irakurlearen Txokoa” 1954 (1-2), 47)

Aldizkariaren inguruan. — Askotxo dira gure idazle ta irakurleen artean E.G. itxuraz ta azalez aldatu nai luketenak. Mamiz, orregatio, geientsuek ez dute nai aldaketarik egin dezagun. Izenez ere alda bear genukela euskeraren zabalkundea erretzeko. Olerkari batek «Goramin» edo «Elerti» izenez ber-bataiatu bear genukela dio. Beste batek, au ere olerkaria, ikur guztiak erauzi bear genitukela. Gertu gaude gure irakurleen gurariak betetzeko arrazoizko derizkiegunean, eta ala egin dugu askotan azken aldi auetan batez ere.

(“*Around the magazine.* — Many of our readers want to change the format and the cover of the magazine. They are happy about the content, most all of them don’t want any changes. They also suggest changing the name to make it easier to market. One of our writers also suggested different names for the magazine «Praise» or «Literature», the same person was also suggesting that we should rid off the symbols that appear in the cover. We are happy to please when what they ask is reasonable”; my trans.; “Irakurlearen Txokoa” 1954 (11-12), 207).

As a result, during its publication in Biarritz the magazine had a more neutral cover omitting Basque symbology. Contrary to the first cover in Guatemala, *Euzko-Gogoa*’s cover in Biarritz was more simple, colorful, modern, and pragmatic. The standard design of the first period of the magazine totally disappeared during its publication in *Iparralde*. It was also smaller in size, 7.08 x 5.1 in. See figure 3:



Figure 3: *Euzko-Gogoa*’s cover pages Biarritz 1956,1958,1959

Nevertheless, the beauty of the magazine was the ability to create a collaborative effort amongst writers from a variety of social and professional backgrounds. It also was the bridge between two generations of writers. *Euzko-Gogoa* created a literary platform that at the same time promoted the endurance of the Basque language, but it also created an imagined community. As previously mentioned, the decades leading up to the magazine were years of war that deeply marked the lives of many. Each writer brought to *Euzko-Gogoa* a unique view and background from their experiences during a time of

global instability. Comparing the accomplishments of *Euzko-Gogoa* with the analysis of other cultural works discussed by scholars Justin Gifford and Elizabeth Fraterrigo, when referring to other magazines such as *Playboy* and *Players*, we could say that *Euzko-Gogoa* became a new space to promote and redefine the Basque language and culture.

The magazine *Euzko-Gogoa* managed to have the collaboration of many well-known Basque authors including those living in the Southern Basque Country. The prewar generation authors were culturally active between 1930-1936. These writers suffered the war, both personally and within their families. They saw how the uprisings of Franco led to the decline of *Hegoalde* and the Basque culture. Many of them went into exile for protection. Those who stayed in the Southern Basque Country suffered different consequences, including execution, imprisonment, or an imposed silence. Some of the well-known authors of these generation were Orixe, Andima Ibiñagabeitia, Jokin Zaitegi, Guillermo Larrañaga, and Keperin Xemein.

The new generation of authors, postwar writers, included Txillardegui, Jon Mirande, Txomin Peillen, Federico Krutwig, and Salvatore Mitxelena. The postwar generation of the 1950's was composed by a young group of writers that turned their back on the previous one. Iñaki Aldekoa states that the new generation rejected the EAJ-PNV ideology and took a much more radicalized discourse against the Spanish regime which evolved into the establishment of the terrorist group, *Euskadi ta Askatasuna*, ETA (Basque Country and Freedom, 1959-2011) founded in 1959. Amongst these radicalized writers were Federico Krutwig (ideologist and militant of ETA), Jon Mirande, Txillardegui (one of ETA's father founders), Juan San Martin and Gabriel Aresti, whose political and cultural views were evident through their works ("Euskal literaturaren historia" 218-219).

Little by little, the postwar generation of writers began to leave *Euzko-Gogoa* aside and began to write in other magazines, including *Egan* and *Jakin*. Both magazines were seen as more “current.” Mari Jose Olaziregi states that the postwar generation of authors shared common characteristics, such as: “Basque was not their mother tongue, they were sometimes agnostic, they held diverse political positions, and above all, they were distant from the traditional Basque nationalism of the EAJ-PNV” (“Basque Literary History” 152). The passing of the torch between the two generations was not a simple transition. One of the great debates was centered around what type of literary Basque should be used in *Euzko-Gogoa*’s publications. Choosing one type of literary Basque amongst the various dialects became an irreparable gap between the prewar and postwar generations. This linguistic fight greatly affected the evolution of *Euzko-Gogoa*. In a letter sent from Jokin Zaitegi to Andima Ibiñagabeitia, in 1953, the discrepancies between the different generations regarding the standardization of the Basque language is evident: “Krutwigen bidea geroago eta okefago deritzat. Orixe gero te garbizaleagoa egin zaigu, berberak aitor zidanez Euskararen arobi aberatsa ez dugu oraindik uztu. Bai zera! Tokitan zegok!” (“I think Krutwig’s [linguistic] pathway is getting worse. Orixe is getting more and more purist, as he states that the Basque language has a rich quarry that is still full. Of course! What a fool!”; my trans.). Txillardegui argues that although it seems like a fairy tale today, the struggle for a singular type of Basque language was a reality, because the intentions of the new postwar generation were too novel for the narrow and small cultural Basque world. For the prewar writers, the fundamental criterion of the Basque language was the purity and prose of the language rather than the message (45).

Mari Jose Olaziregi states that there were hardly any publications in Basque during these conflictive times in the Southern Basque Country. The exceptions were the novel *Loretxo* (Flower, 1937) written by Domingo Arruti and *Uztaro* (Harvest Time, 1937), written by Tomas Agirre “Barrenoso” (“Narrativa vasca del siglo XX: una narrativa con futuro” 149). *Loretxo* was published as a series in the Basque newspaper, *Eguna* (Day, 1937), which was based in Bilbao, and published in a total of 139 issues. After these publications, almost ten years of silence followed until the next publication which took place in exile –a direct result of Franco’s policy of Basque cultural repression. As Joan Mari Torrealdai asserts, it took twenty years for Basque literature to recover from the wounds of the war (“XX. Mendeko euskal liburuen katalogoa (1900-1992)” xiv). In 1949, Salvatore Mitxelena’s, *Arantzazu euskal sinismenaren poema* was published. One year later in 1950, Jon Etxaide’s *Alos-Torrea* and Orixe’s *Euskaldunak* were also published. Both texts are similar to the costumbrist literature that prevailed until the arrival of the first Basque modern novel in 1957, *Leturiaren egunkari ezkutua* (Leturia’s Secret Diary) written by José Luis Álvarez Enparantza “Txillardegí.”

Txillardegí’s novel became a milestone in the Basque literary history. This book became the pathway for the modern Basque literature. Nevertheless, the novel *Leturiaren egunkari ezkutua* didn’t bring heterogeneity to the Basque literary field, since the costumbrist novels were still strong. Koldo Mitxelena argues that the appeal of the costumbrist novels is in its crepuscular tone and in the nostalgia of the past (158). In fact, these novels represented a static world. That is, the time passes physically, the characters age, but the time is still psychological, because it is a time that does not evolve. The main Basque costumbrist author was the priest Txomin Agirre (1865-1920)

and also one of the best Basque writers. Ana Toledo argues that in Agirre's novels no transformation in its settings takes place where the characters of this steady world keep the Basque identity with no variations, which is connected with the rural world (643). On the other hand, Txillardegui's novel contributed to the Basque literature by giving a new sensibility to Basque novels, with a new scale of values and urban landscapes.

The tension and differences between the prewar and the postwar writers reflected a divided intellectual community, which eventually conformed a united imagined community. In fact, the postwar generation promoted a modernization of the Basque literature. Txillardegui's novel *Leturiaren egunkari ezkutua* was the first step in the process of autonomization of Basque literature. Olaziregi argues that it was developed in Spain when the democracy was established in the late 1970's ("Basque Literary History" 162). For the postwar generation, the past no longer had a place in the current Basque literature. As a result, the literary genre promoted by the prewar generation was anachronistic. These writers were living in the past, and they didn't recognize the present. In 1956, Jon Mirande wrote to Zaitegi: "Niketz, ez dut haboro dastatu nahi "garo-usaina" darion gogo-bazka hortatik" ("I don't want to keep tasting a desired food of "fern-smell" (costumbrist novels)"; my trans.). Therefore, the postwar generation separated themselves from the previous generation.

Nevertheless, *Euzko-Gogoa* embodied the tenacity, resistance, and preservation during the worst cultural scenarios for the Basque language. Joseba Intxausti states that the magazine is the result of a group of humans silenced and scattered by Franco ("Euzko-Gogoa-ren lankideak" 132). These authors came from a variety of professional backgrounds as demonstrated in the figure below. See table 5:

Career	Numbers	%
Liberal	36	33,64
Self-Educated	12	11,21
Humanities and Arts	1	0,93
Ecclesiastical Studies	58	54,20
Total	107	100

Table 5: Professional backgrounds of the writes. Iztueta, Paulo. *Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua*. Utriusque Vasconiae. 2001. p.133

The majority of the writers that took part in the magazine were already active members of the Basque culture during the Second Republic. The majority of these writers lived during a time of war and felt the repercussions of the loss. However, the timing of the publication of the magazine allowed for the initial writings of a new generation of writers that were gaining voice in the Basque Country. The magazine promoted the joint work between both generations and served as a bridge between the two. Most of the writers of the magazine were priests and Catholics, differing from the majority of the agnostic new generation of writers.

The End of *Euzko-Gogoa*

The end of *Euzko-Gogoa* was marked by new literary anxieties and desires by the postwar writer's generation. There was frustration and a sense that the new generation of writers didn't respect the efforts of the prewar generation to maintain and develop the Basque language. Bedita Larrakoetxea wrote to Zaitegi in 1958: "Gure "Orixe" andia aitatu bez gure idazle onentxoan artean, eta bera izan bizirik dagoen euzko-idazlerik onena" ("our great "Orixe" is not even mentioned amongst the best writers, and he is the best Basque writer alive"; my trans.). While the prewar generation was originally

optimistic with the belief that their footsteps would be followed, the newer writers tried to find their own pathway and original style of writing – ultimately distancing themselves from the old ways:

«Egan» zebilen ozkarbi urdina ilun agertu zaigu (1956) 5-6'garren banakoan. Aldizkari ori erabateko euskaldun bilakatu zanean, gure anai berriari zorion-agur laztana egin zion gure «Euzko-Gogoa»k luze bezain zabal, baita gure iritzi apala aman ere. «Egan»ek, berriz, dakigunez, lenengoz oraintxe aiputan artu gaitu eta beltza egin digu.

(“The magazine «Egan» appeared dark in its last issue (5-6). When the magazine became to write entirely in Basque, «Euzko-Gogoa» gave it a good welcoming, we also gave our approval about this magazine. «Egan» on the other hand, mentioned us poorly”; my trans.; Euzko-Gogoa “«Euskera» ta «Euzko-Gogoa»” 1956 (5-6), 1)

For a magazine like *Egan* and the new generation of writers, *Euzko-Gogoa* represented a continuation of the prewar times and culture. Mitxelena wrote in 1956 issue (5-6) an article in *Egan* in which he criticized the quixotic madness of Zaitegi and ironized about the quality of his magazine: “Euskal aldizkari bakarra” ez ezik “euskal aldizkarien erregea” —itsuen errian okerra errege—, ots, “Euzko-Gogoa” . . . Beldur naiz orratik, etsai izugarriak eta erraldoi itzalak apurtzen dituelakoan ez ote den ardi otzan eta aize errotekin borroka ibilli.” (“The only Basque magazine” and also the “king amongst the Basque magazines”—in the kingdom of the blind the the one-eyed man is the king—that is, “Euzko-Gogoa” . . . I am afraid that because he thinks that he is breaking the shadows of big a monster he is truly fighting against the windmills”; my trans.; 157)

In the new reality of the Basque Country in the mid 1950’s, Basque cities became the new cultural arena. Spain left its international ostracism and its commercial ties were

reinforced with the Western world. Aldekoa states that the moral beliefs of literary costumbrism lost strength in the face of an aggressive character immersed in a new psychological, philosophical, and social reality laid before a new generation (“Euskal literaturaren historia” 219). In other words, *Euzko-Gogoa* became obsolete with old views and mentalities. Aldekoa argues that the change that began in the mid 1950’s was carried out in the 1960’s. In the 1960’s came the replacement of the prewar generation, the testimony went from the old to the young, updating old perspectives. The moral values of the traditional world evolved through religious, political, and social horizons without interruption (“Gure hirurogeiak” 51).

This difference in opinions between the two generations of writers would create a difficult situation for the future of the magazine. Although it was intended to be an open-minded magazine, it was not received as such among the postwar generation. During the second stage of the magazine, in the Northern Basque Country, the Basque cultural reality changed, and new cultural platforms appeared, including the magazines *Jakin* or *Egan*. Many writers turned their backs on *Zaitegi* at the end of *Euzko-Gogoa*’s term as the previously imagined community did not reflect the new Basque reality. In fact, they created an anachronic Basque nation. The idea of nation apart from the language was rooted in the pillars of the preindustrial-prewar Basque world.

Despite *Euzko-Gogoa*’s global reach, the magazine had a very limited number of readers. The small number of subscribers was a dilemma for the magazine from its inception. *Zaitegi*’s school and other supporting institutions couldn’t provide enough financial assistance. Without subscribers, the magazine couldn’t have a future. During its time in Guatemala, 500 magazines were printed per issue, despite having only 339

subscribers. As Velez de Mendizabal points out, 108 subscribers also did not pay (112). During its years in Biarritz, the number of subscribers increased to 874, and 1000 magazines were printed per issue. However, Paulo Iztueta states that many of the issues got lost on the way (“Euzko-Gogoa (1950-1959)” 154). Zaitegi demonstrated concern with the survival of the magazine throughout its existence, and can be seen explicitly in the issue (7-8) published in 195:

Bigarren urtean barrena yoan goaz ta oraindik askok ez digute igazko arpidearen saririk ordaindu, are gutxiago aurtengoa. Ez uste «Euzko-Gogoa» aberats porrokatua danik. Guzion laguntzaren bearrean gera, bide berriok barna aurrera yo dezagun. Al duenak duenetik bidali beza arpide-saria ordaintzeko, alegia, urteko arpide-saria amar (10) dolar. Ez duenak biotzetik bidali beza aal duna ta kito. Guzion alegiñez euskera zabaldu, edertu ta iraunerazi dezagun. Gure dei onek izango al du euskaltzaleen erantzun biribilla.

(“We are in our second year and there are people that didn’t pay us for last year’s subscription neither the one for this year. Don’t believe that the magazine is rich. We need the help of all of you. Please send us the \$10 subscription, the ones who can’t, send us what you have. We need the effort of all of us to spread, enrich, and maintain the Basque language. Does our call have any answer from the Basque community?”; my trans.; Euzko-Gogoa, “Eup! Euzko-Gogoaen arpidedunei!” 27)

Jokin Zaitegi would relocate to the Basque Country, as he thought that he would find a better home for himself and the magazine. The majority of the subscribers were from the Basque Country, and publishing was seen as more conducive to distribution. Jon Diaz described the subscriber demographics as such: in the Basque Country (*Hegoalde* and *Iparralde*) 180, in Spain 10, Europe 41, and in America 108, for a total of 339 subscribers (178). When Zaitegi moved to the Biarritz however, the situation didn’t improve. A lack of payments continued to dog the magazine.

The magazine not only had difficulties with the number of subscribers, but also a number of economic issues due to the poor economic management of Zaitegi. *Euzko-Gogoa* was the individual project of Zaitegi, and since it wasn't directly affiliated with the Basque Nationalist Party, it did not receive Basque Government grants (mainly *lehendakari* Agirre's subscription).

In order to overcome the economic struggles and difficulties presented during Zaitegi's five years of publishing in Guatemala, Zaitegi returned to the Southern Basque Country in 1955. Zaitegi's decision was driven by economics, personal reasons, and an effort to take advantage of a change in Franco's control in the Basque Country.

Due to the political situation, Zaitegi made sure that he could enter Basque soil without problems. Curiously, the regime didn't have anything against Zaitegi, but it did have issues with the magazine. During these years, the Basque language and Basque issues were an implicit political statement. As Joxe Azurmendi argues, the Basque language and the Basque topics were taboo ("50eko hamarkadako euskal literatura. I." 24).

At this time, there was a subtle aperture by the Franco regime that allowed the Basque culture to have a small presence in the society. Olaziregi has explained that during those years several milestone magazines were published: *Jakin* (1956), *Karmel* (1950), and *Anaitasuna* (1953), which would provide an important cultural stage from which to launch a renewal of Basque cultural life. ("Basque Literary History" 152). With a glimmer of a changing situation, Zaitegi felt it may allow him to continue his efforts closer to both subscribers and family.

Having been abroad for thirty years, homesickness was also a major factor behind his decision to return. In the last issue of *Euzko-Gogoa* published in Guatemala, the motivations behind Zaitegi's decision to leave the country were explained:

Aldizkariaren zuzendariak aberriratzea erabaki du eta berakin darama aldizkaria ere gure arbasoen kabira. Eta bearrezko zan. Nork ukatu lezaioke gure zuzendariari aberriratzerik, ia ogeitamar urtez aberritik landa gaztaroko urterik ederrenak euskeraren alde erre ondoren? Antxe dauka bere amatxo, antxe dauzka bere senideak eta antxe dauka gure lur puxketa mintsua ere aspalditik zai. Eta antxe dauka batez ere, ain gartsu, ain laztanki maite duen gure izkera, gure euskera xaarra bero eske, maitasun eske, laguntza eske. Eta ziur gaude gure zuzendariak, orain arte bezela, beroa, maitasuna ta laguntza emango dizkiola.

(“The director of the magazine has decided to repatriate and take the magazine to the nest of our ancestors. It is necessary. We can't deny our director his desires to return home, almost thirty years, the best years of his youth has passed in exile fighting for the Basque language. He has his mother there, his relatives, and the Basque land waiting for him. And above all, there is our language, our old Basque, asking for warmth, love, and help. And we are sure that our director will continue working by giving warmth, love, and help to the Basque language”; my trans.; *Euzko-Gogoa* “Etxe-aldaketa” 1955 (5-12), 65)

While the Basque Country evolved, and the Basque identity accommodated to Franco's Spain, the imagined community created by *Euzko-Gogoa* was incongruent with the “real” Basque Country. In other words, the Basque community and the political and cultural identity of *Hegoalde* and the nation that Zaitegi had created were not the same. The optimistic ideas that Zaitegi had at the beginning of his Basque journey were soon dissolved. Ironically, the new geographical scenario didn't work for the magazine. The identity and circumstances in the Basque Country changed during his time in exile. *Euzko-Gogoa* found in Guatemala, the perfect environment to develop. The socio-political-cultural, and economic situation during the “ten years of Guatemalan spring” allowed for a perfect environment for the Basque cultural cultivation.

From America to the Northern Basque Country: The Return of Jokin Zaitegi and How Euzko-Gogoa Struggled to Find its Place in the “New” Basque Context:

When Jokin Zaitegi moved to the Southern Basque Country he found a socio-political-cultural-economic situation that wasn't the most favorable for the development of his project. The later 1950's marked a turning point with new horizons for the Basque culture, politics, and religion that would drastically affect the magazine. In the Basque cultural arena, Zaitegi's enthusiasm towards the Basque language and literature was seen with hesitation and concern. Paulo Iztueta states that for the vast majority of the readers in the Basque Country, the cultural aspirations of Jokin Zaitegi were a trifle, and they turned deaf ears (“Euzko-Gogoa (1950-1959)” 154). Iztueta argues that the Basque intellectuals were afraid that *Euzko-Gogoa* or Zaitegi could jeopardise their “privileges.”

Pako Sudupe argues that Basque intellectuals and institutions did not want to take a risk and lose their ability to publish (“Jakin 1956-1961” 73). In that regard, Joan Mari Torrealdei made an analysis about the situation of the Basque language and the main motives behind the Spanish regime to “approach” the Basque culture. The author compiles in his article the reasons why and how the magazine *Egan* was created and was able to publish in the *Hegoalde*:

La finalidad espiritual que persigue la pretendida publicación es la de recoger y encauzar dentro de las normas patrióticas de la Sociedad, a la juventud intelectual de las tres provincias vascongadas brindándoles una plataforma para sus actividades. Proyectábamos también, que algunas de sus páginas estuvieran escritas en vascuence —cuentos y versos—, un vascuence puro, sin arbitrarios neologismos de laboratorio, precisamente para tratar de desvirtuar lo que los separatistas hicieron en este sentido y para no dejar esta baza en manos de los enemigos pues al otro lado del Pirineo, los vasco-franceses en estrecha colaboración con los emigrados políticos han iniciado una intensa campaña en pro de los estudios vascos y creemos político que no debe dejárseles la exclusiva tanto por la

desviación que podían dar a la propia naturaleza de los estudios como por lo que en sí pudiera suponer.

(“The spiritual purpose pursued by the intended publication is to collect and channel within the patriotic norms of the Society, the intellectual youth of the three provinces of the Basque Country, providing them with a platform for their activities. We also projected that some of their pages were written in Basque -courses and verses-, a pure Basque, without arbitrary laboratory neologisms, precisely to try to distort what the separatists did in this regard and not to leave this trick at the hands of The enemies on the other side of the Pyrenees, the Basques-French in close collaboration with the political emigrants have started an intense campaign for Basque studies and believe that they should not be left politically exclusive for the deviation they could give their own The nature of the studies as it can be assumed by itself”; my trans.; “Yon Etxaide, barne exilioan euskaltzale” 62).

Unlike magazines like *Egan* and others, *Euzko-Gogoa* was considered a separatist element by the Spanish regime. In order to be able to publish the magazine in the Basque Country, the Francoist authorities demanded two unshakeable conditions to Zaitegi. Velez de Mendizabal recounts the conditions. First, Zaitegi was compelled to change the name of the magazine because it was too “Sabinian” (following the teachings of Sabino Arana). The second condition required Spanish translations of all the texts to be approved before publication (122). Although Zaitegi tried to find the support in the Basque intellectual community and institutions, his efforts failed. Seeing that Basque intellectuals and institutions were giving him the runaround, he tried other avenues. In the archives of *Euskaltzaindia*, letters sent by Zaitegi during his time in *Hegoalde* to Pablo Gurrutia, the Bishop of Bilbao, and to Mr. José Ibáñez Martín, the State President of the Superior Council of Scientific Research demonstrate Zaitegi’s efforts to promote his project. He also kept correspondence with the Spanish linguist Antonio Tovar, professor at the University of Salamanca, and the founder of the first Basque Language and Literature

Chair in a Spanish university. Tovar was also a person close to Franco's regime that could help him with the publication of the magazine. In the letters, Zaitegi explains the nature of the magazine, showing it as "non-political" but religious-intellectual and "homogeneous" (a white lie):

Dicha revista sería de tipo intelectual católico que desarrolla tópicos poéticos, literarios, filosóficos, escriturísticos, teológicos, laborales, históricos, lingüísticos, musicales, ascéticos y pastorales, siguiendo normas pontificias y criterios netamente eclesiásticos y evangélicos.

("The magazine would be a Catholic intellectual type that would develop poetic, literary, philosophical, scriptural, theological, labor, historical, linguistic, musical, ascetical and pastoral topics, following pontifical norms and criteria clearly ecclesiastic and evangelical"; my trans.)

In addition, Zaitegi highlighted the fact that politics didn't have a place in *Euzko-Gogoa*: "Cuestiones políticas de todo tipo quedan proscritas de la publicación de dicha revista" 'political questions of all kinds are prohibited in the magazine.' He also described the main topics that were discussed and analyzed in the magazine, as well as the profile of the writers: "Han trabajado como colaboradores miembros destacados de Órdenes y Congregaciones Religiosas como, jesuitas, pasionistas, corazonistas, sacerdotes seculares y seglares de connotada religiosidad y distinguido criterio católico" 'they have worked as outstanding members and collaborators of Religious Orders and Congregations such as Jesuits, Passionists, Corazonistas, secular priests and laymen of connoted religiousness and distinguished Catholic criterion.' He failed to mention the heterogeneity of writers, and their different political beliefs and ideas. Zaitegi tried to blur the lines about the real identity of the magazine to pass censorship. Zaitegi's only way to publish the magazine in *Hegoalde* was by alienating himself and the identity of *Euzko-Gogoa* in order to appear more suitable to the Spanish regime. In the reality of

Hegoalde, defined by Franco's dictatorship, *Euzko-Gogoa* couldn't find its space. A reality that Zaitegi wouldn't allow.

Although the atmosphere wasn't the best or most welcoming for the magazine, Zaitegi didn't give up and decided to finance it with money he brought from Guatemala. As Velez de Mendizabal states, Zaitegi came from Guatemala with 60,000 dollars and all his willpower (117). Zaitegi was the kind of person that had faced adversity before. As his favorite proverb states, "gogorik denean aldaparik ez" 'when you want to do something, there is no hill.' Seeing that it was impossible to publish the magazine in *Hegoalde*, in the summer of 1956, he moved to Biarritz in *Iparralde*. In a letter sent by Zaitegi to Ibiñagabeitia in 1957 from Biarritz, Zaitegi mentioned the frustrations he was facing, in order to publish the magazine in the Basque Country: "Geroago eta bakarrago bizi izateko gogoa dizut, gogait aundi egin baitut euskaldun idazle garako geientsuekin. Asmorik onenaz etorri nintzan, eta gutxien uste nitun zakurrek zaunka egin didate" 'I feel so alone, I am tired of most Basque writers. I came with the best of intentions, but I was barked at by the dogs I least expected' (my trans.). One could assume that when Zaitegi moved to the Basque Country, it would be easier for him to develop *Euzko-Gogoa*, as it would be closer to the readers, and because this "cultural interaction" by Montaldo (4) could be more viable. However, it was not so, in fact the distance of *Euzko-Gogoa* was not only physical, but also in terms of its content, which was far from the cultural community of those times.

In the final years of the 1950's, many historical events occurred that changed the course of the Basque Country and therefore the future of *Euzko-Gogoa*. In 1959, the face of Basque nationalism changed with the introduction of ETA. The scholars Santiago De

Pablo et al. describe this event as the following: “La ruptura generacional que supuso la aparición de ETA en 1959 fue no solo una nueva escisión, sino la mayor transformación a lo largo de la historia del nacionalismo vasco” (“the generational break that led to the appearance of ETA in 1959 was not only a new split, but the greatest transformation throughout the history of Basque nationalism”; my trans.; “El péndulo patriótico” 382). ETA was the representation of the intransigence of a younger generation of nationalists. In fact, some of the new generation of writers for *Euzko-Gogoa*, became members of ETA.¹³

The scholar Leyre Arrieta states that ETA’s initial actions were limited to propagandistic work and cultural events for the promotion of the *euskara* and culture (“ETA y la espiral de violencia. Estrategias y víctimas” 52). The Basque Government was going through a massive internal crisis, and the Basque language, wasn’t its biggest concern. So, it was the left nationalists that took the responsibility of safeguarding the Basque culture through violent means. With this new approach towards the salvation of the Basque culture, some of the biggest cultural promoters, like Orixe, were replaced, and the Basque language became more associated with the left nationalist movement. Txillardegui states that during that time, it was mostly the *ezker abertzalea* (left nationalist) responsible for the Renaissance of the Basque culture (23).

Even though *Euzko-Gogoa* was at times critical of the EAJ-PNV, there was still a good relationship amongst some of the members. As stated before, Zaitegi and the *lehendekari* Agirre had a long lasting and positive friendship. The death of Agirre in

¹³ See Zulaika, especially *Basque Violence*, for an insightful analysis of ETA.

1960 was a total shock for the Basque communities all over the world. With Agirre's death, Zaitegi's disillusion towards the Basque culture and his dream only grew, and later that year the last issue of *Euzko-Gogoa* was published. Agirre's support was very important for Zaitegi, since the *lehendakari* always believed in Zaitegi's project and motivations. In a letter sent from Agirre to Zaitegi in 1951, it is possible to appreciate Agirre's admiration towards Zaitegi's work, *Euzko-Gogoa*:

Zure aldizkari *Euzko-Gogoa* geroago eta ederrago datorkigu. Gure euskera zarra zuen eragitez indar berri eta gogo-berriz, apaintzen ari zaigu jakintza arlo guziak erabiliz. Etsi gabe lan gogorrari or ekingo al diozu arik eta Aberri maitagarrian azkatasun zituak bilduko ditugun arte. Egun ori, ere, Jainkoak onez, etorriko zaigu, bai noski.

("Your magazine is getting better in every issue. The old Basque due to your influence is getting stronger and is getting ready for academia. You must keep doing this hard work, until our beloved motherland becomes free. This day, with the will of God, it will come"; my trans.)

Following Agirre's death, Zaitegi unsuccessfully tried to find his place in the Basque intellectual community. Unfortunately, Zaitegi and *Euzko-Gogoa* were quite distant from the current Basque atmosphere. Zaitegi wanted to find his niche, but despite his efforts he did not succeed. At the end of 1962, he decided to return to Guatemala. After ten years in Guatemala, he returned back to *Hegoalde* in 1972 and passed away in 1979.

Euzko-Gogoa wanted to represent the dreams of those Jesuit students that found in Loiola the divine inspiration of the Basque language, culture, and nation. However, as the 1950's advanced, the great authors of the prewar period, many of them exiled, began to be dismissed by the younger generation of writers. The center of Basque culture was no longer in exile, but in the Southern Basque Country. Zaitegi was condemned to

periphery of Basque culture. From one periphery (Guatemala) to an even more distant periphery (Biarritz), he was forced to isolate himself from an intellectual community that had closed their doors to him. Devastated and disappointed with the Basque community, he returned to Guatemala with nostalgia for a place where he had better times and memories. In fact, *Euzko-Gogoa* was rooted in Zaitegi's vision of a Basque nation or imagined community. This imagined community could therefore be limited and also romanticized for others, since Zaitegi was the director of the magazine and his cultural consciousness and ideology had a strong presence in it. We can see an example of this in a letter sent by Andima Ibiñagabeitia to Jon Mirande, where Ibiñagabeitia explained to Mirande that he changed certain elements of his work to make it more acceptable in Zaitegi's eyes:

Egun jaso, alda, eta igorri dizut zure Breizera Guatemalara bertze lenagoko lantxoak naste. Engoitik diotsut, atsegin izanen zaizkiola gure adiskide aundi Zaitegitarri. Eni beintzat, begi begiko izan zaizkit. Putatxoarekiko ez diot igorri, zer gerta ere. Zure olerkietaz egin gei dugun ekoizpenaz ere mintza natzaio nere idazkian. Ontzat artuko du noski, gure asmoa. Argira bideak arakatzen asia nauzu; itsasoz araindirat joan bear banizuke, uste dudan lez, zure idaztia argitaratua nai nizuke lenbailen. Ori dala ta ardurak artzen asia nauzu. Zenbait gai erosi bearko ditut, bainan ez da ajola, Euskerak gure aal ta indar oro merezi ditu. Zure itzak «Heiddegger»i buruz, aldatu ditiot Zaitegiri, baita Orixez diotsuzanak ere...

(“I sent to Guatemala your work about the Breton language among other of your works. I am telling you since now that Zaitegi will love them. Me myself I loved them. I didn't send him the one about the prostitute for fear of what may happen. I also write him about our poems. I think he will like our projects. I would like to publish your work before I move to the other side of the Atlantic. I am working already on that issue. Our language deserves all of our efforts. I also changed your words about «Heiddegger» and also what you said about Orixe, I think Zaitegi would appreciate it.”; my trans.)

Although *Euzko-Gogoa* was a space for cultural interaction, the truth is that the magazine was deeply rooted in Jokin Zaitegi's ideology and vision. In other words, *Euzko-Gogoa* was ultimately and uniquely Zaitegi's own project.

Chapter Four

The Imagined Community created in *Euzko-Gogoa*

The cosmology of Basque exile has its own voice and is composed by a generation of Basque intellectuals that, although subjected to a painful historical experience, were capable of sustaining its cultural-political commitment and loyalty towards an ideal, the preservation of the Basque nation through its language. Jokin Zaitegi's poem *Erbestean aritza* (The Oak of Exile, 1952), showed the nostalgia and the homesickness of being in exile far away from the motherland:

Oyan zar, beltz, itxuan, Euskadi'tik urrun,/ aritz bat arkitu dut sendo,
tantai, zurrun.// Nere izangoa dizut beragan ikusi/ bakar, sendo ta garai,
erritik igesi.// Alaxe nabilkizu atzerriak zear:/ aritzak biotzondo eragin dit
azkar.// Aritz-adaburuan usoak iduri,/ birundaka diardu nere amets txuri.//
Burua apal ken diot adaxken abarra,/ nonbait arindu nairik nere
zoritxarra.// Biotz-barren baitudan ene Aberria!/ atzerrin gorbiztu zait
barneko zauria.// Ez nuen aritz ori so egin bearrik,/ zutzaz gomutatzeko,
baitzaitut maitenik.// Euskadi baitaramat nerekin barnean,/ naiz ta
lurraldez urrun bizi erbestean.

("In the old, dark, blind forest far away from the Basque Country,/ I found
a strong oak.// I see myself in the oak/ alone, strong, escaping from his
motherland// This is what I am doing in exile:/ the oak touched my
heart.//The canopy of the tree is like a dove,/ my white dream is
spinning.// I took one of his branches/ maybe trying to make easier my
misfortune.//I have my homeland inside my heart/ in exile my wound was
revived.// I shouldn't look at the oak,/ to remember you, because I love
you.// The Basque Country is always in my heart within me,/ even if I live
far away in exile"; my trans.; (11-12), 1)

This chapter analyzes the imagined community and the nation that *Euzko-Gogoa* built in its 10 years of life. In fact, the main pillar of this research is to examine how the writers of *Euzko-Gogoa* came to imagine their nation. From its place in exile, the magazine gave the Basque community (writers/readers) an enduring sense of "us" (the

Basques). After losing the War of 1936, many Basques (those who fought against the Francoist troops) suffered the revenge of the victors. The violence of the winners revolved around the extermination of memory, identity, language, and history. Many were forced to leave their homeland and move to other countries for fear of reprisals that could be taken by the authoritarian political regime established in Spain. *Euzko-Gogoa* was a platform that allowed the building of an imagined community that could be a reference for future Basque nation building.

Euzko-Gogoa became a “therapeutic” response against the Basque cultural defeat. A step towards the reconstruction of a nation, the magazine built throughout its pages an imagined community, a utopian nation, that was forbidden in the Basque Country. In fact, Benedict Anderson considers that nations are social constructs existing in the minds of their members, and that newspapers play a central role in creating and sustaining: “An imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow-readers” (62). Anderson envisioned newspaper readers conjuring such community in their minds. In this regard, *Euzko-Gogoa* was a way to help overcome the trauma of the defeated Basque culture. It was a cultural instrument in a new hope for the annihilated Basque people and country.

Through its pages, *Euzko-Gogoa* built an imagined community that could be shared with its readers. In doing so, it achieved a collaboration for the reconstruction of the homeland, creating a common collective sentiment about the Basque nation. To identify the nation, the idea, the feeling, and the voice that was built in the magazine, the different identity markers or pillars on which *Euzko-Gogoa* was built will be further addressed such as language, religion, gender, and nation/politics. The building of a nation

requires a shared sense of national identity, built on elements that tie people together.

This sentiment is evident in the magazine's first publication:

Aldizkari au zuri, Euzkadi laztana, eskeintzen dizugu, gure gogoko ametsen barne-muña baitzaitugu: bai, gure alegiñak oro eskeintzen dizkitzugu asmorik zintzo ta garbienaz: zure gorabide ta betiko askatasuna opaz. Zure semerik maiteenak izan nai dugunok, Aberri laztana, lurretiko guziak baño aintzakotzat zaitugula badaki gure Yaungoikoak. Gure zaiñetako odol beroa eskeintzeko ere gerturik gaituzu, ala bear ezkerro. Ez baidugu azturik Arana-Goiri'k agindua: «Gu Euzkadi'rentzat eta Euzkadi Yaungoikoarentzat».

(“This magazine is for you beloved Basque Country, we offer it to you because we have you in our deepest dreams; we, your honest and pure kids, give you all our efforts: we wish you your freedom. The ones that want to be your dearest sons. Beloved motherland our God knows that we love you more than anything. We are ready to offer the red blood of our veins for you. Because we don't forget what Arana stated: We for the Basque Country, and the Basque Country for God”; my trans.; Euzko-Gogoa “Opariz” 1950 (1), 3)

The writers of the magazine were essential in establishing the tone of *Euzko-Gogoa*. They consisted of a heterogeneous group of Basque authors, from different generations, realities, experiences, and ideologies although most of the writers of the magazine were patriots and *euskaltzales*. In the political sphere the majority were Christian-Democrats and members of the EAJ-PNV. The imagined community created in the magazine was built under the scope of the prewar generation, also known as Aitzol's generation as almost all of the writers were culturally active before the war. But above everything, because it was Zaitegi's personal project, and he was part of this generation. Later, Orixe and Ibiñagabeitia helped with the direction of the magazine, that were also from the prewar generation.

Basque Language

The Basque language held a crucial role in both the magazine's content and its mission of creating a Basque nation. From the start, the Basque language was a cornerstone of the magazine: "Euskera iraunderazi, edertu ta zabaldu nai dugu nork bere kitatxoan" ("we want to endure, beautify and expand the Basque language each one as much as they can"; my trans; "Ataurrekoa" 1954 (1-2), 1). *Euzko-Gogoa* wanted to demonstrate that the *euskara* had the same strength, capacity, and beauty as any other language. They wanted to open new paths to the language and show its depth: "Ortarako orindik landu-gabe zauden gure alorretan ildo berriak urratzen asiak gera" ("we opened new paths in areas that were not done before"; my trans; "Ataurrekoa" 1954 (1-2), 1). After the War of 1936, the Basque language was persecuted and repressed. The Spanish Government harassed the *euskara* to a point that Basque people remained mute for fear of retaliations and vexations. The historian Paul Preston claims that Spain was polarized between "la privilegiada *España auténtica* y la castigada *anti-España*" ("the privileged authentic Spain and the punished anti-Spain"; my trans.; 13). The Basque Country was in the side of the "*anti-España*," forced to a cultural rupture with its roots and traditions. The extermination of people's history, memory, and identity became a fact especially in areas across the Basque Country especially in the provinces of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, which had been declared "traitors" by the victors.

The Foundation of Basque Nation Building was the Basque Language

For the magazine, the main pillar in the foundation of the Basque nation building was the Basque language. The Basque language was what connected the country, the

people, and their identities: “Euskaldun euskerak egin gaitu, beraz, euskera gabeko Euskadi'rik eztugu opa” (“the Basque language is what makes us Basque, we don’t want a Basque Country without Basque language”; my trans; “Aturrekoa” 1954 (1-2), 1). Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o and Frantz Fanon have mentioned the intrinsic power of the language and people, and the devastating consequences of this break in people’s identity. For Basque individuals, the inability to speak their language, gave a sensation that they were also unable to be themselves.

The Catholic patriotism promoted by EAJ-PNV was left behind, and the 1960’s embraced and created “new” patriotic parameters. For the new generation the Basque language became the socio-political-cultural cornerstone, in fact as Aldekoa states: “Errebindikazio politikoa eta kulturala batera agertuko dira, binomio baten aurkia eta ifrentzua bezala” (“the political and cultural recognition appeared linked together as the front and the back part of a binomial”; my trans.; “Gure hirorogeiak” 60). However, this relationship between the Basque language/culture and patriotism/politics was already made in *Euzko-Gogoa* in the 1950’s. What appears to be something new of the postwar generation, was already rooted by the prewar generation.

One of the strongest arguments of the magazine is that without the *euskara* there is no Basque Country. The inherent union between the Basque language and the Basque nation was foundational for the magazine. This relationship between the Basque language and the Basque nation started from the beginning of the 19th century, with the loss of the *fueros* and the beginning of the Basque literary renaissance in 1876. Mari Jose Olaziregi argues that when the *fueros* and their concomitant right were abolished in 1876, this same

year marked the beginning of a more militant arena for the Basque language and culture (“Basque Literary History” 141-142). *Euzko-Gogoa* continued the fight for the survival of the Basque language that was initiated decades prior. Due to the imposition of the Spanish language and culture, there was a strong resistance to the possibilities of losing the Basque language and identity. As we saw in chapter one, the scholars Fanon and Thiong’o argue that by adopting the language of the colonizer, the world of the colonizer is accepted. The suppression of the language is the suppression of one’s own identity and own world. Language is not only a means of communication but also an expression of culture. These Basque intellectuals used the platform of *Euzko-Gogoa* as a means of resistance in order to maintain their community.

The relationship between language and popular identity was strongly promoted in the pages of *Euzko-Gogoa*. Paulo Iztueta states: “*Euzko-Gogoak* urrats izugarria eman zuen hizkuntza, gure kasuan euskara, herri-nortasunaren ezaugarri nagusitzat hartzean, euskal nazionalismo historikoaren bidean zerbait berria zen” (“*Euzko-Gogoa* made a huge step in the language, taking the Basque language, as the main feature of popular identity, it was something new for Basque nationalism”; my trans.; “Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua” 83). The nation building that was promoted, founded upon the Basque language, showed a resistance against Spanish censorship.

In Franco’s Spain, cultural plurality was forbidden. The writers of the magazine were concerned about the difficulties that the Basque language was facing, and out of opposition wrote only in the Basque language. Zaitegi considered language the main key for the Basque people and their country’s freedom and salvation:

Arrezkero, euskeraz bakarrik idatzi nai dugu, eusko-gogoaren barne-muñetaraño eldu gaitezen: azkatasunaren giltza galdu bai-dugu, euskera galdu ezker; eta bere izkera galdu dun erriak, erri berri eta zindoen artean bizitzerik ez du artze. Soñez iñoren morroi gogoz, ordea, bere buru-yabe dan erria, iñoiz ezpaita iñoren yopu izango, naiz-ta egoera lazgarriena izan. Beraz, gure azkatasun osoaren egun aundirako, urren izaki gure buruak gertu bear ditugu.

(“*Euzko-Gogoa*, “We only want to write in Basque, to arrive to the deepest heart of the Basque will.: we lose the key of our freedom if we lose the Basque language; and the country that has lost its language has no place in the world, if it is lost, and it is not anymore alive. An independent country will never be a servant of anyone. So, we have to get together for the day of our freedom”; my trans.; “Gure Asmoa” 1950 (2)).

The cultural repression carried out in Spain during the postwar period was of such magnitude that many Basque people tried to forget the *euskara* to avoid possible reprisals. The writers of *Euzko-Gogoa* knew that it was punishable to speak the Basque language under these circumstances. However, they knew that it was necessary to keep its flame alive. They believed that the Basque language was the path forward for a civilization and transmitted a wisdom and a way of life; it constituted a universe, a heritage and a distinguishing mark. While in exile and through the Basque language, Jokin Zaitegi endeavored to achieve the forbidden freedom for the Basque Country. A freedom for a people who were subjugated under the mercy of the “Spanish Empire,” a Spain that felt the coexistence of more than one language would result in the failure of its own foundations. Implementing Spanish as the only language of culture was a unifying and civilizing function. This belief is still strongly rooted in Spain, in fact, Luisa Elena Delgado explained how the Spanish language became the “glue” for both its internal and external use of promotional strategy of the Country’s image (102). *Euzko-Gogoa* actively resisted to subvert “colonization.”

Nevertheless, the rupture of the Basque language transmission between generations was becoming a norm in many Basque families. Some parents were afraid of the negative repercussions that the Basque language could have on their children. The linguistic and cultural fracture between two generations was dangerous, it could bring the death of the language and nation, and subjugation to the Spanish and French states:

Alare, gure erriko semeek, naiz ta abertzale izan, euskera bertan bera utzi ta erderaz egiten dute. Gurasoek, bear bada abertzale, ta semeek euskerarik ez tute entzun etxean. Nondik datorkigu izurrite ori? Nondik datorkigu erdal-yoera ori? Gaitz orren erroa, dana dala, moztu bearra dugu.

(“However, the sons of our country, even if they are nationalist, put the Basque language aside and they speak in Spanish or in French. Their parents, nationalist, and their sons didn’t hear Basque at home. Where does this plague come from? Where do the Spanish and French tendencies come from? The roots of this disease has to be cutten”; my trans.; Zaitegi, “Euskal-iztegia ta euzkadi'ren berpizkundea” 1952 (1-2), 32)

This “break in the transmission” worried Zaitegi as the future of the Basque nation was one in which the next generation could continue speaking and sharing Basque. In this regard, the magazine criticises the lack of action for certain Basque institutions that were too cowardly and too aware of Spanish state repercussions and were not being an example for the people: “Zuen zuhurtzia txurikeri utsal eta ilgarria baita, gure zorotasuna berriz, euskera indarberrituko duen kemen ta oldarra” (“your prudence is a vain and deadly habit, our craziness on the other hand, is the courage and vigor that will revitalize the Basque language”; my trans.; Euzko-Gogoa, “VIII'gn Eusko-Ikaskuntza Batzarraren inguruan” 1954 (3-4), 49).

The lack of Basque institutional strength, and their fear for commitment wasn’t helping the Basque language. In 1936, the Spanish Second Republic approved a statute of

autonomy promoted by *lehendakari* Agirre's government. This statute declared the Basque language as an official language. However, the military uprising ended the Basque autonomy and its internal laws. The *euskara* lost its support following the war and was no longer allowed. The truth was that the Spanish and the French languages were choking the Basque language: "Roman-izkerak aspalditik ari zaizkigu gure aberri-izkeraren arlo zabalak apurka iaten" ("the Romance languages have long been taking the vast areas of our language"; my trans.; *Euzko-Gogoa*, "Amilbera" 1954 (5-8), 73). Therefore, the magazine encouraged the readers to work in favour of the Basque. Gotzon Urrutia stated: "Euzkerea ez da ilgo. Ez bein. Geu euzkotarrok eralle ixan ezik eta gu ez gara inoz euzkel-eralliak ixango" ("the Basque language will not die. Unless the Basques kill it, and we never will be the murderers of our language"; my trans.; "Euzkera ezillkorra" 1950 (2), 7). For the magazine, the Basque language was intrinsically connected with the country, and with its people. That is why the magazine promoted artistic and cultural production in the Basque language as a strategic way to build a specific image of the country: culture as a cohesive element, a generator of union, and a tool for resistance.

If the Basque language wanted to survive, it had to have the support of different social classes. Federico Krutwig argues that language is the most useful tool used by humans; if the tool is not valid, it is not longer used ("Seminario jaunari ongi-etorria" 1952 (7-8), 29). Therefore, it was one of the main priorities of the magazine to get the Basque language to find its place in both high society as well as in everyday life: "Kapeladun guztijak euzkeraz egingo ba'lebe, euzkerearen gaizkakundia laster etorriko litxake" ("if everyone with a hat (high society members) will speak the Basque language,

it will soon become its salvation”; my trans.; Xemein, “Itz barriak dirala-ta” 1950 (3-4), 20). Many upper-class people saw in the Basque language a “barbaric” language that used by “rustic or country” people. Joan Mari Torrealdai collects in *El libro negro del euskera* (The Black Book of the Basque Language) some of the most famous sentences of vexations and mockeries written by writers and intellectuals of “educated languages” about the Basque language, which they described as, “idioma bárbaro,” “lenguaje grosero,” and “algarabía” (“barbaric language, rude language, and hullabaloo”; my trans.; 7). These ideas about the inferiority of the Basque language date back to the 18th century. As Joseba Zulaika states: “With the ascendance of the Bourbon dynasty to Spanish thrones in the 18th century, and the advent liberal regime in Madrid in the early 19th century, state centralism became the overriding national goal” (“Basque Violence” 17). The 20th century brought the process of industrialization and modernization, and with it the idea that the Basque language could not encompass modern thoughts. In 1901, Miguel de Unamuno made a call to accept the death of the Basque language, arguing its incapacity to be a language of the modern world.

The stigmatization towards the *euskara* did not only come from the intellectuals of “cultured languages” but from the Basque intellectuals themselves. *Euzko-Gogoa* was critical towards the Basque intellectuals who although knowing the language, were using Spanish or French in their writings: “Jakitunak ezeben Euzkerea maite, ta erderaz egiten eben” (“intellectuals didn’t like the Basque, and they wrote in Spanish or French”; my trans.; Xemein, “Euzkel-Pizkundia” 1950 (5-6), 6). The disparagements towards and stereotypes of the Basque language had to be broken. Basque had to be shown to be as valid as any other language as a vehicle of divulgation, scientific communication, and

cultural. It was necessary to convince the readers and intellectuals about the linguistic capacity of their language, otherwise the Romance languages would monopolize the cultural field:

Gizon ikasiak euskerarenganatu nai ditugu. Ortarako orindik landu-gabe zauden gure alorretan ildo berriak urratzen asiak gera. Eusko-ikaskuntza ta non-naiko ikasi-bearrak gureganatu nai ditugu. Ikasle ta irakasleak euskerarenganatzten ba'ditugu, euskerak iraungo du bere ederrean eta zabalean.

(“We want to welcome the intellectuals. We are opening new paths for the Basque language. If we bring the professors and students to our side, the Basque language will stay alive in its beauty and its grandeur”; my trans.; “Aturrekoa” 1954 (1-2), 1)

Gotzon Urrutia argues that the Basque language was not just “eskaratzetan kontu-kontetan erabilteko bakarrik” (“a language for smalltalk in the kitchen”; my trans.; “Gixadijaren azikera-bidiak” 1950 (11-12), 68). The magazine was hoping to end the ostracism of the Basque language and bring it to everyday life and academia. Ibiñagabeitia wrote: “Euskara gai guziak azaltzeko, naiz eskutuenak izan, euskaltzale ta abertzale zintzoen eskuetan gai dala” (“the Basque language is capable to explain everything, even the darkest topics, in the hands of Basque language loyalists and nationalists”; my trans.; “Euzko-Gogoa” 1950 (9-10), 35). Zaitegi and Ibiñagabeitia always demonstrated their concern about the future of the Basque language. They repeatedly insisted that the *euskara* should be a language of educated people. Not a language for just certain fields or used as mere folklore. Without writers and intellectuals using the Basque language as a medium, they feared the language and their country would lose its essence.

Through the Basque Language to the Basque University

An additional proposal from *Euzko-Gogoa* was that a Basque University should be established. This university would continue to serve in the role of promoting the use of Basque in different fields of study at the highest levels. In the last issue of 1957, the magazine analyzed the benefits that a Basque University could offer and tried to show the capabilities of the Basque language that could be one day be used in a collegiate realm. As stated by the scholar Ernest Gellner, high culture with a unique shared language is key for nation building and creating a more modern society (33). Although the political situation at this time would not allow for the creation of a university, these intellectuals saw the value of higher education.

The magazine showcased the linguistic mastery of the Basque language in issue (9-12) through three theatrical performances: *Piloktete* (1957) by Sofocles, *Macbeth* (1957) by Shakespeare and *Menditarrak* (Mountaineers, 1957) by Telésforo Monzón. As they discussed in the introduction, these works could have been written more simply, but the authors decided to translate them in a more rigorous and authentic way, despite knowing the difficulty that it would entail for the reader: “Euskera *arranta* baizik eztakitenek, naiz ta euskaltzain izan, ezin txastatu al izango dute antzerkion ederra” (“the ones that only speak the *common* Basque, even if they are members of the Basque Language Academy, they are not going to be able to appreciate the beauty of these plays”; my trans.; “Atarikoa” 1957 (9-12), 1). The difficulties that may have arisen in these readings indicated the necessity of having a Basque University, Norbert Taur wrote: “Euzkotarrak, euskal-ikastetxerik ez daukatelarik, ezin dezakete beren izkuntza ongi ikasi

eta orregatik ez daude oiturik euskerazko irakurketara” (“because the Basques don’t have a Basque University, they can’t properly learn their language, and therefore read in Basque”; my trans.; “Euskal-elertiarri buruz” 1951 (7-8), 39).

The Basque University was indispensable in bringing the Basque language to the highest level possible: “Gure gogoia euskerak mamitu bear du. Il-edo-biziko gure auzia euskerak erabakiko du: orra, gure irrikarik nagusia eta biziena” (“our will must be materialized by the Basque language. Our fight will be decided by the Basque language: this is our biggest and most vivid desire”; my trans.; “Atarikoa” 1957 (9-12), 1). Jokin Zaitegi was convinced that the recovery of the Basque language was connected with its use by the Basque intelligentsia. He believed that literate Basques should be the force of improving and developing the *euskara*. That was the path to create the Basque University, placing Basque intellectuals and therefore any science in favour of the Basque language. In fact, the magazine presented themes that were relatively new in the 1950’s including psychology, metaphysics, biology, botanic, music, esthetics, and philosophy. Andima Ibiñagabeitia, Orixe, and especially Jon Mirande’s works opened new pathways to the Basque language and to its linguistic capacities. These articles about knowledge were especially strong during the first period of the magazine.

Josu Chueca argues that the necessity and the request for a Basque University got stronger in the 20th century (395). From that need, in 1918 *Eusko Ikaskuntza* and *Euskaltzaindia* were established. The Basque public university, more concretely the Faculty of Medicine, was created in October of 1936 when the War of 1936 had already begun. Mikel Aizpurua in his article “1936ko Euskal Unibertsitatearen aurrekariak eta

ezaugarriak” (The beginnings and characteristics of the Basque University of 1936) argues that although the loss of the war eliminated the university it didn’t extinguish its flame. In fact, the 1950’s with its social and economic changes led many Basque intellectuals to promote and expand higher education in the Basque language and create Basque language chairs or positions in different American universities. Therefore, *Euzko-Gogoa*’s requests for the Basque University echoed the desires of its community.

“Gipuzkera Osatua”: The Literary Basque Language

Another strong focus of the magazine was highlighting the necessity of having *euskara batua* (standard Basque language). In fact, Jokin Zaitegi, among other writers of the magazine, made an important contribution to the *euskara batua*. It can be said that *Euzko-Gogoa* gave a space of empowerment, a network, and a voice to the standard Basque language. The magazine became a platform for the dissemination and debate about the language: “Gure izkuntza indartu nai, ba-dugu elertirako gai izan dedin, batasuna egitea nai, ta naitezko du” (“if we want to strengthen our language, if we want it to be capable for literature, its unity is essential”; my trans.; Labaien, “Euskeraren batasuna” 1954 (9-10), 154). The magazine offered a space to develop the discourse over the standard Basque language: “Euskaldun eta euskal idazleak. Orra gure arlorik bikañena, orra gure egitekorik garaiena: Euskera oso ta ziatz bat guretzat eta gure oñordekoentzat antolatu ta batu” (“Basques and Basque writers. Here is the most beautiful and highest thing to do: to organize and unify a complete and concrete Basque language for us and for our heirs”; my trans.; Ibiñagabeitia, “Osotasuna” 1952 (11-12), 14). The debate about the standardization of the Basque language that began decades

prior, continued in the magazine and was echoed in other platforms during the 1960's, culminating in 1968 when *euskara batua* was consolidated and *Euzkaltzaindia* gave its support and protection.

In their writings, Jokin Zaitegi and Andima Ibiñagabeitia promoted Azkue's *gipuzkera osatua* (enhanced Gipuzkoan), a Basque that was very similar to the one that was accepted in 1968. Numerous questions and different opinions about the use of the Basque language and its standardization were shared and discussed through *Euzko-Gogoa*'s pages. Some of them were: *erderakadak* (the use of foreign words), neologisms, *gipuzkera osatua*, *lapurtera klasikoa* (literary Labourdian), and *mordollokeriak* (jargon). The writers found in the magazine a privileged place/space for the development of all these topics related with the foundation and normalization of *euskara batua*. Although the directors of the magazine strongly supported *gipuzkera osatua* as a literary variety other opinions and thoughts also found their place in *Euzko-Gogoa*.

One of the main discussions that took place in the pages of the magazine was the debate around which literary language should be used. This discussion became an irreparable gap between the prewar and postwar generations. The Basque language didn't have a literary standard. It was seen as essential to choose one and establish an institutional platform to teach it. Since there wasn't a university or language institute, *Euzko-Gogoa* took the responsibility of attempting to create and promote a standardized Basque.¹⁴

¹⁴ See Salaburu, *Writing Words. The Unique Case of the Basque Standardization of Basque*. Zaldúa, *This Strange and Powerful Language. Eleven Crucial Decisions a Basque Writer is Obligated to Face*.

The dispute for which standardized Basque would be the ideal was between *gipuzkera osatua* and *lapurtera klasikoa*. *Gipuzkera osatua* was mainly promoted by the prewar generation writers and the *lapurtera klasikoa* by young writers of the postwar generation. In an article written by Orixe, the author suggested Krutwig, a writer of the postwar generation, to write in *gipuzkera osatua*: “Laphurdiko euskerara yotzen du berorrek. Ortan ere ez da izan lenengo. Lengo Euskalzaindian ere ba-giñan ortara yotzen genunak; bañan Azkue yaunak porrot eragin zigun «Gipuzkera Osotu»arekin. Ikusiko dugu berori gu baño geiago ote dan” (“you use the labourdian Basque. You are not the first one using it. In Euskaltzaindia before some of us were in favour of it until Azkue came with his *gipuzkera osatua*. We will see if you are better than us”; my trans.; “Krutwig yauna euskeraz” 1950 (11-12), 49).

In his articles about the correct use of the Basque language, Orixe and Martin Oiartzabal determined themselves as “moderate purists” as they were not opposed in principle to neologisms (“Euskal-izkera: Grezitarren itz-etorria” 1954 (5-8), 106). From their point of view, they have to be seen as helpful instruments that enrich the Basque language. They agreed on the necessity of adaptation and appropriation because the cult languages must accept these terms to evolve and become global. Nevertheless, although Orixe didn’t like *mordollokeriak* he argued that each one should know where the limits are (“Aita Mitxelena berrizaleekin” 1952 (1-2), 23). The debate about Basque created a division of opinions amongst the writers. However, if the Basque language wanted to survive, all the writers had to work together. Juan San Martin argued in the article “Eritzi baten eritzia” (Opinion about an Opinion, 1957) that, even if their ideas were different, at

least they should respect them, and they should try to avoid polarizations by working in the same direction:

Lanean ari diranak, naiz euskera garbian edo naiz mordolloan (biak bai dira bearrezkoak bakoitza bere mallan), lagundu ta poztu egin bear genituke, eta, iñoiz lan batek kritika zorrotza bear ba'du, gauzak ondo pentzatuta eta itzak obeto neurtuta egin bear lirake, eta sekula ere ez egillearen gai ta asmoen berri jakin gabe.

(“The ones that are working, in pure Basque or impure Basque (because both are necessary each of one in their own measure), we should help and be happy, and they should be better acknowledged, and never without knowing the purpose of the writer”; my trans.; (1-2), 107)

Despite their differences, all the writers of the magazine agreed that it was necessary to normalize/standardize the Basque language for literature. For its betterment, the language should be nourished in different ways to achieve its highest level.

Another debate was the level of difficulty that should be used in writings. Should the Basque be written for intellectuals or for the average individual. As we saw before, Aitzol and Lizardi, had the same dilemma. Aitzol initially promoted an intellectual Basque, although he later retracted and expressed his support to the common tongue. Zaitegi, Orixe, and Keperin Xemein argued that the solution could be to keep both types of languages. One Basque for people’s everyday life, and other for the intellectual discourse, administration, education, among others: “Batzutan, erriak ez ulertuteko eraz idatzi biarrko dogu. Baña ez ardurarik izan. Ele orotan ezta bardin jasoten, ala?” (“sometimes we have to write in a language that people can’t understand. But don’t worry, this same thing happens in every language”; my trans.; Xemein, “Itz barriak dirala-ta” 1950 (3-4), 21).

The use of a high level or “difficult” Basque language by some of the writers of the magazine was condemned by other writers and some Basque institutions. Orixe wrote an article reporting the critics and mockeries he suffered due to his “difficult” Basque. He also added: “Guk egiten dugun euskera zaillak ez du erri-euskera ilaraziko. Zuek naituzuten euskera errez orrek ez du euskeraren eriotza galaraziko” (“the difficult Basque that we use is not going to kill the popular Basque. The popular Basque that you want will also not prevent the death of the Basque language”; my trans.; “Erria, erria! Berriz eta azkenekoz” 1951 (1-2), 11). For Orixe, the level of the Basque used wasn’t the debate, for him the fact of writing in Basque would allow the language to survive. Zaitegi added that it wasn’t the Basque language that was difficult, but rather the topics. He believed that sometimes it was necessary to write in a higher level in order to explain a topic, despite the fact that some individuals wouldn’t comprehend: “Euskera garbia, askotan ez da garbiegia dalako: gai zallak erabiltzen diralako baizik. Zuek Euzko-Gogoa’n erabiltzen dituzuen gai oiek, erderaz ere, ez lituzke adituko erriak. Zuen lanok beaz ikasientzat egiñak dituzue, ta ikasiak oietatik jasotzeko asko dute” (“sometimes the difficulty of the language is due to the topics. The topics that we use in the magazine would be difficult to understand in any language. Our topics are for intellectuals”; my trans.; “Yadarka Yaunari erantzuna” 1951 (3-4), 33). He promoted respect for the different types/forms of Basques, which depended greatly on the purpose of the text, because all the forms had their own use in different fields of society.

In 1957, Zaitegi wrote a letter to Ibiñagabeitia arguing the lack of communication with *Euskaltzaindia* and the power that Koldo Mitxelena and Antonio Arrue had in their hands: “Euskaltzaindian egiten da Mitxelenak eta Arruek erabakitzen dutena: urgazleak

ugaritu dituzte ta nire ustez Euskaltzaindia *bekaiztu* dute” (“in *euskaltzaindia* is done what is ordered by Mitxelena and Arrue. They increased the number of corresponding members of the academy, I believe that they are acting with greed”; my trans.).

Mitxelena became the main reference for the standardization of the Basque language. As Zuazo states, *Euskaltzaindia* left in Mitxelena’s hand the standardization of the Basque language (“Euskara batua” 157). Postwar generation writers like Txillardegui and Gabriel Aresti supported Mitxelena’s standard Basque.

Translations to Show the Capacity of the Basque Language

Another feat of the magazine was the use of translation to show the capacity of the Basque language. Not only did the use of translation show the strength of the Basque language, but the works chosen by the editors and authors play an important role understanding the subliminal messaging of nation building and the desires of the magazine. With an immeasurable amount of works to choose from to translate, the purpose of analyzing the translations is to determine what was the rationale and importance of the selected texts.

The Basque scholar Paulo Iztueta states: “*Euzko-Gogoa*-ko kudeatzaileak konbentziturik daude, egon, itzulpenak egin beharrekoak direla euskara kultur bidean jarriko bada” (“the managers of *Euzko-Gogoa* are convinced that translations are necessary to put the Basque language in the cultural road”; my trans.; “Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua” 139). The various works were mostly translated from the original language and became a linguistic tool in *Euzko-Gogoa*. Actually, the 13.5 % of the texts of the magazine were translations.

Authors of the western literary canon, such as Aeschylus, Virgil, Cicero, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kafka, and the paradigmatic *poètes maudits*, Verlaine and Baudelaire were part of the magazine's corpus. The works of various Nobel Prize winners were also translated: Jacinto Benavente, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Sully Prudhomme, Selma Lagerlöf, Gabriela Mistral, and Henryk Sienkiewicz. Also, minority literature authors and languages were transcribed: Costa Llobera, León Jasson, and Joan Maragall amongst others. I consider that the writers of *Euzko-Gogoa* translated carefully chosen works, with the desire to provide a systematic explanation of why Basque culture should appeal to a particular group of people, in which they could exhibit the central values of their purpose, to structure the self-image of the Basque culture.

The late Romantic German poets had a strong presence in the first period of the magazine. The works of authors like, Ludwig Uhland, Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff, Christian Johann Heinrich Heine, Baron Detlev von Liliencron, and Eduard Friedrich Mörike were translated into the Basque language. The works of the poets Uhland and Heine were translated more than once. Jon Mirande translated several of Uhland's poems, including *Ba-nin adiskide bat* (I had a Comrade, 1950), a funeral march of the German Armed Forces.

Joxe Azurmendi states that Jon Mirande showed himself to be in favor of the German Nazis when he argued: “«Frantzia Euskaldungoaren etsai eta Alemania, gurea ez, bainan gure etsaien etsai izaki»” (“France is the enemy of Basques and Germans, not ours, but the enemy of our enemy”; my trans.; “Mirande eta Kristautasuna” 51). Mirande inspired by the Nazi ideology, argued that for the resurrection of the Basque Country

there had to be strength and blood. He saw in the French democracy and liberalism the loss of small nations. Joxe Azurmendi claims that Mirande believed in the spirit of the old Europe: “Izpiritu aske, burgoi, indibidualista, aristokratiko, zaldun aido, zuzentzazalea” (“a free spirit, bourgeoisie, individualist, aristocratic, proud knight, tough”; my trans.; “Mirande eta Kristautasuna” 54). In my opinion, Mirande sees in this poem the spirit he would like to see in the Basque Country. A spirit willing to fight for its freedom and the salvation of its culture. This mentality was shared amongst other contributors of *Euzko-Gogoa* and can be seen as well in the future generations of the Basque Country which would contribute to the eventual formation of ETA.

Zaitegi translated Heine’s *Nere atsekabe aundi* (Out of my great unrest, 1951) and Ambrozio Zaratain translated *Balekiye* (And if they knew it, the blooms, the little ones, 1950). Heine, for example, because of his Jewish origin and his political position, was constantly excluded and harassed until he finally exiled himself from Germany. I consider Zaitegi felt a connection with the “outcast” sensation similar to this author. Zaitegi was an outcast of the Jesuit order and outcast in the Basque intellectual community, resulting in his various exiles.

Another commonly translated author was Johann Wolfgang Goethe, one of the central figures of the Romantic movement in Europe. Romanticism believes in the world of ideals, creating a unique world between the dream and the imagination. *Euzko-Gogoa* acquired some ideas of Romanticism, especially when it decided to create its own imagined community. The Romantic authors preach the singularity of the individual and the nation. Therefore, the romantic authors had great weight in the magazine, since they

promoted the unique identity of the individual and the nation, the desired goal of the Basque community both abroad and at home.

Jon Mirande also translated Edgar Allan Poe's *Ixiltze; Alegia* (Siope/Silence-A Fable, 1951), *Bela* (The Raven, 1950), and *Amontillado upela* (The Cask of Amontillado, 1952) and Franz Kafka's *Legearen aitzinean* (Before the Law, 1954). Jon Mirande's translations were a new element for the Basque literature since they dealt with subjects that had not been part of the Basque literary scene before. However, it is interesting to see how *Euzko-Gogoa*, many times criticized as "too traditional," left a space to the fantastic world of Mirande. Lourdes Otaegi mentions, that the works of Poe and Kafka: "Giza nortasunaren alderdi iluna, perbertsoa, eta biolentoa agertzen dute" ("they show the dark side of human's identity, the perverse, and the violent"; my trans.; "Jon Mirande" 21). Mirande criticized and broke away from the stereotype of the honest and Christian Basque stereotype and favored the violence, the paganism and the darkness through his translations. In this regard, Azurmendi holds: "Jon Mirande mugimendu berriaren aitzindari eta eragile bortitzenetako izan da. Ondo begiratuta, ETA-ren beraren aintzindari, nahi baduzu, alde askotatik" ("Jon Mirande was the precursor and one of the strongest promoters of a new movement. It can be said that he was the forerunner of ETA in many ways"; my trans.; "Mirande eta Kristautasuna" 14). The desires of Mirande's imagined community may have differed greatly from the various contributors to *Euzko-Gogoa*, however the magazine allowed a platform for debate. Despite differing opinions, they shared the common goal and desire of having a free Basque Country and making the language a contributor to the nation.

Following the winds of change, the poet Gabriel Aresti brought new pathways to the Basque literature. When in his twenties, he contributed to *Euzko-Gogoa* with his translations of Charles Baudelaire's *Gauontzak* (The Owls, 1954) and Paul Verlaine's *Udazken-kantuak* (Autumn Song, 1954). These authors were important in the modernization of French poetry. A poetry that showed the inner city and urbanization in a different context than before. For Aresti, a person brought up in a city environment far from the often romanticized Basque farming communities, his translations showed a change of demographics and urbanization of the Basque Country. These works were signs of change ahead and the development of a new reality with a new generation. Again, *Euzko-Gogoa* allowed a variety of opinions which also allows for a transition and bridge between generations of authors.

The Greco-Latin authors were also greatly translated in the magazine. Iztueta states: "Tradizoaren erro-errora doaz estetikaren bila" ("they go to the roots of the tradition to find the esthetics"; my trans.; "Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua" 140). The classical works of literature are the key to understanding humanity, the essential knowledge, and cultural heritage. Having a foundational scope of literature would also serve as an important tool for a future Basque University. Amongst the western canon, Shakespeare was one of the most translated authors in the magazine, where *King Lear* was translated two different times by different writers, by Eladi Larrañaga in 1951 and by Bedita Larrakoetxea in 1958. Other translated works of Shakespeare were, *Winter's Tale* (1950), *LXVI. Sonnet* (1954), *CIX. Sonnet* (1954), *Macbeth* (1957), and *The Tempest* (1959). The ability to translate timeless works with such global fame for its beauty and

complexity proved that the Basque language was capable of being used at the level of Shakespeare.

Josu Insausti and Luis Mari Mujika translated children's and youth literature. This was quite unique as the majority of readers of the magazine were not precisely young. Nevertheless, I think it helped to promote the use of the Basque language in all subjects and levels: at the university, in secondary schools, and in primary schools. In fact, *Euzko-Gogoa* believed that the future of the Basque language was in the youth: "Gaztedi buru-iantziak ainitz ta agitz dezake, oiek izango baitira gure erriaren bide-aurreko ta aintzindari" ("the educated youth can do great and a lot, they will be the future"; my trans.; "Atarikoa" 1956 (3-4), 2). Insausti translated some of the short stories of the book, *My Name is Aram* (1954-1955), written by the Armenian-American writer, William Saroyan. The stories depict Aram Garoghlanian, an Armenian-American child from Fresno (California), as the main character. In the stories, topics consist of the immigrant experience, family, honesty, and love. The Italian children's writer, Carlo Collodi, was also translated. Mujika adapted *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (1959) into the Basque language. Also, in this group of youth literature translations was *One Thousand and One Nights* (1956-1958) translated by Guillermo Larrañaga. What is most interesting is the moral of the story, and how it is the richness of the protagonist's culture that allows the character to survive. There is an underlying message to the Basque youth and its magazine's readers that with the promotion and maintenance of language and culture, both an individual and their country can survive what may have appeared to be an imminent death. Even though the potential readers of the magazine were not young, the magazine promoted the canonical high-level literature for the youth. The written *euskara*

was late to arrive, the first Basque book was not published until the 16th century. Xabier Etxaniz states that it was not until the 19th century when children's literature found its place. In 1804, Bixenta Mogel, the first Basque female writer, published the first literary-didactic book for children named *Ipui Onac* (The Good Stories), it was a translation of Aesop's fifty fables. She also created the foundation for children's literature (26). The translations made in the magazine show an open political approach far from the religion or folklore. In fact, as Seve Calleja explains, between 1920-1930 most of the children's literature was focused on developing Sabino Arana's nationalist ideology and to promote "ereduzko umea" 'model children' (93), such as the book *Xabiartxo* written in 1925 by Ixaka Lopez-Mendizabal. After the War of 1936, due to the strict censorship there was hardly any publications. In 1950, thanks to a small decrease in censorship the publication in *Hegoalde* that were addressed to children's literature increased. However, the recurrent topics continued to be religion, morality, folklore, legends, and didactics: *Kristau-ikasbidea bertsotan* (Christian Doctrine in Verse, 1950), *Kartak nola idatzi euskaraz?* (How to write letters in Basque?, 1950) written by Nemesio Etxaniz or Antonio Sorraín's *Santa Maria Goretti* (Saint Mary Goretti, 1950). In 1951, two doctrines in two different dialects were published. Calleja states that the translation *Noni eta Mani* (Noni and Mani, 1952) was an important step for the children's literary genre, since it was an adventure book (101). However, I am surprised to see that the translations made in *Euzko-Gogoa* did not have more impact on the Basque children's literary scene, since they were high-quality canonical works and they promoted new topics. Nevertheless, it was in the 1960's when children's literature in the Basque language changed its patterns and took another path much more dynamic from the previous one.

Spanish authors and literature were also adapted in *Euzko-Gogoa*. They translated the works of two Nobel Prizes of Literature: Jacinto Benavente and Juan Ramón Jiménez. They also translated the works of Basque writers Pío Baroja, Arturo Campión, and José Miguel Barandiaran. Pío Baroja was a Basque writer of the so-called “98 generation.” Arturo Campión was a Basque nationalist, writer and linguist, and also one of the founders of *Euskaltzaindia*, in 1918.

The translated works of Campión, *Erraondoko azken danbolintero* (The Last Drummer of Erraondo, 1952,1955), *Itzaltzu'ko koblaría* (The Bard of Itzaltzu, 1954), and *Izkuntza eta abenda* (Language and Race, 1959) made various statements in the magazine towards many realities of the Basque Country. There is a sense of nostalgia from the writer of a “primitive” Basque Country, one far from the impacts of globalization and external forces. In the story *Erraondoko azken danbolintero*, Campión criticizes the process of Hispanization of the Navarrese rural life. The story’s protagonist is a Navarrese shepherd, Pedro Fermin Izko, who after decades of work in a farm in the Argentinian Pampa, decides to return to his hometown in Nafarroa and does not recognize his native town. In this regard, Campión criticizes the depersonalization or loss of the Navarrese identity. He highlights the importance of the roots and shows the reality of exiled people and their difficulties of return to a country that has evolved without their presence. It is possible to observe the nostalgia, the foundation of the costumbrism literature (the static and rural world), and the impossible return of the immigrant to its roots since the motherland has changed and does not fit into it anymore.

The work, *Itzaltzu'ko koblaria*, is based on the life of Gartzot, a medieval Basque bard. Gartzot is a folkloric character that fought against the Christianization of the Basque Country. The character fights to maintain his culture and avoid the conquering of his spirit or faith. Guillermo Larrañaga translated *Izkuntza eta abenda* and wrote of it: “Berrogetamar urtetik gora dira idazki au agertu zanetik. Arrezkero ibaiek bide egin dute. Ala ere, egi mardul auek zutik daude eta eraginkor” (“it has been more than fifty years since this work appeared. Since then time has passed, however, these truths are still prominent”; my trans.; 24). What Campión condemned a half a century before explained—the potential death of the Basque language due to the unwillingness of the Basques to keep it alive— was still a main topic or concern in *Euzko-Gogoa*. Campión uses these folkloric characters as a reference to stand against the colonization and execution of the culture. These publications brought us to the legendary Basque historical prose of the 19th century. As Jon Juaristi states, it is a return to the glorious past to restart it again, from the beginning (164). The nostalgia and the romantic sentimentality became key in the reconstruction of the Basque identity and in the creation of the Basque imagined community.

Minoritized works and authors also found a place in the magazine. Catalan, Breton, or Occitan literature found a space in *Euzko-Gogoa*'s pages. Authors such as Miguel Costa y Llobera (1950), considered one of the leading representatives of Catalan poetry of all time, were translated. Per Denez (1950), a Breton author, and Bernart Manciet (1957) an Occitan author amongst others were translated. It is interesting to see a peripheral language like Basque translating other peripheral languages too. Perhaps

showing that there isn't a hierarchy amongst languages and rather that there should be equality and voice for all.

Translation of works that showed social injustice were also published in *Euzko-Gogoa*. Despite not having a large percentage of publications related with social issues, the magazine did give a voice to various social classes. The Basque working and agrarian classes as well as the Guatemalan peasants also had their voice published in the magazine. Although less prominent in the magazine, these translations showed the criticism of oppression, poverty, and power. For example, Martin Oiarzabal translated Henryk Sienkiewicz *Ianko ereslari* (Janko the Musician, 1957). This story is based on the social injustice suffered by Ianko, a ten-year-old laborer, who is physically punished for touching the rebec, a medieval musical instrument, of a nobleman.

Most of the translations were literary works, poetry, tales, and dramas. However, there were some translations that had a political tone, such as *Sinisten dut askatasunean* (I Believed in Freedom) written by Zaitegi in 1956. It was an adaptation of the foundations of the United States of America. He highlighted the community effort of a country to work together for a common goal. The Jesuit, Gotzon Garate adapted Anton Hilckman's *Europako erri zaarrena* (The Oldest Country in Europe) in 1959. The text discusses the Basque history, language, culture, and tradition. The final paragraph stands out in particular where Hilckman argues that the Basque Country was always free, a country never subjugated to the Spanish or French states: "Erri onek, bere edesti guztian ez du menpetasunik ezagutu. Guztiok azke, libre ziran" ("this country, in all its history never was dominated. Everyone was free"; my trans.; 38). There is no doubt that the

magazine had a political concern, even though literary themes marked the primary path of the magazine. The political involvement of the magazine will be analyzed later in more detail.

In the magazine, the reader can find the works of three women authors that were translated: the Swedish Selma Lagerlöf, the Scotch-Irish Sister Nivedita, and the Chilean Gabriela Mistral. It is important to analyze the background of these women, because of the connection between nationalism and women, showing a stereotypical ideal woman. Josu Insausti translated Lagerlöf's *Gau donea* (Holy Night, 1954). The author recounts the great sadness that she experienced when she was five years old when her grandmother died, which made her remember a story that the old woman used to tell her about Holy Night. Although it is a moving story about compassion, the figure of the grandmother is shown as a transmitter of moral values, and a symbol of tradition and love. Lagerlöf was the first female writer to win the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1909. She was a leader in the women's suffrage movement and actively supported the resistance against the Nazis.

Nemesio Etxaniz, translated Gabriela Mistral's *Maitaxun ixilla* (Silent Love, 1956). Mistral was the first and still only Latin American woman who has received the Nobel Prize in Literature. Finally, Andima Ibiñagabeitia translated Sister Nivedita's *Maitasun eta erio kantua* (An Indian Study of Love and Death, 1957). Ibiñagabeitia made an introduction explaining who was Sister Nivedita as he lauded her:

Budar lekaimetxo bat zan Nivedita, India erri andian garairik saminenean bizi izana. Ain zuzen, menperatzaileagandik erasoaldirik gogorrenak egari bearrik arkitu ziran orduan. Zintzo iokatu zuen Nivedita Aizpak aberri-askatasunaren alde, gogo-bizitzak zemaizkion indar ta iskillu zorrotzekin.

(“Nivedita was a buddhist, who lived in India during one of the hardest periods of the country. During the colonial time, Sister Nivedita acted honestly in favour of the freedom of the Country, with the strength and relentless weapon given by her desire of life”; my trans.; 56)

It’s somewhat peculiar for the magazine to include, given the fact that it was much more connected with the Christian religion. This work analyzes the Buddhist mystique, whose beliefs do not coincide or contradict with the Christian dogmas. However, the aim of the work is to delight the reader as it could be good for their soul. As Ibiñagabeitia explained at introduction of the translations: “On andia egin lezaiokela gure ariman ere” (56).

Examining these translated works, the characters share similar characteristics: a woman with a political and cultural ideology that advocates for the defense of cultural identity and for a change in the society. *Euzko-Gogoa* was a platform to demonstrate how capable women were and that they could be part of the magazine’s canon. In the imagined community built in the magazine, they adapted strong female figures. The role of women in the magazine will be further analyzed.

However, some of the Basque intellectuals judged the translations made in the magazine, due to their complexity of syntax and vocabulary. That created a confrontation between certain writers, the ones that saw in the translation a pathway for the normalization of the Basque language and others a lack of imagination. Koldo Mitxelena, the most influential intellectual and linguistic of the Basque panorama during the 1960’s-1980’s and the person who lead the process of unification of the Basque language, in the

article “Asaba zaarren baratza” (The Garden of the Old Patriots, 1960) published in *Egan*, criticized the excessive translations made into Basque:

Itzulpen ugari izan dugu gure artean euskal-literatura asi zen ezkeroztik. . . Eztakit ordea orien balioa goregi jaso ez ote daukagun. Erruz agertzen dira itzulpenak izkuntza landuetan, baiña eztiote itzulpenek ematen literatura bati bere mailla, berezko obrek baizik. Literatura baten lora-aldietan itzulpenak berez datoz, gorputzaren ondoren isatsa datorren bezala. Isatsa orratik ezta gorputza: ezta gorputzarentzat kalte geiegirik gabe moz daitekean eraskin luzea edo laburra besterik. Geiago txundituko ditugu arrotzak gure obra bat aien erdarara itzuleraziz aien erderatik amar gureganatuz baiño.

(“We had so many translations since the Basque literatura began. . . Although I don’t think that their values are too high. In the cultured languages translations are very common. However, are not the translations the ones that give quality to a language, but the original works. In the blossom of a literature the translations come along, as the tail comes after the body. The tail is not the body though: neither the most important body part, in fact it is just an annex, shorter or longer, of the main body. We would impress the foreigners when one of our works is translated to their language and not when from their language we translate ten works into the Basque”; my trans.; 129)

Nevertheless, this strategy promoted in *Euzko-Gogoa* that Mitxelena hardly criticized has been proven that it didn’t have a negative impact in the Basque literature, but quite the opposite. In fact, time has shown the inevitability of the importance of translations into Basque. Miren Ibarluzea in her thesis *Itzulpengintzaren errepresentazioa euskal literatura garaikidean: eremuaren autonomizazioa, literatur historiografiak eta itzultzaileak fikzioan* (The Representation of Translation in the Contemporary Basque Literature: The Autonomy of Fields, Literary Historiographies and the Translators in Fiction) argues that the autonomization in the translation and the professionalization of the translators has meant the restructuring of the Basque literary translation, promoting a positive image of translators and their works (124-125). Indeed, as her thesis shows,

translations since the mid-twentieth century, when the Basque literature began its autonomization process, has had the goals to increase the capital and status of Basque literature. Translations, therefore, enrich the Basque language, literature and culture with other cultural and literary contributions. The following table is a list of the translations published during its years in Guatemala, between 1950-1955. See table 6:

Writer	Translation	Author	Genre	Year
Zaitegi, Jokin	<i>Irukoitza</i> (Terzett)	Joseph von Eichendorff	Poetry	1950
	<i>Fomentor'ko lerrondoa</i> (The Pine of Formentor)	Costa Llobera	Poetry	1950
	<i>Epail eguna</i> (The Judgment Day)	Detlev von Liliencron	Poetry	1951
	<i>Neska zapuztua</i> (The Forsaken Maiden)	Eduard Mörike	Poetry	1951
	<i>Nere atsekabe aundi</i> (Out of my great unrest)	Heinrich Heine	Poetry	1951
	<i>Goiz-eresia</i> (Morning Song)	Ludwig Uhland	Poetry	1951
	<i>Arroteztxeko alaba</i> (The Landlady Daughter)	Ludwig Uhland	Poetry	1951
	<i>Bi gogoen eresia</i> (The Two Soul Song)	Richard Dehmel	Poetry	1951
	<i>Begia</i> (The Eye)	Sully-Prudhomme	Poetry	1952
	<i>Mari Beltxa</i> (Mary the Black)	Pio Baroja	Tale	1952
	<i>Angelus</i>	Pio Baroja	Tale	1952
Mirande, Jon	<i>Bi beleak</i> (The Two Crows)	17 th century Ballad	Poetry	1950
	<i>Ba-nin adiskide bat</i> (I had a Comrade)	Ludwig Uhland	Poetry	1950
	<i>Lotazillak amabi</i> (December the Twelve)	Per Denez	Poetry	1950
	<i>Bela</i> (The Raven)	Edgar Allan Poe	Poetry	1950
	<i>Breiziera</i> (Breton)	Per Denez	Article	1951
	<i>Goiztar txoriek kanta bezate</i> (The Morning Birds will sing)	Leon Jasson	Poetry	1951
	<i>Ixiltze</i> (Siopé/Silence-A Fable)	Edgar Allan Poe	Tale	1951
	<i>La Belle Dame sans merci</i>	John Keats	Poetry	1952
	<i>Amontillado Upela</i> (The Cask of Amontillado)	Edgard Allan-Poe	Tale	1952
	<i>Lekhoreko biziarena</i> (The Ballad of External Life)	Hugo von Hofmannsthal	Poetry	1954

	<i>Legearen aitzinean</i> (Before the Law)	Franz Kafka	Tale	1954
	<i>Eros arrosen artean</i> (Eros among Roses)	Pseudo Theocritus	Poetry	1954
Zaitegi-Ibiñagabeitia	<i>Abere-indarra</i> (Brute Force)	Jacinto Benavente	Drama	1950
Zatarain, Anbrozio	<i>Balekiye</i> (And if they Knew it...)	Heinrich Heine	Poetry	1950
Larrañaga, Eladio	<i>Neguko ipuina</i> (Winter's Tale)	William Shakespeare	Tale	1950
	<i>Lear Erregea</i> (King Lear)	William Shakespeare	Drama	1951
Labaien, Antonio M.	<i>Linkeus dorrezaia</i> (Faust –2 nd part, 5 th verse)	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	Poetry	1951
Ametzaga, Bingen	<i>Plini gaztearen idazkiak</i> (The Letters of the Younger Pliny)	Pliny	Essay	1951
	<i>Adiskidetasuna</i> (De Amicitia)	Cicero	Essay	1952
	<i>LXVI.garren amalaukoa</i> (LXVI. Sonnet)	William Shakespeare	Poetry	1954
	<i>Reading baitegiko leloa</i> (The Ballad of Reading Goal)	Oscar Wilde	Poetry	1954
Mokoroa, Justo M.	<i>Erraondoko azken danbolinteroa</i> (The Last Drummer of Erraondo)	Arturo Campión	Tale	1952-1955
Insausti, Jesus	<i>Zaldi zuriaren edestia</i> (The Summer of the Beautiful White Horse)	William Saroyan	Tale	1952
	<i>Hanford'erako ibillaldia</i> (The Journey to Hanford)	William Saroyan	Tale	1952
	<i>Gau donea</i> (Holy Night)	Selma Lagerlöf	Tale	1954
	<i>Ibillaldietarako oarrak</i> (Old Country Advice to the American Traveler)	William Saroyan	Tale	1954
	<i>Antzinako maitasun edesti bat</i> (An Old Love Story)	William Saroyan	Tale	1955
	<i>Neskazarra</i> (The Woman who was Loved)	James Stern	Tale	1955
Sorrarain, Antonio	<i>Itzaltzuko koblaría</i> (The Bard of Itzaltzu)	Arturo Campión	Tale	1954
Andima Ibiñagabeitia	<i>Erleak eta eriotza</i> (The Bees and the Death)	Garate Arriola	Article	1954
	<i>Bergil'en Unai-Kantak</i> (Bucolics)	Virgil	Poetry	1954
	<i>Euskal mitologiaren ikaspiderako I-II</i> (Lessons for Basque Mythology I-II)	José Miguel Barandiaran	Article	1954
	<i>Euskal mitologiaren ikaspiderako III-IV</i> (Lessons for Basque Mythology III-IV)	Jose Miguel Barandiaran	Article	1955
	<i>Bergil'en Unai-Kantak</i> (Bucolics)	Virgil	Poetry	1955
	<i>Bergil'en Unai-Kantak</i> (Bucolics)	Virgil	Poetry	1955
Aresti, Gabriel	<i>CIX.garren Sonetoa</i> (CIX. Sonnet)	William Shakespeare	Poetry	1954
	<i>Gauontzak</i> (The Owls)	Charles Baudelaire	Poetry	1954

	<i>Udazken-kantuak</i> (Autumn Song)	Paul Verlaine	Poetry	1954
	<i>Ezer ez</i> (Nothing)	Juan Ramón Jiménez	Poetry	1955
	<i>Ilhargiari</i> (To the Moon)	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	Poetry	1955
Etxaide, Jon	<i>Euskal-Elertia prantziskotarren kantauri barruan</i> (The Basque Literature in Franciscan Songs)	Luis Villasante	Article	1954
Irigoién, Alfonso	<i>Gaitzetsia</i> (The Rejected)	Jacinto Benavente	Drama	1954
Iturriz, Antonio	<i>Alzateko Jauna</i> (The Legend of Juan de Alzate)	Pío Baroja	Tale	1955

Table 6: Translations published in *Euzko-Gogoa* 1950-1955.

The following table is a list of the translations published during its years of Biarritz, between 1955-1960. See table 7:

Writer	Translation	Author	Genre	Year
Arrutza, Mikel	<i>Efeso'ko Anderedeuna</i> (The Widow of Ephesus)	Petronius	Tale	1956
Mirande, Jon	<i>Bi fraideak</i> (The Two Monks)	Seamus O'Neill	Tale	1956
	<i>Zaldiz Zeruan</i> (Ghost Riders in the Sky)	Stan Jones	Poetry	1957
	<i>Burua</i> (The Head)	Bernat Manciet	Tale	1957
Etxaniz, Nemesio	<i>Maitasun ixilla</i> (Silent Love)	Gabriela Mistral	Poetry	1956
	<i>Tellagorri</i> (Zalacáin the adventurer)	Pío Baroja	Tale	1957
Onaindia, Santi	<i>Enea'rena</i> (Aeneid)	Virgil	Epic Poem	1956
	<i>Enea'rena</i> (Aeneid)	Virgil	Epic Poem	1957
Larrañaga, Guillermo	<i>Mila ta bat gauetako ipuinak</i> (One Thousand and One Nights)	N/A	Tale	1956
	<i>Mila ta bat gauetako ipuinak</i> (One Thousand and One Nights)	N/A	Tale	1957
	<i>Milla ta bat gauetako ipuinak</i> (One Thousand and One Nights)	N/A	Tale	1958
	<i>Izkuntza eta abenda</i> (Language and Race)	Arturo Campión	Article	1959
Zinkunegi, Joseba	<i>Kepa deunaren oilaskoa</i> (Saint Peter's Chicken)	Henri Pourrat	Tale	1956
	<i>Kozko-muñoa</i> (The Hill)	Jean Manduit	Tale	1958
Zaitegi, Jokin	<i>Sinisten dut askatasunean</i> (I Believed in Freedom)	N/A	Article	1956

	<i>Aiatz</i> (Ajax)	Sophocles	Drama	1957
	<i>Piloktete</i> (Philoctetes)	Sophocles	Drama	1957
	<i>Tarakin'go emaztekiak</i> (Women of Trachis)	Sophocles	Drama	1957
	<i>Umezurtz</i> (The Orphan)	Giovanni Pascoli	Poetry	1959
Jauregi, A.	<i>Arrigorria 'ko guda</i> (The War of Arrigorriaga)	Sabino Arana	Legend	1956
Oiartzabal, Martin	<i>Ianko ereslaria</i> (Yanko the Musician)	Henryk Sienkiewicz	Tale	1957
	<i>Aosta 'ko legenarduna</i> (The Leper of Aosta)	Joseph Maistre	Drama	1959
Ibiñagabeitia, Andima	<i>Maitasun eta erio kantua</i> (An Indian Study of Love and Death)	Sister Nivedita	Tale-Poetry	1957
Etxeberria, Frantzisko	<i>Dabid'en eresiak XVII-garren</i> (The Psalm of David)	Joseph Gelineau	Poetry	1957
	<i>Dabid'en eresiak XLVII-garren</i>	Joseph Gelineau	Poetry	1957
Larrakoetxea, Bedita	<i>Macbeth</i>	William Shakespeare	Drama	1957
	<i>Lear Errege</i> (King Lear)	William Shakespeare	Drama	1958
	<i>Ekatxa</i> (The Tempest)	William Shakespeare	Drama	1959
Erkiaga, Eusebio	<i>Bei itsua</i> (The Blind Cow)	Joan Maragall	Poetry	1958
Garate, Gotzon	<i>Europako erri zaarrena</i> (The Oldest Country in Europe)	Hilckmann	Article	1959
Juaristi, Migel	<i>Adiskide zintzoa</i> (The Devoted Friend)	Oscar Wilde	Tale	1959
Mujika, Luis Mari	<i>Pinotxo'ren biurrikeriak</i> (The Adventures of Pinocchio)	Carlo Collodi	Tale	1959
Ametzaga, Bingen	<i>Prometeu burdinetan</i> (Prometheus Bound)	Aeschylus	Drama	1959
San Martin, Juan	<i>Zeuk nai duzuna</i> (Whatever you want)	Juan Ramón Jiménez	Poetry	1959

Table 7: Translations published in *Euzko-Gogoa* 1956-1960.

Zaitegi and his fellow writers and contributors made certain that the use and development of the Basque language was their main priority. For them, the Basque language was the main pillar of the Basque nation and for further development and progress in the country the *euskara* would also need to adapt and grow. The Basque Country and its language were intrinsically connected. With the publications of *Euzko-Gogoa*, the Basque language was shown to be capable of high level conversation and literature, and translations were an integral part of demonstrating its wealth. One can also

see the subliminal messaging and mindset, or political orientation of the writers based upon the works translated. *Euzko-Gogoa* was a voice and a lobbyist for the need to standardize and educate the Basque language in order to progress and adapt to a changing world. Zaitegi felt that all levels of society should promote and use the Basque language, especially the intellectual and high classes to give status and rank to the language. However, their support to the *gipuzkera osatua*, and the translations made in the magazine were in the antipodes of the reality and far from the literary and linguistic needs of the Basque readers of the Basque Country.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the canonic Basque writers of the Second Republic such as Lauxeta and Lizardi printed bilingual editions of their works. Eventhough they were Basque nationalists they were aware of the pragmatism of the Spanish language. On the other hand, *Euzko-Gogoa* with its “purist” linguistic approach, writing and publishing only in Basque, pushed away many potential readers, not only the readers that didn’t know the Basque language, but also the ones that could speak and read it. Zaitegi and Ibiñagabeitia were aware of this reality. In fact, Ibiñagabeitia in 1956 sent a letter to Zaitegi upset about the fact that the Basque readers didn’t want to read in Basque: “Euskal idazleok iñungo idazleek egiten ez dituten alatzak egin bear ditugu, irakurtzen ez dakien eta irakufi nai ez duen efi batentzat idatzi” (‘the Basque writers have to face a reality that no other writers have to. We have to write to a people that doesn’t know and doesn’t want to read in Basque’; my trans.).

These strategies promoted in the magazine moved further away from youngest generation of writers and readers. In fact, *Euzko-Gogoa* was in many ways anchored in

the historic, nostalgic, and idealized Basque world, breathing from the memory of the prewar period. As Aldekoa refers to this issue: “Hirurogeiko urteetan sartuak, eragozpena bihurtu zen” (“in the sixties it (*Euzko-Gogoa*’s mindset) became a problem”; my trans.; “Gure hirurogeiak” 55). The new Basque reality and literature had to and wanted to break from the past and approach literature with new sensibilities.

Religion

Throughout *Euzko-Gogoa*, there are various texts that discuss and make reference to religion. Jokin Zaitegi was a Jesuit priest, along with Orixe and Andima Ibiñagabeitia. Besides the founders, 54% of the authors and promoters of the magazine were priests. Also, many of the subscribers and readers were priests or religious figures. As the imagined community created by these authors, religion or religious values were an important part in creating a collective self-consciousness and identity.

The Basque Country, God’s beloved Country

One of the main arguments in the magazine was that the Basque Country was God’s beloved country. In this regard, the magazine created an intrinsic relationship between Christianity and Basqueness. Andoni Arozena for instance, argued that due to the unique connection between Basques and God, the Basque Country was still relevant:

Ezin Etsi! — Euskotarrok, Jaunari eskerrak, soña bezin sendo degu asmoa ere. Orrela izan ezik, ez izatea bakarrik, izena ere aspaldi galdua izango zuen gure Euskal-erriak. Gure nekeaz kupituta, badirudi Jaungoikoak, noizik bein, bidean alako pozkarri bat jarri nai digula.

(“We can’t lose our hope! -The Basques, thanks to God, have a strong will. If it wasn’t that way, our identity would have been lost a long time ago. God took pity on us, because of that it seems he wants to give us relief in our path”; my trans.; “Xelataka” 1950 (2), 18)

The magazine promoted the idea that being an honest Basque was to be Christian and *euskaltzale*. In other words, good Basques should love God and the Basque Country: “Euskerak euki baikaitu beste gizamota guzietatik bereiz, eta lengo euskaldun zindo ta zintzoen odol garbiak baitirau oraindino gure zainetan. Nor euskaldun iatorra baino Iainkozaleagorik?” (“if the Basque language kept us distinguished from the rest, and the clean and honest blood of the first Basque is still flowing in our veins, there isn’t anyone as devoted as Basques”; my trans.; “Atarikoa” 1956 (1-2), 1).

Due to this belief in an intrinsic relationship between God and Basques, the Basque language acquired a celestial value in the magazine, where the idea of the eternal nature of God and the Basque language were united. The fate of the Basque language was therefore connected with God’s will. Gotzon Urrutia stated: “Euzkerea ez da ilgo; oñarte il ez dana ez da geruaga ilgo; Jaungoikuak berak ixakera ezilkorra emon dautso, Jaungoikuak berak oñarte zaindu dau eta beti zainduko be” (“the Basque language will not die; what hasn’t yet died will never die; God has given this immortal condition, as God has protected it until now and will forever”; my trans.; “Euzkera ezilkorra” 1950 (2), 5). The magazine portrayed God with a special relationship with the *euskara* and nation, giving them a supreme quality.

The idea of Basques being the chosen ones of God was rooted in Basque society for centuries. For example, in the 16th century, authors like Esteban de Garibay argued that Tubal, Noah’s grandson, was the patriarch of the Basques. He settled in Spain, and consequently his language, Basque, was the first spoken language in the peninsula. Joxe Azurmendi in his book *Espainolak eta euskaldunak* (The Spaniards and the Basques),

collected the statements of Claudio Sanchez Albornoz who was the State Minister during the Spanish Second Republic and president of the Spanish Government in exile between 1962-1970. Even the Spanish were aware of this belief among the Basques that they were connected to God. He said that the Basques were: “Gentes rudas, sencillas, que además se creen hijos de Dios y herederos de su gloria y no son más que unos españoles sin romanizar” (“crude people, simpletons, that believe that they are the children of God and heirs of His glory and yet they are no more than Spaniards that have not adapted to Roman civilization”; my trans.; 19).

The Church

During the War of 1936, many of these priests that contributed to the magazine saw the human cruelties and barbarities made in the name of God. The hypocrisy of the Spanish Church and its support of Spanish dictator Francisco Franco led many Basque religious members lose their faith in the Church itself. A strong statement made in the magazine was that the “Holy War,” “War of Liberation,” or the “Crusade” made in the name of God by the Francoist troops was a lie. *Euzko-Gogoa*, was critical of the War and especially of the Church and the priests that supported it. The magazine saw in the ecclesiastical institution and in its elements an instrument of destruction and disintegration of the Basque culture and language. Both the Church and the priests were threatening the peace, stability and security of the Basque nation. The magazine criticized the double-edged function of religion.

It was Orixe, through his essay *Quiton arrebarekin* (In Quito with my Sister, 1950-1954) the writer who talked about the War of 1936. Orixe analyzed the War of

1936 in different sections divided by the events during and after the war. Sectioned as *Infernua* (Hell), *Matxinada* (Uprising), *Naparroa lotsagarriena* (Navarre, the most disgraceful), *Lotsagarrien lotsagarriena* (The Most Disgraceful of the Disgraceful), *Castiella* (Castile), *Illentzat ere gorrotoa* (Hatred towards the deaths), and *Gurutze Guda* (Crusade). Through these sections, Orixe gave a personal view of the war, the experiences he lived and the things he saw. Orixe didn't want the events of the war to pass into oblivion or to be misinterpreted. He knew the fate of those who didn't have a chance to escape. He gave voice to the agonizing pain of witnessing the killing of family, friends, and the culture in the name of God: "Izena ostu ta ikurriña, Satanas'ekin" ("they stole His name and carried the flag of Satan"; my trans.; 49). Orixe argues that the Basques fought on the losing side and there is a hatred towards the Basques as a result. Unfortunately, this hatred is also presented after the war, and according to Orixe will continue to be felt. There is an utter disgust and sense of disbelief for Orixe that this is a reality and that religion, and the name of God are used to punish a society.

The Church appears as one of the main counterparts to the Basque language. The hatred of the Church towards the Basque language resonates on the pages of *Euzko-Gogoa*: "Eliza, euskeraren ererio ta ondatzalle lenen: eliz-bizitzatik iaurtitzeko alegin otz ta motzak egiten" ("the Church is the enemy and destroyer of the Basque language: the priests are trying to take away the Basque language from the ecclesiastical life"; my trans.; Ibiñagabeitia, "...Euskera urkatzen" 1954 (11-12), 192). The magazine published in "Irakurlearen Txokoa" that it would not remain silent when facing the harassment suffered by the Basque language by the clergy:

Ala ere gure izkeraren inguruko bidegabekerietaz ixilik irautea, are kaltegarriagoa dala derizkiogu: ixil dagoenak onartzen dula, osan oi da; eta ez dezatela uste guk ere ixil egonez zitalkeriok onartzen ditugunik. Gure aldizkariak ez dula bear litzaken edapenik? Egia ori ere. Guk ez euki ordea beste biderik oiuz latzok bazterretara el erazteko, eta euskeraz el-arazi ere. Ez digutela entzun nai? Gorrak eta zitalak nun-nai sortzen dira, gure errian iñun baiño geiago zoritxarrez. Ala ere ez gaitute gure lanean aterriko, ez orixe. Aldelariak ere baditugu, orregatio

(“To keep in quiet the injustices against our language is counter-productive: because if you remain in silence you allow it; and we don’t want people to think that we agree with this maliciousness. We don’t have enough circulation, this is true too. But we don’t have any other way to make our voices to be heard, and we always do it in Basque language. They don’t want to listen us? The deaf and despicable are everywhere, especially in our country. Nevertheless, this in not going to stop our work”; my trans.; 1955 (3-4), 63)

In fact, Franco and the Spanish Church won the war together and they managed “peace” with the repressive forces of the State. The Church recovered the leading role in the education system following the War of 1936, where the principles of Catholic dogma were instructed. The new education imposed by the Franco’s regime was based on forming loyal and Christian students of the “new” Spain. In this regard, the Catholic Church held great power in the educational field. Jaime Kerexeta in his article “Euzkeraren alde” (In Favour of the Basque Language, 1955) strongly criticized the role of the clerics, priests and nuns in *Hegoalde* towards the Basque language. He strongly condemned their hatred against the language: “Nundik sortu da baiña, lekaide-lekaimen artean euzkeraganako orren amurru izugarria?” (17). He also denounced their punishing methods to eradicate the use of the Basque in schools: “Lekaide lekaimen irakasleak: badakigu Eskoriatza ta Elorrio'ko Marianista-ikastetxetan, adibidez, mutikoak euzkeraz egitearren ainbat bidar jolas-tokietan ormari begira belauniko egon dirana” (“the priests and nuns: we know that in the towns of Eskoriatza and Elorrio at the religious school, the

children that speak in Basque are punished by having to kneel while facing the wall”; my trans.; (1-2), 17). The Spanish Church blessed Franco’s uprising and after Franco’s victory the Church received the support of the Government in the “re-catholicization” of the country. Actually, Ander Gurruchaga states: “La Iglesia se convierte en el principal aliado de Franco en su política de institucionalización y justificación del nuevo orden social” (“The Church is the principal allie of Franco in his politics of institutionalization and justification of his new social order”; my trans.; 143). It was the War of 1936 that sustained the Christian and Spanish spirit against the “other spirit,” non-Spanish and non-Christian.

These actions contributed to the growing frustrations of the Basque population towards the Church, and therefore led to continued animosity in the writings of *Euzko-Gogoa*. Despite having translations and writings with religious tones and subject matter, rarely do you read of praise for the Spanish Catholic Church.

Mythology and Paganism

The magazine was also a place for ideas on paganism, mythology, and heterodoxy. Mythology has always had a great impact in the Basque culture, even when Christianity was introduced. Actually, the religion and paganism coexisted for centuries in the Basque Country. Such deep-rooted stories and rituals are a large part of the Basque culture and *Euzko-Gogoa* helped share these supernatural and pagan stories. Jon Mirande wrote some poems and stories on the topics, including *Akelarre* (Coven, 1950) where he talked about the pagan rituals made by witches during a witches sabbath. He also wrote about the first Basque God, *Urtzi*, in the poem *Ortzi'ren ttunttuna* (Ortzi’s Drum, 1952).

Prior to Christianity, the Basque people looked to the sky for their God. The poem *Cantemus Domino* (Let us Sing, 1950), written by Imanol Arriandiaga, was also about Urtzi. Jon Etxaide, in the story *Arangio'ko basalorea* (The Wild Flower of Arangi, 1952), talked about the relationship between a man and a *lamia*, a Basque nymph that lives in the water. The Basques worshiped what they had in front of them: the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon and nature in general. The magazine considered the Basque mythology an important cornerstone of Basque identity, a fundamental element for nation building. In fact, the works of Barandiaran about Basque mythology were translated into the Basque language too. Despite the Christianization experienced by the Basque people, mythology has an important weight in the stories or elements that build the religious, mythical identity of a community.

In addition, other religions such as Buddhism had been described in the magazine with Jon Mirande's *Beiak* (Cows, 1951) and Sister Nivedita's *Maitasun eta erio kantua*. Their inclusion raises a number of questions: Was it to showcase new realities and inform the reader of new cultures? Did it attempt to show the globalization process and that there is life beyond? Was it to show that Catholicism was not the only religion and therefore the Spanish regime wasn't the only answer? Or was it for the simple effect of giving its readers an enjoyable text?

Prior to the War of 1936, many Basques had a strong faith and ties to the Catholic Church. Seeing the atrocities of war in the name of God by Franco's troops with the support of the Church, the Basques felt deceived. Mari Jose Olaziregi and Lourdes Otaegi state that many of the postwar writers lived divided by incompatible loyalties to the

humiliated homeland and the victorious ecclesiastical hierarchy to which they owed obedience (47). Like Jesus Christ betrayed by Judas, the Basques and their culture were punished and condemned. However, they had a strong faith in God despite their now loss of trust in the Church. With these preconceived sensations of being God's chosen ones, they carried their cross and suffered knowing that in the end they would prevail. Many sought a life in exile, like the exodus of Moses with the belief that they will be protected and their opportunity to return would happen in the future. They found in God the comfort and strength to surpass their agony. With references of the pre-Christian and pagan culture of the Basque world, mythology, and other religions, they felt a connection with their tradition, roots, and broader spirituality.

Women

In prior studies about *Euzko-Gogoa*, the impact and role of the women involved with the magazine has been overlooked. These individuals have been hidden figures for too long. The Basque cultural work of women during the Franco's regime, and more specifically during the 1950's, deserves to be analyzed. This section will focus on the various women who collaborated in the magazine as well as what was written in the magazine in reference to women and motherhood. This section will determine how the image of the woman was constructed in the pages of the magazine.

Although there were Basque women writers long before, it was not until the beginning of the 20th century when women began to take relevance and have a place in the Basque literary arena. It was during the beginning of the 20th century when many institutional and cultural platforms were developed, for example the creation of EAB.

The EAB brought with it many changes for Basque women, by redefining their identities and spaces. These women went from village to village spreading the EAJ-PNV ideology, and more concretely a woman's role inside the party. Through these interventions, women gained a public voice for the nationalist ideal, gradually entering into an environment previously monopolized by men. As Mercedes Ugalde states, their work was to create propaganda campaigns in favour of the the EAJ-PNV and to organize different events related with cultural education, social and charity assistance (133). Education and cultural values were the main areas of concern for women of EAB.

During these changing times where women were gaining a voice in politics, they were also becoming more active in the literary community. Literature and politics for the Basques during this period were oftentimes related. The Basque literature of the 20th century, was described by Amaia Alvarez, as “Lehen loraldia” (The first awakening): “Garai hau euskal abertzaletasunaren garai da, erlijioaren/fedearen eta euskararen defentsa egiten dute eta emakumeei dagokienez amatasun aberkoia sustatzen da” (“it was the time of the Basque nationalism, the defense of the religion/faith, and the Basque language. In regard to women a patriotic motherly image was promoted”; my trans.; 50). Before the War of 1936, there were many cultural activities in the Basque Country promoted by *Euskaltzaleak* where many women participated. Also, many magazines were published before the war such as, *Euskalerraren Alde* (In Favour of the Basque Country), *Euzkerea* (The Basque Language), *Bizkaitarra* (The Bizcayan), *Amayur*, *Aberri Eguna* (The Day of the Motherland), etc. with the contributions of various female writers. The women writers of those years were amongst others: Petra Belaustegi, Maria Artiñao, Katalina Elizegi, Tene Mujika, Karmele Errazti, Errose Bustintza, Sorne Unzueta, Julene Azpeitia, Elbira

Zipitria. Although less than the number of books published by male authors, there were a number of books published by women between 1900-1934: Katalina Elizegi's *Garbiñe* (Purification, 1916) and *Loreti* (Garden, 1918), and Julene Azpeitia's *Osasuna, merketza ta yanaritzaz* (Health, Business and Food, 1922).

Mikel Atxaga argues that women authors that were able to write in Basque did so due to having an academic background (6). The women writers came from concrete environments, most all of them were teachers and were married to a writer, politician, academic, or businessmen. As Virginia Woolf states in her classical essay: "A woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction" (4). Amaia Alvarez enumerates the features of these women: "Euskal emakume idazleen profila hurrengo da: irakasleak, militanteak edo gizon idazle/bertsolarien senideak. Eta batez ere eliza, batzoki eta ikastola inguruan ibiltzen ziren" ("the profile of the Basque women writers is the following: teachers, activists, or relatives to a writer/poet. Above all, they used to be around the Church, the batzoki (Basque Nationalist Party community center), and the school" 52). However, due to the War of 1936 many of these women were forced to go into exile, because of their implication with the EAJ-PNV. It was from the exile where some of them continued working in favour of the Basque language. In this regard, *Euzko-Gogoa* gave these women a platform to maintain the Basque language while also opening a door for an entrance for females into the literary canon.

The Archetypal Nationalist Woman

Euzko-Gogoa promoted the archetypal and ideal nationalist Basque woman. Through its publications, it advocated for a pure, almost virginal woman. She would be

patriotic, Christian, and serve the task of conserving, spreading, and feeding the Basque language and the love for the motherland to her children as those children were the future of the nation and the future torchbearers of the Basque language. In the pages of *Euzko-Gogoa*, as well as in the Basque political arena, it was a central argument that women have a greater responsibility of teaching their children the Basque language. As the scholar Thiong'o states, language is the symbol of a person's soul and an inseparable tool of any human community (11). The transmission of the mother-tongue is crucial to keep the national identity alive.

Sorne Unzueta, Karmele Errazti, Julene Azpeitia, Miren Ibargutxi, and Engratzi Iñurrieta were the five women that wrote in the magazine. As well as the importance of imagery of motherhood conveyed in *Euzko-Gogoa*, this section will also focus on the works and life of Unzueta, Errazti, and Azpeitia, as there is limited information on Ibargutxi and Iñurrieta. It appears that the last two authors did not continue cultural or literary writings following their contributions to the magazine.

Sorne Unzueta "Utarsus," was a political activist during the Basque nationalist movement of the early 20th century. She was a teacher, a member of the EAB, a writer, a mother, and more. She shared the EAJ-PNV's ideology in different meetings throughout the Basque Country and was a well-known demagogue inside the party. As Igone Etxebarria says: "Hizlari sutua omen zen" ("her party conferences were vehement"; my trans.; 8). However, when the uprising began in 1936, she was forced into exile and moved to France. Once there, she was an active member of the resistance during the Second World War. She was the only woman of the resistance group, in which her

husband also participated. Etxebarria explains the very dangerous task carried out by Sorne: “Sorneren zeregina alderdi libretik alemanek okupaturako alderdira mezuak eroatea zen” (“Sorne’s job was to carry messages from the free zone to the area occupied by the Nazis”; my trans.; 12). After more than a decade in exile, in 1953, she returned back to the Southern Basque Country with her family.

Sorne Unzueta published two works in the magazine, the first was the composition *Itxartu, euzko-alabea* (Wake up Basque Daughter, 1950), a poem with a nationalistic and propagandistic discourse. The scholar Maite Nuñez-Betelu calls it a “poema panfleto” ‘pamphlet poem’ (143). The poem was a call to action, for an increased participation of women in the national struggle: “¿Eta ondiño lo-zagoz,/ Ene aizta kutuna?/ ¿Etzaitu ondiño itxartu/ Lanaren zarateak?/ ¡Itxartu, euzko-alaba,/ Jagi, emakumia!” (“Are you still sleeping/ my beloved sister?/ The noise of the work/ didn’t wake you up?/ Wake up Basque-daughter/ Wake up, Women!”; my trans.; 14-16). This call to resistance against the Spanish regime is similar to what Fanon promotes for colonized cultures. For Fanon, literature should be used as a tool to awaken the mentality of the subjugated communities (“The Wretched of the Earth” 222-223).

In the poem, Unzueta also mentions the founding father of the EAJ-PNV, Sabino Arana: “Sabin, gure neba onak, / Lenengua entzun eban” (“Sabino, our good Brother/he was the first one to hear the call”; my trans.; 14-16). Unzueta promoted a proactive relationship between women and nation, while always completing her assigned role. Unzueta recognized and promoted the minor role of women in politics. Maite Nuñez-Betelu explains:

Con respecto a la situación de la mujer, *Utarsus* aboga por la igualdad de la mujer con el hombre en lo que respecta a su participación en la lucha patriótica. Hombres y mujeres deben participar por igual en la lucha, pero eso sí, cada uno cumpliendo su papel correspondiente según lo marca su género.

(“Regarding the situation of women, *Utarsus* advocates for the equality of women with man as regards to their participation in the patriotic struggle. Men and women must participate equally in the fight, but each one fulfilling its corresponding role as it is marked by its gender”; my trans.;149)

Unzueta’s second work that was published in the magazine was the patriotic poem, *Artxanda* (Artxanda, 1952). Unzueta examined the relationship between a mother and her son. As Etxebarria explains, maternity is one of the pillars of Unzueta’s work: “Sarri-sarri agertzen da ama seme-alabekin, ama moduan zer sentitzen duen, seme-alabei zer erakutsi behar dieten.” (“in Unzueta’s works, many times it appears the relationship between the mother and children, the feelings of the mother, and what a mother should teach her children.”; my trans.; 16). The poem showed the reality that many mothers faced during the War of 1936: the sorrow of letting their sons fight for the motherland, the loss of the war, the destiny of their sons in the hands of the enemy, the emptiness and lost identity. The title of the poem is also significant. Artxanda is a mountain of Bilbao, and it was the place where the *gudaris* (Basque soldiers) made a “suicidal” counterattack against the Francoist troops before the inevitable fall of Bilbao. This battle allowed for the general population to escape Franco’s troops and leave the city. The defeat of the city and the destiny of the soldiers taken in Artxanda was embraced in the poem through the conversation between the mother and the son: “Etsyak arrapauta/ geure gastiak/ ¡gaxuak! daruela/ tarrantaz ildegira./ Lazter orman onduan/ ene semia,/ zuzkillukaz erailda/jausiko dira... (“the enemy had taken/ our youth/ poor things!/ they are taking

them to the slaughterhouse/ they will soon be on the wall/ oh, my dear son/ murdered by the weapon/ they will fall down...”; my trans.; (3-4), 4). The intrinsic relationship between the mother, the son, and the motherland should be noted. Nerea Aresti collects the statements made by Polixene Trabudua, an active member of EAB, about the pain and containment of the Basque mothers seeing their sons going to the war: “Al ver partir a los *gudaris*, ellas se limitaban a dirigirles su humilde mirada de madres vascas y quizás porque no saben besar, ni abrazar, ni hacer mimos, ponen en ella todo el tesoro de su alma” (“when they saw the *gudaris* leave, they limited themselves to directing their humble views of Basque mothers and perhaps because they do not know how to kiss, hug, or cuddle, they kept all the treasure in their soul”; my trans.; “De heroínas viriles a madres de la patria” 305). It shows how much they loved not only their homeland but their sons. Rather than attempting to be emotional, these mothers accepted the reality of the situation knowing they could see both their sons and country lost. The role of the women/mother is always as an assistant. There is not a female agency, in fact, feminine characters are mainly secondary and mostly helpers to a male.

Karmele Errazti, was the first president of EAB. She was also an active writer in the nationalist press, using the pseudonyms “Etxakin” and “Emakume batek.” She was married to the Basque writer Keperin Xemein. She was exiled in Pau, France, during the War of 1936 and she never came back to *Hegoalde*. In *Euzko-Gogoa*, she wrote two works: an obituary about the death of Basque patriots “Juan yakuzan bixitz oroigarriak” (They Left us, 1951), and a letter titled “Euzko-Gogoa” (Basque-Will, 1950), where she highlighted the good work made by the magazine, especially in encouraging the use of the Basque language:

Euzkeraz garbiro ta txukun gairik sakonenak erabilli leitekezala Zaitegi erakutsi dau. Eta «Euzko-Gogoa» bere aldizkingi ederra ludiko bazter guztijetara eltzen dalako, euzkel-irakurrle asko ixango dauz, eta, oyek, gitxika-gitxika, euzkeraz irakurrtzen dabe, baña euzkera txukunez eta ez kutxudunez.

(“Zaitegi has shown that it is possible to write in Basque about the deepest topics. His beautiful magazine Euzko-Gogoa arrives to every corner of the world, it will have so many Basque readers and these readers will be reading in a good and correct Basque and not in a bad Basque”; my trans.; (9-10), 36)

Nuñez-Betelu states that Errazti tried through her writings to educate the children to love God, the nation, and the Basque language (101). Errazti was very active in EAB, and very much pro “Sabinian” in her ideology. According to Sabino Arana’s view, women should be the most important figures in the promotion of language and culture. Hence the rationale for why Errazti was so focused on the use of correctly written Basque.

In 1952, in the issue (3-4), Errazti’s husband, Keperin Xemein, wrote a text explaining how there was a married couple (referring to himself and Karmele Errazti) that were writing in the magazine together:

Senarr-emazte bi ezautzen dodaz nik, Euzko-Gogoa’n euzkeraz idazten dabenak eta Z’zaliak diranak. Bijok, senarr-emaztiak ixan baño lenago, euzkeraz idazten eben, orain berrogetalau urte dirala. Ordutik ona amaika lan egin dabe, bakotxa bere aldetik. Emaztia senarra baño len euzkeraz idazten asi zan. Senarr-emaztiok, bijok dakiz makiñaz idazten eta bijok makiñaz idazten dabe, baña, jakiña, makiña bat baño eztauke, eta bijok makiña berberaz idazti-biarr. Ulertzalle onari itz erdi.

(“I know a couple that writes in Basque in the magazine. Both were writers before they got married. Since then they have published so many works. The wife began to write before the husband. And both of them write using the same typewriter. A word to the wise is sufficient”; my trans.; “Laburkiro” 25)

His comments could be interpreted as very pro-women by showing the equality amongst the couple. He shows how there is no jealousy and that both can be capable of working together for a common goal.

Julene Azpeitia, who signed her work as “Arritokieta,” was one of the main writers who defended the Basque traditions, but especially the importance of education in the Basque language. Azpeitia was a vocational teacher whose main priority was to create an educational model to use with Basque kids for promoting the Basque language. Laura Mintegi collected the words of Azpeitia: “Erriak, euzkeraz itz egiten duan erri guztiak, euzkeraz irakurten eta idazten jakin bear du Euzkera biziko bada” (“the country, all the country that speaks in Basque, has to know both oral and written Basque if it’s going to be living in Basque”; 7). For Azpeitia the *euskara* was strongly bounded to the nation and similar to her fellow contributors, felt the language was essential for a future nation. In *Euzko-Gogoa* she wrote, *Goizeko izarra* (The Morning Star, 1959), a Christmas themed tale, where it is possible to appreciate her center of interests: children, the Basque language, and religion. In 1975, Azpeitia received a tribute from *Euskaltzaindia*, as she was nominated as an honorary member of the academy.

Julene Azpeitia was also an active member of EAB, similar to Unzueta and Errazti and also promoted the secondary position of women in EAJ-PNV. Nuñez-Betelu states: “Azpeitia defiende asimismo la separación genérica del partido y acepta el papel que tiene reservada para la mujer” (“she defends the generic separation of the party and accepts the reserved role for women” 181). Due to her implication with the EAB she was forced into exile when the war began. When she returned to the Basque Country in 1947,

she was banished from the Basque Country and sent to Burgos (Spain) by the Franco's regime in 1949 as punishment.

The other two female writers in the magazine were Miren Arrate Ibargutxi "Miren-A", and Engratzi Iñurrieta "Sagar-Erreka." Ibargutxi wrote three poems: *Bakarrik, negarrez, zoriontsu* (Alone, Crying, Happy, 1958), *Euskal-Erriko mendietan* (In the Mountains of the Basque Country, 1959), and *Zaude lo, kutuna* (Sleep, my dear, 1959). Iñurrieta wrote a poem *Kartzelako'aren ongi-etorria* (The Welcoming of the Prisoner, 1956). The poems talk about the Basque nation, the beauty of nature, emotions, and love. Nevertheless, the literary pathway of these women didn't continue beyond the magazine.

Overall, Sorne Unzueta, Karmele Errazti, and Julene Azpeitia are clear examples of the literature and actions promoted by Basque women at the beginning of the 20th century. Their educative work was relevant in the transmission of the Basque language, Basque traditions, and motherhood. Leyre Arrieta argues that in this eagerness to preserve the Basque language, the *emakumes*, women, were able to transcend to new social spheres. For the first time they were able to teach the Basque language and traditions to the community. They gave classes to the elderly in the *batzoki-s* (social centers of the EAJ-PNV) in the *auzo eskola* (neighborhood school) and in the first *ikastolas* (Basque School) ("Desde las cunas y los fogones" 5). Their participation in patriotic and political activities were also important, but always in their assumed "secondary" role as a complement to the work made by men. Mercedes Ugalde states that women's activities were more focused in the collaboration of the defense of the Basque

language, emotional-assistance support, and collaboration in nationalist politics propaganda (268-280). The role of these women was closely linked to motherhood, as well as to faith and patriotism. Etxebarria explains: “Emakumeak pozik, harro daude emakume izateaz eta euren zeregina ere ama gisa eta familiaren barruan ikusten dute” (“women are happy and proud of being a woman, and they see their role as mothers of the family” 16). Therefore, during this time period women weren’t necessarily focused on being writers as their priorities were linked with the familiar duties.

During the 1950’s, the number of the Basque women writers was still a minority. The movement of women writers that began at the beginning of the 20th century was suspended due to the War of 1936. Many of them went into exile and only a few of them continued their writing. In 1954, in the issue (3-4), in the section “Irakurlearen Txokoa” one of the readers wondered why women did not write in the magazine, and Andima Ibiñagabeitia answered:

«Emakumeak zergatik ez dute zuen aldizkarian idazten?» Orixe galdetzen diot maiz nere buruari, «Zarautz'ko Eleder» adiskide ona. Zergatik ez dute euskeraz idazten? Gure atek zabalik dauzkate beñipein... Alare bat baizik etzaigu urbildu, «Emakume bat» abertzale zintzo ta euskal-idazle apaiña. Lenago ba'ziran emakumeen artean idazle punterenguak, Azpeitia'tar Julene, Tene, Zipitria t.a. Orantsu zerura zaigu Mañari'ko Errose (g.b.) bere ipui ederrekin. Ez ote ditu norbaitek aren ipui bikaiñak liburutxo baten bilduko? On eta bearrezko litzake. Azken galdera au, gurean oi bezala, basamortuan galduko da iñolako erantzun gabe. Lotsagarriak gu! Bañan goazen emakume bizietara. Zergatik ez dute euskeraz idazten. Bear bada, seme-alabatxoei gure izkera ederra irakasten gogoz ari dira eta ez daukate idazteko betarik. Ai orrela balitz! Barkakizun lirake, ezin dezakete bada lan ederragorik burutu. Beldur naiz ordea, geienak beren agure saloen sabel-zorroak nola bete ezin asmatu ote dabiltzan ater-gabeko erdeljarioan. Emakumeak; noiz iarri bear duzute bete-betean euskerari begira? Zuek nai ba'zenute laister pizkortuko eta apainduko litzake gure izkera maitea: emakumeen ezpain zamurrek doai berezi bat dute ortarako. Gure atek zabalik daukatzute; ekin bada, itzez ta idatziz.

(“Why don’t women write in the magazine? This is what I am asking myself. Why don’t they write in the Basque language? Our doors are open if they want to write, however, only one came to us «Emakume bat» a good patriot and honest woman. Before there were very good Basque women writers, Julene Azpeitia, Tene, Zipitria, etc. Errose Mañari just past away. Does anyone want to publish an anthology of her work? It will be a good and right thing to do. This last question, as always will disappear in the desert without an answer. Shame on us! But let's continue talking about the women writers. Why they don’t write in Basque. Maybe they are busy teaching the Basque to their children and they don’t have time to be writing. If that is true, they will be forgiven, there is nothing more beautiful. However, I am afraid that they are speaking in Spanish. Women, when are you going to put all your efforts into speaking the Basque language? If you wanted, our language would improve and develop: the tender lips of women have a special capacity for language”; my trans.; 68-69)

The ideal form of womanhood was shown to be an *euskal ama jatorra* (ideal Basque mother), a woman who carried with her traditional values and Basque language. Although their writing skills were welcomed, motherhood was appreciated as their strongest value. Motherhood was still considered the main and most primordial characteristic of a woman. The anthropologist Margaret Bullen analyzes the intrinsic relationship between Basque women and nationalism focusing in the works of Teresa del Valle, Mercedes Ugalde, Begoña Aretxaga, and Joseba Zulaika. These works show that in the contemporary Basque Country’s nationalism system as much in the EAJ-PNV as in ETA, before its cessation of armed activity, the figure of women was based on the traditional role of the mother (197-201).

Andima Ibiñagabeitia appeared critical towards the use of the Spanish language. The use of the Spanish language increased in the Basque population due to the social changes that the Basque Country suffered with the growth of Spanish immigrants that came during the Industrialization period. In this regard, the Spanish language and the city

were considered in the eyes of many Basque nationalists as a bad influence for Basque women that were substituting the Spanish language for the Basque language. For them, it was the Basque women who were the transmitters of the *euskara* to their children, and therefore the survival of the language was in their hands. Nerea Aresti demonstrates how EAJ-PNV tried to encourage women to stay in their rural areas: “Ante esta amenaza, parecía necesario, dirigirse a las bellas hijas de la montaña invitandolas a abandonar las urbes y volver al hogar, a la vida tradicional de la raza” (“given this threat, it seemed necessary to address the beautiful daughters of the mountain and invite them to leave the cities and return home, to the traditional life of the race”; my trans.; “De heroínas viriles a madres de la patria” 293). They tried to create propaganda for a more romanticized view of the “purer” women of the rural Basque Country where they spoke in Basque and avoided the “contamination” of Spanish influence. There is a total confluence with the custombrist prose exemplified by Txomin Agirre at the beginning of the 20th century.

Andima Ibiñagabeitia’s statements were not the only ones who denounced women’s inclination to the Spanish language. Antonio M. Labaien argued in his article “Euskeraren kinka gaiztoa” (The Crisis of the Basque Language, 1958) that some women considered the Basque language *arrunta* (vulgar) and to seem more sophisticated they rather preferred to use the Spanish language, even though they came from rural areas.

Jaime Kerexeta in his article stated:

Emakumea, bere utsalkeri bereztasunez, erderara doia geienetan, buru ariñak diran emakumeak batez bere, (ta buru aundiputzak dirala geienak autortu bear, ezkondu aurretik batez bere). Baiña ezkondu ezkerro, jakin egizue, senarrok, zuek zariela etxeko buru ta gogor egin daikezuela amazteari norberen gauzai eutsiten, semeai euzkeraz irakasten eta egiten.

(“Women, with her natural triviality has the tendency to speak in Spanish, especially the ones that are feisty (we have to admit that women are vain in general, mostly before they get married). But once they get married, husbands, you have to know that you are the heads of the family, and you have to be firm with your decisions, that they have to teach and talk in Basque to the children”; my trans.; “Euzkeraren Alde” 1955 (1-2), 17-18)

The prejudice of female inferiority with respect to men is noted. His opinion is one in which the woman is more imperfect and improves once she gets married. Wives and mothers’ main task should be based around the transmission, speaking, and teaching of the Basque language. Kerexeta was a Franciscan priest, and his Catholic traditionalism is made evident in his text. Despite the criticism towards women’s tendency to use the Spanish language, the magazine tried to promote and motivate women to participate. The truth was that there were good women writers who showed their capacities before the War of 1936 began, and one of the main objectives of the magazine was to be a network and meeting place for Basque writers.

The transmission of the Basque language by women was central in the ideal female image portrayed in the magazine. Also, in the imagined community created in *Euzko-Gogoa*’s pages, the ideal Basque woman had to be patriotic, proactive in the fight for the country (with her limitations), honest, pure, and above all she had to speak the Basque language. Other examples that justify this representative Basque woman can be viewed in the following texts.

In the article, “Amerika-Erdi ta Karibe’ko VI’garren Olinpiar Yolasak” (The 6th Caribbean Olympic Games, 1950), the author details the events of three Basque sisters who participated in the 6th Caribbean Olympic games and praises their abilities as athletes and their qualities as Basque patriots. The author explains that they should be the

reference for Basque people, as they are outstanding not just in their words, using the Basque language, but in their winning medals:

Belaustegigoitia'r Bibiñe, Ibone ta Osane aizpak Guatemala'n biotzez agurtu ditugu, Amerika-erdi ta Karibe'ko Olinpar yolasak dirala-ta. Mexiko'ko igarilarien artean etorri ziran, aita ta ama lagun. Egun oietan, gure aberkide oien izenak gorarik erabilli zituten Guatemala'ko egunerokoek. Bazterrak arrotu ta arritu ditute iru aizpok. Egunero Belaustegigoitia euskal-abizena aintzaz belarrietara ta biotzera etortzen zitzaigun...Yolasetarako euzkotarren gaitasun egokia argi ta garbi erakutsi digute iru neskatil ederrok. Arrigarriagoa, oraindak. Non-nai euzkera pirpiran zerabiltzen iru neskatillok: non-naiko neskatil euzkotarrek Belaustegigoitia aizpak artu bear lituzke eredu: itzetan eder eta egiñetan ederrago azaldu baitziran.

(“We welcomed in Guatemala the sisters Bibiñe, Ibone ta Osane that came to play the Caribbean Olympic Games from Mexico. They came as part of the Mexican team with their parents. During the games, the name of our compatriots was everywhere. The three sisters stirred up Guatemala. Everyday the Basque last name Belaustegigoitia arrived at our hearts...they showed the good capacity of the Basques to play sports. It was most surprising the fact that they were speaking in Basque everywhere and anytime: Basque Children everywhere, you should take these three sisters as an example to follow: beautiful in their words, and even more beautiful in their actions”; my trans.; (3-4), 52)

It is remarkable to show how these three Basque sisters were acknowledged, not just as good athletes, but as good Basques by constantly using their mother language. For *Euzko-Gogoa*, they were an example for Basque youths all over the world.

An exemplary Basque woman, according to Zaitegi, can be found in Orixe's book *Euskaldunak*. Zaitegi actually wrote an article called, “«Orixe» ren «Euskaldunak»” (About Orixe's National Poem *Euskaldunak*, 1950). In Orixe's poem, one of the most significant plots is the love story between Garazi and Mikel. Zaitegi's article references the relationship between the two, as he acknowledges the image and perception created by Orixe of the ideal Basque female, “Garazi.” Garazi which would be translated as

“Grace” is described as a beautiful and Christian girl. She reminds us of Malen, the devoted granddaughter of Joanes, the main character of *Garoa* (Fern, 1912), the costumbrist novel written by Txomin Agirre: “Begiak beti bereganantza/ goizean Jauna artu bai du,/ ta aren oroitzak biotz-erdian/ auznar egiñez bai lirau./ Itzalkera bat —ez dakit zer dan—/ begi bekokietan du:/ munduan iñoiz agertu ba da,/ Garazi bai dala aingeru” (“her eyes always absorbent/ she took God in the morning/ and His memory in the middle of her heart/ she is meditating/ A shadow —she doesn’t know what it is—/ she has in her face/ if it appeared in the world/ Garazi, that is an Angel”; my trans.; (7-8), 11). According to the Basque scholar Ana Toledo, Garazi is a static character typical of how women were portrayed during this period. She explains that in the costumbrist literature, the representation of the main characters have three common denominations: they are Basques, Christians, and honest. These characteristics are forged under the motto, “Euskaldun, Fededun” ‘Basque and Faithful’ (Toledo 646). Zaitegi states at the end of the article, that the entire Basque Country is represented in the poem: shepherds, woodchoppers, sailors, farmers, men and women of the Basque Country described in their everyday life routines (12). Again, creating a folkloric and romanticized idea of a rural Basque community where women are angelic, virginal, patriotic, and Basque.

Jokin Zaitegi also wrote about Madame Staël, in the article “Staël andrea (1766-1817)” (Madame Staël, 1951) Zaitegi praises Staël’s human and intellectual qualities and capacities. He described her work *De l’Allemagne* as the new gospel of aesthetics: “Idazti ori duzu estetike berriaren ebangelioa” (13). He argued that she was a strong woman, more courageous than many men, that went into exile because her ideas were opposed by

Napoleon. For Zaitegi, she was a pioneer in all that she proposed, an intellectual and modern woman:

Iñongo bazterrak arrotu zitun, ele ederrean bide berriak arkitu bear zirala-ta. Yon ukuzle aintzindariak lez, Erromantikuen bidea atondu zun, inguruko okerruneak arteztu ta malkarrak ordoturik, gizaki guziek Yainkoaren osabidea ikusi zezaten.

(“She stirred things up, she opened new pathways that were necessary for the language, she arranged the Romantic movement pathway...”; my trans.; 13)

Another interesting feminine figure that appeared in the magazine was Judith. Gotzon Egaña wrote the article, “Soinez eder, gogoz areago. Judit, biblitar «pampiresa»” (Her outside is beauty, her will even more. Judith, the Biblical “Vampire”, 1957). Egaña praised what Judith did for her people and country: “Judit onek, ba'du ganora, ba'du odola, ba'du emetasun lilluragarria. Judit'en biotza garretan agertzen zaigu, erlijiotasunez gañezka, abertzaletasunez ixurika, aratza, sendoa, erabakitzallea” (“Judith has a good foundation, has blood, has a fascinating femininity. Her heart appears in flames, full of religiosity, flowing with patriotism, pure, strong, decisive”; my trans.; (3-4), 80). Egaña represents Judith as a heroine who acted for the common good of her people by murdering Holofernes, who, through her actions, saved Israel. She fought against the enemies of Israel, all while showing her moral strength and love for her homeland. In the article, the writer shows how she was a strong and courageous woman:

Etsaiak erria ondatzera zetozkiola entzun zuanean, etzuan Judit'ek bere burua kikildu Jainkoa'ren naia etsaibepean galtzea izango zala-ta. Bere burua abertzalekiro, arrokiro iaso zuan; eta soñean zeramazkian alarguntzaren illeta-jantziak kendurik, jai nagusietako soñeko ta txirikon argitsuenak jantzi zituan, eta Jainkoa'ri argia ta laguntza eskaturik, gogora etorri zitzaion bulkoa egin-bidean jartzeko asmoz etsaien kanpamenturuntz abiatu zan

(“When she heard that the enemies would destroy her country, Judith didn’t shrink herself. She raised herself proudly and with patriotism, she changed her widow clothes and she dressed up with the shiniest ones and with the help and light of God she went to the camp of her enemies”; my trans.; 82)

Egaña compares Judith with other biblical women such as Esther, Ruth, and Rebekah, the epitomes of humble, polite, brave, and loyal women. On the other hand, he argues that she was nothing like Delilah or Jezebel. Creating a bipolar binomial between what made a good woman and a bad one. However, Judith's perception may be ambiguous, since she can be interpreted as a biblical heroine, but also as a predatory woman/vampire, or *femme fatale*. In fact, as Daniela Hermisillo states, the fact that she killed Holofernes by cutting off his head and not poisoning him, shows the violence and the bloodshed, characteristics related to the image of the vampire woman, originated in the 16th century and so represented in art and literature, particularly by French symbolism and romanticism. Basically, the political and cultural emancipation of women, which was beginning to develop in a society still determined by the French Revolution and the leading role of men, began to be reflected from a fearful male vision in the new paradigm of the basically reduced woman to two variants: the virtuous and asexual wife, and the perverse seductive *femme fatale*. In the magazine, she represents the virtuous and asexual wife.

The Basque nationalist imagination created the archetype of Basque women, based on the Basque vs Spanish dichotomy. Nerea Aresti argues that the virile restraint and the emotional austerity imprinted on the Basque woman, distinguished her from the gestural voluptuousness and the expressive excess of the Spanish women (“De heroínas

viriles a madres de la patria” 305). Egaña’s text is the allegory of Basque women, as a strong, temperate, and contained woman like Judith.

The magazine promoted a woman who in the family and even social environment should work for the survival and endurance of the Basque language and, in addition to her maternal and educational function, should be ready to defend her homeland. Madame Staël and Judith, became the epitomes of heroines that reflected the complexity of the gender vision in the magazine: strong, “independent”, intellectual, and vehement women, but also highlighting the imposed assumption of women’s —weakness and temptation—.

Mother (Virgin Mary) and Motherland

The images of the mother, Holy Mother, and the motherland became key in the allegorical representation of Basque women in the magazine. The Basque Country is represented as a female or mother for the Basques. In the work “Opariz” (Gift, 1950), written by Jokin Zaitegi in the first issue of *Euzko-Gogoa*, Zaitegi wrote how the magazine was dedicated to the beloved Motherland by her devoted sons:

Aldizkari au zuri, Euzkadi laztana, eskeintzen dizugu, gure gogoko ametsen barne-muña baitzaitugu: bai, gure alegiñak oro eskeintzen dizkitzugu asmorik zintzo ta garbienaz: zure gorabide ta betiko askatasuna opaz. Zure semerik maiteenak izan nai dugunok, Aberri laztana, lurretiko guziak baño aintzakotzat zaitugula badaki gure Yaungoikoak. Gure zaiñetako odol beroa eskeintzeko ere gerturik gaituzu, ala bear ezkerro. Ez baidugu azturik Arana-Goiri'k agindua: «Gu Euzkadi'rentzat eta Euzkadi Yaungoikoarentzat».

(“This magazine, beloved Basque Country, we offer it to you, because you are in the deepest will of our dreams: we offer you our efforts and our honest intentions; willing promotion and freedom. The ones that want to be your devoted sons, beloved homeland, God knows that we are more dedicated to you than to any other on earth. If it is necessary, we are ready to offer the warm blood of our veins for you. Because we have not

forgotten what Sabino Arana said: «We for Euzkadi and Euzkadi for God»; my trans.; (1), 3)

The poem *Anai-arteko gudatean* (The War Between Brothers, 1952) written by Koldo Jauregi Jautarkol, shows the sorrow of the motherland, during the War of 1936, seeing her sons fighting amongst themselves: “Ama gaxoa...! / Noiz seme danok/ maiteko zaitugu ziñez?/ Noiz arte bizi/ bearko dezu/ semeengatikan miñez?” (“Poor Mother.../When all your sons/ that we love you so much? / Until when/ you will live/suffering for your sons?”; my trans.; (1-2), 9).

The figure of the motherland was used in different texts of the magazine, comparing the love towards the nation and the language, with the one towards the mother. The article written by Errexil, “Euzko-Gogoa’ri buruz” (About Euzko-Gogoa, 1950) was an example: “Amatxo bezin maite maite zaigun mintzoa jaso, gorde et ezilkortzea degu agian” (“The language we love as much as our mother, we should endure it, save it, and immortalize it”; my trans.; (2), 22). This form of writing created the sensation of what a Basque should feel for their country. A compromise to the one that gave you birth, language, and quality of life. This obligation to the country is similar to a relationship with one’s mother, where the individual is grateful and must honor, protect and nurture the relationship.

Together with the motherland, the purity of the Basque mother and her role in the nation building was developed in the magazine. For *Euzko-Gogoa*, the mother is the carrier of the language and the Basque nation was an extension of herself. Ziriako Andonegi, in the poem *Euskera maitea* (Beloved Basque Language, 1957) stated that the Basque language was a pure and beautiful language, transmitted by mothers to children.

Nemesio Etxaniz, in the poem *Ama!* (Mother! 1952) represented the Basque mother as the axis and the soul of the Basque family: “Neguko gau beltz luzetan,/ bisutsa nagusi danean,/ Ama det buruan,/ Ama biotzean” (“during the long and dark nights of winter/ when the blizzard is predominant/ I have my Mother in mind,/ I have my Mother in my heart”; my trans.; (1-2), 8). Nerea Aresti argues that the Basque mother was associated with the special mission, which was to make the future generation faithful servants of the patriotic ideal (“De heroínas viriles a madres de la patria” 298). The Basque mother was in charge of the transmission of the Basque identity (Basque language, love for the motherland, tradition) and the instilling of religious piety.

The image of the Virgin Mary had a great symbolic power in the magazine as well. This image was very much connected with the Basque mother, an allegorical celestial representation of the earthly mother. The magazine portrays an identity of a prudent woman, contained, without weaknesses, pure, sexless, and strong. The images of *Ama Birjina* (Mary, Mother of Jesus), *Begoñako Ama* (Virgin of Begoña), and *Dolorezko Ama* (Mother of Sorrows) appeared with a powerful meaning in different works of the magazine.

The Basque scholar Joseba Zulaika states that the entire Marian religion is complex, with its very erotic structure of motherly sublimation and filial sacrifice (“That Old Bilbao Moon” 126). The Basque mother, appears in some works of the magazine as the symbolic figure of the Mother of Sorrows, representing the consolation and support for her Basque children who were in their own *via crucis*. One can see this representation in the poem written by Salvatore Mitxelena, *Guruz bidea euskal-samiñaren* (The Via

Curcis the Cry of the Basque Sorrow, 1955): “Agur, dolorezko Ama larritua,/ gure errukiz urtua:/ ¡Ona Bion lagun, Erri nekaldua!” (“the clamor of the Basque sorrow:/ Goodbye, worried Mother of Sorrows/ melted by our compassion/ here it is the tired Country!”; my trans.; (3-4), 34). The image of the Mother of Sorrows was persuasive and had an important meaning in the idealization of how Basque women should live according to the magazine. Miren Llona argues: “El modelo femenino que aparece asociada a esta figura divina es una mujer que participa y que gana su derecho a compartir el sufrimiento pero que también la gloria de los hombres que entregan su vida por la patria” (“the female model that appears associated with this divine figure is a woman who participates and who gains her right to share suffering but also the glory of men who give their lives for their country”; my trans.; 193). *Euzko-Gogoa* created an image of a woman who would be willing to sacrifice for her children and therefore her country.

The Virgin of Begoña, lovingly called by the Basques *amatxu* (mommy), is often referenced in the various writings in *Euzko-Gogoa*. She is the patron Saint of Bilbao and Bizkaia and “a seafaring Virgin.” Balendin Aurre-Apraiz wrote a poem honoring *Begoñako Ama* called *Gaurik gogorrena* (The Hardest Night, 1952): “Iztarretik oinetara,/ zortzi zauri, sakon, emoi gorri./ Baltzen atzetan baitura...?/ Dei neutzan Begoina'ko Amari” (“from the groin to my foot/ with eight wounds,/ .../ I prayed to the Virgin Mother of Begoña”; my trans.; (1-2), 1). Here he is seeking the help of the Virgin during times of pain, which appears to be based during War-times. The writer G.E.A, through the following poem *Begoña'ko Ama neskutz bizkaitarren zaindarijari* (To the Virgin of Begoña protector of the Bizkaian's, 1952), expressed his admiration towards this Virgin:

“Begoña'ko Miren Neskutza/ Jaungua'ren Ama garbija,/ Ortzetiko lili ederra/ Itxaso-ixar dirdizarija,/ Antxiñatik guk bizkatarrok/ Goi-Zaindaritzat autetsija.” (“Mother Virgin of Begoña/ Pure Mother of God/ beautiful flower of Heaven/ star of the sea/ since ancient times the *Bizkaians*/ have chosen you as our Patron Saint”; my trans.; (3-4), 4). She is the personification of Bizkaia and their savior mother.

The Virgin Mary, the most venerated woman, myth and object of devotion, was admired throughout the magazine. Balendin Aurre-Aprreiz wrote the poem *Sortzez garbiari* (To the Pure from Birth, 1951): “Sortzez garbia zaran Amatxu/ Amatxu maite samurra,/ Zeure aurrean auspezten naz ni/ eskatzen laguntasuna” (“Mommy that you are pure from birth/ my beloved and soft Mommy/ I bend the knee in front of you/ begging for help”; my trans.; (11-12), 1). Many authors also dedicated some lines to the Virgin Mary. She was the representation of the sacrifice undergone by a mother; leaving her son to die for the common good. This is very much connected with the statement made by Polixene Trabudua, in which the Basque mother generously offered, although torn with pain, her children to sacrifice for the good of the motherland.

The trinomial connection between the mother/Virgin, motherhood, and motherland made in the magazine showed the Basque mother as a source of life, purity, and sacrificed figure. In the magazine, the values of the Basque woman/mother resembled the symbolic figure of the Virgin. The mother who sacrificed her children was the salvation of the motherland, and therefore its allegorical representation.

The role and image of women in *Euzko-Gogoa* is a unique concept to analyze. It is, however, important to take into consideration the generation of writers and the historical context during publication. With this in mind, the magazine encouraged the

publication of women writers and was positive in creating an imagery of the ideal Basque woman. However, although the magazine allowed a space for women, the main goal of promoting this concrete image of the Basque woman is to preserve her traditional role as a mother, carrier of the Basque language, helper of her sons, patriotic, Christian, pure and virginal. This idea of the archetypal Basque women are still strong in the contemporary Basque Country: “Good mother, hard worker and efficient wife” (Bullen 61). In fact, in the Basque culture the role of the mother becomes central. In their patriotic approach, as Mercedes Ugalde states, one of the main missions of the nationalist women was to comfort, console, and encourage the national reconstruction (512). Although these women left the house and were able to join “new” spaces, their role was still secondary, very much connected with the role of the mother. Eventhough *Euzko-Gogoa* tried to change in the distribution of literary-cultural-social spaces according to gender, the magazine nor the women writers of the magazine promoted women’s agency. Subsequent studies in Basque anthropology, such as the one directed by Teresa del Valle *Mujer vasca imagen y realidad* (Basque Woman, Image and Reality, 1985) will demonstrate in the 1980s, the centrality and importance that the mother has had in the ideology of Basque nationalism, both traditional and radical.

The Basque Nation

In the creation of the Basque nation, *Euzko-Gogoa* went back to the ancient times to build their imagined community. The magazine found its voice in some Basque legends, rebuilding a history full of glory. Especially, in the novels created at the end of the 19th century, where the historical-legendary prose and costumbrist novel promoted an

idealized world. The legendary and historical figures acquired a significant value in the reconstruction of the motherland. Aitor, the mythical founder of the Basque people, and Jose Maria Iparragirre, a national poet, became the two main references to portray Basque identity and the Basque nation. They were used to show the deep roots of the Basque Country, and for its people to try to simulate his actions for a Basque national identity.

The references about Aitor appeared in different works of the magazine. The poem *Euskera maitea* (Beloved Basque Language, 1957), written by Ziriako Andonegi analyzed the relationship between the Basque language and Aitor:

Gure asabak utzi zizkigun/ gauz zar aien ikasiak,/ EUSKERA nondik, noiz eta nola/ sortu zaneko asiak.// Bañon Aitor'ek kondaira bidez/ egiten digu aitortza,/ adieraziz EUSKERA dala/ euskotarra'ren izkuntza.// Aitor zar arrek billa zizkigun/ izkuntz orren oñarria,/ ordu ezkeru geuria degu/ EUSKERA maitagarria.

(“Our ancestors left us/ the old traditions/ the Basque language from where, when, and how/ the seeds of its blossom. / But through the legend of Aitor/ it was confessed, / explaining that the Basque language is/ the language of the Basques/ That old Aitor found us/ the roots of that language, / since then it is ours/ kind Basque language”; my trans.; (9-12), 3)

Andonegi creates a romanticized idea that the Basque language was a sacred language brought to them from Aitor. Aitor is a literary character created by the Romantic Basque writer, Agustin Chaho (1811-1858). His narrative, *Aitor - Légende Cantabre* (Aitor the Cantabrian Legend) was published in 1845, and tells the story of Aitor, the first patriarch of the Basques. As Olaziregi argues, it was the antecedent of the historical-legendary narrative that was cultivated in Spanish by Basque authors in the last third of the nineteenth century and it influenced notably the origin of the Basque novel,

Auñemendiko lorea (The Flower of the Pyrenees, 1897) (“Basque Literary History” 18).

The scholar Coro Rubio in the book *100 símbolos vascos* (100 Basque Symbols) states that Aitor had seven children who populated the seven Basque provinces, in a clear Biblical parallel of the tribes of Israel. Expressing a territorial conception of the country that would later be used for Basque nationalism (42). The legend has Biblical connotations, Chaho identifies Aitor with Tubal, the biblical grandson of Noah. Rubio states that since the 19th century the Basque language has been defined as, *Aitorren hizkuntz zaharra* (The Old Language of Aitor) (43). The Basque language is therefore romanticized and suggested as a divine language. *Euzko-Gogoa* published Ziriako Andonegi’s poem *Aitorren izkuntz zarra* (1956):

Aitorren izkuntz zarra/ nai degu zabaldu,/ Mundua'ren aurrean/ gizonki azaldu./ Baldin gure zañetan/ odolik badegu,/ Euskaldunak euskeraz/ itz egin bear degu.// Zein izkuntza ederra/ euskera guria,/ inun ez det arkitzen/ beste bat obia./ Usai gozo dun izkuntz/ txukun ta argia,// Biraaurikan ez duen/ Izketa garbia./ Ez daukagu euskera/ lotsaz baztertzeke, / Ainbat gutxio berriz/ oñazpiratzeko./ Jainkoak eman zigun/ euskaldunentzako,/ Bere lege santuak/ ez dira ukatzeko.// . . // Etsaiak aurka dabiltz/ euskeraren gatik,/ guztiz aspalditik./ Len, orain eta beti/ Lurperatu nairikan/ antzin-antziñatik,/ Ez dute ori lortuko./ iñongo aldetik.

(“The language of Aitor/ we want to spread,/ in front of the world/ explain it as men./ If in our vein/ there is blood,/ The Basques in Basque/ should be speaking.// What a beautiful language/ our Basque/ I can’t find anywhere/ a better one./ A language with a sweet smell/ clean and tidy,/ it hasn’t got any swear words/ a clean speech.// We shouldn’t/ push aside the language for embarrassment,/ less to subjugate it/ God gave it to us/ for the Basques,/ His sacred laws/ are not denied//. . // Our enemies are against us/ due to the Basque/ since long time ago./ Then and now, always/ they want to bury it/ since a long time,/ they are not going to succeed/ no way possible”; my trans.; (3-4), 19)

Aitor represented the traditional Basque Country, and Basque identity. Andrés Ortiz-Osés states that Aitor is a modern figure that represents the Basque fictional past.

Aitor is the personified symbol of the golden age of Basque culture and language (80). The clean and pure Basque language of Aitor was untainted and it should be spread all over the world. It shows the singularity and antiquity of the Basque people.

Jose Maria Iparragirre (1820-1881) was a Carlist ex-combatant and a bard, a traveling singer who sang his songs in Basque throughout different countries of Europe and America. He created the Basque anthem, “Gernikako Arbola” (The Tree of Gernika, 1853). In his attempt to recover all the ancestral traditions of the Basques, his work embodied the purest spirit of Romanticism, and exhibited a strong Basque patriotism, tinged with strong religious connotations. Iparragirre’s poems were the pillars for the Basque nationalist ideology in the following years. Nemesio Etxaniz wrote the poem *Euskal-egazti* (Basque-Bird, 1954) praising Iparragirre and his anthem “Gernikako Arbola”:

Kanta dezagun Iparragirre, / Euskalerriko olerkari:/ kanta dezagun gure
erri zarra./ seme bikañen sorkari:/ eta munduak entzun bezaigu / nola ari
geran kantari, / Gernika'n degun Aritz deunaren/ Bertsolari yayoari.//
Etziñan sortu gure errian/ zuaitz geldia izateko./ Zure biotzak, ibil-miña
zun./ ludi zabala ikusteko:/ ames-egotan, pakerik gabe,/ lur-berri-gose
ibiltzeko:/ baña azkenean zure lurrera/ ekarri zindun iltzeko.

(“Let's sing Iparragirre/ poet of the Basque Country:/ let's sing to our old
country./ origin of the best sons:/ and the world should listen/ how are we
singing,/to the sacred oak that we have in Gernika/ of our most capable
poet.// You weren't born in our country/ to be a static tree./ Your heart had
the will to walk,/ to see the entire world:/ dreaming, without peace,/ to
meet new countries/ but at the end you came to your Motherland/ to die;
my trans.; (1-2), 4)

Nemesio Etxaniz also added in the poem some of the fragments of “Gernikako Arbola”: “Gernikako arbola, / da bedeinkatua/ Euskaldunen artean/ guztiz maitatua—/
Eman da zabal zazu/ munduan frutua—/ adoratzen zaitugu/ arbola santua—(“the tree of

Gernika/ is sacred/ among the Basques/ loved—/ give it and expand it/ its fruit in the world/ we adore you/ sacred tree”; my trans.; 4). The symbol of this tree is one of the most important ones in the Basque Country. It symbolizes the traditional freedoms for the Basques.

Aitor and Iparragirre both represented ideal nationalists who became a turning point for the Basque history and literature. The two showed very unique but similar forms of representing the Basque nation. Aitor, the first Basque, the Basque Adam, represented the primitive and ancient times and deep roots of the Basque Country. Iparragirre on the other hand was a universal Basque who sowed his seeds of Basque through his songs all over the world.

The rebuilding process of the Basque nation and especially the revitalization of the Basque language was inspired by Israel and its process of giving rebirth to Hebrew. Andima Ibiñagabeitia wrote an article, “Israel” (Israel, 1952) arguing how it was the example to follow in the building process of the Basque nation:

Omen zuri Israel, erri zar eta erri berria. Aintza zuri. Zure azkazia itxasoko ondarrak bezin ugari bedi! Bil semeak zere baitara, eda mugak lengo einera. Zorion osoa opa dizutegu euskotarrok. Yarraibide izan zakigu gure aberri errukarrian burutu nai degun lan gogorrean. Gora Israel.

(“To you Israel, new and old country. Bless you. I hope your descendents are as much as the sand as the sea! Put all your children together, spread out your borders as you did before. The Basques wish you happiness. You will be our inspiration in the hard work we want to do in favour of our unfortunate country. Cheer up Israel”; my trans.; (1-2), 47).

The rebuilding of Israel in 1948 became for some writers of the magazine an example and inspiration. In particular, the recovery of the Hebrew language impacted

most of the writers for *Euzko-Gogoa*. Antonio M. Labaien stated in the article

“Euskeraren kinka gaiztoa”:

Israel'en gertatzen ari dana guretzat erakusgarri ditekela-ta, ango xehetasun batzuek agertu nai dizkitzuet. Irakurri ditudan berrien artean Arthur Koestler otsaundiko idazlearen liburutik artuak jakingarrienak dituzute, labur eta zeatz esanak bait daude. Arrigarrizko gertakizuna, mirari bat benetan Israel'en izkerari buruz eta beste arazoetan gertatzen ari dana. Izkerari dagokiona ikertu dezagun. . .Orain norbaitek galdegingo digu agian: Euskaldunok juduen bidetik erasotzeko koskorik ba al dugu? Ezezko erantzuna emango nuke. Gure artean iende bulartsu ta ausarta baduguna ezin ukatu, bear izan danean bizia ematen jakin duana; burruka gogorrean il arte jardun diranak. Baiñan gure errialdea erabat artuta, aitortu bearra dago zabarrak, biguñak gerala eguneroko burruka isilean gure erriaren alde jokatzeko. Kemena bai, baiñan ez euskera zaintzeko, etxean seme-alabai erakusteko...

(“What is happening in Israel should be an example for us, because of that I will give you some examples. Among the news that I have read I will recommend you the books of Arthur Koestler, because what he wrote about the situation of Israel is well told and explained. It is a true miracle what happened in Israel with the language, as well as what is happening in other fields. But let's focus on the language. . . And now, maybe, some of you would ask if we, the Basques, could follow the same pathway. I would answer no. Amongst us there are many brave people, that when it was necessary they gave their lives for our country; the ones that are still fighting until death. But our country is totally taken, we have to admit that we are sloppy in the silent fight of our Motherland. We have the virtue, but we do not take care of the Basque language, and teach it at home to our kids...”; my trans.; (1-2), 82)

The desire for emulating Israel was a constant goal for *Euzko-Gogoa*. Mainly due to the uniqueness of the process for recovering the Hebrew language. There are few if any examples of a language recovery quite like Hebrew. The rebirth of the Hebrew language was the story of success, a success that the Basque language would love to have, and the magazine was trying to encourage.

The magazine portrayed the Basque Country and the Basque people as, good and honest people that had its original peculiarities from ancient times that were deeply

rooted in them. Amongst all the peculiarities, the Basque language was the most important one. If the Basque Country lost its language, its essence and will would be lost. The country would become another country if its language is replaced. This was one of the biggest fears of the magazine. Using the references of Aitor, Iparragirre, and Israel, *Euzko-Gogoa* tried to show its subscribers and the Basque people that they were a unique group that needed to maintain its uniqueness and emulate the path of Israel as the Basques too considered themselves the chosen ones.

In the section “Irakurlearen Txokoa” in 1956 in the issue (7-8), the magazine analyzed some African countries in the process of decolonization that began in the 1940’s. *Euzko-Gogoa* was glad to announce the end of colonialism, since it represented the configuration of a new historical reality. In fact, one of the consequences of decolonization was independence, something many Basques aspired as published in *Euzko-Gogoa*:

. — Erri bakoitzak bere buruaren iaun eta iabe izateko esku ta bidea omen du, Madagascar'eko gotzaiek gorarik irakatsi dutenez beren artzaingutunean.

. —Afrika'ko Ghana erri berriak bere buruaren iabetasuna iritxi du, eta eguzkipeko errien artean buruzut ageri da, aurtengo epalla ezker. Bideak erreztu ditun gizon andiak Kwane Nkrumah du izena, eta bertako lendakari bilakatu da. Abertzale orren iardunbidea oso iakingarria da. Europa'ko erri zarrenak, Euzkadi'k, zorionez agurtu du Afrika'ko erririk gazteena.

(“ —Each country should have the right to be sovereign, as the priest of Madagascar showed in his letter.

. —The new independent country of Ghana is now a free country among others under the sun since this year. Kwane Nkrumah was the man who helped in the process, and now he is the President. The patriotic footprint of this man is very interesting. The oldest country of Europe, the Basque Country, happily greets the youngest African country”; my trans.; 117).

The magazine saw in the decolonization process a possibility for ending the Spanish domination and becoming autonomous and sovereign. The contributors of *Euzko-Gogoa* saw the decolonization movements that were taking place all over the world as a wish for the future Basque nation. If anything, it aroused in its subscribers a desire for independence from Spanish rule

Ibiñagabeitia wrote to Zaitegi in 1952: “Insausti’tar Iosu Inperiotik igesi etoritako euskal idazle zailua da” (“Iosu Insausti is a Basque writer that escaped from the Spanish Empire”; my trans.). Ibiñagabeitia was aware of the subordination taking place in the Basque Country with the imposition of the Spanish and French language without recognition of the Basque language. In 1959, Bedita Larrakoetxea sent a letter to Zaitegi complaining about the difficult situation of the Basque language and Basque Country under Franco dictatorship, and the difficulties to fight for their rights and identity as Basques:

Euzkadin gureak asi dira apuirtxoen bat igitzen, baña or agertu da Patxi gangafik eragiten daunari ka skareko onak emoteko-edo eskubide befien eske. Nori eskatu bear dautso euskubiderik, eskubide guztien yaun eta yabe bera aspaldi onetan danazkero? Dana dala, gure abefian euzketzaletasuna biztuaz doala uste dot gure artekoak beintzat lengo aldean su ta gar daragoyoe euzkeraz ikasten eta idazten.

(In the Basque Country our people are awakening, but Francisco (Franco) came and there is no way to reivindicate any rights. To whom do they have to ask for their rights? He (Franco) is the power, the law. Nevertheless, in our motherland the Basque language is awakening, comparing with how things were before, people are learning and writing in Basque; my trans.)

Larrakoetxea highlights that although Basque people and language was reviving in the motherland, Franco’s regime was still a totalitarian regime. One of the rationales behind the censorship of the Basque language was to obliterate the Basque identity.

Actually, one of the best ways to eliminate an identity is to remove one's language. Jorge Oteiza states: "Somos un hombre, con un idioma y un estilo. Dentro del idioma está el hombre y dentro del hombre su estilo" ("we are a man, with a language and a style. Inside the language is the man and inside the man is the style"; my trans.; 20). Erasing the language removes the capacity to transmit the images, identities, and ideologies of the world contained in one's culture. *Euzko-Gogoa*, in line with the arguments made by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (7), believed that writing/creating in a vernacular language is the main instrument of resistance against an imposition of a foreign language or culture.

Andrés Townsend Ezcurra, the Peruvian writer, politician, and lawyer defined the uniqueness of the magazine in one of its issues:

«Singular hazaña constituye la publicación, en Guatemala, de una revista puramente vasca —«Euzko-Gogoa»— escrita en el venerable y vernáculo euskera y bajo la erudita y hábil dirección del Presbítero Dr. Joaquín de Zaitegui y Plazaola. La fidelidad insobornable al terruño y la aptitud para realizar, sin jactancia, las empresas más desmesuradas. Así en Elcano, en Loyola, en Bolívar, en Lope de Aguirre, en Unamuno. Por algo el único rival condigno del Quijote lo pintó Cervantes en aquel valeroso «caballero vizcaíno» que luchó con el de la Triste Figura el combate más serio de toda su tragicómica epopeya. «Euzko-Gogoa» es la única publicación íntegramente escrita en vasco que se publica en el mundo. Hojear sus páginas, para los más, acaso resulte un indescifrable acertijo. Para quienes llevamos en la sangre una razón de afectos, hay en ellas, un poco de la borrosa ternura de la abuela, sonidos que se escucharon alguna vez, cabe su regazo, en la parla familiar con el misionero de polvorientas sandalias, e irreductible y correspondido empeño en revivir los recuerdos de la amada, distante Euzkadi»...

("The magazin represents a singular feat, published in Guatemala, of a purely Basque magazine - «Euzko-Gogoa» - written in the venerable and vernacular Euskera and under the erudite and skilful address of the Priest Dr. Joaquín de Zaitegui and Plazaola. The incorruptible fidelity to the Motherland and the aptitude to realize, without boasting, the most disproportionate companies. So, in Elcano, in Loyola, in Bolívar, in Lope de Aguirre, in Unamuno. For some reason the only rival of Don Quixote was painted by Cervantes in that courageous "Vizcayan knight" who fought with the one of the Sad Figure for the most serious combat of all

his epic tragicomic. «Euzko-Gogoa» is the only publication entirely written in Basque that is published in the world. Scrolling through its pages, for the most part, may turn out to be an indecipherable riddle. For those of us who have a reason for affection in their blood, there is a bit of the grandmother's fuzzy tenderness in them, sounds that were heard at some time, their lap, in the family parish with the missionary in dusty sandals, and irreducible and Corresponding effort to revive the memories of the beloved, distant Euzkadi »”; my trans.; “Irakurlearen txokoa” 1950 (2), 31)

National Identity and Politics in *Euzko-Gogoa*

Euzko-Gogoa in many ways attempted to create an image of a nation which alluded to the Basque Country as something unique and special. A Romanticized portrait of a country selected by God which was pure in its roots and pure in its language. This country was one rich in history and independent from other influences. The reality of the Basque Country during the 20th century was very much different than the imagined community created in its pages. The goal of *Zaitegi* was to create a cultural magazine which promoted the Basque language and was “free” from politics. However, the reality was that many of the authors and the Basque Country in general underwent years of political turmoil which had an effect on the content on the magazine. Inevitably, there were articles that discussed the political situation and attempted to step away from the “imagined” and focus on the “reality.” While some contributors of *Euzko-Gogoa* wrote more nostalgic pieces remembering a once-was Basque Country others were more focused on taking action and regaining their lost country. This section will focus on the reality of the Basque communities abroad and at home and the various ways of how the differing authors discussed their ideal nation, how they would build it, and the obstacles that were presented.

The artistic and cultural production of *Euzko-Gogoa* was used as a promotional strategy to rebuild the defeated Basque Country. Beyond the language, the magazine raised the analysis of the national image and the political manifestation that helped to trace the imagined community that it wanted to reflect. *Euzko-Gogoa* was a cultural magazine, but that doesn't mean that it didn't have a recognized ideological canon. *Euzko-Gogoa* was the collaboration of many Basque writers with different opinions, backgrounds, and ideologies. Due to this reality, some of the writers such as Txillardegui, criticised the political deprivation of the magazine, since it did not discuss the repression of the Basque people (46). Political for some and not enough for others, this was one of *Euzko-Gogoa*'s biggest dilemmas.

Other authors promoted the Aristotelian "golden middle way": "Erdiko bide zabaletik barna jo nai izan dugu" ("through the broad path of the medium"; my trans.; "Aturrekoa" 1954 (1-2), 1) in order to avoid any political confrontation. Through different works of the magazine, one can recognize the diversity of opinions in regard to the "perfect" Basque nation. In this recreation of the Basque nation, the political inclinations of the writers as well as their generational differences created a gap. Most of the prewar generation writers believed that the Basque language should be used as a tool to reconstruct the nation. Many postwar generation writers were more drawn to a more action-based resistance in order to rebuild the Basque Country. Jokin Zaitegi and Andima Ibiñagabeitia, from the prewar generation wrote:

Euzko-Gogoa-ko gizaldiaren auzia Euskalerrria dugu, eta auzi orren askabidea Euskera, Euskera soilik. Orainarteko gure gizaldiek ez dute guk bezela Euskalerrriko auzia azaldu. Auzi ori, esan bear, aiek ere beren barne-muiñetan sentitu zuten auzi orren askabidea ordea ez zuten guk

bezela izkeraren gainean ezarri, euskararen gain, alegia. Ez dago besterik: gure auzia euskerak askatuko du, ez beste ezerk. . . Gizaldi eder au *Euzko-Gogoa*'ri zor zaio, gure erriaren auzi-mauzi guziak euskararen bitartez garbitu nai lituken gizaldi berria.

(“The main question of Euzko-Gogoa’s generation is the Basque Country, and the salvation of this statement is our language, only the Basque language. The prior generations didn’t explain the Basque Country’s question the way we did. They felt the question too, but they didn’t see in the language the salvation as we do. . . There is not any other way: our question will be saved by our language; all the questions of our country must be solved with the Basque language”; my trans.; “Etxe aldaketa” 1955 (5-12), 65).

The salvation of the country was connected with the use and promotion of the Basque language: the building block to revive the fallen nation, the essential element of what separated themselves from others.

Many of the Basques in exile and in the Basque Country were optimistic that the political reality would be changing after the War of 1936, and the situation would improve. They were hopeful that soon they would be able to return to the Basque Country and resume the lives they once lived. Unfortunately, the Basque Country did not receive the aid they were hoping for. Jon Andoni Irazusta, writer and deputy of EAJ-PNV believed that European and North American democracies would save the Basque Country. The article “Beti Bat” (Always one, 1950) demonstrated a Pro-European/pro-ally ideology:

Uste oso osoa daukat, datorren guda ori gure aldekoak irabaziko dutela, Ipar Amerika eta bere lagunak (eta ala gertatuko ez balitz Jainkoak goarda). Ori ala ba da, gizonen, sendien eta errien askatasunak ez dira bazterreratuko, edo bestela gizonak oso lotsa galdu dute. Bañan ez; ez dira baztarrean geldituko. Bukatzen danean, indartsuenak al egiñak egingo dituzte azkatasunaren alde, askatasuna agintari ez dan bitartean guda besterik sortzen ez dala ikusia dagolako.

(“I have a very full belief that this coming war will be our supporters, North America and its friends (and if it were not going to happen to God). In the first place, the liberties of men, women and their families will not be excluded, or the men will be very embarrassed. But not; They will not stop birzia. When the end is over, the strongest will fight for speed, because freedom does not give rise to war unless it is ruled out”; my trans.; (7-8), 35)

According to the Basque scholar Leyre Arrieta, the EAJ-PNV began to promote pro-European actions after the First World War: “En efecto, la coyuntura internacional configurada tras la Primera Guerra Mundial invitaba al PNV a fijar su mirada en el exterior” (“indeed, the international conjuncture established after the First World War invited the EAJ-PNV to set its gaze on the outside”; my trans.; “Estación Europa” 42). The Basque Government aided and fought alongside the allies in the Second World War in hopes they would later assist them with overturning the dictatorship. However, once the allies won the Second World War, the world was now in a struggle between democratic rule and communism. With the Cold War in effect, the allies didn’t want to overturn Franco to replace it with the Republic and have a communist nation in Europe. As a result, despite the EAJ-PNV actively working with the allies, its pro-European discourse was delineated and the democracies “turned it’s back” on the Basques.

Euzko-Gogoa wasn’t blind towards the reality of the Basque Country. The authors were aware that the world was not going to assist in their struggle for freedom. As Antonio M. Labaien wrote in the article “Arturo Campion (1854-1954)” in 1954: “Aldizkari ontan ez genuke politika kontuan sartu nai baiñan ezin ukatu dugu ordea gure odola ta nai ta ez ateratzen al gera gure erriaren bizia ta eskubidearen alde” (“in this magazine we shouldn’t be talking about politics, but we can’t avoid our blood and will, and therefore bring up in favour of our Motherland and its rights”; my trans.; (11-12),

163). Many felt that despite their efforts to continue to only promote the language, the situation was one that required more forms of resistance. One can see where *Euzko-Gogoa* not only was a place to create an imagined community but also became a platform where different ideologies cohabited, thus showing the ideological openness of the magazine. These various ideologies allowed the movement of the imagined community towards a more accurate reality.

The ideology of what were the necessary steps for change differed amongst the authors. For some, such as Zaitegi, the ideal form of resistance was through literature. Others felt a more aggressive action-based approach was necessary. Amongst the authors, Jon Mirande was concrete in his call to action. Mirande believed that freedom comes with violence. He criticized the weak democratic spirituality that had prevailed in the Basque Country. He felt that the Basque Country, being a small country, couldn't be free under the European democracies. Joxe Azurmendi states that Mirande didn't have a middle ground. For Mirande, the Basques should choose between: “Kristau izan ala gudari abertzale izan” (“Be a Christian (democratic) or a patriotic soldier”; my trans.; “Mirande eta Kristautasuna” 38). Mirande was a promoter of violence and a force for the Basque Country to win its place in the world and break with the European subjugation. In 1951, Mirande wrote to Zaitegi: “Agian zoriak lagunduko gaitu askatasun bidean, askatasunik gabe deus onik ekafi ez bai dute euskararen aldeko aleginik; askatasuna ordea ez da naikoa” (“maybe the luck will help us in our pathway of freedom, the actions in favor of *euskara* without freedom did not bring anything good; however, the freedom is not enough”; my trans.)

Through Jon Mirande's poems, *Eresi* (Funeral March, 1951) and *Yeiki Yeiki* (Wake Up Wake Up, 1950) he encouraged the Basque youth to fight for their motherland: "Yeiki, yeiki Uskaldünak/ Oro alkharren lagün/ Oro alkharren lagün/ Biar nausi izaiteko/ Mithil ba'gira egün/ Sort-herriaren etsaiak/ Denak eho ditzagün/ Denak eho ditzagün!" ("Wake up, wake up Basques/ all of us friends/ all of us friends/ to be the master's tomorrow/ if we are vassals today/ the enemies of our homeland/ let's crash them all/ let's crash them all"; my trans.; "Yeiki Yeiki" (3-4), 7). Mirande proposed violence to change the reality of the Basque Country. His article, "Euskaldun guduzalduntza baten beharrkiaz" (The need for a Basque Warbling Cavalry, 1952) was a critique to the European democracy, and pro-European politics of the Basque Government:

Izen haur harrtzea duten Euskaldunik gehienak, erran nahi dut, beren herria aske eta beren hizkuntza ohoretan ikhusi nahi dutenak, azken menderdion Europa iharrosi duten iazarrkhundeetan demokrazien alde ibili izan dira, nehoizko usterik hoberenekin: asmo demokratikoa euskaldungoaren ikurrik nabariena dela eta nazione handi demokrazizainek gudua irabaziz, Euskadirentzat irrikatzen zuten askatarzuna emanen zeraukotela uste baitzuten. Azken phondu huntaz zer gerthatu den ikhusi dugu. Demokraziek gudua irabazi dute, bainan heietan igurikipen iarri eta heien aldamenean gudukatu zuten euskaldunak ez dira horrengatik askeago...

("The majority of Basque-speaking Basques, who want to see their country free and wish to see themselves in their own language, have been in favor of democracy in the last centuries of Europe, with the best ideas: the democratic intention is the strongest symbol of the Basque people and the great democracy of the nations. winning the battle, because they believed that they would give the liberation they wanted for the Basque Country. We have seen what happened to this last phoneme. Democracies have won the battle, but they are still in a hurry and the Basques are fighting against them, because they are not free..."; my trans.; (9-10), 18)

His frustration with the lack of assistance from the democratic countries is demonstrated and for him requires action.

Mirande's ideology was not independent from other writers and the atmosphere in the Basque Country began to change. Orixe mentioned in *Euzko-Gogoa* that the Basque youth were moving further and further to the left. The first echoes of change were already evident in the magazine. The actions to save the motherland, sacrifice and martyrdom necessary for Basque Country appeared in many works. Balendin Aurre-Apraiz poem, *Deadarra: Guda-osteko gaztediari* (The Call: To the Post-War Youth, 1954), promoted the fight for the Basque Country and showed the patriotic struggle. Aurre-Apraiz was a *gudari* during the War of 1936, captured by the Francoist troops, incarcerated, and exiled. The poem wanted to awake the youth of the Basque Country to fight for the freedom of their motherland:

Itzarri adi gazte, lo ortatik itzarri!!!/ Ez dantzuk mendiotan erostarik larri?
/ Azkatasun galdua duk eu billa aldarri./ Geureak dituk emengo arru ta
mendi:/ Iskillua artuki geukin etorri adi./ Arrotza zeukagu geu ondatu naiz
gaindi./ Ez dakusk odolez gorri larreen orlegi?/ Eure anaiak zintzo, lengo
baten yagi;/ Asko il, beste asko oraindik burruka oldargi.

("Wake up from your lethargy, kid!!!/ don't you hear the sorrow in this
mountain?/ It is the clamor of the lost freedom/ They're ours the howl and
the mountains:/ Take your weapon and come with us./ There is the
outsider trying to destroy us./ Perhaps he does not see the green field
covered in blood red?/ your brothers raised up some time ago;/ Many have
died, many others are still fighting with force"; my trans.; (11-12), 166)

Juan San Martin, a postwar generation writer, wrote the poem *Aberrimin* (Homesickness, 1956), where the poetic speaker offered his life to the Homeland:
"Azkatasun bidea/ gurutzez betea. / Aberria, Aberria!/ Tori nire bizia" ("the pathway of
freedom/ a calvary/ Motherland, Motherland!/ Take my life"; my trans.; (5-6), 4). As

Anderson states, the idea of the ultimate sacrifice comes only with an idea of purity through fatality. Dying for one's country, which usually one does not choose, assumes a moral grandeur (144). Many of the poems like San Martin's had a call for those to take arms and action to take back their country. They created a Romanticized and patriotic role that, as Anderson explains, has a sense of purity (144).

The promotion of violence found a space in the magazine. Koldobika Eleizalde wrote the poem *Izkillu deya* (Weapon Call, 1950):

Indarren kaltez jaso bedi indarra;/ Indarra dala almenik bakarra/ Arrotzak diñue, / Ta artu nai deuskue/ Irakaspenzat lurki euzkotarra./ Jaiki, mutillak! irakaspn ori / Bigurtu arin izkilluz eurori!//.../ Azkatasunge bizi nai dabenak/ Boaz izaten jopu arrotzenak.// Mendi-gañean ager da illargija,/ Berak darakus asaben errija.../ Ez bogu azkatzen,/ Izten bogu iltzen,/ Guda-zelayan begigu il-obija./ Azke ilgo gara Izkillu-artean/ Ez ikusteko estuntzaik aurrean.

("Strength;/ strength is the highest power/ this is what the strangers say/ and they want to subjugate us/ the Basque Country as a teaching place/ Wake up boys!/ Answer them back with a weapon!/ the ones who want to live in freedom/. . ./The moon is up the mountain/ She is the one that shows us the country of our ancestors/ If we don't wake up/ If we let ourselves to die/ If we have our grave in the battlefield/ we will die free between weapons/ to not see any chain in front of us"; my trans.; (5-6), 2).

His poem promotes the idea that it was better to die in battle, fighting for the freedom of the motherland, than to live subjugated under the Francoism regime. Continuing with this belligerent tone, Jon Etxaide's play *Amayur* (Amaiur, 1951) represented symbolic references of the history of the Basque Country. Amaiur is a Basque village in the autonomous region of Nafarroa. In 1521-1522, a group of Navarrese noble men and soldiers entrenched themselves to offer their lives in the last battle while resisting the Kingdom of Castile.

The magazine made a call for independence. Jon Etxaide wrote the article “Jesus jauna ta San Pedro Euskalerrian barrena” (Jesus and Saint Peter through the Basque Country, 1951):

Entzule maiteak, gu ere asaba oien semeak gaituzute. Gaitezen beraz, beren ikasle! Beren jakinduri berexia darioten iturri garbiak izan bitez gure ispillu! Edan zangun gure biziaren guna darion iturri garbi ortatik, eta ez arrotzak opa diguten ur zikiñatik. Asaben ur ortatik edaten degularik, arratzaren gogo-menpetasuneko kateak urratuko ditugu eta euskalduna bere buruaren jabe, bere erritasunaren Ala biz.

(“Beloved listeners, we are the sons of our ancestors. Let's be their students! Let's allow their unique knowledge to be our mirror! Let's drink the energy of our life from that clean fountain of our ancestors, and not from the dirty water that our enemies are offering us. Because if we drink the water of our ancestors, we will break the chains of subjugation and the Basques will be independent/sovereign”; my trans.; (5-6), 20)

It is worth mentioning that during this time, these calls for resistance took shape in various forms. The imagined desires of some of the contributors became a reality. Joseba Zulaika states: “The resistance kept alive by the PNV was revived by ETA, but ETA's initial stance toward the ‘paternal’ party was one of rejection. The PNV was seen as a cowardly, conforming father that had done nothing during the twenty years since losing the war” (“Basque Violence” 36).

Jokin Zaitegi may not have been very enthusiastic about the ideology of Mirande and others calling for action. Although his idea of resistance was different, he did allow for the publication of their messages. Zaitegi's and the other contributor's frustrations with the political situation is quite evident throughout the magazine's publication. Their letters and criticisms were an attempt to show those throughout the world the damage that various organizations were doing to the Basque culture and way of life. In a less

aggressive form, it was a way to renounce the actions of the Francoist regime and transgressions from other parties.

“The Basque Nationalist Party was the Quarry of the Patriotism, as well as the Tomb of the Basque Language”

Euzko-Gogoa did not openly attack the Francoist regime but was critical with all the enemies of the Basque language. The magazine didn't just criticize Spanish institutions like the Church and the dictatorship, but also Basque institutions like the Basque Government (more concretely the EAJ-PNV) and *Euskaltzaindia*. Such a critical attitude towards its own people created frictions between the magazine and the Basque entities. *Euzko-Gogoa* always defended the Basque language and it did not hesitate to reproach the inaction of some Basques who hid behind external factors to not help and support the language enough.

In 1954, Andima Ibiñagabeitia and Jokin Zaitegi argued in the “Ataurreko” issue (5-8) how the EAJ-PNV was the source of the Basque patriotism, but also its tomb:

Gure erriak, berriz, ez du izan inoiz ere ortarako kemenik, euskera aintzat artu eta zegokion gaindegira eramateko. Aitzitik, betidanik erakutsi izan du erri-elearekiko arbuiorik lotsagarriena, eta arbuio ortan darraiki oraindik ere. — Abertzaletasunak, itsualdi ontatik euskotarrak aterako zitula esan edo uste zitekean. Ez ba... Gurean Jel-alderdia izan da abertzaletasunaren arrobia, baita euskeraren illobia ere. Ez noski, asmoz ta iakitez, bai ordea, bear bezelako gizontasunik ukan ez dutelako izkera-auzi latz ontan.

(“Our people, however, never had the courage to support the Basque language, to speak it, and surrender to it. On the contrary, our people always felt ashamed of it. - It seemed that the Basque nationalism, would help the people opening their eyes. But no...in our Country the EAJ-PNV was the source of the Basque patriotism, but also its tomb. Not, with the intention to be that way, but because they did not have any kind of manhood in supporting the Basque language”; my trans.; 74)

The lack of responsibility and sensibility from the Basque nationalists and EAJ-PNV towards the Basque language was openly castigated in the magazine. Andima Ibiñagabeitia wrote:

«*Euzko-Gogoa*» bera, abertzaleen laguntasunik gabe, zer izango ote litzake? » galde egiten diguzu. Abertzale ta jeltkideengandik eskura dugun laguntza utsaren urrengoa izan da zoritxarrez. Mexiko ta Venezuela'ko abertzale, jeltkide ta euskaltzaleen artean bospaseik bakarrik ordain izan dute beuren arpide-saria; ta ala besteak. Laguntasun apur ori gorabera, «*Euzko-Gogoa*»k kementsu ta bizkor dirau euskal-barrutian lanean aleginka. Beraz, norbaitek eralgi bear aundiak lepora izan ditu euskaldunon izozkeri artean, gure aldizkaria aurrera eramateko. Obe litzake guzian laguntasuna ba'genu.

(“You are asking us how the magazine will survive without the help of EAJ-PNV and Basque nationalists. The help that we have received from them is unfortunately trifling. Between the Basques patriots and members of EAJ-PNV that live in Mexico and Venezuela only five of them paid their annual subscription to the magazine. Despite the coldness of some Basques our magazine is still alive”; my tras.; “Irakurlearen txokoa: Eskutitz, galde, iruzkin eta berri” 1954 (11-12), 205)

Although *Euzko-Gogoa* was not a publication under the control of the Basque Government, both Jokin Zaitegi and Andima Ibiñagabeitia thought that their work in favor of the language deserved to have the support of said institutions. However, due to different events that were happening worldwide, the Basque Government did not enjoy economic stability. The relationship between the EAJ-PNV and *Euzko-Gogoa* was weakened with the years. In a letter written by Ibiñagabeitia to Zaitegi in 1959, it is apparent that the Basque Government was not at its best:

Ez dizula eskeini zizun laguntasunik eman lendakari jaunak? Ez naiz batere aritzen. Nola emango dizu gainera? Euren Iaurlaritza eusteko ere ozta ibiliko or nonbait. Eta ondo dakizunez, obe da Iaurlaritzari eutsi, euskerari baino. Obe da eusko-laruz erdi estalitako espanozaleari jaten eman abertzaleen bizarkietatik euskarari lagundu baino.

(“The *lehendakari* did not give you any help? It doesn’t surprise me. How

can he give you any? They barely can maintain the Basque Government. And as you well know, it's better to maintain the Government rather than the Basque. It's better to feed the Spaniards half-covered with Basque skin than help the Basque language with the nationalist's money"; my trans.)

What Ibiñagabeitia criticized was that the Basque Government and Basque nationalists had many avenues to help the language, but they didn't want to go down those pathways. Without the help and collaboration of the Basque Government, many authors saw the future of Basque language as endangered, because in order to survive, it needed institutional support. The writer Jon Mix Garai stated in his article "Euskeraren etorkizuna" (The Future of the Basque Language, 1951): "Jaurlaritzak izkuntza estutzen ba du, izkuntza beti indartzen da" ("the Government has to strengthen the language, that way the language will fortify"; my trans.; (1-2), 12).

Despite the fact that the magazine appeared critical towards the EAJ-PNV or the Basque Government, the figurehead and the founder of the Basque Nationalist party, Sabino Arana, was praised. In the magazine, they stated that the pathway made by Arana would be the one they follow. Especially his statement that the Basque Country is their motherland, and the Basque language is their only language. Ibiñagabeitia in the article "Mende-erdi elerti-bidean" (Half of the Century in the Literary Pathway, 1950) wrote the achievements that the Basque language and literature had thanks to Arana:

Emeretzireungarren urtean, Arana-Goirik lentxoago erein azaia ernemintzen azi zitzaigun. Ordurarte, egia esan, euskeltzalerik asko euskal-soroan ari ziran; sail bakarrean ordea, eliz-gai eta elerti-gai zentaitzu uzkur eta bildurrez lantzen. Olerti.— Izkuntza oro, berpiztarroan, olerkariz agertzen zaizkigu. Gurearen lañoak ere, olerkariak euren kanta zoragarriz urratu zituten. Lenen Arana-Goiri bera.

("In the 1900's, began to flourish the seeds planted by Arana before. Until that moment, there were not many Basque nationalists in the Basque field. The few of them were focused on religious topics and literature. But in

order to rebirth a language, in every culture appears the figure of the poet. In the Basque literary arena, Arana was the first one"; my trans.; (3-4), 8)

The magazine explained that the revival of Basque literature was the result of Arana. In fact, Ibiñagabeitia in 1958 wrote a letter to Zaitegi, wondering what the direction would be taken by Arana in regard to the recent passive attitude towards the Basque language taken by the Basque Government:

Arana bizi izan balitz ze bide artuko ote lukean? Gaurko alderdiak daraman ez beintzat eta are gutxiago Jaurlaritzak daroana. Ark idatziak gaur egunean inoiz ez bezala indara dute, eta aren bideetatik oldatzen ez garen bitartean ondamendira goaz euskotarok Euskadirekin batean.

("If Arana would be alive, what direction he would take? Not the one that is carrying the Government. His writings are still powerful, and unless we follow his steps we are lost. We are condemned to downfall the Basques with the Basque Country"; my trans.)

There was a great deal of nostalgic discourse in the writings, recalling the days of Sabino Arana when the Basque culture was blossoming. There was a desire to return to these days and rebuild their nation as it once was. In remembering these days of glory, hope, and peace, it was important for some to remember what caused them to lose their way of life. With the goal of future nation building, *Euzko-Gogoia* highlighted the necessity for a historical memory. It allowed for a platform to recount the War of 1936, from the voice of the losing side. Mourning the way of life that was lost, remembering what actually took place, and allowing for future generations to know what happened. Memory was used as a form of resistance to not only condemn the atrocities of war, but to discredit the Spanish regime that was still in power.

Balendin Aurre-Aprreiz was one of the writers that wrote the most about the War of 1936 and its consequences. In his poem, *Euzkeltzale batzuen azkena* (The end of some

Basques, 1952), he condemns the War of 1936, the Spanish institutions, and the Church for the killing of Basques during the war:

“Txapeloker bi ta apaiza/ beste iru etoi laguntzat. / Gentza-egarriz/ kaden mendiak;/ tamalez yoian eguna. / Apaiz ona ta/ zazpi mutilak/ baitegian il ebezan. / Euzkera erailten sei gizon/ uriko zelai-ertzetan./ Euzkera erailten sei gizon/ eskuak odol gorritan.

(“The Spanish police and two priests/ another three to help them/ thirsty for peace/ melancholic mountains;/ the good priest/ and seven boys/ they killed them in jail/ Six men murdering the Basque language/ in the edge of the field/ Six men murdering the Basque language/ their hands in red blood”; my trans.; (1-2), 2)

In the tale, *Donostiar baten azkena* (The Last of a Native from San Sebastian, 1954), Aurre-Apraiz analyzed the ruthlessness of the victors that were killing the Basque people and their freedom, alluded to their dead children and nation:

Gure aberriaren askatasun-bideak ondatu guraz menpetzaille ankerrak lepaldu euskun uda odol-zaleak urratu eutsezan seme edo alabaen baten azkena nun eta zelan izan zan eztakien ainbat sendi idoro daikeguz, oindiño, Euzkadi'ko bazterretan.

(“The freedom of our Motherland is being broken by our cruel rulers who are killing our sons or daughters. How many people don’t know yet where are their kids, spread throughout the Basque Country”; my trans.; (3-4), 61)

Aurre-Apraiz’s *Gutun agiria* (Letter Document, 1954) condemned the Catholic Church and its support of Franco: “Azkatasun-bideetaz kateak eraman ezinik oinak odoldu-ta, Aberri menperatuan gabiltzanok, aurrikaziz dakigu norainokoa dan, naiz-ta katoliku izenekoak izan, «dictaduren» ankerkeri eta odol-egarria” (“our bloody feet in chains, and suppressed in our nation, even if he speaks in the name of the Church, we know who he is, a ruthless bloody dictator” my trans.; (11-12), 187).

Not only were there writings condemning the actions during war times, but also during the years of the dictatorship. Writers including Zaitegi and Ibiñagabeitia were opposed the Spanish regime, referring to it as the “Empire.” They worked to show their readers the life and injustices that taking place in the Basque Country. Antonio M. Labaien analyzed the difficult years of the dictatorship in his article, “Arturo Campion (1854-1954)”: “Gero etorri ziran 1936-1939’ko gudate negargarritzko urte beltzak... aztutzekoak obeak! . . . Betiko leloa! Gu zapaldu naia” (“later came the dark years 1936-1936, and after the war . . . better if we forget them! Same old thing! Their will is to crush us”; my trans.; (11-12), 163). He wanted to demonstrate the darkness that followed the war under the Franco dictatorship. *Euzko-Gogoa* not only created an imagined community, but also demonstrated the difficult situation after the War of 1936 and created a national consciousness. Reflecting back on the prewar years and the years that followed, it allowed its community to remember their identity and resist the current situation. The magazine created a foundation of discussion in hopes that one day they would rebuild and return to their ideal nation.

Conclusions

Following the historical background and the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the cultural magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*, this section will summarize the main conclusions developed and addressed throughout the dissertation. *Euzko-Gogoa* has been a magazine with minimal analysis prior, giving a special relevance to this work. The main objectives of this research were to further understand *Euzko-Gogoa*, the imagined community created in its pages, its intrinsic relationship with its historical timeline and events –the War of 1936 and the consequent exile– and its impact on the next generation of writers and the pathway Basque literature and language took in the 1960’s. This dissertation will help create new dialogue and questions for future analysis and research about *Euzko-Gogoa*.

1. The exile had a unique, important and relevant role in the awakening of the Basque culture during the Franco dictatorship. The identity created in exile is intrinsically part of *Euzko-Gogoa*.

The experience of exile creates a unique identity in the individual. In the case of Jokin Zaitegi, his desire to return to the motherland was accompanied by the difficulties of accepting and adapting himself to new spaces, as it was addressed in chapter three. It was in exile where he and other intellectuals rebuilt the foundations of Basque literature, often nostalgic and many times built on the memory of the motherland. As Federico Álvarez argues, exile makes memories the substitute for permanence, and the exiled abandons the original land taking with it the one converted into memory. The exile, not being a free choice, carries the burden of keeping alive the old community of feelings alive (37).

Although the magazine was innovative, giving the Basque language a space and importance never seen before, it also maintained and promoted certain elements, conditions, and characteristics that resembled the preindustrial Basque Country; such as the ideal Basque archetype described in chapters two and four as a Christian, honest, and Basque speaker. Furthermore, the effects of exile made it anachronistic with the reality of the motherland during the 1950's, as explained in chapter four.

The life of exile can go untouched by a real/modern spatial conception. As Mercedes Acillona explains, those exiled feel they are in a “lost space” since they are citizens in transit hoping to return to their homeland (81). Therefore, they are living in a space while thinking about another. The separation from the motherland becomes the source of their melancholy, nostalgia, but also the inspiration for their works. For the Basques in exile, as it has been analyzed in chapter three, *Euzko-Gogoa* created a “space or community” of Basque writers and subscribers in order to feel a connection with their lost country. In this space they could grow and develop the Basque language, nation and culture all over the world anchored in the traditional and rural Basque Country.

2. *Euzko-Gogoa* was a cultural project where the Basque language was its main pillar. It was the first Basque cultural magazine (after the War of 1936), a seed for contemporary Basque literature, and one of the main platforms for the discussion of the Basque language.

In 1956, Federico Krutwig wrote to Zaitegi: “Zure efebista euskaldun kulturaren hedatzeko bide beharrezkoa da, haren gabe orain arte ukhan genuen kanala urik gabe geratuko lirateke.” (“your magazine is key to promote the Basque culture, without it the rivers would be empty”; my tran.). The Basque Renaissance that began after the loss of the *fueros* and during the time of *Euskaltzaleak* created a pathway for the Basque

language and literature without precedents. After the war however, the Basque language, culture, and identity were defeated, and it was Zaitegi, amongst others, through his magazine that picked up the baton carried from before the war in order to give the Basque culture a pathway to the future. The promotion of the Basque language was one of the fundamental motives of Zaitegi and the main pillar of the magazine, continuing the previous steps taken before by the prewar authors such as Lizardi and Lauaxeta. *Euzko-Gogoa* was an intellectual magazine that although its main concern was the language and culture, it also had space for political and social concerns.

Euzko-Gogoa wanted to express a “new” literary language promoting the revitalization of a defeated nation, creating a cultural project. For these intellectuals, the normalization and standardization of the language became one of the biggest concerns during *Euzko-Gogoa*'s 10 years of publications. The standardized Basque has been a decisive tool for the Basque language and culture in its modernization. The magazine, however, allowed for a discourse amongst Basque intellectuals in order to show the necessity for a standardized language for the purpose of academic texts as well as strengthening the language amongst its provinces.

In the area of knowledge and cultural growth for the language, *Euzko-Gogoa* created a positive landscape with a commitment to a full set of linguistic capabilities. Pruden Gartzia and Gerardo Markuleta stated in the 1990's that in order to create a society integrated in the Basque language, you have to create a real Basque University, where the Basque language has its own autonomous and monolingual space. *Euzko-Gogoa* through its translations and works, promoted new fields for the Basque language to build the Basque literary database to ensure a future for the language. This created a

Basque language that was more useful for modern knowledge and creation, an objective that Basque intellectuals strived for especially after the critical situation of the Basque language and culture since the end of the 19th century.

The magazine wanted to “renew” and awake the Basque Country and allowed for writers to be the guide for the people through the promotion of a “new” Basque language aesthetic. As shown in Table 4 (page 58), the topics of the magazine created an essential basis for an approach of higher education and studies in the Basque language. For the writers of *Euzko-Gogoa*, the advancement of the Basque Country would have to start with the progression of the language to a higher level. One of the biggest aims of *Euzko-Gogoa* was to develop an academic prose through the magazine, which would be suitable for the future Basque University. Therefore, it can be said that this magazine was a pioneer in publishing academic and cultured topics in an educated Basque language. The journey and the idea of having the Basque University was reinforced during the 1930’s with the *lehendakari* Agirre. However, it wasn’t until 1980, when the Basque public university was officially designated to be the University of the Basque Country. Furthermore, the Basque university system, comprised at present by private and public universities from different regions of Basque Country, has its international counterpart in leading institutions, such as, the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno, the only academic center that offers graduate and postgraduate degrees in Basque Studies beyond the borders of the Basque Country.

It is an academic picture that, without any doubt, couldn’t be possible without the pioneering efforts of institutions and publications like *Euzko-Gogoa*, a magazine that, as it has been proven, vindicated a cultured language, far from the popular Basque. Its

linguistic purism and intellectual style clashed with what was being promoted in the the mid 1950's in the Basque Country. The intellectuals in the Southern Basque Country found their new references in Txillardegi, Mitxelena, and Villasante among others and left behind the language model promoted by *Euzko-Gogoa* or Orixe. In fact, the different process of standardization/normalization and the approach of the Basque language created an antagonistic relationship between Zaitegi and the influential Mitxelena. *Euzko-Gogoa* promoted a Basque that was far from the popular use of the Basque language.

This different approach of the Basque language was intrinsically connected with their different realities and backgrounds. Mitxelena, for instance, fought in the War of 1936, and was imprisoned twice and sentenced to death. Mitxelena never sought refuge in exile, and his resistance made him face difficult situations. Furthermore, the academic profile of both Mitxelena and Zaitegi were really different, where Mitxelena had a more profound acadmic background. Consequently, I believe that Mitxelena was pragmatic about the reality of the Southern Basque Country under Franco's regime and also in terms of the Basque language, culture, and politics. He knew this reality from inside and could evaluate the transformation and new needs of the Basque society during the crucial years of the 1950s and 1960s. Zaitegi on the contrary, left the Basque Country when he was in his twenties giving him a much more romanticized vision of his motherland.

When Zaitegi returned to the Southern Basque Country in 1956, his exaggerated and romantic hopes crashed with Mitxelena's dry realism. Mitxelena was one of the most important figures of *Euskaltzaindia* during those years, and Zaitegi's idealism was seen as a threat. Forced to move to *Iparralde*, Zaitegi remained alone without the support that he was hoping from *Euskaltzaindia*. Therefore, the normalization of the Basque language

was relegated to Mitxelena. Although *Euzko-Gogoa* marked a pathway for many magazines, such as, *Egan* or *Jakin*, in 1960 it disappeared. However, the Basque literary, cultural, and political “awakening” of the sixties was very much connected and a result of *Euzko-Gogoa*. The various debates and opinions that took place in the magazine in regard to the standardization of the Basque language all of them discussed in chapters three and four were key in the process of creating the current Standard Basque language.

3. The promotion of the Basque language has always been attributed to the cultural and political activities that were promoted in the 1960’s. Nevertheless, many of those statements were already made a decade prior in *Euzko-Gogoa*.

In the Basque cultural field, it has been assumed that it wasn’t until the origination of *ezker abertzalea* (Left Basque Radical Nationalism) and the transformation of EAJ-PNV that the Basque language became the central element of Basque identity. As Fernando Alonso states, in the early years of Basque nationalism the main emphasis of national factors was placed on social and religious compositions. However, when the *ezker abertzalea* arrived, it built its foundations on the language (89). This reality created a new scenario for the Basque language in the Southern Basque Country, as described in works such as *Vasconia* (Vasconia, 1963) by Federico Krutwig. Krutwig denounces and criticizes the conservative and non-revolutionary politics promoted by the EAJ-PNV. Instead, he promotes a proactive politics and states that Basque language is the main attribute that personifies the Basque identity:

El euskera era la fureza motriz que impulsa al euskaldún a consensuar el sentimiento de la hermandad que lo liga a las comunas...El euskera era el símbolo de la autonomía y de la fraternidad libertaria...El castellano suponía el régimen del explotador.

(“The Basque language was the driving force that drove the Basques to agree upon a feeling of brotherhood that linked itself to a community. . . . The Basque language was the symbol of autonomy and a libertarian fraternity. . . . The Spanish language insinuated a regime of the exploiter”; my trans.; 40-41)

The Basque language became one of the main pillars of the new Basque nationalist identity the language was the cornerstone of thought and the instrument for understanding and seeing the world. Therefore, the language became the tool for politics, culture, and ideology. It was also unique and an unrelated element differentiating the Basque Country from the Spanish and French.

In the 1960's the efforts to promote the Basque language increased due to a small decrease in censorship by the Spanish dictatorship, as shown in chapter three. Furthermore, during the first years of this decade many changes occurred: *Euskaltzaindia* became stronger after the meeting of Baiona in 1963, *euskara batua* was formed in 1968, the *ikastolas* re-emerged in the 1960's, also a new Basque musical production began with *Ez Dok Amairu* (It is broken the Curse of Number 13, 1966-1972). This decade was also important for the awakening of Basque arts with the works of Jorge Oteiza, Nestor Basterretxea, Jose Luis Zumeta, etc. Cultural associations, such as *Gerediaga* (*Gerediaga*, 1965-), were also created. During this decade Basque literacy campaigns to teach literary Basque were also promoted. These movements' main objective was to recover and revitalize the Basque culture, nation, identity and language, that was punished at this time. Consequently, the first steps of these cultural-social-political movements was to recover the Basque language and the nationalist character. In the 1960's, a revolution took place in the dissemination of Basque, where the language reached new platforms.

Although the 1960's was a milestone decade, the accomplishments couldn't have been possible without the seed sowed by *Euzko-Gogoa*. After the War of 1936, the magazine exhibited from its first issues the capacity of the Basque language and manifested how the language was the fundamental pillar for the rebirth of the country connecting the Basque language with the nation, the identity and the culture. Nevertheless, I would argue –as a possible conclusion of this dissertation– that the relevance and the implications of the magazine in such a crucial period of time, as the 1950's has been overshadowed by the improvements made in the following decade. Only, researches like Iztueta, Intxausti, Aulestia, and Torrealdai have suggested the relevance that the 1950's had in the development of the Basque language and culture.

4. The magazine created an imagined community: *Euzko-Gogoa* represents a static preindustrial time, a world outside the advancements of history and whose space is sacralized apart from changes. *Euzko-Gogoa* represents a utopian space.

Euzko-Gogoa tried to evoke and redefine the foundations of the Basque nation, identity, and culture after the War of 1936. The magazine also showed the importance and the necessity of community building, by putting together a network of writers and readers from a defeated country in order to reconstruct it. In this regard, *Euzko-Gogoa* created an imagined community based on the traditional Basque nationalism with the desire of it being the reference for future nation building following the dictatorship.

Through the pages of the magazine the writers created an imagined community that was managed by a group of Basque intellectuals that were envisioning themselves united although in different spaces. The dissertation shows how *Euzko-Gogoa* became a platform that allowed and promoted the building of an imagined community founded, as

studied in chapter four upon four pillars, the Basque language being the main one, followed by religion, gender, and nation. However, the time showed that the magazine based its imagined community on a dream more than in a reality far from the needs and claims of the Basque society on those times. It could be attractive to consider *Euzko-Gogoa* as a utopia, since it tried to promote and create an idyllic Basque Country only possible in its pages. However, the drama, desperation and the misery that took place in exile was actually a more “anti-utopian world.”

Having both prewar and postwar generation writers, with different backgrounds, the magazine became, as described in the chapter three, anachronic for the goals of the postwar generation writers, that were moving forward and leaving the past behind. It can be affirmed that *Euzko-Gogoa* was founded on the prewar pillars and ideals, that were antagonistic to the reality of Southern Basque Country in the 1950's. The new generation of writers, Txillardegui, Aresti, Mirande, San Martin amongst others, were much more connected with the new and leftist ideology that began to take relevance amongst the youth in the Basque Country, rather than with the Sabinian ideology promoted in the magazine.

This clash with the postwar generation shows the impossibilities of success of the magazine since the exile and the Basque Country were moving in two different pathways with differing needs, hopes and desires. *Euzko-Gogoa* was created amongst a community of writers, however was under the dream of Jokin Zaitegi. His voice essentially prevailed, and the imagined community created was greatly influenced by him. Also, being a magazine that was created and published in exile, it can be appreciated as a romanticized longing for the motherland that most likely evolved without their presence.

5. Although women found a space in the magazine, their role was still secondary. In fact, the writers of *Euzko-Gogoa*, male and female, didn't promote women's agency.

The magazine gave a space for women in the intellectual movement of the 1950's. Five women writers, Sorne Unzueta, Karmele Errazti, Julene Azpeitia, Miren Ibargutxi, and Engratzi Iñurrieta, wrote for *Euzko-Gogoa*, they as well as others translated works of women writers, such as Selma Lagerlöf, Sister Nivedita and Gabriela Mistral. Articles were also written about Madame Staël, Judith, or Olympic figures such as the Belaustegigoitia sisters, as it was analyzed in chapter four. The image of women that thrived in the magazine was based on the prewar ideas of Basque womanhood, portraying women as mothers, patriots, virgins, and as a metaphor of the Basque motherland.

The Marian imagery, as presented in the analysis of the magazine in chapter four, had a strong influence in the magazine where virgins appear as an unattainable ideal of female virtue and as perfect analogies of Basque mothers. The sacrifice, the tradition, the purity along with motherhood represents the ideal female figure: a pure mother, who transmitted the Basque values to her kids and who gives her children to the motherland to fight for her. This figure of women did not just belong to Basque nationalist discourse, but also to ETA, the radical nationalism, as described in studies such as Teresa del Valle's crucial milestone in 1985.

Through the representation of the Basque women, *Euzko-Gogoa* showed in its pages the desired archetypal Basque women based on those attributes, emphasizing her role as the mother and its centrality in the conception of an idealized Basque family. The magazine being rooted in the traditional nationalist ideology, had women confined to a symbolic role rather than an active one. In this regard, not just the male writers, but also

the female writers represented women as domestic agents, as it has been shown in the texts of Unzueta, Errazti, and Azpeitia.

6. Last remarks. *Amaia* (The end).

Euzko-Gogoa wanted to show that the Basque language was a cultured language and that it could be raised to its maximum splendor. As Benedict Anderson, one of the central scholars noted in this dissertation, addresses, newspapers/magazines are important in order to promote unification of a national ideology and therefore a sense of belonging as the readers and writers of the magazine become members of a cohesive imagined community.

Challenging Francisco Franco's repression of the Basque culture and language, the magazine created a platform and became the cultural, transatlantic roar that provided an imagined community for a defeated nation. This imagined community was based upon the rejection of the Spanish rule and the building of the nationalist imagery forged upon symbolic imagery through a vernacular language, community experiences, and collective religious beliefs. In this exiled scenario, this community of Basque intellectuals took the imagery of Basque nationalism and recreated it through literary forms. We have seen that *Euzko-Gogoa*'s idea of a nation was based on antagonistic literature to the claims of Basque society in the 1950's. As a result, after ten years of publication, 44 issues, 1,171 contribution, 3,658 pages, and the collaboration of 153 writers the magazine perished. The Catholic roots, the politics of the gender roles, and the rural-static world promoted in its pages were far from what the Basque society was demanding.

Although the magazine finished in 1960, the influence and work done by Jokin Zaitegi and its contributors echoed throughout the next generations of Basque literature and culture. The magazine's title, *Euzko-Gogoa*, or "Basque Will" can be a symbolic in many

ways as the “will” of Zaitegi continued to be present in the Basque literary resistance.

This “will” demonstrates the accomplishments of not only the magazine but the spirit of Zaitegi and the Basques who continued to strive for the goals of the Basque nation, identity, culture, and language in the ensuing decades.

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