

Imagining Basques: Dual Otherness from European Imperialism to American Globalization

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Artikulu honetan azaltzen denez, XIX. mendeko europar inperialismoak lehenik eta gero XX. mendeko amerikar globalizazioak gertakari geopolitiko bien irrika identitario eta politikoekin zerikusia duen identifikazio dual gisa moldatu zuten euskal errealitatea. XIX. mendean, euskal nortasuna kolonialismoaren eta orientalismoaren alorrean agertarazten du Europak, eta azkenean horretatik dator euskal nazionalismoa. XX. mendean, Amerikako Estatu Batuek hirugarren mundu hispaniarrean kokatzen du euskal nortasuna. Komunismoaren eta terrorismoaren mehatxuaren aurkako erantzun gisa, eta horretatik sortuko da euskal terrorismoa identifikazio horri emandako erantzun esentzialista gisa.

Giltza-Hitzak: Literatura. Inperialismoa. Orientalismoa. Globalizazioa. Identifikazioa. Nazionalismoa. Terrorismoa. Irudikapena.

En este artículo se mantiene que la realidad vasca fue constituida primero por el imperialismo europeo del siglo XIX y luego por la globalización americana del siglo XX como una identificación dual que se relaciona con las ansiedades identitarias y políticas de ambos acontecimientos geopolíticos. En el siglo XIX, Europa despliega la identidad vasca en el campo del colonialismo y del orientalismo, del que se deriva por fin el nacionalismo vasco. En el siglo XX, los Estados Unidos re-imaginan la identidad vasca como situada en el campo del tercermundismo hispano y en respuesta a la amenaza del comunismo y terrorismo, de donde emerge el terrorismo vasco como respuesta identitaria esencialista a esa identificación.

Palabras Clave: Literatura. Imperialismo. Orientalismo. Globalización. Identificación. Nacionalismo. Terrorismo. Representación.

Dans cet article, on maintient que la réalité basque a été constituée premièrement par l'impérialisme européen du XIX^{ème} siècle et ensuite par la globalisation américaine du XX^{ème} siècle comme une identification duelle qui est liée aux anxiétés identitaires et politiques des deux événements géopolitiques. Au XIX^{ème} siècle, l'Europe déploie l'identité basque dans le milieu du tiers-mondisme espagnol et en réponse à la menace du communisme et du terrorisme, d'où émerge le terrorisme basque en réponse identitaire essentialiste à cette identification.

Mots Clés: Littérature. Impérialisme. Orientalisme. Globalisation. Identification. Nationalisme. Terrorisme. Représentation.

1. EUROPE AND ITS OTHERS

Benedict Anderson in his foundational work on nationalism does not detour from the work of previous authors such as Ernest Gellner or later landmarks such as Walker O'Connor's, when stating that communities imagine themselves as a way to become nations (Anderson, 1983: 14). As I stated elsewhere ("El estado-nación"), this is a Cartesian understanding of identity that relies on the basic idea that the subject has access to its own existence and identity through self-recognition ("I think therefore I am, I imagine therefore I am a nation"). As Freud and Lacan state, "the other" is always an intrinsic part of the subject's identity. Thus, Lacan posits that when the subject identifies with its image on the mirror, this identification "situates the ego [...] in a fictional direction that will forever remain irreducible to any single individual [...] [in a] discordance with his own reality" (Lacan, 2002: 4), precisely because the other is part of that identification. To the Cartesian dictum, Lacan, in his playful mode, replies "I am thinking where I am not, therefore I am where I am not thinking" (*ibid*: 157).

Thus, when studying the outsiders' view of the Basque Country – the other's view – it is important to emphasize that the outside view is constitutive of Basque reality, since the outsider, the other, is already a formative element of the Basque imagination of its self. Yet, for the same reason, one must underscore that the outsider is not a pre-existing subject that visits, reads, acts or writes in regards to the Basque reality. Basques have been a constitutive element of the European and American imagination at least since the Renaissance – i.e. Basques have also constituted the outsider and its outside identity. Therefore, rather than creating an unintended Manichean understanding between Basque and outside identities, this article intends to study the way Basques and outsiders have marked each other's imaginations, while also emphasizing the specific and historical forms that this imagination of the other has taken in the Basque case.

It is the contention of this article that Basque reality has been constituted first by European imperialism in the nineteenth century and later by North American globalization in the twentieth as a *dual otherness* that speaks to the core identitarian and political anxieties of both geopolitical developments. In the nineteenth century, Europe deploys Basque otherness in the field of colonialism and Orientalism, from which ultimately Basque nationalism derives. In the twentieth, the United States reimagines Basque otherness as situated in the field of Hispanic third-worldism and in response to the threat of communism and terrorism, from which Basque terrorism emerges as an essentialist identitarian response to that othering. Thus, this article also defends that Basques have developed their Basque identity as an attempt to close up this dual otherness into a single identity: Basque identity. However, this Basque attempt to achieve self-identity fails to efface its internal otherness and, therefore, must repeat or perform its "identity" while actively forgetting the irreducible core of otherness that constitutes it from the onset. Hence, it is important to remember, to effect an anamnesis of this duality in order to rethink Basque history and, in this way, avoid the pitfalls of nationalism (Basque and other).

The article ends by emphasizing the shift towards a yet undefined and open third paradigmatic historical stage in the twenty first century, framed by globaliza-

tion, in which Basques are imagined by others while imagining themselves and others in new ways that remain undefined but already appear as different from those of twentieth-century North American imperialism.

2. EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM: LITERATURE, ANTHROPOLOGY, TOURISM

The discourse of dual otherness that structures and haunts the Basque Country begins precisely at the beginning of the nineteenth century with romanticism. The Basque Country is imagined as a dual other: oriental and yet originally European. As I will explain below, this dual otherness originates in the overlapping between an older form of otherness, articulated by and in response to Spanish imperialism, and a newer one articulated by and in response to European (French, British, German) imperialism and its institutions, i.e. Orientalism.

As Spanish imperialism expands in the sixteenth century, the Basque elite emerging from the clan wars of the Middle Ages appropriates and redeploys a form of otherness – single rather than dual – which is originally articulated by writers of the Castilian court. According to this discourse of difference, Basques are direct descendents of one of the seventy-two tribes that emerge from the collapse of the tower of Babel, as recounted in the Bible. In this way, the Basque ruling classes claim to be the original inhabitants of Spain and, thus, the “true” Spaniards – in opposition to the rest of the populations of the peninsula. Basques defend their “originality” in order to gain a privileged position in the Spanish racial discourse of “old Christianity” or “genealogical purity,” which separates Christians from Muslims and Jews and, as a result, gives Basque ruling classes privileged access to the imperial bureaucracy as well as tributary exemptions. This form of otherness is not dual but “simple.”

However, as Spanish imperialism declines towards the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth, France and Britain – also Germany to a certain extent – emerge as new imperialist powers, which develop a new racial discourse of difference, which is commonly known as Orientalism. As Edward Said states, Orientalism is the founding discursive maneuver by which “the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, ‘us’) and the strange (the Orient, the East, ‘them’)” (Said, 1978: 43) is established as a way to proclaim Western superiority. Although the association of the Basque Country with the Orient might be surprising at first, the Basque Country is linked to Spain and, for the emerging European imperialism of the nineteenth century – and especially for the French imperialist imagination – the former becomes the gate to the Orient.

Victor Hugo, for example, states that the Basque Country is historically Castilian but also oriental. The year before the premiere of *Hernani*, in 1829, Hugo publishes *Les Orientales*. In this collection of poems, Hugo connects the medieval world with the Orient, in a geopolitical and historical continuity that explains the centrality of Spain (and the Basque Country) in this connection. When Hugo advances his definition of literature and oriental representations in

the introduction to *Les Orientales*, he opens with a reference to Spain: “Why couldn’t a literature in its entirety, and particularly the work of a poet, be like those old towns in Spain, for example, where you find everything” (Hugo, 1952-1954: 8).¹ After this opening allusion to Spain, suddenly the Orient, with Spain at its European edge, is foregrounded as a space where modernity’s other unravels and the latter’s dissemination takes place. Hence, Spain becomes the gate to the Orient, Africa, and Asia:

Today we are concerned, and this is the result of thousands of causes that have brought progress, we are more concerned with the Orient than ever before... As a result of all these developments, the Orient, as image, as thought, has become, for both the intellects and the imaginations, a sort of general preoccupation to which the author of this book has responded of his own accord [...] [this book’s] reveries and thoughts have become in turn, and almost without wishing it, Hebraic, Turk, Greek, Persian, Arabic, even Spanish, for Spain is till the Orient; Spain is half African and Africa is half Asiatic (ibid: 10-11).²

In this context of Spanish orientalization, the Basque Country occupies a central place in Hugo’s imagination. Nine years before Hugo goes in exile in 1852 as the famous and celebrated genius of French culture, he stops at the Basque Country for about a month on his way to Cauterets where he wants to subject himself to a treatment of medicinal waters. On his journey, Hugo writes notes for a future publication; yet, they are published posthumously along with other notes from a trip to the Alps. After leaving Paris, Hugo finally arrives to Bayonne where he remembers his childhood:

I could not enter Bayonne without emotion. Bayonne is a childhood memory for me. I came to Bayonne when I was little [...] in the time of the great wars (Hugo, 1984: 35).³

Since his father was part of the army that invaded Spain under Napoleon, Hugo connects his visit with the memory of his father in Spain, with happiness, and with “the great wars.” In short, imperialism and childhood come together in Hugo’s mind and, as a result, become connected in the Basque Country. As a genealogical reminder of his future orientalization of the Basque Country, he mentions one of the first theatrical representations he ever saw, an orientalist drama entitled *Ruines de Babylone*, which was performed in Bayonne: “Oh! The

1. “[P]ourquoi n’en serait-il pas d’une littérature dans son ensemble, et en particulier de l’oeuvre d’un poète, comme de ces belles vieilles villes d’Espagne, par exemple, où vous trouvez tout”.

2. “On s’occupe aujourd’hui, et ce résultat est dû à mille causes qui toutes ont amené un progrès, on s’occupe beaucoup plus de l’Orient qu’on ne l’a jamais fait... Il résulte de toute cela que l’Orient, soit comme image, soit comme pensée, est devenu, par les intelligences autant que par les imaginations, une sorte de préoccupation générale à laquelle l’auteur de ce livre a obéi peut-être à son insu... [this book’s] reveries et ses pensées se sont trouvés tour à tour, et presque sans l’avoir voulu, hébraïques, turques, grecques, persans, arabes, espagnoles même, car l’Espagne c’est encore l’Orient; l’Espagne est à demi africaine, l’Afrique est à demi asiatique”.

3. “Je n’ai pas pu entrer à Bayonne sans émotion. Bayonne est pour moi un souvenir d’enfance. Je suis venu à Bayonne étant tout petit... à l’époque des grandes guerres”.

good times! The sweet and bright years! I was a child, I was little, I was loved. I didn't have experience, and I had my mother" (ibid: 57).⁴

As soon as he crosses the border, and reaches the Spanish Basque town of Irun, Hugo explains the importance of Spain in his formative years; it is his most personal experience with imperialist otherness: "It is there that Spain appeared to me for the first time and impressed me strongly... I, the French child raised in the cradle of the Empire" (ibid: 60).⁵ His romantization of the Spanish Basque Country as fully Spanish is clear. As in his play *Hernani*, Spain is a land of smugglers and robbers as well as poets, that is, Spain is outside the law and, thus, is the ultimate land of modern transgression. But as soon as Hugo invokes the romantic stereotype of Spain in the Basque Country, he also slips into a more abject and disseminative logic, by which the Basque Country becomes both Spain vis-à-vis Europe but also Europe vis-à-vis Spain— because of its putative historical originality in Europe. In short, for Hugo the Basque Country is both, Europe and Africa, Europe and the Orient. When in San Sebastian, he claims,

I am in Spain. I feel lighter. This is a country of poets and smugglers [...]. But am I really in Spain ? San Sebastian is connected to Spain the same way that Spain is to Europe, by an extension of land [...]. One is barely Spanish in San Sebastian; one is Basque (ibid: 65).⁶

Thus it is important to see how the slippery oscillation between Europe and the Orient takes place in the Basque Country for the romantic imagination.

The slippage and dissemination into Orientalism is a direct consequence of Hugo's identification of the Basque Country with Spain. First, the Basque Country becomes imperial Castile. When he enters a house in Pasai San Juan, he exclaims:

"You enter; you are at the home of the hidalgos; you breathe the air of the Inquisition; you can see the livid specter of Phillip the Second appearing at the other end of the street (ibid: 77).⁷

Then, the other side of the harbor becomes an almost full Orientalist scenario:

4. "Oh! Le beau temps! Les douces et rayonnantes années! J'étais enfant, j'étais petit, j'étais aimé. Je n'avais pas l'expérience, et j'avais ma mère".

5. "C'est là que l'Espagne m'est apparue pour la première fois et m'a si fort étonné... moi l'enfant français élevé dans l'acajou de l'empire".

6. "Je suis en Espagne. J'y ai un pied de moins. Ceci est un pays de poètes et de contrebandiers... Mais suis-je bien ici en Espagne? Saint-Sébastien tient à l'Espagne comme l'Espagne tient à l'Europe, par une langue de terre... On est à peine espagnol à Saint-Sébastien; on est basque"

7. "Vous entrez, vous êtes chez les hidalgos; vous respirez l'air de l'Inquisition ; vous voyez se dresser à l'autre bout de la rue le spectre livide de Philippe II".

The street of Pasaia is a true Arabic street; whitened houses, massive, beaten, barely plucked with few holes. If there were not but roofs, one would think we are in Tetuan. This street, where the ivy spans from one corner to another, is paved with bricks, long scales of stone that swerve like the back of a serpent (ibid: 93).⁸

For Hugo's romantic imagination the slipping disseminative continuity of Orientalism spans from Pasaia to Tetuan.

Hugo also resorts to the alternative form of otherness that defines the Basques: they are the oldest people of Europe, the true natives. Hugo perceives that this slippery and disseminating scenario is arrested by a Basque specificity that is neither Oriental nor Spanish:

Here is Gipuzkoa, it's the ancient country of the fueros; these are the old free Vascongada provinces. A little Castilian is spoken, but mainly basceunce [sic, Basque] (ibid: 65).⁹

When he attempts to explain this uniqueness of the Basque Country, he resorts to its historical difference vis-a-vis the advance of modern states such as Spain. The Basque Country is neither Spain nor France, but the historical resistance to the advance of both modern states:

No doubt, this Basque unity tends to decrease and finally will disappear. The large states must absorb the small ones; that's the law of history and nature. But it is remarkable that this unity, so weak in appearance, has resisted so long. France has taken one side of the Pyrenees, Spain has taken the other; neither France nor Spain have been able to dissolve the Basque group. Underneath the new history that is overlapping in the last four centuries, it remains perfectly visible like a crater underneath a lake (66).¹⁰

To the European eye, the Basque difference is both a form of exoticism that slips into both an Orientalism that is exterior to Europe and a form of premodern historical otherness that resists European modernity from within.

This dual othering of the Basques can be traced throughout the nineteenth century. In 1845, Prosper Mérimée writes his famous *Carmen*. This text, which

8. "La rue du vieux Pasages est une vraie rue arabe; maisons blanchies, massives, cahotées, à peine percées de quelques trous. S'il n'y avait les toits, on se croirait à Tetuan. Cette rue, où le lierre va d'un côté à l'autre, est pavée de dalles, larges écailles de pierre que ondulent comme le dos d'un serpent".

9. "C'est ici Guipuzcoa, c'est l'antique pays des fueros, ce sont les vieilles provinces libres vascongadas. On parle bien un peu castillan, mais on parle surtout *basceunce* [sic]".

10. "Sans doute cette unité vascongada tend à décroître et finira par disparaître. Les grands Etats doivent absorber les petits; c'est la loi de l'histoire et de la nature. Mais il est remarquable que cette unité, si chétive en apparence, ait résisté si longtemps. La France a pris un revers des Pyrénées, l'Espagne a pris l'autre; ni la France ni l'Espagne n'ont pu désagréger le groupe basque. Sous l'histoire nouvelle que s'y superpose depuis quatre siècles, il est encore parfaitement visible comme un cratère sous un lac".

constitutes the foundational text of the articulation of modern female sexuality as *femme fatale*, narrates precisely the seductions and perils of the Spanish Orient. The author has recourse to two characters that exceed and thus represent, in their excess, both Europe and the Orient: the Basque don José, and the Romani/gypsy (not Muslim or Jewish) Carmen. In short, there is nothing Spanish about this quintessential romantization of Spain. Don José introduces himself according to the religious-racial doctrines articulated by the Basque apologists of the Renaissance:

“I was born”, he said, “in Elizondo, in the valley of Baztán. My name is don José Lizarrabengoa, and you are familiar enough with Spain, señor, to be able to tell at once from my name that I am a Basque and an Old Christian” (Mérimée, 1998: 19).

Furthermore, the ultimate moment in Carmen’s seduction of don José takes place in Basque. As he narrates:

Laguna ene bihotsarena – companion of my heart,” she said suddenly, “Are you from the Basque Provinces?” [. . .] “She was lying, señor, as she always lied. I wonder whether that girl ever spoke one word of truth in her life; but whenever she spoke, I believed her – I couldn’t help it. She spoke Basque atrociously, yet I believed her when she said she was from Navarre. You only had to look at her eyes, her mouth, and her complexion to tell she was a Gypsy. I was mad, I overlooked the most obvious things (24).

In this novella, the Basques, because of their European originality, represent the standby for the white romantic French traveler, Mérimée himself, the narrator and author of the text. Yet, because of their Spanishness, the Basques also present a knowledge and intimacy with the Orient that no other European subject possesses. Don José, unlike Mérimée, is capable of becoming the epitome of the savage Spaniard: the apparently civilized soldier who nevertheless abandons duty and decorum for sheer love and, thus, becomes the quintessential romantic stereotype of the Spanish *bandolero* or highway robber. He is the Spanish subject that defies the law and is also able to kill off the colonial sexual threat that Carmen represents. Just as with *Ivanhoe*’s Rebecca, the beautiful Jewish woman, Carmen, the colonial Spanish subject, the seductive and yet dangerous embodiment of the Orient, must also be dismissed in *Carmen*. Yet this time, the voyeuristic author must rely on a more capable savage form of masculinity to do the job: the Basque don José. At the end of the story don José is jailed and awaits his death sentence. In short, even the Basque subject, although truly European and white, must be killed off, so that the entire Spanish field (Basque and Oriental) is turned into an object of Orientalist study, a neutralized object that, then, can be studied by the orientalist. The final and additional chapter of *Carmen* is a treaty on Romani culture.

Furthermore, when Carmen tells don José that she was born in Navarre, in Etxalar, the novel does not at any point delegitimize her claim. When don José claims that “[S]he was lying, señor, as she always lied. I wonder whether that girl ever spoke one word of truth in her life; but whenever she spoke, I believed her” (ibid: 24), he does not delegitimize her claims, for Carmen always lies and there-

fore always simulates identity; the truth about her birthplace is beyond simulation. In this way, Mérimée opens up the possibility that the ultimate romantic embodiment of the Orient might hail from the Basque Country, which is the ultimate form of epistemological perversion, for the Orient could be located at the heart of the most “original and true Europe”: the Basque Country. However, unlike in the work of Hugo, Mérimée emphasizes the Basques’ intimate knowledge of the Orient, because of their status as Spaniards, but, at the same time, he concedes their difference with the Orient. This differentiation will increase throughout the nineteenth century.

The reference to the above writers is important in order to correct the predominance given to anthropology in the construction of Basque otherness. Before anthropologists find in the Basque Country “the origins of the oldest European race,” writers such as Hugo and Mérimée already articulate a discourse of dual otherness towards the Basque Country during the first half of the nineteenth century. Yet with anthropology, Orientalism takes another turn, since, following linguistics, anthropology now endeavors to create a biological theory of whiteness that responds to the orientalist divide. Although Said does not dwell on the epistemological and discursive brake that Orientalism represents vis-à-vis previous discursive structures within Europe, Leon Poliakov explains that Orientalism also represents a new reorganization of the epistemological discourses of the West (Poliakov, 1965: 183-214). As a result, Europe’s origins no longer are Biblical and, thus, ultimately subject to a Hebraic origin, but rather Oriental and thus subject to archaeological, linguistic, and anthropological criteria, which ultimately resituate Europe’s origins in India. Poliakov calls it “the quest for the new Adam” (ibid: 183). He concludes:

Thus we see that a wide variety of authors and schools located the birthplace of the entire human race between the Indus and the Ganges. It only remained for linguistics to make its contribution, in a decisive though ambiguous manner, by dispelling with one certain truth a fog of adventurous suppositions, and at the same time advancing a new hypothesis as fragile as any of those which preceded it. According to this new theory it was not the whole of human race but one particular race – a white race which subsequently became Christian – which had descended from the mountains of Asia to colonize and populate the West. It seemed as if the Europeans of the scientific age, having freed themselves from the conventional Noachian genealogy and rejected Adam as a common father, were looking around for new ancestors but were unable to break with the tradition which placed their origin in the fabulous Orient. It was the science of linguistics which was to give a name to these ancestors by opposing the Aryans to the Hamites, the Mongols – and the Jews (ibid: 188).

In this space, India and the Sanskrit language stand for the new white or Aryan origins of the West, no longer African or Middle-Eastern. Therefore, it is important to emphasize that Orientalism is not simply a discipline to regulate and exploit the colonial other (Said) but also a new scientific and racial reorganization of the West by which “whiteness” is proclaimed as originating elsewhere than in Africa and the Middle-East (Biblical origin). In short, the divide between the Orient and the West is clearly effected by the invention of “whiteness,” so that racial superiority can be claimed and mobilized to colonize the Orient. In this, biologization of Orientalism, Basques once again play a new dual role as others.

Following earlier linguistic discourses on the Basques, anthropology presents the Basque Country as the remnant of an old Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, once anthropology develops a new biological theory of the Aryan race and whiteness, Basques become the only race left from an older pre-Indoeuropean-Aryan Europe, which, to the anthropological imagination, becomes twice white and/or twice non-Oriental. At the same time, when anthropology organizes colonial subjects as exterior racial others that, in their racial difference, reflect back on Europe's newly acquired whiteness, the Basques become the only "native savages" inside Europe who are at the same time white – unlike, say, the "negroized" Irish of the British imperialist imagination. In other words, Basques become "European colonial subjects": a racial contradiction in terms, which, therefore becomes the site of many anthropological anxieties and fantasies. In this sense, the Basques no longer are a gate to the Orient, but rather the only colonial subject within Europe: white, yet native. Therefore, anthropology shifts literature's Orientalist stress from a Basque identity that is both interior and exterior (European, yet part of the Spanish gate to the Orient) to a new identity that is both interior and anterior (the only colonial subject interior to Europe, yet older than Europe). As a result of anthropology's new racial discourse, Basques' dual otherness is fully situated inside Europe – while still responding to an orientalist logic – in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the 1850s and 60s, the newly inaugurated discipline of physical anthropology, with scientists such as Paul Broca in Paris and Anders Retzius in Sweden, looks for the socially based new origins of humankind and, more specifically, of Europe. This new anthropological discourse finds in the Basques one of its richest objects (Zulaika, 1996). As William Douglass states:

By mid-century, Anders Retzius, the Swedish anatomist who systematized craniometry, and Paul Broca, the founding father of French anthropology, were debating Basque anthropometry [...]. There was the notion, then, that Basques, if not a "pure" proto-European race, were at the least the continent's "purest" contemporary representatives of it [...]. European scientific racism largely accepted the conclusion that there was a "Basque race," a creation more of the intellectual circles of Paris and Stockholm than Basque (or Spanish) ones (102).

Yet, most commentators of nineteenth century anthropology fail to notice the importance of Orientalism in the dual organization of Basque otherness. Broca for example notes the Basques' dual otherness when he simultaneously states the "white originality" of Basques but also their identitarian equivalence, from within Europe, with other colonial subjects:

These people or, rather, uncivilized tribes of the pre-Arian Europe lived in conditions that are comparable to those observed today in tropical Africa, North America, South America, and Australia, where we observe, from settlement to settlement, languages, maybe very different, but affiliated with their neighbors, and, thus, ultimately with those that are far away, in such way that a family of languages always occupies a very extended area and, sometimes, even an entire continent. It appears probable, because of the above, that the family of autochthonous languages, of which the Basque is today the only representative,

had to have a great geographic extension and occupied the entire Western Europe... (13).¹¹

In the new biological imagination articulated by anthropologists such as Broca, the Basques are the contemporary traces of a pre-Indo-European state of affairs that shows the traces of an “original white Europe”, but also the characteristics of an “uncivilized savage colonial Europe” that resembled the oriental field and, thus, the colonial subject.

Next to literature and anthropology, there is a third discourse and practice that marks Basque dual otherness towards the end of the nineteenth century: tourism. In the second half of the nineteenth century, as colonial loss begins to mark both Spain and French imperialism, the Basque Country becomes an interior other that, as I have argued elsewhere when addressing the work of Anton Abbadie (Gabilondo, 2003), works as a compensation for colonial loss. In this way, the anthropological articulation of a Basque dual otherness within Europe takes a more domestic and political turn. The Basque Country represents the oldest other of Europe, the oldest colonial subject, which predates the Spanish and French empires, but also constitutes the ultimate representation of the essence of France and Spain: its most pristine and best preserved form. Even at the level of politics, and as some forms of liberalism defended, the Basque Country was a pristine representation of liberal Spain. José María Orense wrote “democracy is, in one word, the Basque system applied all over Spain” (Elorza, 2001: 72).¹²

Consequently, the Basque Country becomes the pastoral stage for the colonial sublimation of the French and Spanish states, thus giving birth to modern tourism. Although locations such as Biarritz or San Sebastian become resorts, where the beach and the casino are combined to form the first modern tourist resorts (as opposed to older forms such as “balnearios” or “health spas”) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this touristic culture becomes popular in the second half of the century after the development of the railway. As John Walton and Jenny Smith stress, this was a phenomenon mostly centered in the Basque Country, for the Spanish and French bourgeoisies would cross the border to the other side of their respective Basque Countries, in order to enjoy their amenities:

Aspiring Spanish resorts also suffered from domestic and foreign competition. Despite traveling conditions, the richest Spaniards were often tempted abroad, especially to resorts in southern France such as Arcacho, Bagnères de Luchon and (above

11. “Ces peuples ou plutôt ces tribus incivilisées de l'Europe préaryenne vivaient dans des conditions comparables à celles qu'on observe encore aujourd'hui dans l'Afrique tropicale, dans l'Amérique du nord, dans l'Amérique du sud, en Australie, où nous voyons, de peuplade à peuplade, se succéder des langues parfois très différentes, mais affiliés avec leurs voisines, et par celle-ci avec celles qui sont éloignées, de telle sorte qu'une famille des langues occupe toujours une aire très étendue, quand elle n'occupe pas un continent tout entier. Il doit paraître probable, d'après cela, que la famille des langues autochtones, dont le basque est aujourd'hui le seul représentant, devait avoir une grande extension géographique, qu'elle occupait toute l'Europe occidentale...”

12. “La democracia es, en una palabra, el sistema vascongado aplicado a toda España”.

all) Biarritz. This exodus was not balanced by an equivalent influx to the Spanish sea-side, although French visitors in their thousands came to San Sebastián's August bullfights from the 1870s onwards, while Las Arenas, near Bilbao, was aiming advertisement specifically at English visitors in 1872 (Walton & Smith, 1994: 24).

As Jon Juaristi states, the ultimate attractive element of the Basque Country was its "Arcadian" character, i.e. its colonial and yet domestic character:

In this way, the Basque Country became the utopia of conservative Spain. The Isabelian bourgeoisie discovered Vasconia [the Basque Country] as a country of green landscapes and patriarchal customs, very suitable for summer vacation [...]. The Basques who, as I said, lived in a country poor in resources, soon realized that the few ones they had – mountains, beaches, water springs, mysterious language and customs – could be reasonably applied to the exploitation of a new source of wealth, which could substitute with advantage the deficient agriculture and the always unreliable proto-industry of the iron ore: tourism.

In this respect, the French Basques were ahead. The elite of Paris began to visit the Basque beaches in the first years of the nineteenth century (it was the very same Napoleon who inaugurated, in June of 1808, the first beach season in Biarritz) [...]. at the beginning of the European restoration, French and British aristocrats had elegant mansions built in Biarritz and in other villages of the Basque coast (Juaristi, 1997: 60-1)¹³.

At the end of the nineteenth century, French authors such as Pierre Loti or Basque authors who relocate in Madrid, such as Antonio Trueba, further consolidate this otherness of the Basque Country for the newly acquired touristic tastes of the French and Spanish bourgeoisies, so that once again, the Basque Country occupies a dual position of otherness. In Loti's work, the traces of the early romantic orientalism do not go away. In his *Ramuntcho* (1897), for example, Basque churches become mosques (Loti, 1990: 48), women sing Spanish songs impregnated with Arab tones (ibid: 51), and the Basque language is compared with Mongolian and Sanskrit (ibid: 58). Perhaps the most striking comparison is that of Basque improvisational poets or *bertsolaris* with Muslim muezzin: "They sing with a slight strain of the throat like the muezzins of the mosques, in high pitch" (61).¹⁴ Yet, Loti's orientalist rhetoric no longer constructs a disseminative

13. "El País Vasco se convirtió así en la utopía de la España conservadora. La burguesía isabelina descubrió Vasconia como una tierra de paisajes verdes y costumbres patriarcales, muy adecuada para pasar el verano... Los vascos, que, como he dicho, habitaban un país pobre en recursos, intuyeron pronto que los pocos de que disponían – montes, playas, manantiales, lengua y costumbres misteriosas – podían ser razonablemente aplicados a la explotación de una nueva fuente de riquezas que sustituiría con ventaja a la deficitaria agricultura y a la siempre insegura protoindustria del hierro: turismo.

En esto, los vascofranceses tomaron la delantera. Las gentes distinguidas de París comenzaron a acudir a las playas vascas en los primeros años del siglo XIX (fue el mismísimo emperador Napoleón quien inauguró, en junio de 1808, la primera temporada de baños en la playa de Biarritz)... a comienzos de la Restauración europea, aristócratas ingleses y franceses se hicieron construir elegantes mansiones en Biarritz y otros pueblos de la costa vasca."

14. "Ils chantent avec un certain effort du gosier comme les muezzins des mosques, en des tonalités hautes".

and slipping discourse by which the Basque Country becomes a gate to and an extension of Africa, as in Hugo. Now Loti's orientalism is simply a comparative style that emphasizes identitarian equivalences in exoticism – hence his accumulative comparison from Mongolian to Arab. By Loti's time, the Basque Country is well contained within the French imperialist project, just as well as the African and Asian colonies, and therefore there is no need for turning the Basque Country into the slippery gate to the Orient. In Loti and, especially in his *Ramuntcho*, an endemic rural poverty, disguised as happiness, and a well-internalized Christian morality are the two elements that define the Basques' new dual otherness as touristic. Unlike the previous romantic representation, the new Basque othering of the late nineteenth century does not respond to imperialist expansion but rather to the opposite phenomenon of colonial implosion. It also responds to the consolidation of the French and Spanish liberal bourgeoisies as well as of their new leisurely needs: tourism.

Thus literary, anthropology, and tourism, in that order, are the three institutions that radically determine the Basque Country as “dual other” in the nineteenth century and, thus, condemn Basque history and culture to an endless debate about its otherness.

3. THE BASQUES: FROM ROMANTICISM TO NATIONALISM

Orientalism originally made its way to the Basque Country by the hand of Basques and with very specific and strategic local purposes. The figures of Augustin Chaho and Antoine Abbadie have been studied in detail, but most scholars have not yet explained the way in which the former's use of Orientalism shapes Basque identity and history. Before Hugo or Broca visited the country, Chaho had developed a Basque orientalist discourse, whereas Abbadie had already contemplated the possibility of a Basque physical anthropology (Abbadie, 1997: 83). Thus, it is important to retrace the way in which both encounter Orientalism.

German romanticism is central to the discovery of the Orient and, more specifically, of the Sanskrit language and traditional Hinduist religious discourse. Goethe, the Schlegel brothers, and Novalis had already proclaimed the far East, the heart of the Orient, as the origin of the West. Subsequently, Friedrich Schlegel inaugurated the science of philology beginning with his studies on Sanskrit. In France, and next to Madame de Staël, Charles Nodier (1780-1844) was the central and most important writer, the first romantic, to embrace the new ideas of German romanticism, while also combining them with the new historical writing coming from England: McPherson, Scott, and the Gothic writers.

Augustin Chaho had been a student of Nodier and thus it is not a coincidence if Chaho's refashioning of Basque history and discourse is connected with his frequenting of Nodier's salon. In short, Chaho had become witness and participant to the new romantic reorganization of French literature and culture via German romanticism as well as English gothic and historical writing. Nodier helped romantic writers such as Hugo, Musset, and Bonneville start their

careers. Hugo himself and other writers such as Dumas and Lamartine dedicated their work to Nodier.

It is thus crucial to understand the Chaho-Nodier connection not solely on a biographical level; it must be contextualized in the geopolitical and cultural reorganization that romanticism effects in France. As Gustave Lambert, Chaho's biographer, states: "He made the acquaintance of Charles Nodier, becoming his beloved student. He interested himself in linguistics" (Lambert, 1996: 375). Chaho moves to Paris in 1831 and stays there intermittently through 1843. By the time Chaho arrives, Nodier has published most of his influential work, to which Chaho has access. Among others, it is important to mention Nodier's travel to Scotland, *Dieppe's Travel to the Scottish Mountains* (1821), which becomes the inspiration for Chaho's most important work: *Voyage to Navarre during the Insurrection of the Basques* (1836). Similarly, Nodier had published in 1830 his influential *On the Fantastic in Literature*, which sets the basis for a new conception of knowledge and literature, based on his romantic recuperation of orientalist studies, linguistics, hermeneutics, Masonic doctrines, British gothic literature, medieval French tradition, and English and Spanish Renaissance literature (Shakespeare and Cervantes).

Nodier's combination of esoteric and linguistic knowledge constitutes the basis for Chaho's literary work. Chaho's first two works are precisely works of cosmology and linguistics, so that the Basque Country and its language become foregrounded at the intersection of the new romantic and orientalist discourse outlined by Nodier. Besides the Basque grammar that Chaho publishes with Abbadie in 1836, *Grammatical Studies on the Basque Language*, he also publishes other three works where linguistics and cosmology are fused: *Words of a Visionary in Response to the Words of a Visionary by Mr. The Abbot of La Mennais* (1834); *Words of a Biscayan to the Liberals of Queen Christine* (1834), and *Letter to Mr. Xavier Raymond on the Analogies that Exist Between the Basque Language and Sanskrit* (1836). Chaho's later works, such as *Comparative Philosophy of Religions* (1842), his two novels (*Safer*, *Lelo*), the newspaper he publishes, *Ariel*, and his *History of the Basques*, posthumously finished by his friend the Marquis of Belzunce, represent the consolidation and the expansion of an orientalist ideology that he had already outlined by 1836 in his early work.

The fact that Chaho begins by opposing Spanish liberalism and embracing Carlism, but remains a republican all his life (and views the Basque Country as a republic) and, at the end of his life, even forsakes Carlism, does not substantially alter the orientalist ideology and cosmovision he formed regardless of the concrete, historical reality of the Basque Country. These changes respond to a larger picture in which different political movements such as Carlism or religions such as paganism and Christianity are only explained as steps or moments of a larger phase: one that actually begins with Aitor (the original Basque patriarch invented by Chaho) and ends with Zumalakarregi (the leading general of the Carlist troops). Thus, Chaho condenses Christian and pagan religions in passages in which the name given to God by the Basque apologists of the Renaissance is rescued (Aio, laeo) in order to connote the new orientally defined antiquity and originality of Basques:

The vaulted ceiling of churches, painted in sky blue and sprinkled with stars, imitates the vault of the heavens; a superb pavilion under which the ancient Iberians celebrated the night, the happy festivals in honor of eternal AIO (Chaho, 1865: 162).¹⁵

In this way, and following Humboldt's new linguistic ideas, Chaho retraces Basque language to the Iberians, and the Iberians become one of the original tribes of the original Orient. Consequently, for Chaho, the Basques are related to such different countries as Iran or India, but not to the tribes narrated by the Bible, thus adjusting his theories to the new anti-Semitic racial ideology prevalent in Europe (Poliakov, 1965). Hence, Chaho states:

Long time before the formation of the Jewish people and the humiliating servitudes that made this handful of fugitive slaves expire their pretenses to nationality in such a harsh way, the name of 'God's people' was applied originally to the only patriarchs of the South: it reminds the theism that the ancient Euskarians professed, without symbols, without sacrifices, without prayers or cult (Chaho, 1865: 233).¹⁶

Finally, Chaho's *Voyage to Navarre* also represents the discursive form of travel narrative that most outsiders will adopt throughout the nineteenth century when describing the Basque Country. Chaho himself travels from Paris to Navarre, crosses the border and meets the new patriarch of the Basque republic: Zumalakarregi, "the heir of Aitor."

Ultimately, Chaho repositions the Basque Country in a strategic and essentialist way, but by doing so, he invents a very modern tradition (a Basque orientalist tradition) that marks the rest of the century. If Basque apologists reacted to the advance of Hispanic imperialism during the Renaissance by redeploing contemporary discourses on race (genealogical purity), similarly Chaho reacts to the new orientalist advance of northern European imperialism and strategically repositions the Basque Country in a very modern yet essentialist antimodern location: Europe's white (Aryan) origins. In that sense, Chaho consolidates the Basque tradition of apologists and recenters Basque "essence" at the core of European Orientalism and imperialism. By doing so, Basques' dual otherness appears as full identity and essence, void of any outside trace. Basques' dual otherness becomes Basque essence and identity in Chaho's hands.

By the end of the century, Sabino Arana's nationalism becomes precisely a full essentialist collapse of the dual form of orientalist Basque otherness essentialized by Chaho at the beginning of the century. From this perspective, Arana's core ideological move can be reexamined as an attempt to appropriate this European discourse of Basque dual otherness in order to establish a Basque identity poised, not

15. "La voûte des églises peinte, en bleu d'azur et parsemée d'étoiles, imite la voûte du ciel; pavillon superbe sous lequel les anciens Ibères célébraient, la nuit, leur fêtes joyeuses en l'honneur du IAO éternel".

16. "Bien long-temps avant la formation du peuple juif et les servitudes honteuses qui devaient faire expier si durement à ce ramas d'esclaves fugitifs leurs prétentions à la nationalité, le surnom de peuple de Dieu s'appliquait originellement aux seuls patriarches du Midi : il rappelle le théisme que professaient les Euskariens antiques, sans symboles, sans sacrifices, sans prières et sans culte".

against its otherness, but precisely constituted by its very otherness – to the point that it stops being “other” and becomes “essence”. Consequently, Sabino Arana’s discourse is racist but in a way that critics have failed to connect to European imperialism and Orientalism. Arana fashions a reversed orientalism by which the other of the Basque Country, the Spanish immigrant from other provinces, becomes “the new oriental, the moor.” Arana’s attacks on “maketos” (immigrant workers from other parts of Spain) constitute a Basque redeployment towards the Spanish other of a pre-existing European orientalist discourse towards the Basques. Fully situated within the racist landscape delimited by Poliakov, Arana presents the Basques as the old occupants of Europe, but also as the Europeans of Spain, who, therefore negate any oriental (“Jewish, Moor”) influence (now expanded also to the “Latin race” in general). For example, and simulating a pedagogical dialogue, Arana puts this words in the mouth of a “good Basque nationalist”:

They have not found either mother or sisters to our race among all the races in the world; they do not know yet whether it came from the North, the South, the East, or the West to this corner of the earth. There are those who find affinities with the Redskins (West), with the Georgians (East), with the Finish (North), and with the Berbers (South). But nobody has gathered enough evidence of affinity to establish our race’s kinship with any of the ones compared with it. The rest of the races have been classified in primitive groups, derived branches, and ulterior derivations; ours remains a virginal jungle, for scientific research, a true island in the middle of humankind.

The Spanish race, in contrast, is a Latin-Gothic-Arabic product with certain Phoenician, Greek, and Cartagean touches, and does not preserve any traces of the primitive race of the Peninsula, which is ours (Arana, 1995: 197-198).¹⁷

Reversing the logic of identity established by Broca between colonial and Basque subjects, outside and inside Europe respectively, Arana concludes that, precisely because of this multi-identitarian equivalence, Basques have no identity but the Basque, i.e. an essential and incomparable racial identity: “And if it is enough the fact that our race inhabited originally the peninsula in order to call us Spanish, then there is the same reason to call us French, English, Italian, or Moor (which nobody does) since our race occupied probably in proto-historic times the entire South and West of Europe and the North of Africa” (ibid: 198).¹⁸

17. “A nuestra raza no se la [sic] ha encontrado todavía ni madre ni hermanas entre todas las razas del mundo, ni aun se sabe si vino por el Norte, el Sur, el Oriente o el Occidente a este rincón de la tierra. Hay quien le halla afinidad con los pieles rojas (Oeste); quien, con los georgianos (Oriente); este, con los fineses (Norte); aquel, con los beréberes (Mediodía); pero nadie ha obtenido notas de afinidad suficientes para atreverse a asentar la fraternidad de nuestra raza con alguna de las comparadas con ella. Todas las demás razas se han clasificado en grupos primitivos, ramas originadas y ulteriores derivaciones; la nuestra permanece siendo una selva virgen, para investigación científica, una verdadera isla en medio de la humanidad.

La raza española es, en cambio, un producto latino-gótico-arábigo con tenores toques de fenicio, griego y cartaginés, que no conserva ni rastro de la raza primitiva de la península que fue la nuestra”.

18. “Y si basta el que nuestra raza haya sido la que habitara primeramente la península, para llamarnos españoles, la misma razón existe para que nos llamen franceses, ingleses, italianos o moros (lo cual a nadie se le ocurre) pues nuestra raza ocupó probablemente en los tiempos proto-históricos todo el Mediodía y el Occidente de Europa y el Norte de África”..

This logic will persist throughout the twentieth century in the Basque Country, when immigrants from southern Spain are also orientalized through denominations such as “txurrianoak” (from Manchuria, “mantxurianoak”), “txinoak,” “koreanoak,” etc.

At the same time, in his *Biscay for Its Independence* (1889-1890), the foundational text of Basque nationalism, Arana narrates and refashions legends that were made popular by the previous generation of writers who were interested in the promotion of a touristic Basque Country (ibid: 14) and in several instances go back to the apologist literature of the Renaissance. However and as Arana concludes at the end of his first account, “The Battle of Arrigorriaga,” he no longer has a “legendary” or “genealogical” goal in mind, but rather a nationalist one: to assert the immemorial essence of the Biscayan nation: “The Lordship (Señorío) of Biscay dates from that time, but not, as some Spanish historian pretends, its independence, which is as old as its blood and language” (ibid: 34).¹⁹ At the end of his work, Arana summarizes the different battles that prove the immemorial independence of Biscay and, in this way, turns history into national destiny. This nationalist destiny is marked by its opposition to Spain. The industrialization and changes brought by modernity at the turn of the century to the Basque Country allow Basque nationalism to assume the discourse of otherness – based on antiquity and originality – to counteract modernity:

Yesterday: –Biscay, Confederation of independent Republics, fights against Spain, which tries to conquer it, but vanquishes the latter in Arrigorriaga (888), thus remaining free. –Biscay, independent Lordly Republic, her lord, although subject of Castile-Leon, fights against Spain, which pretends to conquer it; but Biscay vanquishes Spain in Gordexola and Otxandiano (1355), thus remaining free. –Biscay, independent Lordly Republic, her lord is at once king of Castile-Leon, fights against Spain, which pretends to conquer it, but the latter is vanquished in Mungia (1470), thus Biscay remains free.

Today. –Biscay is a province of Spain.

Tomorrow. –

The Biscayans of the nineteenth century have the final word, for the future depends on their acts (ibid: 69).²⁰

19. “De aquí data el Señorío de Vizcaya, mas no, como pretende algún historiador español, su independencia: la cual es tan antigua como su sangre y su idioma”.

20. “Ayer. –Bizkaya, Confederación de Repúblicas independientes, lucha contra España, que pretende conquistarla, y la vence en Arrigorriaga (888), permaneciendo libre. –Bizkaya, República Señorial independiente, siendo súbdito de Castilla-León su señor lucha contra España, que pretende conquistarla y la vence en Gordexola y Otxandiano (1355), permaneciendo libre. –Bizkaya, república Señorial independiente, siendo su señor a un tiempo rey de Castilla-León, lucha contra España, que pretende conquistarla, y la vence en Mungia (1470), permaneciendo libre.

Hoy. –Bizkaya es una provincia de España.

Mañana. –¿.....?

Tienen la palabra los vizcaínos del siglo XIX, pues que de su conducta depende el porvenir”.

Yet, because this Basque nationalist essentialism is genealogically derived from the imperialist discourse of otherness, which spans from romantic literature through anthropology to tourism, Arana has a hard time fixing it and freezing it in time and space; its otherness comes back to haunt the nationalist identitarian essence. Consequently, Biscay also becomes the seven Basque provinces in Arana's discourse, language replaces race, and ultimately independence is replaced by a possibilist discourse within Spain at the end of his life. Yet even at the end, Arana continues to ascertain an essentialist understanding of Basque nationalism, one that assumes its otherness, even though he has to resituate it within the framework of the Spanish state. In an article he publishes a year before his death, which is written in prison, Arana states:

I have not declared myself Spanish. One can be Spanish in two ways: in a natural fashion or the constitutional way... Well then: in the first way, that is, from the point of view of race or ethnicity, I am not Spanish neither could I say that I am, unless I am lying, which I do not usually do... In the second or constitutional way, I am certainly Spanish (ibid: 387).²¹

By restating the difference as one between politics and ethnicity/race, Arana still holds on to an essentialist view that attempts to control and strategically re-deploy dual otherness as the "essence" or "ones" of Basque identity.

So as to summarize my introduction to nineteenth-century Basque dual otherness, I want to emphasize that such articulation begins with the Europeans' views of the Basques as "other," which after nationalism, ends up becoming a self-assumed discourse of otherness and essentialism that, then, in turn, triggers a new wave of fascination with the Basques, from linguistics to anthropology, from politics to tourism. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the "Basque other" assumes itself as other, thanks to Basque nationalist ideology and thus develops an "essence" that becomes even racist.

4. AMERICAN GLOBALIZATION: HISPANICS, TERRORISTS

Moving to the twentieth century, one must remark on Ernest Hemingway's importance and uniqueness. He becomes the new presenter of Spain and the Basque Country for the rest of the world, which is about to become North American and, thus, is also about to join the views of the new superpower – thus, abandoning European colonialist concerns on race and history. Hemingway recaptures the dual otherness of the Basque Country but through the new American ideology regarding the Hispanic world and Europe: Latin America and Spain are equalized by the USA in 1898, when Spain loses its imperialist status and becomes another underdeveloped country. Consequently, the Basque Country becomes, once again, the intersection of those two forms of otherness:

21. "No me he declarado español. De dos modos puede ser uno español: de modo natural o de modo constitucional... Pues bueno: del primer modo, es decir, bajo el punto de vista [sic] étnico o de razas, no soy español ni he podido decir que lo soy, a no ser mintiendo, cosa que no acostumbro... Del segundo modo o constitucional, soy ciertamente español".

European historical originality and Hispanic underdevelopment and eventual third-worldism. Yet, the Basque Country is also the place where neither form of otherness is threatening: the Basque Country is not Latin America and is not white capitalist Europe either. It becomes the edge of both. Consequently, the Basque Country becomes the site where both forms of otherness can be celebrated without risk. In short, the dual otherness of the Basque Country becomes a site of touristic enjoyment. Hemingway brings this form of touristic *jouissance* to its limit: nihilism and decadence, the form that will later on define other touristic moments of discovery among the North American youth, from the Beat Generation (and its romance with inner America and Mexico) to Generation X (and its flirtation with the ex-communist Eastern Europe). In a sense, and by writing about the Basque Country, Hemingway becomes the grandfather of Generation X.

In his foundational work, *The Sun Also Rises* (1929), Hemingway begins his exploration of Spain in the Basque Country, in Pamplona – a non-nationalist Basque Country to be more precise – and then makes his way down to Madrid. As a result, for Hemingway, the Basque Country and bulls, the stereotype of romantic Spain, are intimately connected, to the point that, in *Death in the Afternoon*, he makes very interesting remarks about Bilbao's public; he claims that Bilbainos are the goriest and most blood-thirst audience of Spain when it comes to bull-fighting (Hemingway, 1947: 38-39).

In *The Sun Also Rises*, Hemingway presents North American youth, decadent and rich, who are experiencing boredom and spleen in Paris – a bohemian expression of their wealth and fortune. Most characters complain about being bored with Paris:

“What’s the matter?” she asked. “Going on a party?”

“Sure. Aren’t you?”

“I don’t know. You never know in this town”.

“Don’t you like Paris?”

“No”.

“Why don’t you go somewhere else?”

“Isn’t anywhere else”.

“You are happy, all right”.

“Happy hell” (Hemingway n.d.: 22-3).

In this context, Spain becomes an alternative: “‘won’t it be splendid’, Brett said. ‘Spain! We *will* have fun’” (ibid: 88).

When the two protagonists, Jake and Bill, arrive to the border between France and Spain, the difference between both states blurs: “Bayonne is a nice town. It is like a very clean Spanish town and it is on a big river” (ibid: 96). At this point, nevertheless, the Basque Country recovers a geopolitical identity that is distinctive in the mist of the Spanish-French blur:

We passed lots of Basques with oxen, or cattle, hauling carts along the road, and nice farm-houses, low roofs, and all white-plastered. In the Basque country the land all looks very rich and green and the houses and villages look well-off and clean. Every village had a pelota court and on some of them kids were playing in the hot sun. There were signs on the walls of the churches saying it was forbidden to play pelota against them, and the houses in the villages had red tiled roofs, and then the road turned off and commenced to climb... we crossed the top of a Col, the road winding back and forth on itself, and *then it was really Spain*. There were long brown mountains and a few pines and far-off forests of beech-trees on some of the mountainsides (ibid: 97-9, my emphasis).

For the rest of the novel, Basques, and specifically Pamplona, become the background of a nihilistic party of drinking and escapism. Yet, a scene, where Jake and Bill are sitting in a bus, captures Hemingway's approach to the Basques. The Basque passengers have leather wine-bags and the two protagonists have a bottle of wine. Everybody in the bus offers their wine-bags to the foreigners while they accept the foreigners' bottle out of politeness. At the end, Bill concludes: "These Basques are swell people" (ibid: 110). Eventually, when Jake and Bill arrive to Pamplona, they drink and participate in the festivities. This is the moment when the Basque primitive other appears in the ritual of bull-running. Hemingway contemplates the running without emotion and describes it in the following "savage" way:

There were so many people running ahead of the bulls that the mass thickened and slowed up going through the gate into the ring, and as the bulls passed, galloping together, heavy, muddy-sided, horns swinging, one shot ahead, caught a man in the running crowd in the back and lifted him in the air. Both the man's arms were by his sides, his head went back as the horn went in, and the bull lifted him and then dropped him. The bull picked another man running in front, but the man disappeared... The man who had been gored lay face down in the trampled mud. People climbed over the fence, and I could not see the man because the crowd was so thick around him. From inside the ring came shouts. Each shout meant a charge by some bull into the crowd. You could tell by the degree of intensity in the shout how bad a thing it was that was happening (ibid: 200-201).

Eventually though, Jake's love interest, Brett, seduces the bullfighter, Romero, in a continuation of the romantic myth of Carmen, here on a gender reverse. She follows the bullfighter to Madrid; eventually leaves him and calls Jake. He arrives to Madrid and the novel ends consummating the encounter that could not take place in Paris. In short, Madrid becomes the romantic background to a love story that signifies a future for an decadent American youth who cannot find solace to their privileged nihilism anywhere else. Between Paris and Madrid, at the intersection of nihilism and love, the Basque Country becomes the distinctive yet transitional space where European nihilism and Hispanic romanticism can be experienced simultaneously.

In short, the Basque Country speaks to the two forms of otherness that begin to define both North America's political world dominance and cultural hegemony, that is, what after World War Two will become known as postmodernism, and later on, globalization (third-worldism, such as the Hispanic, and European historical originality). After Hemingway and the Spanish Civil War, Basque culture and identity become diametrically opposed to the Spanish stereotype of bulls and flamenco that the Franco regime promotes in the 1950s and 1960s; yet this differ-

ence has not taken place when Hemingway presents Spain and the Basque Country to the American public. As Edorta Jimenez has documented in his *Hemingway and the Basques*, later on Hemingway and Basque exiles had a second encounter in Cuba and, as a result, were involved in Cold War espionage. In this respect, Hemingway must be also hailed as the “introducer” of Basques into the new geopolitical and cultural scenario of the Cold War.

After World War Two, as the Cold War becomes the axis according to which the world is divided geopolitically, terrorism and guerrilla warfare begin to make their appearance in the Third World as a way to either counteract dictatorships or spread socialism. From Cuba to Algeria, terrorism and guerrilla warfare become political means to fight the ruling regimes. When terrorism makes its way to the first world, the Basque Country becomes one of the regions where the Cold War makes room for terrorism – in an indirect way that does not concern the USA because of the nature of the Franco regime. ETA is founded in 1959 and commits its first deadly action in 1968. Once again, ETA attempts to master an anti-colonialist discourse and strategy in order to regain what is thought to be an ancient and originary independence. The Basque Country once again attempts to master its identity as single “essence” through the incorporation of its dual otherness as “colony” and as “people with a right to self-determination and independence.” As a result, till the beginning of the twenty-first century, when fundamentalist Muslim terrorism strikes the United States (9-11-2001) and later Spain (3-11-2004), foreign discourse on the Basque Country focuses on terrorism.

In this context, two books, more than any other, have shaped the global imagination on the Basques’ dual otherness at the end of the twentieth century. Although the first one is well known in Basque circles, Mark Kurlansky’s *The Basque History of the World* (1999), the second might come as a surprise to Basque readers, although not to American and global mass-culture publics: Robert Ludlum’s *The Scorpio Illusion* (1993). Although it might sound ironic, a fictional thriller on global terrorism is perhaps the most widely read book on “Basques” (the protagonist is a Basque terrorist woman, although the action does not take place in the Basque Country). Ludlum has written twenty-one novels amounting to 210 million copies sold, which have been also translated into thirty-three languages. The research that Iñaki Zabaleta has conducted on the coverage of Basque Country by *The New York Times* corroborates a previous premise: Basque identity is equated with terrorism.

The protagonist of *The Scorpio Illusion* is a Basque woman, Amaya Aquirre, a.k.a. Amaya Bajaratt. When she is ten years old, she witnesses the killing of her parents by the Spanish police. The novel narrates the events in the most “othering” possible terms:

In a raid against the [Basque] rebels, the entire adult population of the village was executed by an unsanctioned [Spanish] rogue unit—*adult* being twelve years and older. The younger children were forced to watch and left to die in the mountains... The Basques living in those mountains are very isolated. Their custom is to bury their records among the northernmost cypress trees in their territory, and attached to our unit was an anthropologist, an expert in the mountain people of the Pyrenees who

could speak and read the language; he found those records. The last few pages were written by a young female child who described the horror, which included the beheading of her parents in front of her eyes by bayonets, sharpened as her father and mother watched their executioners honing their blades against the rocks (Ludlum 1993: 15).

Yet, the woman who swears vengeance and “Death to all authority” (ibid: 15),²² marries a Palestinian terrorist.

The novel opens when their terrorist group is intercepted by an Israeli counter-terrorist commando and Amaya’s Palestinian husband is killed. At that point, Amaya is determined to kill the presidents of the four countries that have contributed to the murder of her husband: Israel, France, England, and the USA. The novel ends when Amaya meets the American president in the Oval Office at the White House and is about to kill him. In order to end the novel with a global happy ending, she is killed off before she carries out her murderous plan.

However, and in order to see how Basque dual otherness operates in the novel, it is important to analyze the way a Basque woman is turned into a fundamentalist Muslim terrorist in Lebanon:

But more than a woman, more than a wife, she was among the great *muquateen* in this convoluted valley of submission and rebellion, she and her husband symbols of hope for a cause all but lost.

As she strode down the caked street past an open market, the crowd dispersed for her, many touching her gently, worshipfully, uttering continuous prayers, until all, as one, began chanting “Baj, Baj, Baj,.... Baj!” (ibid: 4).

In short, because of the global nature of terrorism, and because terrorism has taken hold among Middle-Eastern fundamentalist groups, Basque terrorism is once imagined, as if Hugo were present, as both Oriental and archaic, as twice other.

Kurlansky’s account of the Basque Country is a very sympathetic, informative, and entertaining account of the Basques. Kurlansky is aware of the different processes of othering that define the Basque Country. Yet he cannot resist but to use them himself. After an initial introduction, in which he presents the Basques as people speaking a mysterious language (Kurlansky 1999: 1,2), he concludes “[E]verything seemed a little exciting and mysterious in Basqueland” (ibid: 2) and “the Basques remain a mystery” (ibid: 4). Finally, he reverts to old-fashioned anthropology and adds: “Because these were also characteristics of Cro-Magnons, Basques are often thought to be direct descendants of this man who lived 40,000 years ago” (ibid: 19).

Yet, in a book that dedicates half of its pages to twentieth-century Basque history, and more specifically to the historical line that goes from the Spanish Civil War to ETA, Kurlansky concludes in the following way:

22. In Spanish in the original.

In 1998, the US State Department placed ETA on a short list of thirty 'terrorist' organizations for whom it is illegal to provide funds. Neither the Irish Republican Army nor the violent Corsicans were on the list, but ETA was, along with Egypt's Holy War, Iran's Mujadeen, Peru's Shining Path [...]. (ibid: 298-99).

In front of this new global rearrangement of ETA, Kurlansky ends explaining the continuation of ETA in these terms:

But could Spain exist without ETA? In order to have a Spain, did there not have to be enemies?... What was to be done with *the soldiers of the Reconquista*, the warriors against "the enemies of Spain"? How would Spain justify its huge armed forces, Guardia Civil, and police if it no longer had enemies? Why was a Guardia Civil needed?

ETA was, after all, a necessary evil (ibid: 303, my emphasis).

In short, even for Kurlansky, ETA, and thus the central axis that defines twentieth-century Basque history, becomes eventually a form of alterity that has to do more with othering processes controlled by the Spanish or North American states than with with Basque history itself. In this context, and as the metaphor of "Reconquista" implies, Kurlansky orientalizes ETA. Once again, there is a direct orientalist lineage between the medieval and Arabic Al Andalus of southern Spain and the modern Basque Country. To the American eye, the dual otherness that defines Basque identity remains historically self-evident.

As the events of 3-11-2004 make clear, Kurlansky's orientalization is not a textual accident. In the aftermath of the events, when George Bush made an appearance at the Spanish embassy to give his condolences to the Spanish government and people, he pronounced the name of ETA and made it very clear that, for the American government, any form of terrorism constitutes "the global other." In George Bush's mind, ETA became part of the new orientalist continuum that defines global terrorism these days.

5. BASQUES: THE DIASPORA AND THE ATLANTIC

The dual otherness that has defined the Basque Country in the twentieth century has been counteracted by different Basque attempts to claim an essential identity that is not reducible to any form of othering. They have done so precisely by assuming those forms of otherness as one's own identity – as one's own essence. Although, this process of essentializing Basque culture, as a way to counteract processes of othering, always fails to contain its own internal otherness, it performatively repeats this essentializing act in order to define recent Basque history and culture. By focusing on literature, the following analysis claims that the otherness within Basque essentialism is always Atlantic and American in origin and, therefore, it explains the importance of the Americas and the diaspora in rethinking Basque identity and its othering-essentializing processes – processes which are global from the onset. Yet, this initial analysis requires an expansion in other areas of culture.

The official history of Basque literature states that, in the 1960s, Gabriel Aresti marked the beginning of modern Basque poetry, of the reunification of the

Basque language, and, most importantly, of the first successful representation of a Basque nationalist identity centered on the metaphor of the rock. His *Rock and Country* (1964), represents the first successful and popular rendition of a national allegory of the Basque Country. The most famous poem, "I Will Defend the House of My Father" stands as the central representation of that nationalist ideology of Basque essentialism that defies othering: the rock. Aresti claims, in the poem, that even when his entire family and succession die, the house of his father will survive in some eternal fashion that defies even history. This poem echoes Lizardi's 1932 poem, "Field of My Ancestors," which was interrupted by the untimely death of the poet on the eve of the Spanish Civil War. After Franco's death, the generation following Aresti, and more specifically Bernardo Atxaga and his *Obabakoak* (1988), become the culmination of the essentializing discourse of Basque nationalism, whereby the Basque Country finds an allegorical location in Obaba: a town that is magic-realist, resists any non-Basque logic and, therefore, is essentially Basque. This novel has gained global acclaim.

The genealogy that spans from Lizardi through Aresti all the way to Atxaga is narrated and historicized by literary history as a way to articulate a nationalist Basque identity, which therefore is written by the Basques themselves and, thus, represents their historical ordeal to counteract Basque otherness and present their essential "truth." This is the Basque literary history of the twentieth century, which is defined by its attempts to represent a Basque "essence," which the rest of the world has to either accept or reject, study or ignore, but cannot denounce as being "other." After all, it is the representation of the Basques by the Basques. In short, this literary history follows Benedict Anderson's definition of a community imagining itself as sovereign and limited. Yet, this traditional history of Basque literature can be rewritten in interesting ways, once the American experience of tourism and migration regarding the Basques is incorporated.

In 1957, that is, seven years before the publication of Aresti's *Rock and Country*, another Basque writer, Paul Laxalt, this one born in Nevada, USA, wrote a novel entitled *Sweet Promised Land*, in which he also tells the story of his father's house (to echo Aresti's poem). This novel is also an allegory of the Basque Country, but unlike Aresti's, this American version is written from the experience of migration. In that way, the novel conveys the idea that the wandering life of the Basque shepherd in Nevada, a homeless worker, is the experience of any Nevadan. In this novel, we have a reversal of the continental Basque nationalist allegory: the Basque experience stands for that of all immigrants in the United States. This experience dictates that "the house of my father" is built in whichever land gives you the opportunity to do so. In short, the "nation" can be built in any diasporic "sweet promised land," as long as it is precisely that: welcoming.

From this experience, the past non-migrational "house of my father," the Basque nation, stays behind in the French Basque Country. Moreover, the "Basque nation" is revisited in the novel after the father's absence of forty seven years. The narrator and his father take a trip together to the latter's hometown in the French Basque Country. When the father visits the last house of his relatives, he makes a short appearance and leaves. His relatives go after and ask him to

return, but the father does not respond. The son, and author-narrator of the novel, notices this misunderstanding and writes:

I looked at my father, but he did not seem even to have heard. His face was white and grim and violently disturbed, and he was breathing in quick gasps. I reached out and touched him on the arm and said uncertainly, "They want us to come back".

Without turning, he shook his head and cried shakenly, "I can't go back. It ain't my country any more. I've lived too much in America ever to go back". And then, angrily, "Don't you know that?" (Laxalt, 1957: 176).

Two paragraphs later, when their return to Nevada is invoked again, the novel ends. This is the first allegorical rendition of the Basque Country written after the Spanish Civil War and World War Two. A new history of Basque literature would have to begin here, and then move to Aresti. Laxalt does not condemn or glorify the Basque Country as a nationalist space, but rather, he inserts it in an Atlantic space of passage and migration. As a result, the original "house of my father," situated in the French Basque Country, becomes a traumatic space that cannot be inhabited, although must be revisited. Thus, the Basque Country is reinvented on the other side of the Atlantic as an immigrant American "house of my father." In *Sweet Promised Land*, Basque otherness disappears and a more historical discourse, involving class, poverty, and migration, emerges as the ultimate Basque experience – a subaltern experience – which can be embraced by any migrant group. It is interesting to underline, though, that the father asserts his Americanness by negating the French Basque Country where he was born. The Basque Country has become an other to him, but, precisely because of the failure of the negation, he must actively negate its otherness to assert his new American identity. The fact that the son cannot understand this negation proves that the Atlantic dimension of the Basque Country cannot be eliminated by othering the French Basque Country left behind.

Consequently, in the last two paragraphs of the novel, when father and son have returned to Nevada, the son recreates a new pastoral scene of the West as a way to compensate, to reinscribe, the absent otherness of the Basque Country in the new land. In this way, the otherness of the Basque Country becomes understandable to the son ("I did know it"):

And suddenly before me, I saw the West rising up at dawn with an awesome vastness of deserts and mighty mountain ranges. I saw a band of sheep wending their way down a lonely mountain raven of sagebrush and pine, and I smelled their dust and heard their muted bleating and the lovely tinkle of their bells. I saw a man. In crude garb with a walking stick following after with his dog, and once he paused to mark the way of the land. Then I saw a cragged face that that land had filled with hope and torn with pain, had changed from young to old, and in the end had claimed. And then, I did know it (Laxalt, 1957: 176).

Even in the subsequent Basque trilogy that made Laxalt famous, the Basque Country, turned now into the heritage of a Basque family living in the American West, continues to be the other against which the protagonist, Pete Indart, must define himself. As David Rio states,

the Indart saga may be analyzed as a privileged example of the conflict between the concern for one's racial, ethnic and familial heritage and the natural desire to choose one's own destiny, even if this means departing from such a heritage (Rio, 2003: 73).

That is to say, there is a Basque kernel that makes a full American identity as impossible as a return to a French Basque identity.

Furthermore, even the case of Aresti must be revisited from this new Atlantic geography of Basque representations opened by Laxalt. His poem *Rock and Country* (1964) makes many references to the Basque sculptor Jorge Oteiza, who had written in 1963, one year before, his influential *Quosque Tandem*, which revolutionized Basque culture and gave rise to many cultural movements – even ETA found inspiration in this book. Oteiza's book, more than Aresti's or Atxaga's, represents the ultimate exponent of a nationalist discourse of "true" Basque essence that resists othering. Oteiza claims in his *Quosque Tandem* that the Basque "man" had found "his" full realization, as man, already in the Neolithic by resorting to the Basque aesthetics and politics of emptiness – something to which the Basque cromlechs, according to Oteiza, testify. Part of the importance of Oteiza's book lies on the fact that his theories justify a Basque identity fully realized in the Neolithic. Thus, the book portrays the Basques as the perfect reference and solution to modernity's contradictions and imperialist discourses of otherness. Moreover, Oteiza adds that the Basques had done so in the Neolithic, that is, in a prehistoric time, which makes them the perfect essence of the West in so far as they can also resist the West's othering. Following Oteiza, contemporary Basques do not have much to do but to revert, rather than to evolve, to that state of full realization already established in the Neolithic. As Joseba Zulaika states:

By combining the latest of the avant-garde with Basque primordialism, this book amounted to a discursive coup in the dark period of Francoist Spain. Its influence on Basque artists, writers, and political activists has been unparalleled (Oteiza, 2003: 30).

There could not be a richer response to a very poor and oppressed culture that was not allowed to evolve during Francoism. This idea also influenced Aresti, hence the title of his work, *Rock and Country*.

However, what most people do not know is that Oteiza left for Latin America in 1935; he spent fourteen years overseas and returned to Bilbao only in 1948. As a consequence of his American journey, Oteiza published *Aesthetic Interpretation of American Megalithic Statuary* in 1952, where he referred to pre-Columbian cultures as "matrix cultures" and celebrated their sculpture and architecture as "fantastic statuary left by an unknown people" (Oteiza, 2003: 12). Although an analysis of this work would require more space, it is clear that actually Oteiza found the model for the fully realized Basque man of the Neolithic in Latin America, among Maya and Inca ruins. Therefore, the central work that defines recent Basque identity and culture as essence, *Quosque Tandem*, is also a result of a Basque Atlantic voyage of discovery. Or to put it concisely and in ironic terms, the rock of Aresti's *Rock and Country* is Latin American in origin and only becomes Basque because of Oteiza's Atlantic journey and return to the house of his father, the Basque Country. In short, even in the most essentialist

discourse of Basque nationalism, American otherness appears as intrinsic to Basque essentialist identity.

Furthermore, the recurring metaphor in Aresti's *Rock and Country* is not the rock, ironically enough, but the ocean. More specifically, Aresti refers to the passage from sea to land where he finds the true modernity of the Basques, the docks at the port of Bilbao:

The German ship docked in Zorrotza.
It brings cement, in sacks of a hundred kilograms.
In the meantime
Anthony and William were
With the saw
Cutting that trunk.
[...]
Here in Basque
There in other languages.
They were cursing
For wickedness does not speak its own language
It treats the same way
The Basque
And the foreigner.
[...]
I will always stand
For humankind.
William.
Anthony (Aresti 1986: 15-17).²³

Similarly, in another poem, he states that the origin of his language is at the ports of Bilbao and that language ultimately stands for the universality of the Basque Country:

I do not make up stories. I've learnt Basque in the port of Bilbao, while eating fried ham, and café-au-lait with brandy [...]. In front of all the winds of the world, in the open. The Basque Country is an open world (Aresti, 1986: 21-23).²⁴

23. "Aleman barkua atrakatu da Zorrotzan. / Zimentua dakar, ehun kiloko sakoetan. / Bien bitartean / Antón eta Gilen zeuden / Zerrarekin / Tronko hura erditibitzen. ... Hemen euskeraz / Ta han erderaz. / Birao egiten zuten. / Okerbideak ezpaitaki mintzaerarik, / Berdin tratatzen baitu / Erdalduna / Eta euskalduna. ... Beti paratuko naiz / Gizonaren alde. / Gilen. / Antón".

24. "Nik ez tut gauzarik asmatzen. Euskera Bilboko portuan ikasi dut, urdaizapiko frijitua jaten nuenean, kafesne koinakaturia edaten nuena. ... Munduko haize guztien agirrean, agirian. Euskal herria mundu agirre da".

Finally and in order to analyze the work of Atxaga and his *Obabakoak*, it is important to note that his earlier work was concerned with the city, modernity, and commodification, that is, with the same intellectual and literary horizon left by Aresti, his mentor – it is also the case for Ramon Saizarbitoria, the other canonical writer of Atxaga's generation.

Yet, as writers, such as Juan Mari Irigoien, brought to the Basque Country the American discourse of magic realism, after living in Latin America for several years, Atxaga renounced his previous urban concerns and, in an almost 180 degree turn, shifted his literary representations towards a rural Basque Country (Obaba). In short, Atxaga decided to "essentialize" his literature and, thus, proceeded to write the great national allegory of the Basque Country, which resisted any othering by outside instances. Yet once again, we have an Atlantic journey of discovery – Latin American magic realism – lying at the bottom of the last great representation of the nationalist Basque "essence."

Thus it is important to note that even what traditionally has been considered the nationalist "true" representation of Basque identity is not such and it relies on either previous endless versions of a foreign view of the Basque Country or on a Basque view of other people. In short, any origin and truth about Basque identity can always be disseminated in a non-nationalist geopolitical horizon of otherness: the other as Basque and the other of the Basques.

6. BEYOND OTHERNESS?

Since the radical Muslim terrorist attacks in Madrid on 3-11-2004, it is clear that Basque terrorism has become an anachronism, at all levels, which might linger with very deadly consequences for a long time but historically has already ended. Yet, it would not be wise to think that finally the discourse of otherness and essentialism, which has defined the Basque Country over the last two hundred years, will disappear. What is important is to underscore that these discourses of otherness are not capricious or ahistorical. They respond to general historical processes that exceed the Basque Country and the Spanish, French, or North-American states and, rather, constitute them (imperialism, orientalism, globalization, etc.). Ironically enough, these very same processes are the clearest guarantors that a Basque reality or realities will go on to shape and to be reshaped by whatever historical processes and events take place in the twenty first century. What is essential for any cultural critic is to capture the historical and open-ended nature of any identity, so that both nationalism and imperialism can be denounced.

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