

The relaunching of Euskaltzaindia (1937-1941): from the Ministry of National Education's omission to the Board of Culture of Bizkaia's imposition

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Resumen

El relanzamiento de Euskaltzaindia (1937-1941): desde el olvido del Ministerio de Educación Nacional a la imposición de la Junta de Cultura de Bizkaia

Tras la finalización de la Guerra Civil española, Euskaltzaindia se restableció con la autorización de la Junta de Cultura de Bizkaia. Tanto el presidente de Euskaltzaindia, Resurrección María Azkue, como el académico Julio Urquijo participaron en dos importantes instituciones de la cultura franquista: el Instituto de España y ~~and~~ la Real Academia Española. En 1941 recibieron autorización para relanzar Euskaltzaindia, con los siguientes requisitos: los miembros en Francia no serían convocados, los miembros en el exilio serían reemplazados, y los nuevos miembros serían nacionalistas españoles.

Palabras claves: Euskaltzaindia, Resurrección María Azkue, Instituto de España, Real Academia Española, Dictadura de Francisco Franco, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Junta de Cultura de Bizkaia, Lengua vasca.

Euskaltzaindia berrabiatuak (1937-1941): Hezkuntza Ministerio Nazionalak ahaztuak izatetik Bizkaiko Kultura Batzordearen inposaketarainoko bidea.

Abstract

After the Spanish Civil War ended, Euskaltzaindia was restarted with the authorisation of the Board of Culture of Bizkaia. The president of Euskaltzaindia, Resurrección María Azkue, and the academician Julio Urquijo participated in two important Francoist cultural institutions: the Institute of Spain and the Royal Spanish Academy. In 1941 they would receive authorization to restart Euskaltzaindia, providing that the following requirements were observed: members from France would not be summoned, members in exile would be replaced, and the new members would be Spanish nationalists.

Key words: Euskaltzaindia, Resurrección María Azkue, Institute of Spain, Royal Spanish Academy, Francisco Franco's dictatorship, Ministry of National Education, Board of Culture of Bizkaia, Basque language.

Laburpena

Espainiako Gerra Zibila amaiturik, Euskaltzaindia Bizkaiko Kultura Batzordeak emandako baimenez berrabiatu zen. Hala Erresurrezio Maria Azkue nola Julio Urkixo euskaltzainak, biek ere, kultura frankistako erakunde handi bitan parte hartu zuten; hain zuzen ere, Institutu Espainolean eta Akademia Espainolean. 1941ean Euskaltzaindia berrabiatzeko baimena eman zitzairen, zenbait beharkizun jarrita: Frantzia aldeko kideak ez deitzea batzarretarako, erbestean ziren euskaltzainak ordezkoak jartzea eta kide berriak nazionalista espainolak izatea.

Gako-hitzak: Euskaltzaindia, Erresurrezio Maria Azkue, Espainiako Institutua, Espainiako Errege Akademia, Francisco Francoren Diktadura, Hezkuntza Ministerio Nazionala, Bizkaiko Kultura Batzordea, Euskara.

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1. Euskaltzaindia during the Spanish Second Republic

Until the military rebels tried a coup d'état in July 1936, Euskaltzaindia, the Academy of the Basque Language, had regular academic activity. Although the minutes were not published, if we read the treasury's expenses, we will see that Euskaltzaindia made its usual double plenary sessions from January until June 1936. Nine numerary members, two corresponding members, and the deputy secretary took part in these sessions: R. M. Azkue, J. Urquijo, J. B. Egusquiza, R. Olabide, R. Inzagaray, S. Altube, D. de Inza, G. Lacombe, B. Echeagaray, N. Ormaechea, J. Gorostiaga and G. Maidagán.¹

The Civil War stopped the academic bulletin *Euskera* from being published, so there are no official minutes of this period. The minutes were written by the secretary and priest R. Inzagaray, but his book was confiscated by falangists in Donostia-San Sebastián (Torrealdai and Murua Uria, 2009, 51). In the Archive of Euskaltzaindia, there are two copies of R. Inzagaray's minutes from 1936, which had not been officially approved. According to those minutes from January and February, the normative Spanish-Basque dictionary was the main theme of discussion, and some members read related reports or notes.² Other than the dictionary, two important projects were held by members of Euskaltzaindia. In the inspiring days of the Second Republic and the possible Statutes of Autonomy, the personal efforts of two of its members were the most outstanding. On one side, Resurrección María Azkue had presented his *Gipuzkera osotua* (1935). Euskaltzaindia since its foundation in 1919 had the mission of elaborating a standard Basque, but had failed so far, especially because among those who were most interested in creating a literary standard, Basque nationalists, the authority of the Academy was questioned. The president of Euskaltzaindia's «perfected Gipuzkoan dialect» was the last attempt to skip the influence that the Basque nationalists had in Bizkaia, and create a more natural standard based on the main dialect from the province of Gipuzkoa.

Following the same tendency, but with a more sociological approach, Severo Altube published *La vida del euskera* (1934). Although he was a member of the Basque Nationalist Party, S. Altube was aware of the fact that Basque nationalists' linguistic criteria were scientifically questionable, and he tried to apply the modern French school of linguistics (A. Meillet, J. Vendryes, A. Dauzat) to the problematic case of Basque. In the opinion of the treasurer of Euskaltzaindia, extreme linguistic purism, instead of stopping the recession of Basque, was actually aggravating it. He championed popular Basque, including the interferences of Spanish, in order to attract readers to the Basque literature. This criticism of the last forty years of literary production did not go unnoticed, and he was harshly attacked by disciples of Sabino Arana's school of thought. In fact, the monographic content of the last *Euskera* bulletin published before the Civil War was a long response to these attacks: *Más sobre la vida del euskera* (1936).

From the start of the Civil War up until 1941, Euskaltzaindia did not hold any academic sessions, but the headquarters in Bilbao remained open, under the conditions that the circumstances allowed. R. M. Azkue, after the military rebels occupied Bilbao in the summer of 1937, left his hometown of Lekeitio, and continued working every day at the office on Ribera street. Also the Basque Academy's staff of workers collected their salaries from 1936 to 1940: the deputy secretary G. Maidagán, the cleaning lady, and the clerks.³ The president also collected his pay on May 8, 1937.⁴ In the years 1936 and 1937, the library of the Academy only purchased the dialectological dictionary of the catalanist abjurer A. Griera (1935-1936), the Official Bulletin of Euskadi (*Euskadi'ko Agintaritzaren Egunerokoa*) and the volumes of the *Geografía general del País Vasco-Navarro* (1911-1925).⁵ There were no more purchases in the following years, for sheer lack of money.

The purchase of the Official Bulletin was indeed an assumption of the authority of the autonomous Basque Government, but during its location in Bilbao, the Basque Government did not assign any budget to Euskaltzaindia and did not incorporate the Academy to its institutional structure. What is more, the president R. M. Azkue would seek economic help from the Bizkaian royalists, after the autonomous Euskadi was dismantled. The expenses and maintenance bills from 1937-1940 were paid, because the francoist Government in Burgos waived half of the rental fees by a decree on May 28, 1937, and because the royalist businessman Antonio Arceche secured economic support.⁶

¹ EUS-EUS, Euskaltzaindia's expenses of 1936

² EUS-EUS, Euskaltzaindiar's non-approved minutes, 1936-01-28/29 and 1936-02-27/28.

³ EUS-EUS, Euskaltzaindia's workers' payments, 1936-1940.

⁴ EUS-EUS, Euskaltzaindia's liquidation of expenses, 1937.

⁵ EUS-EUS, Euskaltzaindia's purchase of journals and books, 1936-1937

⁶ EUS-EUS, Euskaltzaindia's expenses and maintenance bills, 1936-1940. A. Arceche Villabaso (1880-1962) had been a Spanish congressman during 1905-1923, and king Alfonso XIII named him Marquis of Buniel in 1916. He was a member of a wealthy family related to the Banco de Bilbao management (Agirreazkuenaga et al., 2007, 496-500).

2. The Department of Culture of the Basque Government

What happened for Euskaltzaindia not to be banned by the dictatorship of Francisco Franco? Following the example of Catalonia, the Department of Culture («Euzkadi'ko Gogo-lantze Zaingoa» in its official Basque form) headed by J. M. Leizaola, took many measures in favour of the Basque language and culture, but most of them could not be developed because of the war situation. The Department prominently followed the example set by Eusko Ikaskuntza (Basque Studies Society, created in 1918 by the four Basque and Navarrese Provincial Councils) as a high culture institution. In fact, members of the board of Eusko Ikaskuntza such as A. Apraiz or B. Echeagaray were very active in autonomous institutions like the Culture Commission of Euskadi («Euzkadi'ko Gogo-lantze Batzordea») and the Basque University («Euzko Irakastola Nagusia»). Bonifacio Echeagaray was also a numerary member of Euskaltzaindia since 1926. As previously mentioned, Eusko Ikaskuntza was the role model for the Department of Culture, specially because of its historical work to achieve a public university and political autonomy for the Basque Country (Estornés Zubizarreta, 1983) (Aizpuru, 2012).

As opposed to republican Catalonia, the influence of catholic clergymen was very substantial in the cultural policy of the Basque Government. We have to mention the case of Juan Gorostiaga (1905-1988), appointed corresponding member of Euskaltzaindia in 1932 and hired by the Academy to help R. M. Azkue with the Spanish-Basque dictionary. When the Department of Culture created the Basque Language and Literature Section, on November 7 1936, they did not name, say, the elderly R. M. Azkue (1864-1951), but a young Basque nationalist like priest J. Gorostiaga, who was not even a numerary member of Euskaltzaindia.

J. Gorostiaga was a loyal servant of the autonomous Euskadi. He was also appointed professor at the seminary of Bizkaia created in 1937 under the authority of exiled bishop of Vitoria-Gasteiz Mateo Múgica. When the military rebels were about to occupy Bilbao, J. Gorostiaga went into exile in France and worked as a teacher for the exiled children communities under the Basque Government and as a writer for antifrancoist propaganda (Clero Vasco, 1966, 356-358) (Arana Martija, 1990, 17-19) (Alonso Carballés, 1998, 207) (Kintana Goiriena, 2008, 263).

The Basque Language and Literature Section gathered many clergymen, including numerary members of Euskaltzaindia Raimundo Olabide and Juan Bautista Egusquiza, and collaborators of the Jaungoiko-Zale Bazkuna catholic association like J. C. Ibarguchi and G. Manterola, who were also corresponding members of the Academy. This group of priests was in charge of the elaboration of Basque textbooks, aimed to elevate the cultural level of the Basque language and its speakers, as regulated by the Statute of Autonomy of 1936. The Basque Language and Literature Section also tried to encourage the use of the native language in the administration, even among soldiers. Under the direction of J. Gorostiaga, a group of Basque nationalist teachers named Euzkel Irakasletza was created to plan the education in the native language.

We can also find two numerary members of Euskaltzaindia, the above mentioned B. Echeagaray and R. Olabide, in the Culture Commission of Euskadi created by the Basque Government on December 14 1936. The former in the section of secondary education, and the latter in the Basque language section (Sebastián García, 1994, 50-55, 88-94, 123-131) (Aizpuru, 2012, 112). The francoist victory prevented the Commission from fulfilling its advising service in the autonomous Euskadi. Adding to the frustrating inertia of the historical minorisation of the Basque language, the defeat of Bilbao in June 1937 extinguished the beautiful project of a more balance biligualism. All the members of the Academy that collaborated with the Basque Government had to go into exile, if they were not taken to prison first.

The president R. M. Azkue, however, appeared very distant to all these efforts. The only relation he seems to have had with the Basque Language and Literature Section headed by J. Gorostiaga, was a frustrated collaboration in a never published scientific journal (Sebastián García, 1994, 130). Although Euskaltzaindia was founded by Eusko Ikaskuntza in 1919, it had had an independent evolution ever since, and both institutions had little organic relationship, and this is more prominent in the case of the president of the Academy (cf. Hernández Mata, 2007, 109-111). More importantly, Euskaltzaindia had not been able to elaborate a standard Basque, so the linguistic criteria of the Basque Government, followed the Basque Nationalist Party's tradition in regards to Basque writing and terminology, for example, in the Official Bulletin of Euskadi or the short-lived *Eguna* newspaper (Sebastián García, 1994, 126-127, 130) (Sarrugarte Irigoien, 2010, 43-56).⁷

The soon-to-be president of the autonomous Euskadi, J. A. Agirre, had mentioned to R. M. Azkue the possibility of reinforcing the linguistic authority of the Basque Academy in early July 1936 (Kintana Goiriena, 2008, 608). However, nothing like this happened. The legislative work of the Basque Government did not integrate Euskaltzaindia or Eusko Ikaskuntza, and they did not receive a budget. When the Civil War broke out, they ceased all formal activity and both institutions went into hibernation. This is probably the reason why the dictatorship had no reason to officially prohibit them.

R. M. Azkue, following his traditionally ambiguous political behaviour, seemed a little indifferent or cautious regarding

⁷ The five members appointed to take charge of the Basque literature in the Culture Commission of Euskadi, were teachers and writers belonging to S. Arana's school: Tomás Aguirre, José Altuna, «Otxolua», «Lauaxeta» and sole academican R. Olabide (Sebastián García, 1994, 52).

the Basque Government. This is evident in the testimonies told by the very engaged B. Echegaray, who lived the whole situation in first person: «For Azkue, the war didn't exist» (apud Ibarzabal, 2001, 31). That, of course, does not mean that the elderly president did not have obvious similarities with Basque nationalism, regarding the need of a Statute of Autonomy or the introduction of Basque language in education (Kintana Goiriena, 2008, 342-343). In our view, a right-wing priest like R. M. Azkue, whose concept of the Catholic Church's preeminence was very close to political integrism, feared the laicist process of the Second Republic, and questioned the collaboration of the Basque nationalism with republican-socialists and very especially communists. After the Spanish revolutionary strike of 1934, linguist Gerhard Bähr showed his concern to the president: «[Georges] Lacombe, con quien hablé brevemente en París el pasado octubre [...] me contó qué aterrado había estado Vd. por la revuelta de los comunistas» (apud Jauregi, 2005, 168).

We will soon see how the news he got from Catalonia, about the social revolution and the religious persecution, led him to support the military rebels. For a Basque language loyalist raised in traditionalism, the Estate idolizing political project of Falange was almost an aberration. However, R. M. Azkue always tried to remain equidistant from all conservative political parties, and had friendly relationships both among Basque and Spanish nationalists. But when the Basque Nationalist Party broke up with the rest of the right-wing forces, R. M. Azkue pretended to be oblivious to the special situation created in Euskadi, and did not officially endorse the Basque Government. That does not mean that they became enemies, but proves that he avoided all political identification.

Did R. M. Azkue have anything to do with the appointment of relatively unknown J. Gorostiaga? We do not have any proof for that. He might have been pleased to have his collaborator in Euskaltzaindia named for such high responsibilities in the Department of Culture. It is also true that R. M. Azkue reached J. Gorostiaga for help, when he asked for the mediation of their common «friend» J. A. Agirre. In a letter sent from Lekeitio in March 1937, he criticized the communists, for having informed against an acquaintance for allegedly being a fascist.⁸ The president of the Academy and J. Gorostiaga continued their correspondence even during the latter's exile in France and Cuba.⁹

3. The broken mirror of Catalonia

The Catalan priest Higinio Anglés and R. M. Azkue had long known each other for their shared interest in musicology (Kintana Goiriena, 2008, 289). In their mutual letters it can be seen how the president's political pragmatism had become, by means of the Civil War and his anticommunism, supportive of the francoist side. In a letter sent to H. Anglés in January 1939, he emphatically praised both Luis Carreras' aphologetic *Grandeza cristiana de España* (1938) and the integrist bishop Manuel Irurita, of Navarrese origin, who had disappeared in the republican Barcelona.¹⁰

In the ever spying situation of the Civil War, the president of the Basque Academy adorned his letters to the Catalan priests with sentences like «¡Arriba España!» or «¡Viva Franco!».¹¹ Ideologically, they were conservative clergymen who had leaned to the francoist side, but staying all the way loyal to their native cultures. H. Anglés in July 1939 explained how they were working on the second edition of L. Carreras' martyriological book, whose German edition had been banned by the nazi minister J. Goebbels.¹² R. M. Azkue and H. Anglés were germanophiles, but above all catholic priests, and they strongly condemned the nazi regime's anticristianism. The Spanish Civil War and the following Second World War put the Basque-loving R. M. Azkue in a very difficult situation. In 1940, he wrote these lines to María Beatriz Kolb, a German friend living in Madrid: «Añado otra muy cordial enhorabuena por lo estupendamente bien que llevan la guerra sus conterráneos. Quiera Dios que luego de la Victoria completa no metan a España en socialismos sindicalismos nazistas [sic]».¹³

Because it denounced the religious persecution by left-wing political forces, R. M. Azkue considered L. Carreras' a marvellous book. The copy of the book that today exists at Euskaltzaindia's Library is dedicated to him by the author: «A Dn Resurrección Azcue, sacerdote ejemplar, sabio insigne, amigo fiel, homenaje cordial del Autor». The Basque Government in exile's bulletin *Euzko Deya* was also cynically attacked in its pages: «el periódico vasco de París, vocero de la malhadada campaña de los clérigos, y laicos sedicentes católicos, en la cuestión española» (Carreras, 1938, 50).

For further clarification, R.M. Azkue's case will be compared with that of J. B. Egusquiza (1875-1939), who shared biographical similarities. After being ordained a priest, he lived in Lekeitio, the hometown of the president, as a professor in a chair of Latin. He was a leading member of Jaungoiko-Zale Bazkuna, created in Bizkaia in 1912 to ensure pastoral work in Basque. He was also one of the first twelve numerary members that constituted Euskaltzaindia in 1919. However, the tendency he represented in the Academy was bluntly ridiculed in 1924 by the Gipuzkoan born G. Bähr, a favourite of R. M. Azkue:

⁸ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to J. Gorostiaga, 1937-03-07.

⁹ EUS-RMA, J. Gorostiaga's letters to R. M. Azkue, 1940-02-26 and 1940-07-01.

¹⁰ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to H. Anglés, 1939-01-23..

¹¹ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to L. Carreras, 1938-11-18. EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to H. Anglés, 1939-01-26.

¹² EUS-RMA, H. Anglés' letter to R. M. Azkue, 1939-07-20.

¹³ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to M. B. Kolb 1940-05-20.

Es el portavoz de los aranistas, luchó con corazón y alma a favor del término «euzkera», ridículo y de ninguna manera aceptable, y de parecidas monstruosidades. Y esto que ni siquiera se ha distinguido literariamente, a menos que me equivoque, pero considera sin duda su dialecto (el vizcaíno) como el más primitivo, lógico y limpio y como la mejor base para la futura «κοινή» [Koine Greek] (apud Jauregi, 2005, 243).

As mentioned above, just like many Basque nationalist clergymen belonging to the Jaungoiko-Zale Bazkuna, he served at the Department of Culture of the Basque Government. As soon as the francoist rebels entered Lekeitio, he was arrested and tried. Lacking any proof against him, he returned to his hometown of Lemoa very ill. He continued to be under suspicion and before dying in September 1939, he had to ask for help from R. M. Azkue. The document that the president wrote for him proves that R. M. Azkue was considered «one of them» by some of the new repressive authorities, entitled to give political guarantees to third parties (Urrutia, 2013, 17).

4. The Basque section of the Real Academia Española (RAE)

R. M. Azkue and Julio Urquijo, founding members of Euskaltzaindia, had also been regional members of the Real Academia Española (Royal Spanish Academy) since 1927. The measure was taken during M. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, in order to reinforce the linguistic policy of an official hegemony of Spanish, restricting the use of the rest of the languages to the private and literary areas. The dictatorship, in a November 1926 decree, without consulting the RAE, appointed eight representative members of the so-called regional languages. The decree's aim seemed to be to limit the native languages' autonomy, by means of a political-cultural centralization. Although the RAE protested, in March 1927 the Catalan, Galician and Basque sections were created, the latter with members R. M. Azkue and J. Urquijo. After the demise of the dictator in 1930, RAE returned to its former structure, but all regional members were considered fully legitimate academicians from then on (Zamora Vicente, 1999, 291-301) (García de la Concha, 2014, 272-279).

R. M. Azkue read an entrance speech called *Algunos rasgos característicos del vascuence comparados con los de otras antiguas lenguas* in December 1928 in Madrid, which very well reflects the president's politically incidental Basque loyalism. He would take this attitude to further extremes during F. Franco's dictatorship. In that speech, he called M. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship «second Renaissance of Spain» and asked for the introduction of Basque in primary education (Zkue, 1928, 27). These appointments and speeches were obviously mistrusted by the Basque nationalists (Orixe, 2006, 100-101).

Therefore, both members of Euskaltzaindia were also well-known members of the RAE. Especially J. Urquijo, who was a corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia and had been a carlist congressman during the Second Republic (Agirreazkuenaga et al., 2007, 2327-2341). Since they lived far from the Madrid headquarters, they were not very active members of the RAE. However, in March 1936, for example, they voted for the appointment of J. M. Pemán, against the other candidate, liberal royalist Count of Romanones.¹⁴

On September 17, 1936, the Government of the Republic dismantled the six Spanish Academies, confiscated all their property, and created the Instituto Nacional de Cultura as a substitute. The president of the RAE, had publicly endorsed the Republic, and he himself had suggested to the communist minister of Public Instruction the new structure, in order to avoid further damage to the linguistic institution. However, because of the war situation, the Instituto Nacional de Cultura was inactive, and members of the RAE were dispersed, including the president R. Menéndez Pidal who went into exile.

5. Instituto de España: the intellectual front of francoism

The Government of F. Franco, with the aim of both substituting the republican cultural institutions and gathering the six Royal Academies, created the Instituto de España (IdeE) in 1937. IdeE's main instigators were Pedro Sainz Rodríguez and pompous writer Eugenio d'Ors. The latter had envisioned it as a kind of cultural senate or leadership. It followed the structure of the Institut de France, just like Institut d'Estudis Catalans did, thus it is no surprise E. d'Ors had served as a secretary during the years 1911-1920.

The December 8 and 18 decrees by the Government of Burgos that created the IdeE, called the Spanish Royal Academies to support the cultural imperialism of francoism.¹⁵ On December 27, at the Secondary School of Burgos, the founding session of the IdeE took place. Holding chair was the furious reactionary J. M. Pemán, who had ministerial status, as head of the Commission of Culture and Education of the Technical Board of Spain («Junta Técnica del Estado»).

¹⁴ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to M. B. Kolb, 1936-03-11.

¹⁵ There were six Royal Academies in Spain: RAE; Academia de la Historia; Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando; Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales; Academia de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas; and Academia de Medicina y Cirugía.

The board of the IdeE was appointed in that session: musician Manuel de Falla as president, P. Sainz Rodríguez as vice-president, E. d'Ors as secretary for life, Pedro Muguruza as chancellor, Miguel Artigas as librarian, and Agustín González de Amezúa as treasurer. The president's power was completely symbolic, and the true directors were the vice-president and the secretary (Alted Vigil, 1984, 239-244) (Escribano Hernández, 1998, 305-306) (Zamora Vicente, 1999, 459-463) (García de la Concha, 2014, 281-288).

The first IdeE plenary session took place on January 5 1938 at the University of Salamanca. The head of the Technical Board of Spain (F. Gómez Jordana) and the bishop of Madrid-Alcalá (Leopoldo Eijo, a friend of R. M. Azkue's since he had served as bishop of Vitoria-Gasteiz) were also there as a communion of terrestrial and spiritual authorities. It was P. Sainz Rodríguez who explained the mission assigned to the IdeE, that is, to be the intellectual front of the military rebels (ABC, 1938-01-07). General F. Gómez Jordana promised that they would respect the Royal Academies' autonomy, but all the members of the new institution were forced to make an embarrassing oath of submission, invented by E. d'Ors and established by decree. In addition, the oath had to be made on both a copy of the New Testament and a copy of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* with the symbol of Falange on its cover:

¿Juráis en Dios y en vuestro Angel Custodio servir perpetua y lealmente al de España, bajo Imperio y norma de su Tradición viva, en su catolicidad, que encarna el Pontífice de Roma; en su continuidad, representada por el Caudillo, Salvador de nuestro pueblo? (apud Alted Vigil, 1984, 240).

These are the members of the RAE that gave an affirmative answer to that question in Salamanca: bishop L. Eijo, Ramón Cabanillas, Gabriel Maura, W. Fernández Florez, Marquis of Lema, R. M. Azkue, J. Urquijo and Pío Baroja. The atheist author of *El árbol de la ciencia* is believed to have answered «lo que sea costumbre» (Reig Tapia, 2007, 620). Bear in mind that the repression during the Civil War was so violent that it considered suspicious any person outside the most strict catholic orthodoxy. The commission that purged the libraries and bookshops in Donostia-San Sebastián, for example, reported against the «intellectual venom» of P. Baroja or the «sensuous materialism» of W. Fernández Florez (Alted Vigil, 1984, 64).¹⁶

On that same day they made a plenary session of the RAE in Salamanca. E. d'Ors, W. Fernández Florez and J. M. Pemán assumed their memberships. Two new members were also appointed: P. Sainz Rodríguez and M. Machado. The urge to gather the members of the Spanish Academy in rebel territory and to restore the institution was very evident. Putting aside the normative regulations, the academic chairs of those who had died during the Civil War were filled with new members, and a new provisional board was appointed: J. M. Pemán as president, the bishop of Madrid-Alcalá as censor, J. Urquijo as secretary, A. González de Amezúa as treasurer, R. Cabanillas as advisor, and M. Artigas as librarian.¹⁷

6. The plenary sessions of the RAE in Donostia-San Sebastián

The overlapping of the IdeE and RAE boards is clear, but as far as we know, it has not been stated before that the provisional secretary of the Spanish Academy, the second most important academic position, was no other than the founding member of Euskaltzaindia and Donostia-San Sebastián resident J. Urquijo. During the Civil War the provisional headquarters of the IdeE and all the Royal Academies were in Donostia-San Sebastián. Therefore, most of the plenary sessions of the RAE during 1938-1939 took place in the capital of Gipuzkoa and both J. Urquijo and R. M. Azkue used to participate. In the archive of J. Urquijo there are many documents and letters that proof these statements. In a long file of about 18 pages, there are copies of the handwritten and mechanographic minutes by J. Urquijo.

The official historians of the RAE have admitted that the session minutes recorded during this period lead to problematic interpretations (Zamora Vicente, 1999, 460). Three days after the Salamanca ceremony, on December 30, 1937, there was another RAE session in Donostia-San Sebastián with the following members: A. González de Amezúa, R. M. Azkue, M. Artigas, P. Sainz Rodríguez, Miguel Asín, Marquis of Lema, E. d'Ors, P. Baroja, J. Urquijo and J. M. Pemán (the secretary added a question mark to the latter, though). The handwritten minutes by J. Urquijo does not specify any content.¹⁸

On January 13, 1938, Manuel Machado (brother of reputed republican poet Antonio) was approved as a new member in a session held at the San Telmo Museum of Donostia-San Sebastián. J. M. Pemán, on the other hand, declared that he accepted to be the provisional president, considering that R. Menéndez Pidal was «abroad», and that the Government of Burgos wanted to reestablish all academic activity. Among the members in the session were R. M. Azkue and J.

¹⁶ For short biographies of all the members of the Instituto de España mentioned in this paper, see Ramírez Jerez, 2005.

¹⁷ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1938-01-05.

¹⁸ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1937-12-30.

Urquijo.¹⁹

The IdeE also made a public ceremony at the San Telmo Museum on February 19, 1938. Sharing the chair of the ceremony were two ministers (National Education and Public Works) and the president of the RAE. City and provincial authorities were also there, as well as the apostolic administrator of the diocese of Vitoria-Gasteiz. R. M. Azkue would later in April address a letter to francoist apostolic administrator F. J. Lauzurica politely asking him about the use of bilingual pastoral texts, but no answer to the request exists.²⁰

However, during the February ceremony, the secretary of the IdeE stressed the relationship between falangist Spain and fascist Italy. Following this identification, some German professors were appointed academicians, and the German anthem was performed, while the audience was standing with their arms extended. After that M. Machado made his entrance speech, a symbolic rejection of his pro-republican past (*La Voz de España*, 1938-02-20).

Other than the new member of the RAE, painter Ignacio Zuloaga, art historian Juan Allende-Salazar and other academicians also made the francoist oath that day. Among the audience members were J. Urquijo and Juan Zaragüeta. Finally, the new minister of National Education, P. Sainz Rodríguez talked. His ministry, as its new name implied, was entrusted to offer to the Spanish people a new national conscience. Closing the ceremony, both the carlist and falangist hymns and the national anthem were performed (*El Diario Vasco*, 1938-02-20).

As a sign of the state of emergency, the RAE continued to meet in Donostia-San Sebastián, and J. Urquijo as a secretary was in charge of the coordination, writing letters and messages to the president J. M. Pemán and the rest of the academicians.²¹ P. Baroja, however, did not attend additional sessions after February 13, and went to reside in France (Zamora Vicente, 1999, 460).

On August 30, J. M. Pemán, M. Asín, E. d'Ors, R. M. Azkue, W. Fernández Florez, the minister, the treasurer, the librarian and the secretary met. One of the main themes discussed was the desired support by the Spanish language American Academies, in search of strengthening the imperialist culture policy.²² Another session was held in September, and the treasurer gave report of the work he was doing to publish sanctioned textbooks by the RAE. The primary education oriented *Epítome de gramática de la lengua española* (1938) would be ready for the new school year.²³

7. P. Sainz Rodríguez minister of National Education

The creation of the IdeE, paradoxically, did not bring as a consequence any legislation by the francoist regime affecting the native language academies. The Real Academia Galega, Euskaltzaindia or the Institut d'Estudis Catalans were left aside of the restructuration process. R. M. Azkue and J. Urquijo, for example, made the francoist oath as members of the RAE, not Euskaltzaindia. P. Sainz Rodríguez wrote the following letter in 1982 to explain his action regarding Euskaltzaindia:

Entonces, en plena guerra, había un sector en aquel ambiente, principalmente de falangistas y requetés, que parecían dispuestos a emplear la violencia contra las instituciones vascas de cultura. Yo decidí, para evitar cualquier acto de esa índole, simular que el Gobierno las había confiscado. Mediante esta simulación evité este peligro y cuando salí del ministerio quedaron esos organismos en su situación anterior (apud Escribano Hernández, 2011, 530).

The minister was a famous royalist, a noted intellectual linked to the university and publishing houses. He was the author of a March 1924 manifesto against M. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship's linguistic policy and in favour of Catalan. Under the influence of the F. Cambó led opposition, he outvoiced a Spanish nationalist's method to «concord» in 1930: «Las bases de la España grande han de partir de dos negaciones: No queremos asimilar a Cataluña, queremos estudiarla, a lo que Cataluña contestará con un *No separatismo*» (*La Vanguardia*, 1930-03-25).

Although being a Second Republic congressman, he was one of the main instigators of the coup d'état. He was part of the counterrevolutionary Bloque Nacional and of every conspiracy move by the royalists, including ensuring the involvement of Falange's shock troops. When the Civil War broke out, he was appointed National Delegate of Education and Culture, as a measure to water down Falange's influence. In fact, he was backed by the Catholic Church,

¹⁹ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1938-01-13.

²⁰ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to F. J. Lauzurica, 1938-04-11.

²¹ KM-JU, «Notas y encargos», 1938-1939.

²² KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1938-08-30.

²³ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1938-09-28.

in order to guarantee a confessional education in the New State (Alted Vigil, 1984, 31-40) (Escribano Hernández, 1998) (Ucelay-Da Cal, 2012, 99-108).

As far as Basque is concerned, it was not a literary language as interesting as Catalan for the minister. The ancient language could hold interest only as a remnant of the prehistoric «Hispania», a subject for adventurous philological research. For example, he always supported the Iberian hypothesis of J. Cejador, even if he was well aware of it being considered scientifically ridiculous (Sainz Rodríguez, 1987, 41). He belonged to the Ancien Régime, he was a persuaded menendezpeyalist. He tried to avoid wearing Falange's military dress, and for the traditionalists in Euskaltzaindia, the royalist minister seemed more approachable than the francoist generals and falangists.

An Academy entrusted with developing the Basque language as a modern cultural instrument was out of the question for the minister. R. M. Azkue did not receive any positive answer and he felt absolutely isolated. The future of his beloved Basque culture in francoist Spain seemed sorrowful. As he admitted to a niece on March 31, 1938, he was ready to withdraw from all public activity and retire to a German religious order (Kintana Goirienea, 2008, 215).

7. The minister's speech in Bilbao

The provisional headquarters of the ministry of National Education were in Vitoria-Gasteiz, and the two members of Euskaltzaindia had a monthly relationship with the minister through the RAE sessions. The first steps of the New State's educational system were about to be set. Actually, the minister inaugurated the new school year on October 22, 1938 at the Secondary School of Bilbao. The ceremony and especially the minister's speech had a big effect, but it was his allusion to Basque that really stroke a chord in the Basque Country.

He was accompanied by falangist theorist E. Giménez Caballero and other ministerial seniors. The minister of Industry and Commerce, located in Bilbao, greeted them, and local authorities like mayor J. F. Lequerica and former mayor J. M. Areilza were also there, as well as the president of Euskaltzaindia.²⁴ Despite being right-wing politicians turn fascists, they had long-term knowledge of the cultural diversity in Spain. Both P. Sainz Rodríguez and E. Giménez Caballero had participated in the coordination of Catalan and Spanish intellectuals led by F. Cambó, as opposition to M. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. During the Second Republic, however, they both broke up with the catalanist movement (Ucelay-Da Cal, 2012, 101-124). Both J. F. Lequerica and J. M. Areilza had also been very active members of the maurrasian royalist opposition to Basque nationalism in Bizkaia (Agirreazkuenaga et al. 2008, 105-118, 169-177)

During the Civil War, the ceremony held in the former capital of autonomous Euskadi had an overstated meaning. The September 20, 1938 Law to Reform the Secondary Education had recently been promulgated, and the reform of the rest of the education levels was being studied by the Ministry of National Education. The Secondary Education curriculum was designed to form leaders in a catholic, classical and counterrevolutionary blueprint. The educational system of fascist Italy had an obvious influence in the ministerial reform. The nationalist imperialism was absolute, and Spanish language's importance was stressed in the law's preface: «Our language is the nervous system of our spiritual Empire, and also the real and tangible heritage of our political-historical Empire» (apud Alted Vigil, 1984, 192). But in the minister's speech of Bilbao, after assuring the indispensable nature of Spanish and the classical languages, he unexpectedly mentioned the Basque language:

España se siente solidarizada con sus provincias vascas. Yo espero en breve que el Instituto de España organizará en sus Institutos el estudio del idioma vasco, porque la España Imperial siente como suyo lo que es nacional y es de España (El Correo Español-El Pueblo Vasco, 1938-10-23) (La Gaceta del Norte, 1938-10-23).²⁵

The allusion published in the press caused an immediate effect in the Basque Country. The compulsory political unification with the falangists, had created uneasiness among the traditionalists. They were right-wing Spanish nationalists, but not all of them accepted the administrative centralism or the contempt for their native languages. The Tolosa City Council managed by carlists, for example, approved the following motion:

-1ª. Que conste en acta el agrado y satisfacción con que ha visto el Ayuntamiento tolosano las afirmaciones del Sr. Sain[z] Rodríguez al declarar que en plazo breve organizará en los institutos españoles el estudio del idioma vasco, y al felicitarle por ese motivo se le estimule a que no desanime para que sea un hecho, una realidad, su pensamiento en este sentido y. -2ª. - Se haga conocer a todos los Ayuntamientos de esta provincia el acuerdo recaído para si consideran procedentes adherirse al mismo transmitan a su vez su cordial

²⁴ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to Z. Vizcarra, 1940-02-24.

²⁵ The Donostia-San Sebastián newspaper *El Diario Vasco*, however, emphasized that the measure was directed against the Basque nationalism: «Vuelve a referirse el señor Sáinz Rodríguez a la lacra de la enfermedad separatista que ha padecido Vizcaya. Dice que el separatismo ya no es problema porque se trata de un microbio que fermenta en los Estados débiles. Añade que se restablecerá la cátedra de vascuence porque el Estado, lejos de hacer campaña separatista con los valores nacionales los incorpora a la cultura general de la Patria» (El Diario Vasco, 1938-10-23).

felicitación al Excm. Sr. Ministro de Educación Nacional.²⁶

The message addressed from Tolosa was received by the Hernani City Council, another village of the largely Basque speaking area of Gipuzkoa, and the Council decided to congratulate the minister.²⁷ It seemed that Basque could be introduced in the secondary education, but the minister's allusion had apparently been incorrectly reported by the press, or more likely, he was forced to rectify by a superior order. As a consequence, the ministry released a quick press note that was also sent to the Hernani City Council. The ministry was thankful for the congratulations received, but it urgently wanted to make the situation clear:

En la transmisión telegráfica del discurso pronunciado por el ministro de Educación Nacional en el Instituto de Bilbao, algunos periódicos han tergiversado las palabras que dijo sobre el estudio del idioma vasco. Lo que exactamente dijo fue que esperaba que en breve el Instituto de España dedicaría una de sus Comisiones científicas al estudio de la investigación superior de la Filología vasca (apud Escribano Hernández, 2011, 188).²⁸

That would set Basque aside from the ongoing educational reform, but it affected the hibernating Euskaltzaindia, as a Basque language scientific institution, and it was implied that the Basque Academy might be integrated in the structure of the IdeE. Two days after the speech in Bilbao, on October 24, 1938, the minister thanked R. M. Azkue as well: «I am very grateful for your kind congratulations regarding the Law to Reform the Secondary Education».²⁹

As we said above, the president of Euskaltzaindia and the minister had a personal relationship in the RAE. For example, on October 31, they shared another plenary session at the Provincial Council Hall in Donostia-San Sebastián. The treasurer informed about the economic situation and the distribution of the grammar textbooks, considering that they could be an important source of income (cf. Alted Vigil, 1984, 221-229).³⁰ They had another session in Donostia-San Sebastián on December 19, 1938.³¹ All the sessions, as we have seen so far, were held in the state of emergency caused by the Civil War, but the minutes of February 24 1939 more clearly reflect the consequences of the rebels' military progress:

El Sr. Director D. José María Pemán leyó a continuación un escrito en el que el Sr. Coronel D. Francisco Franco Salgado-Araujo, Secretario Militar y Particular de S. E. el Jefe del Estado y Generalísimo del Ejército Nacional le hacía presente la gratitud de S. E. a la Real Academia Española por la felicitación elevada con motivo de la ocupación de Barcelona, por nuestro glorioso Ejército.³²

It was undeniable that the francoist troops were about to occupy Madrid, and during the session it was discussed the recovery of the RAE's property. Also the secretary of the IdeE mentioned the convenience of reducing the number of academicians, which was an obvious attempt to purge the left-wing members. Actually, on March 20, 1939, when the republican Madrid was about to be defeated, R. M. Azkue tried to have a personal meeting with the minister of National Education in Vitoria-Gasteiz. He wanted to ask for his help to publish bilingual books and restart Euskaltzaindia. Just like he had done during M. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, the president of Euskaltzaindia was willing to be a censor for the Government, as long as he could bring «the sleeping Academy» back, but he did not find the minister and left him a note in Vitoria-Gasteiz:

Acabo de llegar de Bilbao con el objeto exclusivo de tener con V. una cordial entrevista. Su objeto era conocer sus disposiciones acerca del patrocinio (digámoslo así) de la lengua vasca y además pedirle el favor de poder dirigirme a los gobernadores civiles de las tres provincias vascas y de Navarra con un escrito firmado por usted para que autoricen la publicación de escritos vascos dirigidos al pueblo poco culto, acompañados de traducción castellana.

Esta solicitud obedece a que algunas Cajas de ahorros han pedido esto mismo pero la autoridad se lo ha negado.

¡Cuánto gusto hubiera tenido en mi proyectada entrevista! En ella me hubiera atrevido y

²⁶ TA, «Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento», minute of 1938-11-11. Juan Mocoroa was the provisional mayor at that moment, a falcondist and sympathiser of the Allies during the Second World War (Villanueva, 1997, 637, 643).

²⁷ HA, «Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento», 1938-11-25.

²⁸ HA, «Libro de Actas del Ayuntamiento», 1938-12-09.

²⁹ EUS-RMA, P. Sainz Rodríguez's letter to R. M. Azkue, 1938-10-24.

³⁰ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1938-10-31.

³¹ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1938-12-19.

³² KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1939-02-24.

ahora me atrevo a pedirle con todo empeño la reapertura de la Academia de la lengua vasca.

Si los gobernadores civiles necesitaran de alguien que juzgase los textos vascos, tendría yo sumo agrado en ponerme a sus órdenes.³³

The president of Euskaltzaindia might have thought that the francoist victory was the right time to obtain an authorisation, but the minister would not give him an official response, and according to J. Urquijo's minutes, the RAE never discussed the native languages of Spain during the sessions. It seems that the trouble caused by the October speech in Bilbao led the minister to postpone the subject. In addition, P. Sainz Rodríguez's position in the francoist Government was losing stability in that very moment. On March 3, 1939 he wrote a significant letter to francoist priest Juan Tusquets regarding the Catalan culture institutions, which can easily be applied to Euskaltzaindia as well. As the letter shows, the francoist Government did not have an official position about the native language academies, and the minister of National Education's criteria was far from politically concluding:

Creo conozca mi actuación respecto de lengua y cultura catalana de tiempos pasados. Pocas personas de la España Nueva podrán decir igual. Esto no obstante, creo que la política que haya de seguirse en Cataluña respecto de los Centros culturales ha de ser coordinada por la política general del Estado en aquella región. Constituye un problema importantísimo de Gobierno que rebasa las actividades aisladas de un Ministerio. Por tanto en su día someteré la cuestión en Consejo de Ministros con expresión de mi criterio personal y ponencia de lo que en mi departamento deba hacerse. A la resolución que recaiga por decisión del Caudillo y Consejo de Ministros ajustaré mi conducta futura aun sacrificando mi criterio personal en cuestiones accidentales (apud Escribano Hernández, 2011, 206).

One week after R. M. Azkue left his note in Vitoria-Gasteiz, on March 27, he met P. Sainz Rodríguez at the RAE session in Donostia-San Sebastián. They were getting ready to aid the academicians and workers of the RAE as soon as Madrid was occupied by the rebels.³⁴ After the Civil War ended, on April 29, 1939, there was another session in Donostia-San Sebastián. The treasurer reported the state of the Madrid headquarters, and informed about the staff's attitude «durante la dominación marxista». It was discussed the need to change the cover, and remove the list of academicians from the *Diccionario de la lengua española*, which had been printed in 1936 but not distributed because of the Civil War. Another palpable sign of the purgings. Finally, they discussed the bank account situation and the need to clarify R. Menéndez Pidal's disposition.³⁵ The contents of the RAE's dictionary dated back to 1936, but they added a new cover and a long foreword, that expressed the Spanish Academy's francoist submission (Real Academia Española, 1939).

8. The end of the royalist experiment in Madrid

After the francoist victory in the Spanish Civil War, not only was there a change of headquarters in the RAE, the provisional board was also affected. J. Urquijo was asked by academician Julio Casares in October 1939 to gather all his minutes and send them to Madrid, in order to fill in the dossiers and complete the books.³⁶ According to the inventory done by J. Casares, there was a last RAE session in Donostia-San Sebastián on May 29, 1939, but we have not seen a copy of this minutes in the archive of J. Urquijo.³⁷ However, both the IdeE and the RAE left the Basque Country, without any authorization to restore Euskaltzaindia given, even if there had been a monthly relationship with J. M. Pemán and the minister of National Education for a year and a half. On a more positive note, both members of Euskaltzaindia could feel reasonably safe, considering they were members of prestigious institutions like the RAE and the IdeE.

That said, in October 1939 the president of Euskaltzaindia had to send a protest letter to professor José Rogerio Sánchez, who in his textbook *Síntesis de historia de la literatura española* (1939) had alluded to the furious foralist foreword written by R. M. Azkue in his *Gramática eúskara* (1891), when he was a member of the Integrist Party: «Our so-called mother Spain has turned into a stepmother and the most ungrateful enemy» (Zkue, 1891, V).³⁸ J. R. Sánchez promised him that the citation from the next edition of the book would be removed.³⁹

³³ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to P. Sainz Rodríguez, 1939-03-20.

³⁴ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1939-03-27.

³⁵ KM-JU, «Apuntes personales sobre reuniones celebradas por la Real Academia Española siendo secretario de la misma D. Julio de Urquijo», 1939-04-29.

³⁶ KM-JU, J. Casares' letter to J. Urquijo, 1939-10-21.

³⁷ KM-JU, J. Casares' letter to J. Urquijo, 1940-02-09.

³⁸ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to J. R. Sánchez, 1939-10-09.

³⁹ EUS-RMA, J. R. Sánchez's letter to R. M. Azkue, 1939-10-17.

R. M. Azkue (and probably J. Urquijo) attended the first RAE session of the year 1940, on January 4, in Madrid, which was also the opening act of J. M. Pemán's official presidency, with J. Casares acting as secretary from then on. They also filled in six empty chairs of deceased academicians with members of undisputed political significance like writer Rafael Sánchez Mazas or cardinal Isidro Gomá. On June 5, 1940, the president of Euskaltzaindia wrote to new secretary J. Casares, to suggest some additions to the dictionary of the RAE. The additions were not of great importance, but show R. M. Azkue's willingness to collaborate. A gentle gesture by a president who didn't know how to bring Euskaltzaindia back. Moreover, he took the francoist Navarrese J. M. Iribarren as sole bibliographical reference for his additions.⁴⁰

But when the Second World War was about to break out, the Spanish dictatorship increased its falangist features and conflicts arose even in the otherwise bloodless academic world. P. Sainz Rodríguez was dismissed from the ministry of National Education on April 29, 1939 for unexplained reasons. It seems that above all the dismissal was caused by the increasing influence of Falange and minister Ramón Serrano, an influence that would be evident in August with the formation of a new Government.⁴¹ The relentless royalist P. Sainz Rodríguez had become an uncomfortable person. He started to organize meetings in Madrid to study the possibility of a monarchic restoration with like-minded persons, among whom J. M. Areilza. Hiding from the secret services of Falange, he would go into exile to Portugal in 1942, as personal adviser of pretender Juan de Borbón (Alted Vigil, 1984, 38-39) (Escribano Hernández, 1998, 309-315).

The experiment of a multilingual Spain, more precisely, of a Spanish nationalism that could «speak in Catalan or Basque», ended with the hegemony of Falange and R. Serrano. Former Catalan stylist E. d'Ors, for example, had a very limited effect on the francoist policy. His action didn't go further than the art world and the international propaganda. In the post-war New State, an homogeneous Spanish nationalism was mandatory, with very few cultural exceptions. The fear of being prosecuted or violently punished, not only erased by force any republican sign, it also killed the multilingual aspirations of some francoist regional projects (Ucelay-Da Cal, 2012, 166-172).

His successor at the National Education ministry, J. Ibáñez Martín, started a dissolution process of the functions of the IdeE. In November 1939, the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) was created, which substituted the IdeE to a large extent. The secretary of the CSIC was a prominent member of Opus Dei. Besides, the Government dismissed J. M. Pemán from the presidency of the RAE and appointed elderly F. Rodríguez Marín as substitute. It seems that his royalism-inspired criticism of falangism in a conference caused his dismissal. The dictatorship could not accept the slightest disagreement, not even from noted right-wing allies. In June 1941 the National Education ministry ordered to eject six republican academicians from the RAE (Zamora Vicente, 1999, 463-467) (García de la Concha, 2014, 291-297).

The two members of Euskaltzaindia were well aware of all this as academicians of the RAE. However, when the Civil War ended, and not only the RAE headquarters but also the Government and ministries returned to Madrid, they were pushed back to the periphery of the cultural front line of the New State. That is the reason why the real efforts made by the president of Euskaltzaindia were carried out with the local francoist authorities.

9. R. M. Azkue's correspondance with the local francoist authorities

More evidence of R. M. Azkue's connections with the francoist authorities is that J. F. Lequerica in February 1939, when he was mayor of Bilbao, sent an invitation to him, to take part in the official lunch offered at the Club Náutico to Léon Bérard, former minister of France.⁴² The French academician was on his way to a meeting with the Foreign Affairs minister in Burgos, to negotiate the Spanish-French neutrality pact (Jiménez de Aberasturi Corta, 2000, 13). In any case, on April 4, 1939 R. M. Azkue addressed a very significant letter to the board of the Provincial Bank of Bizkaia:

Esta Academia de la Lengua Vasca que surgió a la vida por iniciativa de las Corporaciones populares de todo el País Vasco-Navarro y que ha vivido al amparo de todas sus instituciones con las que ha mantenido cordialísimas relaciones, se dirige con todo respeto a ese digno Consejo en estos primeros días del año de la Victoria para prepararse a actuar cuando las autoridades lo demanden, inspirando toda su labor dentro de los marcos característicos de esta era triunfal de nuestra querida Patria Única, España.

[...]

El Excmo. Ministro de Educación Nacional se expresó en términos que señalan esta nueva orientación en el elocuente y trascendental discurso que pronunció en esta villa con ocasión

⁴⁰ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to J. Casares, 1940-06-05.

⁴¹ Other reasons have also been pointed out: the Catholic Church did not approve the Spanish-German culture agreement promoted by the ministry, F. Franco suspected that the minister was a freemason, etc. (Ucelay-Da Cal, 2012, 169).

⁴² EUS-RMA, Mayor of Bilbao's invitation to R. M. Azkue, 1939-02-02.

de la solemne apertura de curso del Instituto de 2ª Enseñanza y en conversaciones particulares que han sostenido con el que suscribe.

[...]

Dos de los miembros de número de esta Academia, D. Julio de Urquijo y el firmante han colaborado, y actualmente lo hacen, con la Real Academia de la Lengua Española desde que aquel gran español que se llamó Miguel Primo de Rivera (Q.E.G.E.) dio prestancia a las lenguas regionales al incorporarlas a dicha Real Academia.

Por todo lo expuesto se suplica con todo respeto el restablecimiento de la subvención, con efectos retroactivos (año 1938 y 1939), ofreciéndose en reciprocidad a todo lo que requieran.⁴³

On April 21 the Provincial Bank of Bizkaia informed the president of Euskaltzaindia that they had agreed to deliver a sum of 2.000 pesetas, that is, 1.000 pesetas for the year 1938 and another 1.000 pesetas for 1939.⁴⁴ Responding to another letter addressed by the president of Euskaltzaindia on May 4, the Provincial Bank of Gipuzkoa replied on June 12 that they would deliver 1.000 pesetas, but only once and without any further commitment by their part.⁴⁵

Another recipient of R. M. Azkue's correspondence was the Bizkaian priest Zacarías Vizcarra, author of the antiseparatist diatribe *Vasconia españolísima* (1939). He was well-known for having been recognized as a forefather by Ramiro de Maeztu in his influential *Defensa de la hispanidad* (1934) (cf. Escribano Hernández, 2011, 183). But there is also a tendency to forget what did not go unnoticed by R. M. Azkue, that is, Z. Vizcarra underlined the benefits of bilingualism in his polemic essay (Vizcarra y Arana, 1939, 227-233).

He leído de cabo a rabo, en menos de dos días, su hermosa obra *Vasconia españolísima*, que seguramente tendrá gran influencia en el desarrollo de la política española. Mil enhorabuenas.

[...]

Y ahora otra cosa. [¿]Querría V. Empezar a trabajar para conseguir que el Estado autorice la reapertura de la Academia de la lengua vasca, en cuyas oficinas escribo estos renglones? Podría V. tener una entrevista con el ex-ministro D. Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, a quien tres o más veces le oí decir (una de ellas en el discurso que pronunció en el Paraninfo del Instituto de 2ª enseñanza, de Bilbao) que habría que dar vida al vascuence.⁴⁶

In the near desperate attempt to relaunch the Basque Academy, after P. Sainz Rodríguez had been excluded from the Government, he headed his collaboration requests to those enjoying F. Franco's support. In March 1940 he addressed a letter to «old and dear friend» Esteban Bilbao, minister of Justice since August 1939, asking for economic support in the post-war recessionary situation:

Para cuando empiece de nuevo a funcionar la Academia de la lengua vasca (tarde ello más o menos) tiene que estar abierta esta oficina (Ribera 5, entresuelo) en que trabajo a diario mañana y tarde. [¿]Dónde, si no, podría yo depositar la enorme cantidad de libros que tiene su Biblioteca y la mía particular?

Quisiera, para eso, que la Caja de ahorros vizcayna diese, como el pasado año, también en el presente, la cantidad de mil pesetas y que otro tanto haga el Ayuntamiento de San Sebastián.⁴⁷

The minister of Justice responded immediately: «Acabo de recibir su atenta carta de 13 de los corrientes y con mucho gusto hago las gestiones que me pide».⁴⁸ Even if E. Bilbao was very succinct, avoiding excessive confidence, he did not refuse to help in Euskaltzaindia's restarting process. The minister in charge of signing death penalties tacitly approved R. M. Azkue's intention. E. Bilbao held important positions during the dictatorship. He enthusiastically defended the political union of carlism and falangism, and the dictator trusted him completely (Agirreazkuenaga et al., 2007, 694-704). The Basque Academy and its president were backed by some top francoist authorities, but the Government itself officially ignored the native language academies' issue.

⁴³ EUS-EUS, R. M. Azkue's letter to the Provincial Bank of Bizkaia, 1939-04-04.

⁴⁴ EUS-EUS, Provincial Bank of Bizkaia's letter to R. M. Azkue, 1939-04-21.

⁴⁵ EUS-EUS, Provincial Bank of Gipuzkoa's letter to R. M. Azkue, 1939-06-12.

⁴⁶ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to Z. Vizcarra, 1940-02-24.

⁴⁷ EUS-RMA, R. M. Azkue's letter to E. Bilbao, 1940-03-13.

⁴⁸ EUS-RMA, E. Bilbao's letter to R. M. Azkue, 1940-03-15.

In May 1940, R. M. Azkue received a letter from Catalan jesuit Henry Heras, who planned to found an Instituto Ibérico-Oriental in Barcelona. In this long-time Bombay resident's opinion, Basque, like all Mediterranean languages, was a dravidian language in origin. His research plan resembled those philological studies on Sanscrit being conducted by Nazi Germany. The exhausted R. M. Azkue, who was going through a lot of difficulties to restore Euskaltzaindia, replied impatiently. He denounced the Spanish Government's attitude towards Basque and, at the same time, he recognized the labour done by Basque nationalism on behalf of the beloved language:

La única manera de que aquí se recaude una buena cantidad para su proyectada cátedra (a 300 mil ni mucho menos creo que no se llegará nunca) es consiguiendo que el Gobierno español se interese en el asunto y lo recomiende a nuestras Diputaciones y Ayuntamientos de las cuatro capitales, no solo por intereses científicos sino también políticos, pues con tal medida atraerían no poco la benevolencia de los vascos.

Hoy entre estas autoridades reina para con nuestra milenaria y venerable lengua casi absoluta indiferencia, cuando no menosprecio. Y esto se debe a que la mayor parte de las personas que la miraban con cariño pertenecían al partido nacionalista o separatista vasco (apud Kintana Goiriena, 2008, 372).

10. The Provincial Council of Bizkaia's Board of Culture

The francoist Provincial Council of Bizkaia was managed by radicalized royalists led by president José Luis Goyoaga (Agirreazkuenaga et al., 2007, 1297-1304). A Board of Culture of Bizkaia («Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya») was created on April 11, 1940 by representative José Luis Gaytán de Ayala. The motion's preface, stated clearly a will to politically purge and substitute, starting with its very name, the former Basque Board of Culture («Junta de Cultura Vasca») created in the period, from 1917 to 1919, when Basque nationalists led the Provincial Council of Bizkaia.⁴⁹

The Board of Culture of Bizkaia was first constituted by a large group of people, including honorary members like the president of the Provincial Council, the mayor of Bilbao, and noted Bizkaian francoist authorities like E. Bilbao, J. F. Lequerica, A. Iturmendi or F. Castiella. However, the permanent commission in charge of executing the board's resolutions was made up by the following representatives and citizens: J. M. Areilza, J. L. Gaytán de Ayala, Jaime Jauregui, Francisco Ygartua, Javier Olazábal, J. B. Marco Gardoqui, Joaquín Zuazagoitia, J. J. B. Merino, Fernando Echeagaray (a relative of exiled academician B. Echeagaray), Juan Irigoyen, Joaquín Zayas, J. M. Urrutia and L. Hurtado de Saracho.

We also have to mention another early member of the Board of Culture of Bizkaia, because of his direct connection to Euskaltzaindia: Gregorio Maidagán. He accepted his appointment in a May 3 letter addressed to the president of the Provincial Council.⁵⁰ After being ordained a priest, the Gipuzkoan born G. Maidagán (1891-1961) was called to Bilbao by R. M. Azkue as a personal secretary in 1916. When Euskaltzaindia was formed in 1919, G. Maidagán was appointed its deputy secretary. In addition to carrying the silent work of the Academy's daily administration, he was the president's right-hand person and almost a member of his family until R. M. Azkue died (Maidagán, 1957) (Euskaltzaindia, 1961) (Aguirregabiria, 1978).

In a letter sent to R. M. Azkue from Bilbao to Lekeitio during the Civil War, he enthusiastically supported the Basque Government: «Ayer tuvimos un día de jaleo. La aviación rebelde se llevó una lección; su merecido. La gloriosa aviación vasca se portó heroicamente. ¡Bien por ellos!».⁵¹ He was working at the then Basilica of Santiago when he was named a member of the of Board of Culture. He was a relatively obscure clergyman in the shadow of R. M. Azkue; he was not even a corresponding member of Euskaltzaindia then. In our opinion, he was unofficially appointed on behalf of the president of Euskaltzaindia. R. M. Azkue, after meeting with local authorities and especially with true head of the board J. M. Areilza, might have declined to be a member and suggested his personal secretary as a front man. J. M. Areilza, another royalist turn fascist, almost a disciple of P. Sainz Rodríguez, was taking part in these decisions affecting Euskaltzaindia.⁵²

In any case, the representative J. L. Gaytán de Ayala presented the regulations of the Board of Culture of Bizkaia to the president of the Provincial Council on May 15. The preface reinforced the purging of the Basque culture by the new authorities:

La Junta de Cultura creada en el momento actual por la Diputación, se denominará «Junta de Cultura Vizcaya» en oposición a la de «Cultura Vasca» anterior, porque no acepta ni siquiera en hipótesis, la existencia de una cultura vasca, procedente de un hecho diferencial

⁴⁹ BPCHA, «Moción del diputado D. José Luis Gaytán de Ayala proponiendo la Creación de la Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya», April 1940.

⁵⁰ BPCHA, G. Maidagán's letter to the president of the Provincial Council of Bizkaia, 1940-05-03.

⁵¹ EUS-RMA, G. Maidagán's letter to R. M. Azkue, 1937-01-05

⁵² Unfortunately, J. M. Areilza's memoirs ignore this episode (cf. Areilza, 1992).

y menos aún en abierta oposición con la cultura nacional, sino que por el contrario, parte del principio incontrovertible de reflejar en los momentos culturales vizcaínos y vascongados el espíritu de la cultura española, de signo universal y ecuménico, afirmando la necesidad de exaltar los valores espirituales de esta tierra, enlazados siempre con el pasado glorioso español, como una muestra viviente del brillante renacimiento cultural del nuevo Estado, producto del esfuerzo y de la sangre de una juventud valerosa y ardiente dirigida por la victoriosa espada del Invicto Caudillo.⁵³

11. The Board of Culture of Bizkaia's requirements to Euskaltzaindia

The Board of Culture's mission, therefore, was to promote the Bizkaian culture, but only as a reflection of the imperialist Spanish culture. The board considered itself, for the most part, a coordinating body, which is interesting in relation to the way it would affect Euskaltzaindia.⁵⁴ Finally, the official decision regarding the Academy, was taken by the Board of Culture of Bizkaia on February 10, 1941. A February 21 notification signed by the secretary F. Ygartua gave official authorisation to restart the Academy and guaranteed a budget to the president of Euskaltzaindia:

La Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya, en reunión celebrada el día 10 de los corrientes, manifestó su deseo unánime de que el estudio y mantenimiento del Vascuence continúe con toda intensidad, y para llevar a cabo esa idea, ha estimado de gran interés que dentro de estas iniciativas quede integrada la Organización de esa Academia de Lengua Vasca, con la que quiere mantener una estrecha relación y espera conseguirlo.

Para poner en práctica con rapidez los deseos de la Junta se han tomado varios acuerdos que me honro transmitir a Vd. y son los siguientes:

- 1º. Designar para formar parte de esa Academia al miembro de esta Junta D. Juan Irigoyen.
- 2º. Que a partir del 1º. de este año se subvencione a esa Academia con CINCO MIL PESETAS (5.000) al año pagaderas por trimestres naturales.
- 3º. Significar a la Academia que estima conveniente la continuación de los trabajos que tiene emprendidos, tales como la publicación de su Revista, la preparación del Diccionario Castellano Vasco, y las demás publicaciones que sean de interés para el Vascuence y cuando se vayan a editar, estudiará las subvenciones que proceda.
- 4º. Que esa Academia se sirva dar cuenta de su nueva constitución y de los trabajos que vaya emprendiendo (apud Torrealdai and Murua Uria, 2009, 54).⁵⁵

Following a usual behaviour by the francoist authorities, the president of Euskaltzaindia was only orally informed of the most politically restrictive requirements by the board. That is, the French Basque academicians would not be summoned, and those members in exile would be replaced. During the years of the Second World War, the Spanish Government increased its identification with the Axis powers. The French Basque academicians and the Basque nationalist members were excluded with xenophobia and vengeance. There was also a will to confront the denunciations against the francoist linguistic policy, by means of a cosmetic operation. A regime that permitted the activity of Euskaltzaindia, wanted to present itself as protector of the native languages, without needing to take further proactive measures on a public or official level.

The only political requirement that the February written notification by the Board of Culture officially mentioned was the following: the member of the board Juan Irigoyen necessarily had to be appointed academician. In other words, to fulfill the controlling mission established in the regulations of the Board of Culture, a «commissar» was named in Euskaltzaindia. The Gipuzkoan born J. Irigoyen (1884-1964) was a civil servant of the Spanish body of Archivists, Librarians and Archeologists. Settled in Bilbao, he had been the head of the Provincial Historical Archive of Bizkaia. He was also a popular journalist, first as editor of sports newspaper *Excelsior* (1924-1931), and since 1932 as a staff member of the neocatholic newspaper *La Gaceta del Norte*. He had been an active member of Eusko Ikaskuntza, especially in the field of Basque art. After escaping from the Basque Government ruled territory, on April 29, 1937 he appeared at the Civil Government of Gipuzkoa. After the military rebels occupied Bilbao, he worked under the Government of Burgos at the artistic and bibliographic recovery service. He was the author of the April 12, 1938 report that informed the National Education ministry about the state of the Bizkaian archives and libraries during the Civil War (Estornes Zubizarreta, 1983, passim) (Alted Vigil, 1984, 46-47) (Xarritton, 1997, 419).

The same day that the official Board of Culture of Bizkaia notification was released, the president of Euskaltzaindia

⁵³ BPCHA, «Bases de la Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya», 1940-05-15.

⁵⁴ PCHA, «Bases de la Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya», 1940-05-15.

⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the Board of Culture of Bizkaia's minutes book begins with the June 3 1941 session, and there is no information about the February decision. BPCHA, «Libro de Actas de la Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya, 1941-1947». Neither the minutes book of the Provincial Council of Bizkaia or its permanent commission do reflect any decision regarding Euskaltzaindia during that time (BPCHA).

addressed a letter to the board of the Provincial Bank of Bizkaia asking for economic support. In this letter, R. M. Azkue relates the crude reality of the requirements imposed by the Board of Culture. This could be the document that most clearly reflects the political submission of the Academy:

Por iniciativa de la Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya y muy particularmente por la de su dignísimo Presidente, ilustre miembro del Consejo Político Nacional, D. José María de Areilza, se trata de que surja nuevamente a la vida pública esta Academia de la Lengua Vasca.

Compenetrada esta Academia con el espíritu que informa a la Junta de Cultura con cuyos miembros está en íntima relación ha merecido su entusiasta aprobación respecto a su nueva orientación.

En la nueva etapa de actuación se prescindirá en absoluto de los miembros que representaban a la región vasco-francesa y también de los que con ocasión de nuestra Santa Cruzada huyeron de nuestra Patria. Los nuevos miembros que sustituyan a unos y otros, al igual que aquellos que han de ocupar las vacantes producidas por fallecimientos, serán de la región vasco-española y de raigambre españolista.⁵⁶

It is obvious that R. M. Azkue's main goal was to relaunch Academy at any cost, including having to incorporate the political discourse and requirements of the dictatorship. In this dangerous game, the president of Euskaltzaindia carefully crafted messages adapted to the recipient. When addressing the francoist authorities he would adopt a blatant Spanish nationalism. When addressing members of Euskaltzaindia, however, he would mostly focus on trying to normalize as much as possible the Academy's activity, letting the political guidelines aside.

On the other hand, the above mentioned were official written notifications. The president of Euskaltzaindia had all the necessary guarantees by February 6, 1941, when he happily wrote to the Donostia-San Sebastián resident J. Urquijo the following letter:

Tengo el placer de darte una noticia que sin duda es muy de tu agrado. Dos veces han estado en esta oficina tres miembros de la Junta de Cultura de esta Diputación: los señores Areilza, Merino Urrutia e Igartua.

Me expusieron su proyecto de dar nueva vida a esta Academia. Y últimamente me visitó el segundo para decirme que ponían a nuestra disposición cinco mil pesetas anuales; No podrías tú conseguir que tome igual acuerdo la Junta de Cultura de esa Diputación?

Ahora voy a exponerte (a Intzagarai podrías darle cuenta de esto por teléfono) el plan que se me ocurre.

1.º Reunirnos cada dos meses, un mes aquí y otro ahí, exceptuando los de verano.

2.º Elegir como sucesor de Campion al P. Iraizoz, residente en Lecaroz; y a Nazario Oleaga, residente en Bilbao, como sucesor de Eguzkiza.

3.º Elegir como sustituto de Altube a Zamarripa de Bermeo.

4.º ¿Quiénes podrían ser nombrados como sustitutos de Olabide, Intza y Echegaray?

5.º Dedicarnos a terminar el Diccionario en preparación y a publicar nuestra Revista

A los señores de que antes hablo les pregunté si podrían como antes formar parte en nuestras reuniones los tres académicos vasco franceses. Y me dijeron que por lo menos por ahora no (apud Arana Martija, 1990, 23).

R. M. Azkue made a clear distinction in his letter between the deceased academicians' successors («sucesor») and the exiled members' substitutes («sustituto») (Arana Martija, 1990, 23). The former were a consequence of the natural evolution of the corporation, but the latter were going to be appointed members in a state of emergency created by the dictatorship. Academicians S. Altube, R. Olabide, D. de Inza and B. Echegaray were all in exile. French Basque academicians G. Lacombe, P. Lhande and J. Elissalde would not be summoned, and were otherwise isolated in occupied France during Second World War. That would cause uncertainty and suspicion regarding the constitution of the Academy.

As stated in the letter, the president of Euskaltzaindia wanted Navarrese monk Policarpo de Iraizoz to fill in the chair held by deceased historian Arturo Campión. On April 14, 1941, the president wrote a letter to the Capuchin school of Lecaroz, in order to explain him the exact circumstances:

Por ahora, según indicación de la Junta de Cultura, no figurarán entre nosotros los vasco-

⁵⁶ EUS-EUS, R. M. Azkue's letter to the Provincial Bank of Bizkaia, 1941-02-21.

franceses; y los nueve, que a esta nuestra región corresponden, serán en adelante, además de los tres citados, D. Juan Carlos de Guerra, D. Nazario Oleaga, D. Juan Irigoyen, usted, y Pablo Zamarripa y otro que todavía no está elegido (apud Ondarra, 1997, 74).

However, R. M. Azkue's courage could be judged absolutely irresponsible by any person or collective that had been subject of the francoist repression. As we just mentioned, Capuchin monk Dámaso de Inza was exiled in Chile. P. de Iraizoz gave a very cautious negative answer in his April 19 letter to Bilbao:

Pertenezco a una Orden Religiosa, que ha tenido que sufrir mucho, porque algunos de sus miembros se han dedicado al estudio de nuestra lengua, historia, folklore etc. Recuerde usted, por no citar más, el caso de su antiguo colega nuestro buenísimo P. Inza... Con una experiencia tan reciente y tan desagradable comprenderá usted que no haya ganas de repetirla; y por lo mismo comprenderá usted también que nuestros Superiores no sean partidarios de que sus Religiosos tomen parte en esas actividades que en sí, claro está, no tienen nada que sea impropio de un Religioso. Y tampoco le extrañará que yo personalmente tenga pocos ánimos para trabajar en ese sentido (apud Ondarra, 1997, 74-75).

Finally, on April 28, 1941, the first post-war plenary session was held by Euskaltzaindia. Five years had passed since the last academic session. R. M. Azkue, J. Urquijo, P. Zamarripa, J. Irigoyen, J. C. Guerra and N. Oleaga attended the meeting at the Bilbao headquarters. The latter four and Eladio Esparza were appointed numerary members (Torrealdai and Murua Uria, 2009, 52). R. Inzagaray, after being disturbed by francoists during the Civil War, would not leave his comfort zone in Donostia-San Sebastián. So only two of the ten living numerary members of Euskaltzaindia attended this important relaunching session. The procedures ignored the statutes and regulations of the Academy. According to the rules approved in 1920, at least six numerary members had to be present, for a session to be considered official; and at least six numerary members had to support an academic decision, for it to be formally binding (Euskaltzaindia, 1920, 6).

Significantly, not all of the new academicians met the usual requirement of having been previously named corresponding members. The Bizkaian carlists Nazario Oleaga and Pablo Zamarripa were so since the foundation of Euskaltzaindia in 1919, and the elderly heraldist J. C. Guerra had been named so in 1925. But E. Esparza and J. Irigoyen were academicians selected ad hoc by the dictatorship, and didn't meet said formality. E. Esparza was the director of journal *Príncipe de Viana*, created by the Foral Council of Navarre in 1940. He supported the francoist policy led by traditionalist president Count of Rodezno, so his appointment probably responded to an order by the Navarrese authorities (cf. García-Sanz Marcotegui et al., 1998, 219, 327).

After new academicians assumed their chairs, the plenary session appointed R. M. Azkue president and N. Oleaga secretary of Euskaltzaindia. R. M. Azkue's personal secretary and member of the Board of Culture of Bizkaia G. Maidagán was named corresponding member and provisional treasurer of the Academy.

In the sorrowful situation created by the Civil War and the francoist repression, Euskaltzaindia lost any possibility to select its members properly. Even if they were Basque language loyalists, they had to meet the francoist ideological-geographical requirements first and foremost, that is, to be «from Spanish Basque region and with Spanish nationalist roots», in the president's own words.⁵⁷

Right-wing traditionalists, royalists or priests filled in the first empty or emptied chairs. As a way to quantify the distortion caused by the political situation, we will refer to the case of the extant corresponding members of Euskaltzaindia, that is, the natural candidates to be academicians with full rights. When the Academy was restarted in April 1941, automatically the number of corresponding members with virtually no chance to become numerary was very high.

1. Eight of them couldn't be named because they were French citizens: J. Moulier, A. Constantin, J. Larrasquet, P. Lafitte, L. Dassance, J. B. Daranatz, P. Eyheramendy, and R. Lafon.
2. Thirteen of them had been politically banned or exiled because they were Basque nationalists: O. Apraiz, F. Belausteguigoitia, A. Urriolabeitia, T. Alzaga, I. López Mendizabal, J. Cincunegui, N. Ormaechea, F. Irigaray, A. Irigaray,⁵⁸ J. Aguerre, J. M. Errazti, L. González de Echávarri, and C. Elguezabal.⁵⁹
3. Bearing in mind the dictatorship's national-catholical nature, the case of the twelve Spanish Basque clergymen was even more scandalous: J. C. Iburguchi, G. Manterola, M. Lecuona, T. Arburúa, M.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ R. M. Azkue wanted to name Angel Irigaray academician, but he autoexcluded himself out of fear. Only when francoist E. Esparza also insisted, did he accept the appointment (Euskaltzaindia, 1956, 318).

⁵⁹ Truth be told Basque nationalists like A. Urriolabeitia, J. M. Errazti, L. González de Echávarri or C. Elguezabal were long distanced from Euskaltzaindia, due to their loyalty to S. Arana's tradition, and very unlikely would they had ever become numerary members (cf. Kintana Goirieta, 2008, passim).

Arriandiaga, Buenaventura Oyeregui, P. de Iraizoz, J. M. Barandiarán, M. Inchaurrendó, J. Gorostiaga, J. A. de Donostia, and Eusebio de Echalar (Euzko Apaiz Talde, 1981, 137, 145, 151, 164, 166-167, 177, 180).

On April 1941, of all the living corresponding members, N. Oleaga, P. Zamarripa and J. C. Guerra were the sole three candidates to be named numerary. That is, only 8,33% of the corresponding members could meet the strict post-war political standards. In other words, the francoist dictatorship directly or indirectly vetoed 91,66% of them (cf. Torrealdai and Murua Uria, 2009, 161-165).⁶⁰

12. Conclusion

In this paper we have tried to explain the steps taken to restart Euskaltzaindia since it interrupted its academic activity in July 1936 until it held its first post-war session in April 1941. Academicians R. M. Azkue and J. Urquijo, unlike the Basque nationalist members of Euskaltzaindia, did not have to go into exile during the Spanish Civil War, and actually participated in the francoist cultural institutions. As members of the Real Academia Española, they took part in the formation of the Instituto de España, created to become the intellectual front of francoism.

Due to his direct relationship with National Education minister P. Sainz Rodríguez during 1938-1939, R. M. Azkue expected to restore Euskaltzaindia in the shadow of the IdeE. After P. Sainz Rodríguez being resigned from the Government, the president of Euskaltzaindia had to adopt another strategy. He sought help from local francoist authorities as he desperately reminded them what the former minister had said in favor of the Basque language during his Bilbao speech.

Finally, it was a Bizkaian counterrevolutionary royalist, J. M. Areilza, who was the key to get the authorisation to restart Euskaltzaindia's activity. The institution in charge of giving that authorisation was the Provincial Council of Bizkaia's Board of Culture, which had been relaunched in 1940 purging the pre-war Basque Board of Culture. Following the francoist policy, it did not simply permit Euskaltzaindia's activity. It posted specific requirements: to name a controlling academician belonging to the Board of Culture of Bizkaia, not to summon the French Basque academicians, and to substitute the Basque nationalists with new members.

This paper has not been an attempt to hunt crypto-francoist members of Euskaltzaindia, nor to sugarcoat the dictatorship's linguistic policy against the Basque language. However, we do not think that R. M. Azkue or J. Urquijo whole-heartedly accepted all these impositions by the francoist regime. In a violent state of emergency, surviving was the first priority. There is a tendency to present the consequences of the Civil War as monolithic, either black or white, also regarding the Basque culture. But, unfortunately, obeying the rules of power is not exclusively linked to a certain period of history, and some gray areas are left to interpretation even during F. Franco's dictatorship.

What we wanted to describe is a difficult process full of setbacks. It is also worthy of admiration the personal effort carried out by R. M. Azkue, putting himself in uncomfortable and even dangerous situations, so that Euskaltzaindia would not cease to exist. It would have been easier for him to leave the Academy buried in the past and continue as a venerable member of the RAE and the IdeE until he died in 1951.

Even a carlist like J. Urquijo, appeared to have lost any hope about what Euskaltzaindia, as a cultural institution, was able to do in a suffocating situation aggravated by the Second World War. He was amazed by the courage shown by R. M. Azkue, as the following sent from Donostia-San Sebastián to Bilbao in May 1941 show:

Querido D. R: mucho celebro se halle V. en buena salud, trabajando impertérrito, en medio de estos tiempos apocalípticos. Yo confieso que, a pesar de mi aparente tranquilidad, siento mis nervios bastante destemplados. [¿] De que sevirán nuestras investigaciones ante un caos como el que presenta actualmente el mundo?⁶¹

Now that the year 2014 is about to end, any researcher with social responsibility would have to ask themselves the same exact question, in order to find an enduring meaning for their work.

Archives

EUS-RMA: Euskaltzaindia Archive, Resurreccion Maria Azkue collection (Bilbao)

⁶⁰ We have not counted those who could be considered foreigners to the Basque Country, that is, statutorily excluded from being numerary members: R. Menéndez Pidal, Américo Castro, Albert Léon, H. Gavel, Jakob Jud and G. Bähr (cf. Torrealdai and Murua Uria, 2009, 161-165).

⁶¹ EUS-RMA, J. Urquijo's letter to R. M. Azkue, 1941-05-14.

EUS-EUS: Euskaltzaindia Archive, Euskaltzaindia's administrative collection (Bilbao)

BPCHA: Bizkaia Provincial Council Historical Archive (Bilbao)

HA: Hernani City Council Archive (Hernani)

KM-JU: Koldo Mitxelena Cultural Center, Julio de Urquijo collection (Donostia-San Sebastián)

TA: Tolosa City Council Archive (Tolosa)

Newspapers

ABC (Seville)

El Correo Español-El Pueblo Vasco (Bilbao)

El Diario Vasco (Donostia-San Sebastián)

La Gaceta del Norte (Bilbao)

La Vanguardia (Barcelona)

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