

Race, Language, and Basque Protohistory According to Sabino Arana

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RESUMEN LABURPENA ABSTRACT

En este artículo se afirma que la metodología lingüística utilizada en el ensayo de Sabino Arana “Protohistoria de la Nación Vaska deducida del Euskera” (1899) establece una relación conceptual entre lengua y raza que es incongruente con la posición esencial atribuida a la raza en la primera ideología nacionalista vasca. Tras una sinopsis de la obra, el estudio aborda la metodología de Arana, la relación entre lengua y raza que se establece en esta obra, su uso en la formulación de conceptos clave en la ideología nacionalista y su continua presencia en los estudios nacionalistas entre 1903 y 1913.

1899. urtean argitaratu zen, lehenengo aldiz, Sabino Aranaren “Protohistoria de la Nación Vaska deducida del Euskera.” Aranak bertan erabilitako metodologia linguistikoa aztertuz, ondorioztatzen da ezartzen zen hizkuntza eta arrazaren arteko harremana ez zetorrela bat lehenengo euskal ideologia abertzaleak arrazari eman zion garrantzi nagusiarekin. Artikulua laburbildu ondoren, azterlan honetan aztertzen dira Aranaren metodologia, bere artikuluan ezarritako hizkuntza eta arrazaren arteko harremana, ideologia abertzaleko zenbait kontzeptu nagusiren formulaziorako izan diren erabilpena eta euren etengabeko agerpena 1903tik 1913ra arteko idazki abertzaleetan.

This article contends that the linguistic methodology utilized in Sabino Arana’s “Protohistoria de la Nación Vaska deducida del Euskera” (1899) establishes a conceptual relationship between language and race that is incongruent with the essentialist position afforded to race in early Basque nationalist ideology. Following a synopsis of the essay, the discussion addresses Arana’s methodology, the interplay between language and race in the essay, their use in the formulation of key concepts in nationalist ideology, and their continuing presence in nationalist scholarship from 1903-1913.

PALABRAS CLAVE GAKO-HITZAK KEY WORDS

Euskara; Sabino Arana; Lengua; Raza; Nacionalismo

Euskara; Sabino Arana; Hizkuntza; Arraza; Nazionalismoa

Basque; Sabino Arana; Language; Race; Nationalism

The Basques and their language are beyond the reach of history. (1) For thousands of years they have lived untouched by change in their isolated corner of Europe, the last remains of some long forgotten and original culture, distinct among the planet's varied inhabitants. This is the account the world has received and the one to which some still hold fast. But this story itself has its history and it is tied in part to past studies generated about the Basques, which often reinforced the view that they were isolated and unaffected by the flow of time. Some of these inquiries have led to quite inventive results. They have ranged over the centuries from the idea that the Basques are the last remnants of a people who once populated the entire Iberian Peninsula, to the belief that they are the descendants of the biblical Tubal, to the theory that they and their language are leftovers from the lost continent of Atlantis (2). Hence, while it is true that a complete explanation for the origins of the Basques and their language has yet to be produced, it seems the most enduring story about them is that they are as mysterious as they are singular.

As the 'father' of Basque nationalism, Sabino Arana played no small role in perpetuating this particular tale. Arana was dedicated to erecting a story about the Basques that emphasized their difference at every turn. His ideological centerpiece, the concept of *Jaungoikua eta Lagizarra*, was designed to stake out the properties of this Basque exceptionality (3). In this formulation *Jaungoikua*, or God, was meant to encapsulate a Catholic mode of living righteously that Basques should follow. The second part of the slogan, *Lagizarra*, or the Old Law, represented a three-point doctrine devised to highlight Basque peculiarity that was based on the concepts of race, language, and law. Within this construction, the Basque race and language were presented as unique elements that had endured unchanged for time immemorial.

Yet, in one of those little ironies of life, Arana also arduously worked to dispel the sort of enigmas surrounding Basque and the Basques he helped engender. He produced a variety of philological studies dedicated mostly to Basque etymology and orthography with the aim to unlock secrets contained in the language. Unfortunately, since many of the sources Arana consulted were unreliable, and much of his own work was intuitively conducted, his endeavors to recon-

(1) I would like to thank everyone at the Archivo del Nacionalismo Vasco in Artea for their help during the research for this article, as well as Ludger Mees and José Luis de la Granja for their comments on earlier drafts.

(2) For more on the development of these ideas see Antonio Tovar, *Mitología e ideología sobre la lengua vasca: historia de los estudios sobre ella*, Madrid, 1980, and R. L. Trask, *The History of Basque*, London, 1997.

(3) For an analysis of this ideology as well as an excellent history of early Basque nationalism see Javier Corcuera Atienza, *La patria de los vascos: orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1903)*, Madrid, 2001.

struct the origins of Basque words led to questionable outcomes. His linguistic treatises, for example, often channeled the etymological process to conclusions he decided *a priori*. Thus, many of his linguistic and anthropological ideas resulted tautological because they departed from a paradigmatic perspective that framed the Basques as different, and followed a course of logic designed to reinforce this premise. Moreover, these predetermined conclusions frequently coincided with the racial doctrine contained in his political ideology.

Historians of Basque nationalism have focused quite a bit on Arana's conceptualization of language and race due to their prominence in his political ideology and because of the important role both, but especially language, would continue to play in Basque nationalism throughout the 20th century and up to the present. The problem of race in Arana's ideology is generally approached with a two-part question in mind: was Arana a racist and, if so, what kind of a racist given his historical context? More often than not, Arana's racism is affirmed (4). Arana understood race as a classificatory tool that he applied in a biological, cultural, or even generic sense, depending on the subject matter at hand. This racial scheme helped Arana exploit prejudice in order to gain sympathy for his political ideas. Within nationalist doctrine, race was construed as the essence of the nation and all other elements as derivatives of it, including language, institutions, and customs. Since race was part of nature in this formulation, a person of Basque ancestry could no more separate themselves from the nation than an outsider could elect to join it.

It has been argued that Arana understood the social and cultural conflicts surrounding him as a battle between a superior Basque race and an invading, inferior Spanish one (5). Indeed, more than one historian situates the racial aspect of early Basque nationalism within a social Darwinist discourse that considered some races superior to others (6). Corcuera, for example, believes Arana's racism was designed to marginalize foreigners by devaluing their "ethnic" characteristics in order to give the Basque *petit bourgeoisie* a sense of racial superiority. This emphasis on the "ethnic element," along with the rise of ethnology and

(4) This viewpoint is maintained by Corcuera (2001) and by Santiago de Pablo, Ludger Mees, and José Antonio Rodríguez Ranz, *El péndulo patriótico: historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco* (Barcelona, 1999).

(5) Mees, "Sabino Arana: el contexto y la política." *Hermes: Pentsamendu eta Historia Aldizkaria* 11 (2004): 6-16.

(6) Corcuera (2001), de Pablo, et. al. (1999), and Mees (2004). Although Mees supports the idea of a social Darwinist strain in Arana's ideology, he also stresses Arana differed from "classic social Darwinists" because his strong Catholicism was incompatible with evolutionist theory. For a different opinion, see Daniele Conversi, *The Basques, the Catalans, and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation*, Reno, 2000. Conversi believes Arana never espoused a biological theory of racial superiority and suggests Arana did not subscribe to a theory of hierarchical races.

anthropology at the end of the 19th century, also led others to place the Basques on a racially qualitative scale in studies aimed at unearthing the origins of the “island race.” (7)

Historical studies on the role of language in early Basque nationalism have centered on Arana’s philological work, on his perspective vis-à-vis Basque’s social role, and on the function of language within Arana’s ideology. There is widespread consensus that Arana’s linguistic work was driven by a desire to ‘purify’ the language by purging words he considered foreign, replacing them with neologisms he invented (8). Corcuera adds part of the motivation behind this linguistic housecleaning was Arana’s desire to create a version of Basque that corresponded to his political ideals. As such, this rendering of Basque was designed to be uncontaminated by Spanish, devoid of history, and disconnected from the past. At the same time, Arana utilized this sanitized Basque as an instrument for political and social mobilization. Early nationalists were behind efforts to develop education in Basque and they were quick to criticize priests and the government for doing little to support the language.

Despite this interest in Basque, it continued to play a secondary role to race within nationalist ideology. Conversi argues this was due to nationalist ambivalence towards Basque. From his perspective, race was chosen as the ideological basis of the Basque nation because the nationalists did not see Basque as a practical form of communication. Corcuera, on the other hand, describes the reverse. In his view, Arana’s ideological attitude towards Basque was conditioned by the preeminence of race in nationalist doctrine. Since language was construed as the bulwark of the race, protecting it from foreign corruption and influences, Basque had to be guarded and diffused, but simultaneously kept from outsiders (9). Conversi considers the use of Basque as an ethnic barrier paradoxical given Arana’s apparent desire to recover the language.

A tidy manifestation of Arana’s intellectual approach to race and language may be found in Arana’s article, “La protohistoria de la nación vasca deducida del euzkera,” which was first published in the newspaper *El Correo Vasco* in 1899, and later in the cultural magazines *JEL* and *Euzkadi* in 1907 and 1915 respectively (10). Arana’s goal in “Protohistoria” was to explore the possibilities of applying a non-comparative etymological methodology to certain Basque words

(7) Corcuera (2001).

(8) This is maintained by Conversi (2000), Corcuera (2001), and de Pablo, et. al. (1999).

(9) Corcuera (2001) and de Pablo, et. al. (1999).

(10) *El Correo Vasco*: June 25, 1899, #22, p. 1; June 26, 1899, #23, p. 1; and June 30, 1899, #27, p. 1.; *JEL*: October 16, 1907, #13, pp. 196-198; November 16, 1907, # 15, pp. 227-231; and December 16, 1907, #17, pp. 266-268; and *Euzkadi*: May 1915, pp. 207-215. The English translation is, “The Protohistory of the Basque Nation deduced from Basque.”

in order to reconstruct aspects of the protohistoric Basque race and culture. In so doing, he also hoped to better understand the Basque relationship to the world's other people. As Arana outlined in the essay, the categorization of Basque protohistory could only be achieved by applying a linguistic framework because he conceived race as mutable and, therefore, unreliable (11).

This article will present a synopsis of "Protohistoria" followed by some observations about the composition. The first is that Arana's etymological analysis in "Protohistoria" represents an anachronistic return to a specific late 18th-century philological tradition because it was essentially a continuation of Pablo Pedro de Astarloa's methodology. The second is that "Protohistoria" provides an example of how Arana could perceive race in a biological sense. Arana's essays usually utilize the idea of race to signify arbitrarily people, ethnicity, or physical traits. The conclusion to draw is that Arana's general application of race as a concept should be construed as loose. Furthermore, the conceptualization of race in "Protohistoria" is tempered with two politically atypical stances for Arana. On the one hand, Arana admits the possibility that the Basque race mixed with other races in its protohistory and, on the other, he indicates that the consolidation of language is a precondition for the emergence of race. The third is that the essay and its methodology were cited after Arana's death in nationalist discourse concerning race, language, and Basque origins. The final observation made is that "Protohistoria" was not included in either edition of Arana's *Obras Completas*, even though it was published during his lifetime and posthumously twice more in nationalist magazines.

Taken together, these observations about "Protohistoria" open another perspective on the relationship between language and race in early Basque nationalist ideology and, consequently, on Arana's so-called 'turn towards Spain.' The first publication of "Protohistoria" coincides with the beginnings of this political shift, an epoch marked by Arana's growing political pragmatism towards existing government and economic structures in the Basque Country which ended, it appears, in an ideological shift towards greater Basque autonomy within Spain at the expense of Basque independence. This political

(11) It is worth noting that the use of the term "race" in the present article is used as a reflection of the texts examined in it. It is not the aim of this essay to engage in a debate over current definitions of the term, or over whether "race" exists and what place, if any, the science of genetics might have in this discourse. In the case of Basque studies, "race" often gets caught up in references to research on blood type that indicates the Basque population has the highest proportion of Rh negative blood in Europe. According to Paulo Izutueta Armendariz, the usual explanation for the blood type phenomenon is that a Neolithic invasion from the east of Europe did not totally engulf the Basques ("Sabino Arana eta bere eragina Euskal Pizkundean." In *Sabino Arana Goiri: euskara eta kultura*, 35-116. Bilbao, 2004). Suffice it to say that I believe "race," as it is generally used, is a socially and historically constructed idea.

evolution has been well documented and was the source of bitter discord between those nationalists who continued to support Arana's earlier radical position on separation and those who argued Arana's dying message was to strengthen nationalism through greater political and economic autonomy. The question remains, however, as to whether this political change also corresponded with a deeper ideological shift with respect to the role of language and race in nationalist doctrine. While such an ascertainment may be difficult to make, the linguistic methodology utilized in "Protohistoria" demonstrates an incongruity between the conceptualization of race and language as portrayed in the essay, and the essentialist position of race in nationalist ideology.

Although "Protohistoria" was published for the first time in *El Correo Vasco*, the article was originally read at a literary soirée held by Arana's publishing house on March 18, 1899. A footnote to the version published in *Euzkadi* also indicates that the gathering was the first in a series of cultural conferences hosted by the nationalists and that the essay is only a fragment of a larger study which has been lost. The article is eight pages in length and, due perhaps in part to the nature of the gathering, presents a rather limited discussion of the points Arana wished to address. It is divided into a preface and four "deductions" about protohistoric Basques derived from an etymological analysis of Basque words.

In the preface, Arana stated that *euzkeralogia*, the study of Basque, represented the most efficient and authoritative manner to uncover the hidden origins of the Basque race. More concretely, he noted this could be accomplished utilizing Basque itself, "the language of our race." (12) Arana believed Basque could illuminate the "dark labyrinth" of the Basque nation's protohistory in at least two ways. The first was through a comparison of Basque lexis and grammar, its "elements and organism," to those of other languages. Applying this comparative method, one might deduce the relationship that possibly existed between the Basque race and the world's other races (13). The second was to examine Basque lexis through a non-comparative etymology. This second method, largely ignored by those who studied Basque according to Arana, was just as important as its comparative counterpart.

THE TEXT

(12) "...la lengua de nuestra raza misma." *El Correo Vasco*: June 25, 1899, #22, p. 1; *JEL*: October 16, 1907, #13, p. 196; *Euzkadi*, May 1915, p. 207.

(13) The publications differ in language. The word used in *JEL* is *puede* while the word used in *El Correo Vasco* and *Euzkadi* is *pudo*. The latter is more hypothetical, making the putative relationships between races more tenuous.

In Arana's estimation, both methods of etymology could show the morphological and "ideological" origins of contemporary word-forms (14). Hence, comparing Basque and foreign terms to each other could demonstrate the relationship that might unite Basque with other languages and, consequently, the Basque race with the rest of the known races. The clause "might unite" is important because it may be interpreted in at least two ways (15). One is that Arana meant to say that etymology could help position Basque and the Basque race within the family tree of human languages and races. This was not a new idea. Etymology was used in the past to classify Basque within a Biblical structure of languages derived from the story of Genesis (16). Another interpretation, however, is that Arana was suggesting a more intimate relationship that implied Basque and the Basque race had undergone a certain degree of mixing with other languages and races in the past. This distinction is important for how it compares to Arana's understanding of race, typically depicted as uncorrupted in his political essays or articles.

The non-comparative etymological analysis of Basque lexis also dealt with semantic formation, but only through Basque itself. Applying this method, Arana wrote etymology could lead to a "very probable" understanding of primitive Basque worship, beliefs, and customs, including their degree of civilization and culture, their geographic presence, and even the physical characteristics of their anthropological type, which were as yet, he asserted, still inscrutable when applying anthropometry as a method. Thus, in a sort of anthropology through etymology, the 'original' roots of certain words might be utilized to deduce protohistoric cultural practices and racial phenotype. Arana pointed out that the non-comparative etymological method was previously utilized with success to demonstrate Basques employed stone tools and weapons protohistorically, and the purpose of "Protohistoria" was to further explore the possibilities of the method (17). To do so, Arana divided the rest of study into several "deductions." The first offered more data on the aforementioned study of stone tools and weapons, the second applied the non-comparative methodology to clothing, and the final two did the same for "anthropological characteristics." (18) Through these deductions, Arana

(14) The term "ideological" in this context is best understood as "semantic."

(15) "...averiguar el parentesco que pueda unir a nuestra lengua con las otras, y por ende a nuestra raza con las demás conocidas." *El Correo Vasco*: June 25, 1899, #22, p. 1; *JEL*: October 16, 1907, #13, p. 196; *Euzkadi*: May 1915, p. 208.

(16) The roots of this literary tradition stretch back to medieval writers, including St. Geronimo, Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, the Archbishop of Toledo, and Alonso de Madrigal, also known as *El Tostado*. See Tovar (1980), pp. 15-22.

(17) Arana is probably referring to Inchauspe's work on the subject.

(18) The preface also indicates that the original essay included a section on the geographical areas populated by the protohistoric Basques, but it is not present in any of the editions published.

hoped to prove how the etymology of Basque lexis could serve as a method to uncover the protohistory of the Basque race. He was careful, however, to assure the reader that the study's results were only hypotheses to explain existing historical or linguistic facts.

As mentioned, Arana's first deduction was that Basques used stone tools and weapons in a "remote epoch." The terms used to make the claim are: *atxurr* or *aítzurr* (hoe); *aízkora* or *askora* (axe); *aizto* or *azto* (knife); *aizturak* (scissors); *izkillu* (weapon); *azkon* (lance); *azaga* or *azagai* (javelin); and *ezpata* (sword). For each term, Arana provided its original constituent parts. *Aítzurr*, for example, is made up of the parts *aitz* (crag, fragment of rock, or rock) and *urr* (sharp) or, similarly, *aizto* is comprised of *aitz* and *to* (a marker for the diminutive).

The key word-fragment appears to be *aitz*, since it is present in the etymology of every word on the list (19). Addressing this point, Arana wrote that other essayists had concluded the first four terms on the list—hoe, axe, knife, and scissors—were derived from *aitz*. He agreed with this interpretation but, with the exception of *aizto*, he did not think the remaining constituent word-parts for these four terms were correct. Arana did not expand on this contention, except to observe that some of the other etymological roots present on the list, *urr*, *kora* and *killu*, had the same signification, i.e., "sharp." Finally, *pace* Inchauspe, Arana contended that the lower Latin *ascia*, from with the Italian *ascia* and Spanish *hacha* are derived, also had its origins in the Basque *aitz*. Arana left his analysis for this deduction at this, without providing any interpretation about how these terms explained Basque protohistory.

In the second deduction, Arana applied the non-comparative method to words for certain articles of clothing. As in the first deduction, Arana provided a list of words. Of the twenty-five terms on the list, he claimed only three were both primitive and indisputably Basque: *abarrkak* (sandals), *prarakak* (pants), and *atorr* (woman's shirt and underskirt) (20). The conclusion Arana drew from this observation was that the protohistoric Basques only wore the articles of clothing that these three terms originally signified. In a disconcerting leap of logic, he posited that his conclusion must be true because if protohistoric Basques had worn other clothing, then the names for these hypo-

(19) Arana alternates the Spanish translation of *aitz* between *piedra* (rock) and *peña* (crag) with no apparent basis on the tool or weapon he is describing. For the word *aízkora*, JEL translates *aitz* as *peña*, while *El Correo Vasco* and *Euzkadi* translate the same as *piedra*.

(20) The remainder of the list is broken up into three parts comprised of neologisms Arana considered inadmissible: *gorantz* or *gorutz* (waistcoat); *atzorro* (glove); *bernazorro* (gaiter); merely "qualitative" neologisms: *gárriko* or *gerriko* (corset); *lepoko* (scarf); *belarriko* (earring); *barruko* (underwear); *azkañeko* (gaiters); and foreign loan words: *alkondara* or *alkandora* (man's shirt); *mantar* (spat); *txapin* (pump, slipper); *abarketa* (espadrille); *besana* (shawl); *galtzerdi* (sock); *longain* (high-brimmed hat); *galtzamarr* (garter); *txamarra* (coat); *txano* (cap); *kapel* or *txarel* (cap or hat); *gona* (skirt); *amantal* (apron).

thetical articles of clothing would probably have been applied to new clothing that appeared later in time or as a result of foreign influence.

Unlike in the discussion presented for the first deduction, in this one Arana did offer an explanation for how the etymology of his three chosen terms indicated something about the early Basques. The modern signification of *abarrka*, Arana wrote, was “leather shoe.” Since *abarrka* was comprised of *abarr* (branch) and *ka* (thing), it signified “thing of branch.” Citing Astarloa, Arana concluded from this etymological “deconstruction” that, at the time this word was formed, protohistoric Basques utilized footwear made of branches. Arana elaborated on what this footwear looked like, describing it as constituted of woven wicker, reed, or some similar plant. As a contemporary example, he pointed out that these sandals would have been something similar to those still worn by some “Indian nations.” The analysis continues with *prarakak* (pants). Arana wrote it was probable that the word originally designated either a sort of knee-high pants or sewn fabric that was rolled up and cinched at the waist. Curiously, the etymology given for *prarakak* is the same as for *abarrkak*, since Arana claimed the latter was also written *barrkak*, from which *prarakak* was derived. This led Arana to conclude that the primitive meaning of *abarrka* signified clothes in general, all of which must have been made of the same material. Arana moved on to *atorr*, which in some places meant “woman’s shirt” and in others “underskirt.” The etymological origins of *atorr* are broken into *ate* (door, in the sense of “lid” or “covering”) and *orr* (a suffix with agency). Originally, he commented, this article of clothing was probably a simple tunic because the word signified “quilt” or “cover.” Strangely, yet humorously, Arana wrote it was possible that the term *atorr*, and its meaning, appeared later in time than *abarrka* or *prarakak* because it did not contain any clues about the material that was used to make it and because it implied the existence of “doors or lids, etc.”

Arana closed this second deduction with a summary of what may be concluded about protohistoric Basques from the etymology of the terms given above: 1) Primitive Basque clothing probably consisted of a type of footwear and belt that was made from a woven plant substance; 2) Women wore a different sort of clothing than men that was tunic-like and made of some undetermined material; 3) Men did not cover their torsos; and 4) Neither men nor women used head covering. Arana gave no reasons in his analysis for this final judgment on head covering.

The third deduction is that protohistoric Basques had prominent noses. This deduction, Arana contended, may not be fully appreciated given that the typical modern Basque also had a prominent nose, and not a flattened one. However, he noted, it was important to realize that while physical characteristics may not change over long periods of time given a constant climate, they do change when climate changes, as well as when races “cross,” a phenomenon which, in some remote

era, most likely *did not escape the Basque race*. This statement is noteworthy for its admission that the Basque race underwent mixing with others. Such language is not present in most of Arana's tracts. Just as interestingly, it is in direct contradiction to most of the statements made on race by many of his nationalist followers. To this 'caveat' on the geographical and temporal mutability of race, Arana added that one should not assume the deduction that protohistoric Basques had prominent noses also meant they had elongated noses. His conclusion, he stressed, was limited to the affirmation that the Basque nose, at the time of the formation of the language—which he asserted was “the first moment of the race”—was prominent, i.e. not flattened as in some contemporary races. Arana attempted to prove this by demonstrating that the Basque word for nose originally signified “sharp prominence.”

This analysis is short. Arana highlighted that the Biscayan word *suurr* (nose) was more ancient than the Pyrenean and Guipúzcoan word *sudurr* (nose), which was a derivative of the first. The term *suurr*, the reader is told, is itself comprised of two lexical parts which in turn have a common root. One is *su* or *sun* (prominent protuberance) and the other is the aforementioned adjective *urr* (sharp or projecting). Arana concluded that the semantic origin of *suurr* was, “sharp prominence.”

Arana's final deduction was that protohistoric Basques had curly or wavy hair. Arana claimed he arrived at this conclusion through an examination of the Basque term for “hair,” whose original root signifies “round,” “circular,” or “curly.” The reasoning behind this was that the etymology of a word was based, semantically speaking, on one of the most readily perceptible external characteristics of the object in question. So, in this case, the reason the primitive Basques referred to “hair” with a term that generically meant circular was that their hair was in fact curly. Arana proceeded to demonstrate that the term in Basque for “hair” originally meant “circular.”

Through an analysis of a “considerable” number of Basque words, Arana decided that the Basque root or sub-root for “hair” was originally *oil*. He added that modern Basque had several words for “hair” including, the Biscayan *ule*, the Pyrenean and Guipúzcoan *ile* and *bul*, and the Biscayan and Guipúzcoan *bil* (21). The discussion proceeds with an etymological breakdown of these four terms to show how they are related to *oil* and *boil*, a sub-root of *oil*. As it turns out, *bul* and *bil* also mean “round,” and Arana outlined how these two words were used as part of other words that were related to “hair.”

(21) In a footnote to this sentence, Arana writes that after the reading was given, Azkue informed him *ule* was indeed used in some part of Arratia (Biscay), which Arana says confirms his analysis. This also suggests Azkue was present at the soirée.

In order to do this, Arana added three more terms to the analysis, *buluzi*, *billusi*, and *bilos* (as one can see, *bul* and *bil* are present in these words). Each of these terms means “naked” in different Basque dialects. But Arana wrote that they meant literally *en pelo*, which is a Spanish way of saying, “stripped bare of the usual accessories.” According to Arana, the elements present in the latter halves of these words, *uzi*, *usi* and *os*, were all derivatives of the word *uts*. Strictly speaking, *uts* means “empty,” but depending on the context it can also signify, as Arana indicated, “only,” “pure,” or “clean.” This led Arana to refute van Eys’s interpretation of *bilos*, which the latter understood as “lacking hair.” Arana decided *bilos* actually meant the direct opposite, or “purely hair.” (22)

The discussion of *bil* and *uts* comes together in yet another term, *bildots* (lamb), because this is yet another example of how *bil* is used to signify “hair.” In this case, *bil* does not simply signify “hair,” but rather “curly hair.” To Arana, this was so because in this case *bil* denoted “curl” and *ots* was *uts*, or “pure.” Hence, *bildots* is “pure curl.” (23) In maddeningly inventive logic, the conclusion was that *bildots* was proof not only that *bil* indicated “hair,” but also that this hair was curly and, consequently, so was Basque hair. Arana continued, remarking that this meant protohistoric Basques did not have straight hair as did some “red skins, Eskimos, or other races.” He also made it a point, however, to stress that this hair may not have been extremely curly, such as the “wooly” hair of the “contemporary Negro.” (24) The deduction simply went as far as to claim, Arana wrote, that Basque primitive hair was more or less curly, without actually determining the “degree of curliness.” Thus, fantastically, Arana placed the degree of curliness for Basque protohistoric hair somewhere on the scale from “not straight” to not as curly as “a Negro’s or as the wool of a lamb.” As a coda, Arana reminded the reader that when the terms *ule*, *ile*, *bul* and *bil* were formed, the Basques had long hair. The apparent contemporary absence of curly hair among Basques, he wrote, was due to the modern practice of wearing hair short.

The essay ends here, but one might guess that the final section on geography would have attempted to demonstrate, as did Astarloa and others, the extent of protohistoric Basque presence on the Iberian Peninsula through an etymological study of placenames. Some clues

(22) To emphasize his point, Arana uses the examples of *burutsik* and *oinuzik*, which mean ‘bareheaded’ and ‘barefoot.’ “Y la prueba no es difícil. *Burutsik*, de *buru* (cabeza), significa *descubierto*, *en pelo*, y es claro que etimológicamente no quiere decir *desprovisto de cabeza*...” *El Correo Vasco*: June 30, 1899, #27, p. 1; *JEL*: December 16, 1907, #17, p. 268; *Euzkadi*: May 1915, p. 214.

(23) Arana does not seem to mind that this means *bildots* and *bilos*, *biluzi*, etc. have exactly the same meaning.

(24) *El Correo Vasco*: June 30, 1899, #27, p. 1; *JEL*: December 16, 1907, #17, p. 268. *Euzkadi*: May 1915, p. 214.

to this missing fragment are also present in a single handwritten folio entitled, “El Euzkera como medio de investigación de la Protohistoria Vaska,” found among Arana’s documents at the Archive of Nationalism in Artea (25). It seems the cultural artifacts and physical traits which Arana investigated in “Protohistoria” were part of either a larger planned study, a set of conclusions, or a group of Arana’s or contemporaries’ assumptions about Basques (26). The document lists fifteen statements about protohistoric Basques:

1. El cabello del vasko fué ensortijado.
2. Dos solas eran las prendas de vestir del vasko.
3. El vasko usó barba luenga.
4. El material de que el vasko se sirvió para fabricar sus herramientas, armas etc. fue la piedra.
5. El vasko conoció la fabricación del vidrio.
6. El vasko habitó tierras áridas en algún tiempo.
7. El vasko moró en países tropicales alguna vez.
8. El vasko conoció los sortilegios.
9. El vasko se alimentó alguna vez de bellota de encina y roble.
10. El vasko hacía sus correrías siguiendo el curso de los ríos.
11. El vasko no tributó culto, al menos en su origen, á los astros.
12. El pueblo vasko tuvo una época de decadencia en que perdió su culto y sus tradiciones.
13. Uno de los alimentos ordinarios del vasko fué en algun tiempo el ganado de lana.
14. El vasko nunca fue negro.
15. La nariz del vasko fue aguda.

Points six and seven, which claim the Basques were at some point in history both tropical and desert dwellers, may constitute the miss-

(25) HAG,K.00007,C.68, Archivo del Nacionalismo, Artea. The archive’s catalog lists the date of the folio as approximately 1900, but the document itself is not dated. Recall that all of the editions of “Protohistoria” place the date of the soirée at March 18, 1899.

(26) In “Protohistoria” Arana refers to the idea of typology, or the categorization of culture according to races by focusing on a few specific physical traits. It is not entirely clear why Arana decided upon these specific physical and cultural traits to test his etymological theory. However, Arana may have picked them out based on those already considered important for defining the Basque type. Some of his contemporaries, such as Telesforo Aranzadi and Inchausti, also considered these same traits to be important. Jesús Azcona has written that many Basque anthropologists had a Basque ‘type’ in mind that they themselves created. See “La Antropología vasca hoy: estado de la cuestión.” *Ohitura* 5 (1987): 21-34.

ing geological deductions Arana referred to in the preface to “Protohistoria” and reflect the Tubal or Tarshish origins stories about the Basques which some continued to hold true. In addition, two more biological deductions are present on the list: the Basques wore long beards and they were never “black.” The remaining propositions are “cultural” in nature. To the deductions about stone tools and clothing presented in “Protohistoria,” Arana added that the Basques fabricated glass, took excursions following the course of rivers, ate acorns and lamb, practiced sorcery, did not worship the stars and, finally, that at some point in protohistory they experienced a period of “decadence” in which they lost their religion and traditions. Perhaps all of these points were to be ‘proven’ using the same etymological methodology utilized in “Protohistoria.”

THE METHODOLOGY

The general scholarly consensus that many of Arana’s linguistic ideas were based on Astarloa is bared out in Arana’s etymological method in “Protohistoria.” (27) The practice of breaking words down into their constituent “roots” in search of their original or hidden meanings is at heart a reenactment of Astarloa’s by then century-old methodology. Astarloa’s use of this etymological method was tied to a lifelong defense of Basque against detractors in Madrid, who were engaged in a battle to minimize the importance of the language in order to strengthen the reach of Madrid’s power over Spain’s regions (28).

The methodology departed from the idea in Genesis that humans were social beings that employed a vocal language, not one based on gestures. From this hypothesis, Astarloa developed his theory of natural sounds, which Hugo Schuchardt called *Elementarverwandtschaft*. The theory postulated that basic sounds built on each other to form words. As Tovar explains, the sound “o,” for example, originally signified “thing.” If “g” was added to form “go,” this indicated something above. If an “i” was added at the end of this to form “goi,”

(27) In “Protohistoria,” Arana cites Inchauspe, Astarloa, van Eys and himself. As is well known, Arana utilized van Eys and Astarloa to teach himself Basque. Corcuera (2001) and Izutueta (2004) also note that he leaned on these writers to produce most of his linguistic work, which include: *Etimologías Euskéricas* (1887), *Pliegos Euskeráfilos I* (1888), *Pliegos Euskaralógicos* (1892), *Tratado Etimológico de los Apellidos Euskéricos* (1895), *Lecciones de Ortografía del Euskara Bizkaino* (1896), *Egutegi Bizkaitarra* (1897), *Umiaren Lenengo Aizkidia* (1897), and *Lenengo Egutegi Bizkaitarra* (1898).

(28) Astarloa moved from his native Durango to Madrid in order to defend his ideas about Basque from a harsh assault upon the language by pro-centralizers such as Joaquín Traggia. The latter was responsible for the *Diccionario Geográfico Histórico* (1802), which contained a section on Basque. It was in response to this group, and especially to Traggia, that Astarloa wrote his *Apología de la lengua vascongada* (1803) (Tovar (1980)). Much of the following discussion on Astarloa is based on Tovar (1980) and Trask (1997).

this new sound indicated “up,” etc. Hence, words and letters contained inherent, natural meaning, and every syllable reflected the combination of these significations. The implication was that words could also be deconstructed in search of their original meanings. The theory is fully displayed in Astarloa’s *Discursos filosóficos*, which included a study on the original significance of each letter in the alphabet (29).

Furthermore, Astarloa confided in his own personal knowledge of Basque to make general linguistic statements. This self-confidence led Koldo Mitxelena to comment, “the action of departing from false suppositions, which were not original, wasted his gifts as a rigorous and systematic thinker.” (30) Astarloa was also sure his own knowledge of Basque, combined with his theory of language, presented him with the tools to reconstruct Basque prehistory. The idea was worked out in a section of his *Apología de la lengua vascongada* (31). In words strikingly similar to those in “Protohistoria,” Astarloa wrote, “our language is a true and complete history of itself: in it are drawn with the greatest elegance the descent, customs, sciences, arts, and religion of our first grandfathers.” (32) The analysis presented in *Apología* contains etymologies of all sorts of terms designed to demonstrate Basque’s power to unveil Basque protohistory (33).

It is clear Arana borrowed Astarloa’s methodology concerning natural sound and his process of intuitive etymology to make determinations about Basque protohistory. “Protohistoria” may represent

(29) *Discursos filosóficos sobre la lengua primitiva o gramática y análisis razonada de la euskera o bascuence*, Leioa, 1987. The piece remained in manuscript form until 1883. According to Tovar (1980), Unamuno (1902) laid the blame for the presence of this methodological heritage among his contemporaries squarely on Astarloa who, “inauguró entre los vascófilos el disparatadísimo principio de dar valor ideológico a las sílabas y aun a las letras...y llegó a tales excesos de entusiasmo, que afirma haber hallado algo ‘casi divino’ en los abstractos del vascuence,” p. 112.

(30) “El partir de supuestos falsos, por lo demás no originales, hizo que malograra sus dotes de pensador rigurosos y sistemático,” Mitxelena (2001), p. 105. Tovar (1980) adds that Astarloa was hopelessly ethnocentric. Both he and Trask (1997) point out that Astarloa maintained that the five vowels of Basque were the only five vowels which the human mouth was capable of producing. After studying French, which has 15 vowels, he said they pronounced vowels incorrectly.

(31) Tovar (1980). The full title was: *Apología de la lengua vascongada o ensayo crítico filosófico de su perfección y antigüedad sobre todas las que se conocen* (1803). The *Apología* also contained a section on the etymology of placenames. Trask (1997) adds that the aim of this book was to demonstrate that the entire Iberian Peninsula was once Basque speaking.

(32) “Nuestra lengua es una historia verdadera y completa de sí misma: en ella se hallan dibujados con el mayor primor la descendencia, las costumbres, las ciencias, las artes, la religión de nuestros primeros abuelos,” Tovar (1980), p. 126. Compare this with Arana’s statement in the preface to “Protohistoria:” “la etimología puede llevarnos al conocimiento...de las creencias y el culto de los primitivos *euzkeldunes*, sus costumbres, del grado de su civilización y cultura, de los países que habitaran y hasta de los caracteres físicos de su tipo antropológico.” *El Correo Vasco*: June 25, 1899, #22, p. 1; *JEL*: October 16, 1907, #13, p. 196; *Euzkadi*: May 1915, p. 208.

Arana's clearest attempt to follow Astarloa's foray into the study of Basque protohistory, but he applied this same technique time and again in his philological essays. Aside from the essays listed above, Astarloa's influence is also evident in Arana's "Diccionario de la Lengua Euzkera" and "Euzko," while his unpublished documents include a point-by-point outline of the first chapters of *Discursos filosóficos* (34). The methodology, however, suffered from a lack of scientific rigor because it allowed one to make almost any deduction about the semantic roots of a term so long as they could be 'reasoned' into existence. Despite the serious weaknesses inherent in the methodology, or perhaps because of them, the advantage of the approach is that it allowed Arana to create etymologies for words that seemingly reified his preconceptions of the Basques, such as his ideological stance on race (35).

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON RACE AND LANGUAGE IN "PROTOHISTORIA"

Perhaps the most notable aspect of "Protohistoria" is Arana's conception of race and its relationship to language. As in most of his other tracts, in this essay Arana does not directly define what he means by race; he appears to assume that his audience already understands its signification. At times, this makes it difficult to know exactly what Arana had in mind when he used the term. Nevertheless, it is possible to make some observations about how he employs race in "Protohistoria."

The first manifest feature is that Arana takes it for granted that race exists and that at least part of the time he utilizes it when discussing the physical characteristics of groups of people. Arana's initial use of the term in "Protohistoria" is categorical in nature. His presupposition is that the Basques belong to a separate human category which he labels, "our race." Furthermore, he writes that through the study of language it may be possible to place this Basque race into a classificatory structure alongside the world's other races. At first, Arana portrays this structure as a simple division of people and later as a sepa-

(33) In an etymological exercise very similar to Arana's analysis of "nose" in "Protohistoria," Astarloa concluded that, "atz 'dedo' es de a 'extensión' y tz característica de abundancia, y efectivamente el dedo es 'de extensión abundante,'" Tovar (1980), p. 123.

(34) See fn. 26. The full title for "Diccionario" is "Observaciones sobre las condiciones generales que debe reunir un diccionario de la lengua euzkera," *Euzkadi*, March 1905, pp. 9-16. "Euzko," *Euzkadi*, March 1901 in *Obras Completas*, 1980, pp. 1783-1828. Arana's notes on *Discursos filosóficos* are at the Archivo del Nacionalismo in Artea: "Discurso Primera: Si hubo ó no lengua primitiva," HAG,K.00007,C.8.

(35) With respect to Arana's logic, Mitxelena (2001) adds: "Tenía además una ciega admiración, muy vasca, por la lógica: en nombre de la consecuencia nunca vacilaba en aceptar una conclusión, por extraña que resultara, si esta parecía seguirse de los principios que se había fijado. Por esto es él el responsable principal, aunque no el único, de un cierto ideal de pureza que ha tenido larga vigencia entre nosotros," p. 137.

ration of people according to customs and culture. It is also clear in his introduction, however, that Arana's conception of race encompasses what he terms anthropologic characteristics or physical types. These physical characteristics have the potential to change as a function of climate and according to the "crossing" of races, and each race possesses specific physical characteristics that set them apart from other races. In the case of the Basques, among these were a prominent nose and wavy hair (36).

Hence, the concept of race as utilized in the preface to "Protohistoria" may be interpreted in several ways. One is that Arana used it to designate a group of people in a generic sense. Another is that he applied it in a more "ethnic" sense that includes the elements of customs and culture. Yet a third interpretation is that race embraces a physical component. Arana probably understood race in all of these senses some of the time, and in one sense or a combination of two all of the time. Nonetheless, it is interesting that in "Protohistoria" Arana does not employ the concept of race in his first two deductions about stone implements or clothing. Instead, it is limited to the preface and to the final two deductions when he describes the physical characteristics of the protohistoric Basques. This suggests that his conception of race in "Protohistoria" included the categorical and cultural senses of the word, but was especially dominated by its physical significance.

As in the preface to "Protohistoria," the majority of the articles that Arana published concerning race and language utilized the former to separate the Basques into a distinct group of people. At times this categorization also included the idea of customs or culture, but overall few of his articles display an overt or clear use of the term race to describe physical characteristics, even if this was the meaning he meant to convey. A few exceptions include, "¿Qué somos?," in which he contrasts the Basque and Spanish physical types to each other, "¿Somos Españoles?," in which he suggests, as he does in "Protohistoria," that physical characteristics change according to climate and geography, and "Efectos de la invasión," in which he again sharply distinguishes Spaniards from Basques based on physical characteristics (37). Additionally, some of his articles written in Basque

(36) As noted earlier, Arana is careful when defining protohistoric Basque hair to set it apart from both Native Americans and Africans, who Arana may have considered to represent two of the 'primitive races' still extant on the planet. One of the common motifs in Basque studies discourse was that the Basques were one of the only 'original' or 'uncorrupt' human races left. It may be that Arana was reticent to equate 'original' with 'primitive.'

(37) "¿Qué somos?" *Bizkaitarra*: 06/16/1895: p. 1, #28; *Obras* (1980), p. 625.; "¿Somos Españoles?" *Bizkaitarra*: 12/17/1893: p. 1, #4; *Obras* (1980), pp. 181-185; and "Efectos de la invasión" *Baserritarra*: 01/11/1897: pp. 1-3, #11; *Obras* (1980), pp. 1326-1337.

employ the term *odola* or “blood” in reference to race (38). The point here is that the patent physical denotation of the term race in “Protohistoria” reflects some, but not the majority of Arana’s articles in which he refers to race and language.

The second observation is that Arana does not consider the physical characteristics of race to be either immutable or “pure” in “Protohistoria.” The idea that race potentially changed according to climate or geography does not differ from his other writings. But the thought that Basques may have “mixed” with other races in its past is contrary to most of Arana’s other essays. The aforementioned “¿Somos Españoles?” offers a perfect early example of how Arana usually balanced these two stances. In that piece, he portrays the Basque race as a “virgin jungle” and an “island in the middle of humanity,” while simultaneously stressing geography and climate can mold physical characteristics. In “¿Somos Españoles?” the Basque race is isolated in the universe in such a way that defied categorization with other races (39).

Since these assertions are quite representative of the manner in which Arana highlighted Basque singularity in his ideology, it is somewhat strange that in “Protohistoria” he would attempt to classify the Basques and put in question their racial “purity.” Yet, in the preface to “Protohistoria,” he writes that Basque can help to, “determine the kinship that might unite our language with the others and, consequently, our race with the other known races.” (40) Of course, this statement may be comprehended to mean simply that language can help place the race in a scheme relative to others. The starker and more unequivocal language comes in the third deduction, when Arana states that the Basques probably did not escape racial mixing in protohistory:

But it is necessary, in order to appreciate my affirmation, to take into account that physical characteristics, while conserved over time within the same climate, change when this changes, and also mutate and transform with the crossing of races, a phenomenon which, in the most remote times, our race probably did not totally escape (41).

(38) See: “Azalkixuna,” *Bizkaitarra*: 01/20/1895: p. 2, #19; *Obras* (1980): pp. 442-443 and “1470’ko Jorala’ko 27’a,” *Bizkaitarra*: 04/27/1894: p. 1, #9; *Obras* (1980), p. 273. The use of *odola* takes us into the realm of the Spanish conception of *sangre*. In one article Arana does equate the idea of *pureza de raza* with *limpieza de sangre*, but this concept is beyond the scope of this essay (“La Pureza de raza,” *Bizkaitarra*: 03/31/1895: p. 1, #24; *Obras* (1980), pp. 545-550).

(39) “¿Somos Españoles?” *Bizkaitarra*: 12/17/1893: p. 1, #4; *Obras* (1980), pp. 181-185. See also, “Qué somos?”

(40) “...averiguar el parentesco que pueda unir a nuestra lengua con las otras, y por ende a nuestra raza con las demás conocidas,” *El Correo Vasco*: June 25, 1899, #22, p. 1; *JEL*: October 16, 1907, #13, p. 196; *Euzkadi*: May 1915, p. 208.

(41) “Pero es preciso, para opreciar [sic.] mi afirmación, tener en cuenta que los caracteres [sic.] físicos, si bien se conservan por largo tiempo dentro del mismo clima, varían con el

The admission that the Basque race combined with other races does not appear as frequently or as clearly in Arana's other essays, irrespective of whether in those other writings he meant to include physical elements in the idea of race. In "Protohistoria," by contrast, it is quite clear that race contains physical aspects and that, in the case of the Basques, it is probable those characteristics changed due to racial "crossing."

The third observation to make about the manner in which race is conceived in "Protohistoria" involves Arana's ideological construction *Lagizarra*. Arana claims in the third deduction that the Basque race was neither eternal nor essential, but rather a thing that came into existence at the moment the language consolidated. This statement implies that language is a precondition for race to exist. But this does not reflect the relationship between race and language Arana normally constructed in his arguments that employed *Lagizarra*. In the vast majority of Arana's ideological writings, race was privileged over language because it was conceived as the fundamental element of the Basque nation (42). In this axis between race and language, the latter was normally portrayed as the foremost shield against corruption of the race and against foreign mentalities. This is why, as is well known, Arana often affirmed it would be preferable to lose the Basque language than the Basque race because the former was recoverable, while the latter was not. Part of the reason behind this thinking was that, in his earlier essays at least, Arana generally considered Basque to be nothing more than a simple tool to communicate thoughts and ideas (43). Yet, in "Protohistoria" Basque is assigned a more powerful role. In this essay, Basque is capable—as Astarloa believed—of reflecting, transmitting, or even containing an entire worldview.

cambio de éste, y se mudan y trasforman también con el cruzamiento de razas, fenómeno al que, en los tiempos más remotos, probablemente no se sustrajo en absoluto nuestra raza," *Euzkadi*: May 1915, pp. 211-212. It is worth noting that just because Arana admitted race could change, he did not necessarily think it did for the Basques. His etymological analysis of "nose" and "hair" actually ends proving that the protohistoric Basque was racially the same as the modern Basque. Therefore, even though he writes that race probably changed, he still contends the Basque race has the same physical appearance as in its protohistory. Additionally, Iztueta (2004) argues that the founding regulations for the first *Batzoki*, in which many exceptions were made to the principle idea that only those with four Basque last names could join, shows Arana was willing to accept racially "mixed" Basques.

(42) The algebraic like insertion of race and language into the *Lagizarra* equation may help explain why Arana does not usually offer a definition of race.

(43) See: Iztueta (2004), Joseba Agirreazkuenaga Zigorra "Euskara, egitasmo politikoa bihurtu, Sabino Aranaren asmoak denboraren gurgpilean, euskaltzaletasunaren ildoan," Bilbao, 2004, and "Efectos de la invasión" *Baserritarra*: 01/11/1897: pp. 1-3, #11; *Obras* (1980), pp. 1326-1337. Iztueta stresses that for Arana, language filled a physiological function and nothing else. He notes that while Arana's perspective towards language may have changed in his later years, giving it more importance, the overall perspective of nationalism towards language did not.

“Protohistoria” is not the first or the only place in which Arana claimed this role for Basque. Arana believed that linguistic study was the best way to conduct “ethnological investigations” because language did not vary according to climate and geography in the way physical characteristics did. In his opinion, Basque was the only instrument available to study, “that long protohistoric epoch of our race.” (44) The problem, as he viewed it, was that no one had figured out how to use language in this regard. This, of course, was precisely his objective in “Protohistoria,” in which he stressed linguistics had an advantage over anthropometry because language and etymology represented a sort of temporal lens through which to observe physical and cultural elements in Basque protohistory.

Thus, “Protohistoria” is a departure from Arana’s normal ideological rhetoric on two points, but a reaffirmation on two others. On the one hand, he contradicted most of his other writing, as well as his ideological followers, on the purity of the Basque race and on the primacy of race to language. On the other, he reinforced his overall depictions of race and the belief that it mutated according to changes in climate and geography. Some have argued that Arana’s conceptualization of race was a simple reflection of a widespread fin-de-siècle point of view. But the problem with this contention is twofold. First off, since Arana’s conception of race was often rather loose, shifting from essay to essay, it is difficult to pinpoint what his understanding of the term was to begin with. In fact, “Protohistoria” is a perfect illustration of how slippery the concept of race is for Arana.

The other difficulty with this interpretation is that there was more than one perspective on race at the turn of the 19th century, both generally and in the specific case of the Basques. It is true, broadly speaking, that Arana fits within the scientific paradigms of his time. Apalategi writes, for example, that Broca considered ethnology to be a science based on “raciology,” protohistory, linguistics, and ethnography, and it seems fair to say that in “Protohistoria” Arana viewed all of these things linked together as well (45). His belief that climate change and geography could transform physical type also reflected that put forth by Reclus. But Reclus also believed races were fundamentally equal and other scholars, such as the Basque anthropologist Telesforo Aranzadi, did not think language had any effect on the “mixing of blood.” (46) Hence, it is not enough to state that Arana’s con-

(44) “...aquella larga época protohistórica de nuestra raza,” “Del origen de nuestra raza” *Baserritarra*: 07/18/1897, p. 4, #12; *Obras* (1980), p. 1342. See also, “¿Somos españoles?” *Bizkaitarra*: 12/17/1893: p. 1, #4; *Obras* (1980), pp. 181-185.

(45) See: Joxemartín Apalategi Begiristain, “Estado histórico-actual de la Antropología y de la Etnografía en Euskal Herria,” Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1987, pp. 135-184.

(46) See: Telesforo de Aranzadi y Unamuno’s “*Etnología: Antropología Filosófica y Psicología y Sociología Comparadas*,” Madrid 1899, and “*Etnografía: razas negras, amarillas y blancas*,” Madrid, 1900.

ception of race simply mirrored late 19th-century scientific discourse because there were many that did not conceive of race in the same light.

The conceptualization of race and language outlined in Arana's essays laid the intellectual foundation for what may be labeled an Aranista School. Members of this school were convinced nationalists who set out on a campaign to give nationalist ideology scientific legs to stand on. In the years immediately following Arana's death, many in this group espoused Arana's linguistic approach to scholarship, which they utilized to support key parts of nationalist theory, such as the concept that race was the essence of the nation. It is important to highlight that while members of this school possessed the same theoretical perspectives on race and language, they were not necessary politically radical in the sense that not all of them called for the Basque Country to separate from Spain. In other words, the political bifurcation within the nationalists between moderates that supported greater autonomy for the Basque Country and radicals who desired complete separation did not impede them from building a common story about the Basques that closely adhered to the scholarly treatises of Arana.

The Aranista School devoted much of their energy challenging any theory about the Basques that did not conform to their perspective. These other theories emanated from thinkers loosely bunched around the topic of Basque studies. These scholars came from a variety of disciplinary approaches and were not connected by any particular political position or institution, although many coalesced around the Basque-Iberian theory of Basque origins and the *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos*. A few of the more prominent Basque studies scholars included Arturo Campión, Hugo Schuchardt, Julien Vinson, and Telesforo Aranzadi.

The magazines in which "Protohistoria" appeared after Arana's death were created and run by advocates of the Aranista School and the essay is also interesting from the point of view of the discourses the Aranista School produced in these magazines concerning race and language during the first few years of the 20th century (47). Indeed, the essay was cited in at least four articles that developed along the same theoretical and methodological lines as "Protohistoria." (48) On

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(47) For more on the history of Basque press in the 19th and early 20th centuries see Javier Díaz Noci, *Euskal Prentsaren Sorrera eta Garapena*, Donostia, 1995.

(48) Manuel Arriandiaga, "¿Euzkera ala Euskera?" *Euzkadi: Ciencias, Bellas Artes, Letras*, April 1908, pp. 159-82; Luis Eleizalde, "Raza, lengua y nación vascas," #9, May-Jun. 1911, pp. 163-196; Karmel Omabeitia [M. Arriandiaga], "Notas protohistóricas del

the surface these debates may appear to be merely technical, but through them a battle was waged between the Aranistas and some of the Basque studies scholars over the creation and control of an epistemological framework concerning the Basques. The contest was over which shape the historical, linguistic, and anthropological representation of the Basques was to take, over the proper methodology to use to do so, and over who was going to author the story.

As we have seen, Arana based his philological methodology on Astarloa and his aim in “Protohistoria” was to utilize this approach to uncover cultural and racial aspects of the protohistoric Basques. As it happens, Arana adopted the same linguistic system to obtain the term *euzko*, the word he derived to signify the Basque race. The Aranista School utilized this term to support the thesis that the Basque nation was fundamentally based on a natural and essential racial element. After Arana’s death, *euzko* was often invoked in debates concerning language, race, and Basque origins carried on between the Aranista School and Basque studies scholars.

Arana arrived at the form *euzko* by breaking down *euzkera* into *euzko* and *era* (49). He corroborated its morphology by looking at its letters and syllables. Once secure in the orthographical form of *euzko*, Arana concluded that it was the “ethnic” name for Basques. He initiated the etymological confirmation of this signification by comparing *euzko* to *eguzki* (sun), postulating that *eguzko*—a word he conjured out of thin air meaning “of the sun”—could syncopate to *euzko*. His conclusion, stated at the outset, was that the Basques self-denominated themselves “of the sun” because they either came from the east or worshipped the sun as tribute to the “Creator’s most beneficial work.” (50) The evidence he provided to strengthen this linguistic and semantic creation came from an amalgam of history, anthropology, sociology and theology.

Arana’s story unfolds as follows. At the inception of humanity, primitive humans worshipped God by praising the most beneficial objects of the creation. This is because, by nature, humans need idols to represent God and the spiritual world. Given that the sun provides heat and is the source of all life, it was only natural that primitive humans chose it to represent God. Thus, the sun became the physical representation of God, while other natural phenomena such as the moon, rivers, wind, etc., came to represent various aspects of the spiritual realm. Yet, since humans also naturally tend toward decadence,

vasco,” #9, May-Jun. 1911, pp. 223-234; and Jon-Mikail Arratia Agarre, “Por el campo etimológico,” #23, Sept.-Oct. 1913, pp. 347-357.

(49) It is worth noting that the term *eusko* (with ‘s’) was the subject of many inquiries into Basque origins, including some by Astarloa, William von Humboldt, and Arana.

(50) “Euzko,” In *Obras Completas*, 1980, p. 1789. For more on *euzko* see: Inés Pagola Hernández, *Neologismos en la obra de Sabino Arana Goiri*, Bilbao, 2005, pp. 156-161.

over time this primitive cult became corrupted and humans began to worship the sun directly as a God. In addition, they started fabricating idols to represent the sun and the other natural phenomena. As time passed, these idols began to be understood as gods in their own right. The continual replacement of representations for representations eventually led to the exaltation of humans as gods, the basest form of adulation.

Not every culture, Arana maintained, went through all of these stages of progressive religious decay at the same time or in the same way. This is because two kinds of cultures existed in the past, sedentary and migratory. The more sedentary people experienced a steady and incremental advancement in technology from stone, to copper, to bronze, to iron, etc., but also a corresponding decay in religion. The migratory people, depending upon when they emigrated from their 'mother' culture, tended to get stuck at that phase until invaded by a future emigration. When this future emigrating culture invaded the territory of a past emigrated culture, it was possible for the latter to jump quickly to a more advanced level of knowledge. However, this also made them susceptible to the more decayed religion of the invaders. Hence, there was an inverse relationship between mundane achievement and spiritual purity.

Now, Arana suggested that many ancient cultures had symbols to represent the sun. Among these he lists the Indian *svasti*, the Scandinavian Thor's hammer, the Greek head of Apollo, and various Egyptian and Native American symbols. He turned to historical accounts that described how the Romans found a similar symbol to the Indian *svasti* among the Cantabrians. The Cantabrians were not Basques, but this did not bother Arana because, he stressed, the symbol actually belonged to the Vardulos, a Basque tribe who the Romans indiscriminately lumped together with the Cantabrians. The fact that the Basques had a symbol for the sun when they encountered the Romans proved to Arana that they worshipped the sun at some point in the past (51). Arana was certain that this evidence supported his etymological conclusion that *euzko* was a derivative of *eguzko*. Yet, whether purposeful or not, the process used to arrive at this conclusion was done in reverse. Arana began with the form *euzko* and then confirmed it existed; he postulated the term's significance and then affirmed his hypothesis.

Given how *euzko* was both produced and explained, it is not surprising that some saw the explanation behind *euzko* as problematic. Campión, for example, held misgivings about the Aranista's nearly

(51) Most of the ideas mentioned here, although not necessarily the arguments, were based on Humboldt, van Eys, César Cantu, Adriano Balbi, Fidel Fita, Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, and Gabriel de Henao.

unconditional acceptance of *euzko* because he believed Arana had effectively invented the Basque race along with the term. Indeed, the reason Aranista methodology and the term *euzko* were so contested is that they formed the basis for the Aranista School's theories surrounding language and race. More specifically, *euzko* was at center of the nationalist concepts of *Euzkadi* and *euzkera*, and formed part of their campaign against the Basque-Iberian origin theory.

These three prongs of Aranista discourse were designed to be compatible with nationalist political rhetoric. For this reason, the nationalist political dialogue concerning corruption, purity, protection, invasion, etc., seemingly fit hand in glove with their theoretical discourse on language, race and Basque origins. Moreover, the political and theoretical doctrines reinforced each other to produce a concise, logical, and structured worldview. The question of which political praxis was best suited to implement the ideology may have differed from one nationalist to the next depending on the specific context of the moment, but what mattered was that people could latch onto a notion of an ordered and focused vision of the world and of themselves at a time of apparent rapid social and scientific change.

One example of how Aranista scholarship adjusted to *Lagizarra* mentality on race and language is the debate over which term was better suited to designate the Basque Country, *Euskal Herria* or *Euzkadi* (52). *Euzkadi* was a lexeme invented by Arana. It signified a territorial place occupied by a specific racial group, the Basques, and was a compound of *euzko* and *-di*, which is a Basque morphological suffix signifying "place" or "collection." *Euskal Herria* was the traditional nomenclature used to designate the Basque Country and it meant the "country of Basque." Members of the Aranista School believed *Euzkadi*'s racial significance had greater potential to unite Basques because it highlighted the racial commonality between them rather than the linguistic one. The idea represented by *Euskal Herria*, Luis Eleizalde argued, was problematic because it created an artificial division between Basque speakers and non-Basque speakers. Many Basque studies scholars did not share this view. They understood *Euskal Herria* as one of the few words that truly captured the conceptual linguistic unity of the Basque people. Campión warned that the neologism *Euzkadi* lacked "transparency," and worried that the introduction of words created in a "laboratory" would lead to an artificial language (53). His concern was that

(52) Two of the principal interlocutors in this debate were Luis Eleizalde and Arturo Campión. When the debate between them took place (1906-1907), Eleizalde was a young, but well recognized member of the Aranista School. Campión was an old foralist stalwart who, although had recently denominated himself a nationalist, continued to view Basque as the principal agent in the Basque "personality." For more on Eleizalde see, Idoia Ariznabarreta, et. al. *Koldo Eleizalde*, Donostia, 1999.

(53) See: Campión, "Sobre el nuevo bautizo del país basko." *RIEV* 1, no. 2 (1907): 148-53 and Eleizalde [Azkain], "Euzkadi ó Euskal-Erria." *Euzkadi: Ciencias, Bellas Artes, Letras*, January 1907, 83-87.

the Aranista campaign to sacrifice the concept of *Euskal Herria* to *Euzkadi* would effectively erase the linguistic character of Basque society.

This tug of war between language and race was also at the center of disputes over the term *euzkera*, the Aranista spelling of *Euskara*, which was the Basque word for the Basque language. The same sort of etymological and semantic process used to construct *Euzkadi* led the Aranista School to claim *euzkera* was a compound of *euzko* and *era* meaning, literally, “language of the Basque race.” A polemic developed over the word-part *era* that was focused on whether or not it signified ‘language’ and the methodology used to arrive at this conclusion. Among other reasons, the Aranistas claimed that *era* signified language due to Astarloa’s and Arana’s theory that all compound words in Basque were made up of parts that contained specific meanings. Campión completely rejected the logic behind the argument. In his mind, the logic was grounded on a syllogistic attempt to prove *era* signified ‘language,’ which led the Aranistas to give it and its counterpart, *euzko*, baseless significations (54).

As mentioned earlier, one of the arguments to support the linguistic construction of *euzko* relied on the premise of an earlier eastern Basque emigration. Their faith in the concept of *euzko*, strengthened by the paradigmatic image of the Basques as an island race, led the Aranista School to agree with Arana’s migration idea and to deny the plausibility of Basque-Iberian origins. This theory of eastern origins also coincided with a general idea that cultures arose in the east in the ancient past and then progressed steadily west, and paralleled the Biblical story of Genesis (55). Thus, even if some Aranistas did not see eye-to-eye with Arana’s theory of a Basque sun cult, most almost necessarily argued that the Basques arrived to the Pyrenees from the east with their language already formed. Proof was offered in the form of a counter-factual argument: if the Basques evolved in the Pyrenees, then they must be a “young” culture compared to those in the east. If this were true, then Basque was also “young” since, as Arana claimed in “Protohistoria,” language was “one of the determinants of race.” Arriandiaga argued this consideration was false because Basque was known to be one of the planet’s few remaining ancient languages. Hence, the Basques were an ancient race because their language was

(54) See: Campión, “Defensa del nombre antiguo, castizo y legítimo de la lengua de los baskos contra el soñado euzkera.” *RIEV* 1, no. 3 (1907): 217-41, Campión, “Segunda defensa del nombre antiguo, castizo y legítimo de la lengua de los baskos, contra el soñado euzkera.” *RIEV* 1, no. 6 (1907): 673-98, Manuel Arriandiaga, “¿Euzkera ala Euskera?” *Euzkadi: Ciencias, Bellas Artes, Letras*, October 1907, 299-333, and Arriandiaga, *Euzkadi*, April 1908.

(55) Eleizalde also considered Genesis the most reliable document in this regard. He believed the birthplace of all nationalities was Sennaar and the Tower of Babel, *Euzkadi*, May-June 1911.

ancient, and this demonstrated that Basque originated in the east and that the Basques migrated to the Pyrenees with their language (56).

Although between 1907 and 1915 the Aranistas arguably offered little more in the way of answers to Basque origins, they did aggressively attack the theory linking Basques to Iberians in prehistory, one of the dominant ideas circulating during the time. As it turns out, the Aranistas were correct to dismiss this theory, but not because of the reasoning they offered to debunk it. Eleizalde was one of the main contributors to this debate in a series of articles that would eventually be printed as a book (57). The first part of this essay dealt specifically with the theory, which Eleizalde believed was based on weak historical, anthropological, and linguistic foundations that caved under scrutiny. His thesis, which rejected any connection between the Iberians and the Basques, went as far as to claim the former never even existed.

Eleizalde stressed it was not yet possible to classify race simply on physiological criteria. This was not because he rejected such characteristics existed, but rather because he considered the natural sciences insufficiently advanced to make such determinations. He described the new science of anthropology as particularly inadequate because it lacked a set methodology. Eleizalde believed linguistics was better suited to the classification of race than anthropology because the relationship between languages was an “indisputable indicator of the relationship between races.” (58) Specifically, he highlighted the utility of the non-comparative etymological method, as defined in “Protohistoria,” to unearth clues about the Basque race. The idea that language determined race was instrumental in Eleizalde’s attack on the Basque-Iberian relationship because, if Basque was not Iberian, then the Basques were not Iberians (59).

This brings up an interesting aspect of Eleizalde’s assertion. Eleizalde claimed that language determined race in “remote times,” but that this was not completely true in the present. Why would he feel the need to stress that language did not characterize race in the present? The statement may signal that Eleizalde recognized the pres-

(56) “¿Euzkera ala Euskera?”, *Euzkadi*, April 1908.

(57) “Raza, lengua y nación vasca,” *Euzkadi: Ciencias, Bellas Artes, Letras*, May-June 1911 #9, pp. 163-96, pp. 238-240; July-August 1911 #10, pp. 243-276; and September-October 1911 #11, pp. 323-239.

(58) “...indicador indiscutible del parentesco de las razas,” *Ibid.*, p. 181.

(59) Eleizalde directly quotes the same passage from “Protohistoria” mentioned above: “la etimología puede llevarnos al conocimiento...de las creencias y el culto de los primitivos *euzkeldunes*, sus costumbres, del grado de su civilización y cultura, de los países que habitaran y hasta de los caracteres físicos de su tipo antropológico,” *Ibid.*, p. 169. Eleizalde claimed that if the Basques and Iberians were one people, then *euzko* and *ibero*, the Iberian ethnic name, would need to be linguistically related. It was evident to him that they were not.

ence of a fault line between Aranista reliance on their linguistic methodology to prove the existence of the Basque race and the ideological placement of race as the essence of the nation. Language could not both determine race and be a product of it. By the same token, race could not be the “original” essence of the nation if language was its originator. A linguistic apparatus that utilized Basque to unearth protohistoric cultural and racial characteristics, that held Basque words could be broken up to discover their original significations, and that postulated that language determined race, was not coherent with a political ideology that centered the nation upon race. Key nationalist political concepts such as *Euzkadi*, *euzkera*, and *euzko*—the Basque race—were undermined because the very methodology that gave them life required that language be the fundamental marrow of the nation. Obviously, the presence of this fault line was potentially serious for *Lagizarra* doctrine.

Did either the concession of racial ‘mixing’ in the past or the relationship between language and race presented in “Protohistoria” influence the ideological notion that race was the essence of the Basque nation? The original publication of the essay coincided with the beginnings of what some scholars have termed Arana’s pragmatic turn. As stated earlier, this epoch represents a time when Arana became more willing to accommodate the existing political and economic structures of the Basque Country. During this time, Arana also became more interested in strengthening Basque and Basque use in society. This desire was reflected practically, for example, in his campaign against the use of the *anillo* in schools and rhetorically in his letters to Engracio Aranzadi (60). There is no doubt that Arana’s period of political pragmatism corresponded with an increased interest in raising the social status of Basque.

Yet part of the nature of Arana’s pragmatic turn was that political practice was disjoined from the rhetoric of nationalist ideology. While the first became more flexible towards political and economic realities, the latter continued to follow the *Lagizarra* paradigm. Since it is difficult to demonstrate that nationalist ideology changed much during this period, or in the years immediately following his death, it is also difficult to claim that the representation of race and language in “Protohistoria” had any direct effect on their role in nationalist ideol-

TWO QUESTIONS

(60) The “pragmatic turn” is usually dated to 1898-1902. Agirreazkuena (2004) points out two specific events that occurred during this time. One is that Arana’s move into electoral politics influenced the way he dealt with social reality. The other is that Arana began to live in a Basque speaking environment, outside of Bilbao. Perhaps his stance on language in “Protohistoria” reflects these moments in Arana’s life.

ogy (61). Thus, it does not seem Arana or his disciples adjusted the key points of nationalist ideology, even if they did notice that in “Protohistoria” his linguistic methodology, his reordering of the relationship between language and race, and his comments on racial mixing did not align with it. The deeper issue is not, perhaps, whether these conceptualizations of race and language, or greater political pragmatism toward Basque, shifted the ideological center of the nation from race to language, but rather whether nationalists understood that the representation of them in “Protohistoria” and other essays could be read in this manner. Such a reading potentially put in question their ideological antagonism towards individuals and political groups that had always maintained the central importance of Basque, a great deal of the scholarship erected to support the idea that race was the essence of the nation, and several years of political rhetoric to that effect.

This brings up a second question. Given that “Protohistoria” was printed three times between 1899 and 1915, and cited several times in Aranista discourse during that period, why was it excluded from both editions of Arana’s *Obras Completas*, published in 1965 and 1980? The essay joins the list of letters and essays authored by Arana that do not appear in this volume (62). It is difficult to accept that the absence of “Protohistoria” in *Obras Completas* is merely an oversight on the part of the editors since most of Arana’s other articles from *El Correo Vasco*, and many of his posthumously published articles in *JEL* and *Euzkadi*, are included in the volume. One possible explanation is that at the time the first edition of *Obras Completas* was published in 1965, the racial and scientific ideas outlined in “Protohistoria” were thoroughly outdated. By then, Mitxelena had dismissed Arana’s etymological methodology, and the experience of World War II had taught Europeans a lesson about racial ideologies. Seen through this lens, it may not have been the contradictions in “Protohistoria” that led it to be excluded from *Obras Completas*, but rather its faulty sci-

(61) Elorza (1978) agrees that Aranista ideology was not influenced by Arana’s “evolution.” In fact, he notes it was precisely for this reason that moderate and radical nationalists were able to co-exist, pp. 323-332. According to de Pablo, et. al. (1999), post-Arana nationalism began to move in the direction of an ethno-linguistic nationalism in the 1930s, pp. 38-40. Iztueta (2004) claims that it was not Fernando Sarrailh de Ihartzza who made Basque the fundamental element in Basque nationalism, but rather the group involved in the creation of the magazine *Euzko-Gogoa*, which appeared after the Spanish Civil War. Mees (2003) places this shift to a language-based nationalism in the 1960s.

(62) For more on texts penned by Arana that are not present in *Obras Completas*, see José Luis de la Granja Sainz, *De fuera vendrá... Comedia en tres actos (1897-1898): orígenes del teatro nacionalista vasco*, Azkue, Arana, Viar, San Sebastián, 1982 and “El nacionalismo vasco: de la literatura histórica a la historiografía.” *Historia Contemporánea* 7 (1992), pp. 209-36.

ence and racial ideas, which were out of step and politically incorrect in the socially turbulent and charged world of the 1960s (63).

There is another possibility. As de la Granja stresses, the discourse over the “evolución españolista,” was one of the foci of nationalist historiography and a fundamental reason for the discord between the moderate and radical wings of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV). The first edition of *Obras Completas* was edited by Cerefino Jemein and Manuel Eguileor, both partisans of Arana’s ‘original’ nationalist doctrine (64). They excluded another essay, “Grave y trascendental,” from the first edition of *Obras Completas* because it detailed Arana’s turn towards Spain, which was at odds with their own political vision for the Basque Country. It might be that the editors did not include “Protohistoria” in *Obras Completas* because it contained language that contradicted the idea that race was the essential element of the Basque nation. “Grave y trascendental” put in question the political direction Arana intended for Basque nationalism; “Protohistoria” helped to weaken the fundamental ideological notion upon which rested Arana’s conceptualization of the Basque nation.

In many ways, “Protohistoria” represents a reaffirmation of Arana’s linguistic and racial ideas. The etymological analysis presented in the essay is a continuation Astarloa’s methodology and follows Arana’s usual process of intuitive linguistic reasoning. Arana’s conceptualization of race in “Protohistoria” also reflects his other treatises because the term is employed loosely, ranging in significance from ‘people’ in the generic sense, to an ethnic group associated by specific customs, to a category of people defined by similar biological qualities. Still, it is the latter sense of the term that is most manifest in “Protohistoria,” along with Arana’s position that geography and climate affect race.

But the article is also a remarkable departure for Arana because he dismissed the idea that the Basque race was free from racial “crossing,” suggested that the Basque race was not an essential or eternal element, and claimed that language determined race. Taken together with the methodology that Arana used in his philological work, this standpoint provides an interesting perspective on the relationship between race and language in the broader nationalist discourse that existed after Arana’s death. The linguistic apparatus presented in

CONCLUSION

(63) This does not explain, however, why it was left out of the 1980 edition.

(64) De la Granja (1992). De la Granja points out that the first generation of nationalist historians was led by Engracio Aranzadi and Jemein. The former emphasized the autonomist strain of the PNV and characterized Arana’s move towards Spain as a pragmatic political decision to move gradually towards greater autonomy. Jemein’s opinion was in direct opposition to Aranzadi. In his mind, the turn towards Spain was abandoned by Arana before he died.

“Protohistoria” is the same that was used to derive the term *euzko*, which was a fundamental concept for the Aranista School. In order for the arguments behind *Euzkadi* and *euzkera* to hold sway, for example, the existence of a Basque race had to be presupposed and accepted as fact. *Euzko* provided this conceptual cornerstone, but was actually nothing more—or less—than a concept invented by Arana using the same linguistic methodology as that in “Protohistoria.”

Eleizalde’s comment that language determined race in “remote times,” but not so much in the present, may illustrate that he noticed the incongruity between this methodology and nationalist political ideology as encapsulated in *Lagizarra*. Nonetheless, this misalignment does not appear to have affected nationalist ideological rhetoric on race. It seems clear, for example, that the *Lagizarra* framework was neither altered during Arana’s famous Spanish “evolution,” nor in the years immediately after his death. However, the presence of this fracture between methodology and ideology was potentially serious for this rhetoric. The absence of “Protohistoria” in *Obras Completas* may demonstrate that its editors were nervous about including an essay that could possibly help undermine the ideological center of nationalist political doctrine as they understood it.

In the end, the reasons nationalist racial and linguist concepts about the Basques were persuasive for so many are: 1) the methodology used to arrive at them used a logical process that was attractively simple; 2) these concepts ostensibly gave credence to a nationalist political discourse that was ordered and easily grasped; and 3) they fit with a pervasive belief that the Basques were a special anomaly in the great human family. Eleizalde wrote in response to Campión’s defense of the term *Euskal Herria* that *Euzkadi* would help create solidarity around the idea of race and nation because, “[while] the name does not make the thing...many times it does.” (65) The members of the Aranista School understood that words and ideas could create, if not reality, at least a structure of knowledge about the Basques that was as good as reality.

Ultimately, “Protohistoria” both added to the story Arana had a hand in erecting about the Basques’ legendary timelessness, and simultaneously represented a wholehearted attempt to reshape the tale. In this sense, the Basque case is especially interesting because it seems that their own anthropologists, linguists, and historians were the ones telling the Basques stories about themselves through a paradigm of knowledge that effectively cast the Basques as exotic. This portrait of an exotic language, race, and culture was inserted into Basque political discourse. Thus, the image that begins to develop when comparing Arana’s “Protohistoria” to work produced by the Aranista School

(65) “Euzkadi ó Euskal-Erria,” 1907.

is that some scholars were not so much interested in understanding different modes of living, or in learning about themselves through a comparison with other cultures, but rather in proving their own preconceived ideas about themselves. The result is that the world has inherited a story about the Basques that places them and their language beyond the reach of history.

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