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GOING GLOBAL
The international journey of Basque culture and literature[1]

Mari Jose Olaziregi

"A Basque map of the world"

One of the international bestsellers about Basques, *The Basque History of the World* (1999) by the American journalist and writer Mark Kurlansky, recalls a well-known joke about *bilbainos* and their excessive pride. "According to a popular Bilbao joke, a *bilbaino* walks into a store and asks for a 'World map of Bilbao.' The shop owner unflinchingly answers, 'Left bank or right?'" (Kurlansky 1999, 4). I do not know whether Basques have ever thought of themselves as being at the center of the world or believed the world to revolve around them, but among the ways in which Basque culture has projected itself onto the world stage, few initiatives have had such international (or profitable?) repercussions as the inauguration of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao on October 18, 1997. The Bilbao Guggenheim Museum is the best example of the fact that the cultural policies favored by Basque nationalist governments have also been influenced by the dominant market logic in the new world scenario. A desire to regenerate the great Basque metropolis, Bilbao, and transform it into a city geared toward services that would make it attractive to tourists led Basque politicians to "fall for" the seductive charm of Thomas Krens (Zulaika 1997, 11). Yet this desire was also based on locating Bilbao "within the global culture of travel and consumerism, bridging transatlantic distances, linking New York with Bilbao, and thereby facilitating traffic in modern art, museum franchises, tourism, and reformulated urban images" (Douglass and Zulaika 2007, 344). It was precisely this visibility and profitability that justified the major local investment underpinning the project: the creation of an architectural landmark, a masterpiece, whose artistic attraction was unquestionable and that helped to put the Basque Country on the world map for a reason other than its so-called "troubles" (the terrorism of ETA). Kurlansky (1999, 299) mentions the fact that 85% of published news items about Basques in the last decades of the twentieth century in the United States referred to the terrorism problem. The data concerning the appeal and profitability of what has been termed the first global museum are beyond any doubt: it had a million visitors in 2012, and the museum is now one of the world's top-ranked culture infrastructures for self-financing.

In fact, the lure of this world-famous museum has guided the Basque government's international publicity campaigns in recent years (see www.euskadi.net/turismo). The successful refrain "Zatoz eta konta ezazu / Ven y cuéntalo" in the late 1990s gave way to the slogan "Euskadi, atsegin handiz / Euskadi, con mucho gusto" in the early 2000s, in which an image

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of the museum was combined with that of a dolmen, representing both modernity and tradition. Later there were slogans such as "Euskadi, sekulako hiria / Euskadi, un país increíble," with a clearly dreamlike quality, and the sensual "Euskadi, goza ezazu / Euskadi, saboréala," with an obvious allusion to the Basque Country's renowned cuisine. Meanwhile, the "Euskadi, Basque Country" brand, unveiled by the Basque government in June 2013, seeks to showcase the positive values associated with the Basque Country, with the eventual aim of reactivating the economy and creating employment. The advertisement that heads the campaign shows a Basque rowing boat with a mixed male and female crew and, with each stroke of the oars, an off-screen voice mentions economic data about the Basque Autonomous Community, including its per capita income, the third highest in the EU behind Luxembourg and Holland. The brand is associated with a country whose economic and social indicators (with a high level of university graduates in the sciences and technology and a leading position in human development rankings) distance it from the serious crisis in the Spanish economy. The strength and coordination of the rowing crew in the advertisement, together with the typography used for the logo of the Basque Country brand considered typical of Basque writing, symbolize values traditionally associated with the Basque collectivity such as *indarra* [strength, force] and *sendotasuna* [physical prowess, strength of character]. These were also key elements in the successful image and positive reputation of Basque emigrants in the Americas as hard workers (Douglass and Bilbao 1975, 407–409). The advertisement states that, "we are there to help you, in seventy countries, to achieve your goals" and displays a crew that is rowing along with us, a crew that moves forward, looking toward the future, as rowers do in traditional Basque regattas. This is a team, a Basque collectivity, which is presented as traditionally accustomed to collaborating in communal projects, a form of *auzolan*, or the system that is supposedly at the root of Basque cooperativism (Douglass and Zulaika 2007, 335), a term that is still fully applicable today as one can see in the strategic agenda of the current Basque government's Department of Education, Language Policy, and Culture, which termed its cultural plan for 2014–15 "Kultura Auzolanean" (see kulturauzolanean.net/eu).

We can thus see that the internationalization strategy of the Basque government, with its "Euskadi, Basque Country" brand, clearly differs from that used by the Spanish government for decades, in which, following Elena Delgado's diagnosis, culture has been the main exportable asset and the principal element of national cohesion (Delgado 2014, 150). This official Spanish culture has not been understood as an expression of diverse, complex, and contradictory social realities (Delgado 2014, 102), but has instead functioned as a kind of "glue" (Delgado 2014), and has been based "on the 'myth of the universal language' and the resulting assumption that, through Spanish, the culture transmitted in that language enjoys a worldwide projection" (Delgado 2014, 85). The dissolving of cultural specificity into the universal has made the heterogeneity of the diverse cultures in the Spanish state invisible. This is the case of Basque-speaking culture, whose language, Euskara, is currently spoken by almost a million people on both sides of the Pyrenees. The newly granted co-official status of Euskara in the Peninsular Basque Country, granted in 1982 in the Basque Autonomous Community and in 1986 in the Basque-speaking areas of the Foral Community of Navarre, as well as its compulsory introduction into the school curriculum in these same communities, has meant that, thanks to language policies in the Basque Country as a whole, there are at present 318,000 more Basque speakers than there were thirty years ago, some 200,000 of whom are the product of this educational system. The highest levels of bilingualism – 73% to be precise – are to be found among those aged under twenty-five. Even allowing for the fact that the use of Euskara has grown, above all, in formal settings and that it is supported by the population of the BAC (in which 82.3% of people choose it as the main language for the schooling of their children), its use in less formal

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and family settings is one of the most important challenges the language must face in the future (see *V. Inkesta Soziologikoa*, 2011). Nonetheless, these figures make for an optimistic reading of the situation and dispel the myth that the language is disappearing. In fact, if we follow the logic of David Crystal in his well-known book, *The Language Revolution*, Basque meets the criteria he considers necessary to ensure survival or, at the very least, to avoid joining the list of endangered languages: the Basque language has a number of speakers that is considerable and clearly well over 100,000; it has a political infrastructure that, at least in the Spanish Basque Country, defends, subsidizes and legislates measures for its promotion and standardization; it has a significant television and media presence; and, above all, it is clear that, for many Basque speakers, or *euskaldunak*, the Basque language is their most essential mark of identity (Crystal 2004). The positive figures about the recovery of the Basque language in the Spanish Basque Country and the worrying decrease of Basque speakers in the French Basque Country, where the Basque language has no official status, serve as a basis for demanding, as the current Basque government has just done through its *Euskararen Agenda Estrategikoa, 2013–2016*[2] [Strategic Agenda for Euskara], active policies in favor of the language. As regards its international projection, there are objectives that seek to encourage collaboration with institutions located not just in the Basque Country but in the wider Iberian framework, as well as collaboration with the *Agencia Vasca de Cooperación para el Desarrollo*. The creation of the Unesco Chair of World Language Heritage at the UPV/EHU (University of the Basque Country) in 2010, and the agreements between the UPV/EHU and Latin American universities to offer graduate studies on language planning and policy (University of the Basque Country 2013), among other things, are similarly important steps in a process of linguistic cooperation intended to preserve minoritized and threatened languages. As we can see, then, the cultural and political logic that governs the international projection of the Basque language inevitably differs from that regarding the Spanish language. Words and phrases such as "linguistic rights," "preservation," "aid," and "cooperation," as noted in the aforementioned strategic agenda, call for a place in the world for minoritized languages such as Basque.

Basque language and literature: facts and figures

The book of poems, *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (1545), by Bernard Etxepare, marks the beginning of Basque Literature. As Arcocha-Scarcia and Oyharçabal (2012) point out, it is a collection of poems whose paratext already makes clear the international ambition of the poet: the use of Latin for the title and the declaration that it is a work of *primitiae*, first fruits, support this evaluation. Encouraged by the benefits that he saw in the invention of the printing press for the diffusion of a small literature like ours, Etxepare exhorted, "Euskara, jalgi hadi mundura!" [Basque language, set out into the world!], declaring his strong desire that the Basque language should hold a place in the Republic of Letters. Thus, poetry not only became the founding genre of Basque literature, but also the genre that would lead to the establishment of Basque literature, around 1950, as an autonomous activity within Basque society (Olaziregi 2012, 152).

Bernard Etxepare's verses have inspired public institutions such as the Instituto Vasco Etxepare/Etxepare Euskal Institutua/Etxepare Basque Institute (see www.etxepare.eus), which was created by the Basque government in 2007 and has been active since 2010, with the goal of promoting and disseminating Basque language and culture internationally. When it comes to the task of promoting the Basque language, the Etxepare Basque Institute encourages spaces of interaction with other languages and communities, and sets up international programs to better understand and research the Basque language and culture. This work involves a network of university lecturers, provides grants for students on these courses, offers chairs of Basque

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Studies to visiting professors, and trains instructors in the Basque language. Furthermore, the Institute participates in top-level international language fairs, such as Expolangues in Paris or the Language Show in London, and organizes numerous events related to the language, approaching and informing foreign institutions and individuals about the Basque language.

The Etxepare Basque Institute now has agreements with forty international universities in seventeen countries (including twelve in the Americas, twenty-three in Europe, and one in Asia) and there are twenty-eight Basque language and culture lecturers at universities all over the world. Approximately 2,800 students were enrolled in Basque language and culture courses in the 2013–2014 academic year. Furthermore, the Etxepare Basque Institute has to date created eight international university chairs, all of which undertake annual academic programs in Basque Studies, mainly at postgraduate level. Research fields such as Basque Literature and Linguistics (the Bernardo Atxaga Chair at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York; the Jean Haritschelhar Chair at the Université Bordeaux-Montaigne), Basque Studies (the Koldo Mitxelena Chair at the University of Chicago), Basque Arts (the Eduardo Chillida Chair at the Goethe University of Frankfurt), Basque Politics (the Manuel de Irujo Chair at the University of Liverpool, UK), and the Basque Diaspora (the Jon Bilbao Chair at the Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, and the Eloise Garmendia Chair at Boise State University) and Basque Cultural Studies (the William Douglass Chair at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst) are those that have, to date, been covered by these agreements.

Literary translation is another essential dimension of the Institute's work and as such it has multilingual (Basque, Spanish, French, and English) publications on cultural topics both in book form and available online. On average, between 2011 and 2014, twenty-two literary works a year were awarded grants for translation from Basque into other languages by the Etxepare Institute (with an average expenditure of 40,000 euros per year). As stated previously, literature written in the Basque language began to establish itself from the mid-twentieth century onward (Olaziregi 2012, Preface), a process that involved, among its aims, gaining cultural prestige by means of translation into majority languages. Pascale Casanova argues that translation, beyond being a form of naturalization (in the sense that it implies a change of nationality), entails *littérarisation* or becoming literary – building up one's literary capital – before legitimating institutions. And in a market in which intellectual and publishing logics have grown apart, as the commercial model takes over, it is clear from the outset than an author who already writes in a "majority" language can avoid having to be culturally "validated" by translation when competing for a place in the world rankings (Casanova 2004, 63–163). For this reason, translations are much less common in literary production in the United States or the United Kingdom, where they account for approximately 3% of literary production. Indeed, this low figure compares starkly with the 25% of publishing output in the Basque language, which equates to 1,500 new titles annually. Indeed, the central place of translations in the Basque literary system is proof of its weakness and relatively short life to date.

The Basque literary scene, which is occupied by artists who write not only in the autochthonous language but also in others such as Spanish in the Peninsular zone and French in the continental zone, has led experts such as Jesús María Lasagabaster to speak of "Basque literatures" (Lasagabaster 2002). Moreover, this plurilingual and plurisystemic reality has become an interesting focus of current Basque literary historiographical debate (Manterola 2014, 40–43; Olaziregi 2012); this debate has also dominated current Spanish literary historiography in its attempts to overcome its monolithic vision (Cabo Aseguinolaza 2012, 532–545). Publications by the research group led by Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza (see Abuín and Tarrío 2004) have underlined the need to apply concepts such as Dionýz Ďurišin's "interliterary communities" to the analysis of the relationships between the various literary systems which coexist in

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the Iberian context. As Arturo Casas maintains, "The geocultural Iberian space could be studied as an example of a (macro)polysystem, understood [. . .] as a group of national literatures that are historically linked and maintain among themselves a series of hierarchical relations and repertory-related fluxes or interferences" (quoted by Resina 2013, 12). Indeed, recent theses such as those of Domínguez (2010) and Manterola (2014) have analyzed, on the basis of Ďurišin's specific interliterary concept, translation trends in Peninsular children's literature and Basque literature, respectively. There is, moreover, an interesting reflection on the need to apply Ďurišin's concept to the analysis of relationships between the different literary systems that exist in Catalonia (Martí 2013, 68).

The data reported by Hooft Comajuncosas (2004) are quite remarkable and encourage reflection on the hierarchical relationships and interferences among the various literatures of the Iberian sphere. Hooft Comajuncosas describes the Spanish intercultural space from 1990 to 1998 as very unbalanced as a result of the dominance of the Spanish language over other Iberian languages as a vehicle for translating novels, stories, and poetry written originally in Catalan, Galician, and Basque; in sum, Spanish served as the *lingua franca* during this time. The statistics do not change significantly for the period from 1999 to 2003: the Catalan, Galician, and Basque systems continued translating a large percentage of their works into Spanish. However, the extremely low number of works that are translated from Spanish into the other languages of the Spanish state is particularly striking. While 317 works written in Basque, Catalan, and Galician were translated into Spanish from 1999 to 2003, only 20 were translated from Spanish into the minority languages.

When it comes to translation trends in Basque literature, the abovementioned thesis by Eli Manterola (2014) offers interesting new data. With a total of 480 titles translated into thirty-eight languages up to 2010, Basque literature written in the Basque language offers a highly uneven reality with regard to the target languages and the global impact of the 161 Basque-language authors translated. In effect, Manterola confirms the leading role played by translations into Spanish, as these translations make up almost half of the entire production (2014, 241), which is a clear example of the dependency of the Basque literary system on its Spanish counterpart. Catalan and English are the next most popular target languages, followed by Galician. It is, though, debatable whether in the case of translation into Spanish we can speak in terms of "exportation," given that the target readership is largely located within the original territory and culture. Only 44.66% of the books analyzed were translated directly from Euskara, and both self-translation (into Spanish) and allographic translation are similar in percentage terms (Manterola 2014, 242). As regards translated works by author, there is a significant distance between Bernardo Atxaga and other Basque authors. Thirty-five of Atxaga's works have been translated into thirty-one languages, and *Obabakoak* (1988) undoubtedly marked the beginning of a new era inasmuch as it encouraged a notable quantitative leap in the number of Basque literary works that were translated (245 in the 1990s; see Manterola 2014, 199). I am referring here to the most translated Basque-language work ever (Olaziregi 2005), a work that gave its author global visibility and an assured place in both the Basque and Spanish literary systems, mostly as a result of his winning Spain's National Prize for Narrative in 1989. Atxaga's central position in the current Basque literary system has paralleled his canonization in the potential Iberian interliterary system. One only need recall, following the argument of Mario Santana (2009), that of the 121 narrative books awarded the Critics' Prize since 1976 in Spain, Atxaga's *The Accordionist's Son* was the first to be translated into all the languages of the Spanish state. This is an interesting state of affairs, given that the prize itself was established to encourage relations among the literatures of the four languages of the Spanish state. For my part, I would contend that, even though six Basque authors have won this

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award (Unai Elorriaga, Mariasun Landa, Anjel Lertxundi, Kirmen Uribe, and Josu Zabaleta), only Kirmen Uribe's international career has benefited from winning the prize in a comparable way to that of Atxaga, in that his *Bilbao-NY-Bilbao* (2008) has been translated, at present, into fourteen languages, while his more recent *Mussche* (2012) has already been translated into six languages, including Japanese and Chinese.

Basque studies beyond the Iberian Peninsula: present and future

The tendencies noted previously in areas such as language policy, cultural promotion, and literary translation are again visible in the field of teaching and research in the international university framework, where the political and legal structure of the administrations that make up the Basque Country as a whole condition its expansion. Except for the William Douglass Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno, in the United States, founded (as the Basque Studies Program) in 1967 (www.basque.unr.edu), the remaining Basque Studies centers are located in Basque-speaking territories, such as IKER (Centre de recherche sur la langue et les textes basques; UMR 5478), which is based in Baiona (Bayonne) in the Department of the Atlantic Pyrenees, Aquitaine, France. Moreover, a glance at the cartography of the international teaching of Basque Studies outside Basque-speaking territory reveals that, to date, only five universities in Spain (Salamanca, Complutense, UNED, the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and the Universitat de Barcelona) and two in France (the Université de Bordeaux-Montaigne and Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour) have had tenured professors in Basque Studies. To these one should add the University of Liverpool, which has decided to create the first permanent Basque Studies position in the United Kingdom. Thereafter, while we possess some data on more than forty professors who teach subjects that incorporate some element of Basque Studies, in truth there is at present no up-to-date information on the presence of tenured professors in foreign universities. This outlook unquestionably places Basque Studies at the tail end of the international expansion in foreign university teaching of and research into all the official languages within the Iberian framework. The question of how Catalan Studies came to be implemented at an international level, in this regard, is truly noteworthy. According to the data of the Ramon Llull Institute's Academic Office, 157 universities all over the world offer courses in Catalan Studies, 88 of which receive financial aid from the Ramon Llull Institute and 69 of which do not.

The Spanish university system, even following its progressive revamp of curricula after fully implementing the Bologna Plan in 2010, continues to be chained to a philological tradition that centers some of its procedural focus on comparative (Spanish) philology, textual criticism, and publication of edited texts. In short, it is a tradition that has not disappeared from the nomenclature of university departments, whose curricula are still being only very slowly or gradually updated, and this thanks in part to the influence of a renovating breath of fresh air that cultural studies, gender studies, and postcolonial studies, among others, have brought to Hispanism.

The extremely limited space afforded to the study of various Iberian languages and literatures in undergraduate and graduate programs in Spanish universities clearly contrasts with the enthusiastic reception these studies have enjoyed outside Spain's borders. The numbers speak for themselves. If, for example, we take the case of Basque Studies, in the Iberian sphere this can only be studied, as noted previously, in five universities outside the Peninsular Basque Country, and in four of them (Complutense, UNED, Universitat de Barcelona, and the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) the Etxepare Basque Institute has lectureships to reinforce or complement those positions. The conclusions are obvious: As regards the situation of teaching Basque language and culture at a university level within the Spanish system, interest is not

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very high and is mainly driven by the Basque autonomous government; that is, it is not widely considered an area of "state" study. But the same could also be said of Galician or Catalan studies within the Spanish university system.

For its part, Galician Studies, sponsored by the Xunta of Galicia, exists in seven universities outside Galicia, and Catalan Studies are offered in ten universities outside the Catalan-speaking territories, two of them subsidized by the Institut Ramon Llull. One should clarify, moreover, that currently there is no undergraduate or graduate degree that covers Iberian Studies as a whole within the Spanish sphere; and that any undergraduate or graduate degree related to any of the cultures or official languages of the Spanish state are mainly studied in their respective autonomous communities. Master's programs such as the "Máster Universitario en Literaturas Hispánicas (Catalana, Gallega, y Vasca) en el Contexto Europeo," which has been offered by the UNED since the 2007–2008 academic year, are very rare.

This outlook clashes with the renovation that traditional Hispanism has been experiencing in recent years at the international level thanks to the gradual introduction of what is called for by the new discipline of Iberian Studies, a discipline whose novelty centers on "its intrinsic relationality and its reorganization of monolingual fields based on nation-states and their postcolonial extensions into a Peninsular plurality of cultures and languages pre-existing and coexisting with the official cultures of the state" (Resina 2013, vii), a "subfield of comparative studies" (Resina 2013, 11) that, in contrast to national philologies or national literatures, does "not serve a political entity or legitimize a state" (Resina 2013, 14). Although its epicenter is to be found in American universities such as those pointed out by Santana (2013, 55), and the work in particular of Joan Ramon Resina (2008, 2013) has been fundamental in the creation of a theoretical framework for this new direction, it is also true to say that the criticism at the root of this new discipline – specifically, that of the obsolete nature of Hispanism in general and, more particularly, of a mode of Spanish literary historiography that was dominant until quite recently – has been embraced in important recent publications such as those by Epps and Fernández Cifuentes (2005), Faber (2008), and Moraña (2005), to mention just a few. All of these welcome a new approach that would overcome the monolingual concept of the Spanish state "by delving into either the place of the so-called peripheral languages and literatures (Catalan, Galician, and Basque) or the place of emigrants and exiles in Spanish literary history" (Epps and Fernández Cifuentes 2005, 20). Moreover, current projects such as the cultural history of Spanish literatures headed by Jo Labanyi and Elena Delgado for Polity Press, with the collaboration of Kirsty Hooper, Helena Buffery, and Mari José Olaziregi, are moving in the same direction by incorporating, in a general reflection on the transformation of Peninsular literatures, the contributions of these literatures not just as a mere appendix to the study of literature written in Spanish, but as a dialogue with the latter, analyzing the interactions among them. In fact, it is interesting to note that some scholars have recently underlined this objective in their reflections on interactions among the Iberian literatures by mentioning it right at the beginning of their publications, in the paratexts (see Lafarga et al. 2009).

The aforementioned studies and methodological proposals are creating the basis for Iberian Studies to be constructed as a clear epistemic paradigm, as a field of study that rigorously examines the relationships, convergences, tensions, exchanges, dependencies, translation flows, and so on of the various literatures in this context. Reviewing and encouraging creative or research anthologies that incorporate the contributions of each Peninsular literature, fostering the teaching of and research into all the literatures involved in the Iberian sphere, and so on, are important steps in making people more aware of the multicultural reality that traditional Hispanism has overlooked. Yet such initiatives should also be followed by plans of action that encourage academic dialogue among experts in the different Peninsular literatures.

Here we find some recently formed groups in the Peninsula such as the LIJMI (Red Temática "Las Literaturas Infantiles y Juveniles en el Marco Ibérico e Iberoamericano"), founded at the University of Santiago de Compostela in 2004; and the "Historical Memory and Iberian Literature" researchers network, which since 2011 has organized three international seminars on the topic.

Yet how should one approach the study of the interferences and interactions among the different languages in the Iberian sphere? What is the methodology to do so, and how can we proceed in our analysis of these languages? Does the adjective "Iberian" imply comparing all the different literatures at the same time? How might we implement these studies within the current set-up of university departments of Hispanic Studies? Mario Santana has lucidly outlined the challenges posed by this new paradigm of Iberian Studies when it comes to being incorporated into university curricula (Santana 2013). The three areas that, in his opinion, need developing and updating are, in order of importance: 1) reconfiguring what have come to be understood as "national literatures," with a concomitant questioning of the monolingualism with which such literatures have been addressed, and "rethink[ing] the nature of the interactions among producers and consumers of literature across linguistic and political boundaries" (Santana 2013, 55); 2) educating professors of Iberian literature in more than one Peninsular language, an education that demands a questioning of the ideology of monolingualism, or "the notion that everything can be reinscribed and eventually done exclusively in one dominant language" (Santana 2013, 58); and 3) a critical review of the discipline.

The difficulty, obviously, surrounds the real options that a minoritized language such as Euskara has, not just in making itself heard in the World Republic of Letters, but also in establishing itself as one of the literatures that are part of a truly comparative framework that overcomes the ideological-theoretical Hispano-centrism that has reigned among Spanish scholars. One should recall, when considering all the possibilities, that a minoritized literature has to adopt a comparatist approach. Gayatri Chakravarti Spivak's well-known advice about "resuscitating" comparative literature when she defends the need to embrace the language of the Other, and not just as a "field study" language (quoted in Domínguez 2013, 25), is crucial, even though she herself points out that such advice goes against the fact that there are few hegemonic European languages and countless languages in the Southern Hemisphere. The renovation that, for example, comparative European literature has experienced in recent years parallels the Europeanization that Europe itself experienced through the creation of political bodies such as the EU. And this same renovation is implying, in turn, the transformation of national cultures through their integration into this new body as a whole. For Domínguez, this is the root cause of the growing strategic importance of culture in the EU when he affirms that, "[l]a Comunidad contribuirá al florecimiento de las culturas de los Estados miembros, dentro del respeto de su diversidad nacional y regional, poniendo de relieve al mismo tiempo el patrimonio cultural común" (Domínguez 2013, 27). The importance of culture and creativity as guarantors of European social cohesion and economic growth has placed EU member states' intercultural promotion policies at the center of current European cultural policy. As far as European literature is concerned, in 2008 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe approved the Document 11.527, titled "Promoting the Teaching of European Literature," which contends that knowledge of European literature contributes to the strengthening of a "European citizenry," and it therefore urges EU member states both to promote the learning of European languages in order to access works in their original languages and to foster the production of translations (Domínguez 2013, 28). This demonstrates the growing importance of translation grants in recent calls for proposals published under the Creative Europe Programme (European Commission 2013).

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Moving forward: cultural networking and the internationalization of Iberian cultures

Just as the focus on those other languages and cultures should be at the center of the debate in the sphere of comparative European literature, where the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe needs to be taken into account, so it should also be given a central role in the debate surrounding Iberian Studies at university level, as noted previously. Any promotion of this dynamic will necessarily have to include a parallel promotion of studying the different Iberian languages themselves. This is an issue that both Santana (2013, 59) and Dominic Keown, in his interesting analysis of the reality of Hispanism and Iberian Studies in Great Britain and Ireland (2013, 33–34), have pointed out, underscoring the efforts that public institutions such as the Institut Ramon Llull and the Etxepare Basque Institute have undertaken in this regard through their subsidizing of lectureships to teach the Iberian languages in the international academic context.

Yet, as mentioned already, there is no comparison when it comes to examining how the different Iberian languages are being promoted at the international level. Data on the two state languages, Spanish and Portuguese, and the ways in which those languages have been promoted for centuries, are revealing in this regard. In the Spanish case, for example, one only need consult the records of the Instituto Cervantes; tools such as the Portal del Hispanismo; calls for Spanish-language lecturers published by the Agencia Española para la Cooperación Internacional (AECID) which, in its most recent call for the 2014–2015 academic year, had 108 places for lecturers; or the many activities associated with cultural promotion on the part of cultural agencies such as Acción Cultural Española, to cite just a few. For its part, the responsibilities of the Instituto Camões differ from those of the Instituto Cervantes in that, apart from the subsidies it offers to create Centers for Portuguese Language and Culture and many other activities, there is already a network of lectureships and professorships that has, for example, 177 lecturers in universities all over the world, 14 of which are in Spain. Meanwhile, the Institut Ramon Llull manages an international global network of 88 lecturers in Catalan language and culture but, as noted previously, the discipline of Catalan studies has been implemented to an even greater extent in universities beyond Iberian borders, with 157 universities offering Catalan Studies. As regards Galician, the Secretaría Xeral de Política Lingüística of the Xunta de Galicia (regional government of Galicia's General Commission for Language Policy) is charged with the task of promoting the language internationally. It has agreements with 40 universities, resulting in a total of 29 lecturers in the Galician language worldwide. Finally, data on lectureships in Basque language and culture administered by the Etxepare Basque Institute reveal 34 agreements with universities all over the world and 28 currently active lecturers. The clear numerical differences between the levels of implementing lectureships, as well as university programs, curricular itineraries, and departments at universities all over the world, bear witness to how much the situation can vary between the different languages and cultures concerned, which is obviously reflected in the abysmal gulf in financial resources available to the institutions involved. Behind the efforts undertaken for centuries to promote and develop "universal" languages such as Spanish there has been an economic logic, as in the case of the first chair of Spanish in the United States at Harvard University, which was established, as Resina contends (2009, 47), as a result of the nineteenth-century commercial interests of New England in Latin America. To return to the themes mentioned at the outset of the article, the issues involved are thus linked to what José Luis Marzo terms a "strategic object of visualization" (cited in Delgado 2014, 101). The use or not of culture, as well as of the language that underpins it, as an internationalization strategy marks out clear differences, as noted at the beginning of this article, between the cultural policies pursued by governments such as that of the Basque

Autonomous Community and the Spanish state. One could say that the scale of authority of a given government (the number of speakers it represents, its transnational language, and so on), economic interests, and linguistic-cultural marketing coincide with one another.

Conclusions

The desire of the author of the first book published in Euskara, Bernard Etxepare, expressed in his well-known poems, "euskara, jalgi hadi mundura" [Euskara, set out into the world!], has served as a guide in this brief reflection on the logic that the internationalization of Basque language and culture has had in recent times. Although the adjective "universal" or global, in the Basque context, has been most prominently exemplified by the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, it is also true that the striking development and consolidation that the Basque language has experienced in recent decades has resulted, among other things, in the fact that both artistic creation and academic research undertaken in that language are at present flourishing in different contexts, including academia. The internationalization of the Basque language, whether by means of active policies encouraging translation in order to correct the asymmetries in the Basque literary system today, or of fostering Basque Studies at university level internationally, is a demand that has only been met in recent years on the part of public institutions in the Basque context. In this sense, and as regards literary research, here I have underscored the contribution currently being made by comparative specialists in the Peninsular sphere in their analysis of the interactions among the different Iberian literatures, as well as the growing importance of the new discipline of Iberian Studies in international universities. Thanks to theoretical developments such as these, and to the implementation of academic programs and positions that specialize in the diverse literatures in the Iberian context, Iberian literatures may gain, among other things, a more visible and active status than they have had to date in traditional Spanish literary historiography, in which they have been largely relegated to an anecdotal sideshow. I should perhaps end by returning to Bernard Etxepare and hoping that, in the case of the Basque language and culture, *debile principium melior fortuna sequatur* [may better fortune follow a humble beginning]. As it should.

Notes

1 Translated by Cameron J. Watson. This chapter belongs to the project IT 1047-16. A shorter version was published in *BOGA: Basque Studies Consortium Journal* 3 (1) (Olaziregi 2015).

2 http://www.erabili.com/zer_berri/berriak/dokumentuak/2014/Euskararen_Ajenda_Estrategikoa_2014–06–24.pdf. Accessed August 15, 2014.

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