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Cover Page Footnote

I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Xabier Irujo who encouraged me to carry out this research.



Creative Becomings: The Ongoing definition and redefinition of Basque Identity in Uruguay

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Introduction

This article analyses the *continuum* of the cultural legacy of Basque immigration in Uruguay from an anthropological point of view. In this sense, the work presents a *non-linear* approach to the cultural contribution of Basque immigrants in this country. Firstly, this means forsaking the notion of “immigrant culture” which was so fashionable in France and other European countries during the 1960s (Cuche 1996). Secondly, the article *deconstructs* a certain conception of culture conceived as “a heritage that is transmitted without being altered from generation to generation” (Cuche 1996, p. 108). However, the conception of a “culture of origin” that remains *in cambiada* over time has left an impact on the studies of multiculturalism and immigration carried out in Uruguay thus so far (Pi Hugarte and Vidart 1969; Marenales and Luzuriaga 1990; Arocena and Aguiar 2011; Juanena and Soto 2018). Hence, the article deconstructs the notion of a reified “culture”, clearer in time, and unable of being altered.

In the specific case of Basque immigration, there is a conceptual contradiction within the different researches about multiculturalism carried out in Uruguay. On the one hand, these studies maintain that Basque immigrants in their three major waves brought with them their “original culture” intact. On the other hand, they propose the gradual loss of cultural

traits among the descendants of the first, second, third, and fourth generations.¹ This approach is framed within a theoretical and methodological matrix which deals with cultural heritage in a *linear* way, in which the individuals are the vehicle of an automatic symbolic translation during the course of their existence. According to this concept, the cultural heritage of immigrant groups is gradually being lost from generation to generation.

The conceptual contradiction is due to an approach to “immigrant culture” conceived as fixed and static, in which the immigrant cannot change him or herself during his or her existence. This approach is based on an idea of “culture” already outdated in the field of social sciences, and in anthropology in particular (Clifford 1999). Nevertheless, this notion was the one that predominated in the research on multiculturalism developed in Uruguay. Hence, studies on multiculturalism and immigration carried out from the end of the 1960s (Pi Hugarte and Vidart 1969) to the beginning of the 21st century (Arocena and Aguiar 2011; Juanena and Soto 2018), have focused on describing the “cultural legacy” of Basque immigrants from a *linear* and teleological perspective. This point of view implies a kind of degradation on a cultural level, in which the following generations (first, second, third, and fourth) are gradually losing their “original culture”. Certainly, studies on multiculturalism developed in Uruguay have restricted the notion of cultural legacy to immigrants from their countries of origin.

Following this interpretative framework, the passing from one generation to another imply the gradual loss of the cultural traits of their ancestors. The legacy is conceived in a “linear” way, following a kind of decreasing cultural teleology in relation to the quitting of cultural heritage. Two examples that deconstruct this idea of the gradual loss of cultural traits can be found in the plastic arts and literature. In the case of plastic arts, the painters who have acquired traditional traits of *euskaldun* culture belong to the first generation of Basques born in Uruguayan territory, instead of belonging to the first immigrants who arrived in the country. In the case of literature, those of the second generation participated in writing the narrative that will develop certain elements of Basque mythology as well as the representations that exist in the popular Uruguayan imagination about the “basic personality structure” (Kardiner 1939) shared by the Basques.

Specifically, in the case of visual arts and literature, the research demonstrated how the descendants of the first and second generation continued the “cultural legacy” in other

¹ Unlike the concept of “generation” applied in traditional genealogical studies, in the article we propose another conceptualization. Basically, “generation” is the set of people who are part of the line of succession before or after a reference subject (*ego*). In classical studies, the subject taken as a starting point is considered as the first generation. From this reference (*ego*) the family tree is constructed. However, in this work we designate as “first generation” to the children of the newly arrived immigrants who were born in Uruguayan territory. The writer of this article is a second-generation descendant.

fields of culture. In other words, the existence of certain traditional features of the Basque ethnic group in the plastic arts and literature is not present among the cultural traits of the immigrants who first arrived in the region of the “Río de la Plata”. Thus, the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of any ethnic group cannot be conceived from a “linear” point of view (Bhabha 1994). This suggests the deconstruction of the use of teleological cultural order. Therefore, several cultural expressions (such as painting, sculpting, literature, music, etc.), can still *re-emerge* as the productions of the descendants of the second, third, and fourth generation, or even later, however not through the generation of those who arrived in the country or who were born on new soil.

The landing of Basque immigration in Uruguay: the three migratory waves

According to a unanimous consensus among historians and researchers of Basque ethnicity, the onset of migratory flows of the inhabitants of this region of Europe began in the modern age (Azcona and Murru 1996; Douglass and Bilbao 2005). In observance of these migratory movements, historians Marta Marenales and Juan Luzuriaga (1990) established three major migratory waves of the Basque ethnic group in Uruguay. They called the first wave “foundational”, since it was comprised of officials and civil servants under the Spanish crown who had the task of supervising and controlling the “Río de la Plata” region. Today, several of them take an important place in the history books of Uruguay and Argentina, as they are emblematic and very significant figures. By way of illustration, we cannot fail to cite Juan Ortiz de Zárate (first governor of the “Río de la Plata”) and Bruno Mauricio de Zabala (founder of the city of Montevideo).

As for the second wave, Marenales and Luzuriaga (1990) designated this as the “peaceful invasion of the 19th century”. However, they identify two historical phases within this migratory stage. The first period, known as the “sailing ships” or “Basque-French” period, ran from 1825 to 1860, reaching its peak at the end of the first Carlist war. According to data from that period, “it is estimated that the Basque contingent was over 15,000 people, for a city of just over 40,000 inhabitants” (Arocena and Aguiar 2011, p. 29). The second period, called “de los vapores” or “Basque-Spanish”, covered the years following 1860 until the beginning of the 1900’s. At this point, historians agree on pointing to the third Carlist war as the reason for mass emigration (Marenales and Luzuriaga 1990; Azcona and Murru 1996; Irujo and Irigoyen 2014). Other factors which contributed towards the departure of the Basques from their homeland should also be highlighted.

For instance, Leonat Egiazabal (2018), a Basque-Uruguayan specialist in Euskara and Basque culture, outlined some of these factors. In his foreword to the book *Reminiscencias Vascas*, Egiazabal summarizes a series of social and cultural reasons that will lead to the diaspora of the Basque people. According to him, the most important factors can be summarized as,

“the agrarian crises, population growth, the regime of birthright, military service in France as well as the wars between liberals and conservative monarchists, and the Carlistadas in Spain” (2018, p. 9), among others. No less important were the employment agencies, which through the promises of prosperity and economic growth led many Basques to decide to move “a las Américas”. Egiazabal in his foreword described the “deception strategies” by the agents of these employment agencies:

One scene that repeated on Sunday afternoons after Mass was that of the ostentatious “indiano”: A well-dressed man wearing a gold chain watch was present in the town square, calling attention to himself, starting to explain how, having nothing two years ago, he had made his fortune in America ... There were plenty of executives who published brochures promoting the advantages of Uruguay as a land for migration. One example is Alfredo Bellemare, who was dedicated to importing labor men from the Pyrenees, the first of whom, finding himself in Bayonne, published in 1835 his “Notice sur la République Orientale de l’Uruguay” containing data on the country’s industry, trade, and agriculture. (ibid., p. 13)

Finally, the third wave of migration called “forced emigration” lasted from 1936 to 1939. The label “forced” was due to the circumstances suffered by many Basques during the Spanish Civil War. According to research by Azcona and Murru (1996), the prototype of the Basque immigrant did not differ from the previous waves. The only difference was due to the institutional network that the last migration had in relation to the previous ones. As an example of this, Arocena and Aguiar (2011) in their research on eleven cultural communities in Uruguay highlight the existence of a wide range of institutions that were vital for the reception of the last migration flow. These are the cases of *Laurak-Bat* (1976), the *Centro Euskaro-Español* (1911), and *Euskal Herria* (1912) in Montevideo, the capital of Uruguay. In the case of interior cities, the city of Salto had the *Centro Vasco Zaspirak Bat* (1943) for almost a decade.

Notwithstanding, Basque immigrants have continued to arrive in Uruguay through the middle of the 20th century. The motives for leaving their homeland were due to political, economic, and labor reasons. Although historians and researchers of the Basque ethnic group in Uruguay did not assign it the *status* of a migratory wave, the number of immigrants was not less. The last contingent of migrants from *Euskal Herria* was in 1988. During this year, thirteen Basque immigrants arrived in Uruguay, including an entire family. The main reason for their arrival was to “live in an environment of normality that had been forbidden to them in *Euskal Herria*, since their daily life in their country of origin was distorted by police persecution and political repression” (Mintegiaga 2009:50). In the research conducted by Jon Mintegiaga (2009), most of these immigrants came from the working class.

Through savings and bank loans obtained in Uruguay, the new residents opened three Basque restaurants. The first one opened its doors in 1988 and was called *Boga-Boga*. After a lapse of two years, it closed its doors and reopened in another location under the name of *La Trainera*. Both restaurants were located in the 'Pocitos' neighborhood of Montevideo. After the year of the inauguration of *La Trainera*, a branch was inaugurated in the seaside resort of 'Punta del Este' with the same name. Due to a series of events of political nature (involving the Spanish and Uruguayan State²), in 1992 the restaurant *La Trainera* and its branch closed their doors. In mid-1994, and for reasons of political nature, most of the workers of both restaurants will leave the country.

Nowadays, in Uruguay there are almost no people born in the Basque Country. The continuity of traditional cultural traits of Basque ethnic group has been largely transmitted through their descendants. If, towards the end of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century, Basque immigrants far outnumbered their descendants, from the middle of the 20th century this trend began to reverse (Azcona and Murru 1996). We have moved from immigrants *to* descendants. According to Felipe Arocena and Sebastián Aguiar, "today we have almost no direct Basque immigrants, only 80 or 100 natives reside in Uruguay" (Arocena and Aguiar 2011:31). Furthermore, Leonat Egiazabal asserts, "the community is in a stage of losing of older Basques. There are almost no more natives, and there are some descendants who are trying to reconstruct something" (Egiazabal in Arocena and Aguiar 2011:100).

The continuum of cultural legacy in Uruguayan society

The cultural legacy of the Basque ethnic group in relation to Uruguayan society cannot simply be reduced to the contribution made by immigrants who landed during one of the three major waves. The *non-linear* approach to the heritage legacy of an ethnic group deconstructs the idea that this phenomenon stops in time, limiting it only to the first immigrants who arrived in the country. This also reinforces the relative "authenticity" of the cultural traits that the immigrant carries. In his historical-anthropological analysis of the concept of "culture", Marshall Sahlins (1999) asserted that "all cultures are hybrid. All have more foreign than domestically invented parts" (p. 411). The semantic change of the concept of "culture" -and particularly that of "immigrant culture"-, starts from a series of researches within the anthropological field that has criticized this notion by conceiving it as a monolithic and homogeneous block (Said 1979).

² A deep analysis of the events of a "political" nature between Spain and Uruguay can be found in the book *El Filtro. Memorias de los refugiados vascos en Uruguay*, Editorial Txalaparta, Navarra, 2009, written by Jon Mintegiaga.

However, it is important to note that anthropological criticism of the classical concept of “culture” already existed in the midst of modernity (Kuper 1999). Although contemporary anthropology and postcolonial theory have stressed the impossibility of defining culture as a homogeneous, compact whole, and impervious to historical changes (Geertz 1973), classical ethnography had already made a critique of this conceptualization (Sahlins 1999). Despite this, studies on multiculturalism developed in Uruguay have restricted the notion of *cultural legacy* to immigrants from their countries of origin. Indeed, this analytical perspective is reflected in the interview guidelines designed by anthropologists, sociologists, and historians, with the aim of catching the persistence of certain cultural traits. This generated a one-dimensional view of the concept of legacy or cultural contribution within the field of social science production in Uruguay, by conceiving a *linear transmission* of culture. Particularly, the idea of a gradual loss of cultural traits by future generations.

Nevertheless, empirical record shows the contrary. In the case of Uruguay, the manifestation of some traits of traditional Basque culture in the field of visual arts and literature was made by the descendants of the first and second generation, and not by those who arrived in the country in one of the three migratory waves. The application of a non-linear approach of tangible and intangible products showed how certain cultural manifestations did not arise among the first generations who arrived in the country. In fact, the question of “What Basque things have remained?” (Arocena and Aguiar 2011, p. 99), does not consider the possibility of the *re-emergence* of certain cultural traits that are absent in the first immigrants who arrived in the country. The design of this type of question prefigures a modality of an answer that excludes in advance the possibility of capturing the different creative forms in other realms of culture, made by future generations.

Therefore, the concept of “cultural legacy” that has been used in the different researches carried out in Uruguay, stops us from thinking about its historical *continuum* driven by the creative developments that arise in subsequent generations. This is largely due to a “linear” approach to historical temporality, which ends up shaping a perspective of historicist and reductionist analysis of the heritage legacy. The idea that the *cultural legacy* is limited to past generations (and that it stops in time with the arrival of the last migratory wave), is part of a *linear* conception of historical time. As a result, the philosopher Jacques Derrida pointed out that the historicist approach conceives “a historical temporality made up of the successive linking of presents identical to themselves and contemporary with themselves” (Derrida 2006, p. 87).

Basque culture in the visual arts and literature of the 20th and early 21st centuries

One of the cultural realms where several traits of Basque traditional culture are revealed is in the artistic field. In the literature and visual arts of the 20th and early 21st centuries, some productions reflect a series of cultural traits of Basque tradition. Moreover, the interesting thing about these artistic productions is that the first and second-generation Basque descendants made them. Firstly, in the case of visual arts, the artists who have captured in their works some typical traits of Basque culture have been descendants of the first generation. Specifically, they are the sons and daughters of Basques born in Uruguay. Meanwhile, secondly, in the case of literature, the authors who have fixed certain elements of Basque mythology and gastronomy in their literary productions have been the descendants of the second generation, or in other words, the grandchildren of Basques born on Uruguayan soil.

Visual Arts

With regard to visual arts, the three most important painters who have depicted the traditional traits of Basque culture in their paintings are Carmelo de Arzadun (1888-1968), Ignacio Iturria (1949), and María Ángela Juanena (1960). The first of them, Carmelo de Arzadun, was born in the rural area of the Department of Salto. Son of Basque immigrants, he acquired an interest in painting from early childhood. When he was very young, he travelled to Europe with the hopes to be trained in the most important European artistic centers of that time. Carmelo de Arzadun not only studied in the most important academies of that time but also worked in one of them.

Therefore, in 1904 he traveled to *Euskal Herria*, specifically to Bilbao, to study at the *Escuela de Artes y Oficios* under the direction of Antonio Aramburu. There, he developed his first pictorial studies. Then, he moved to Paris, and finally to other European art academies. In Paris, in 1910, he studied at the *Grand Chaumière* and *Collarossi* drawing academy, and later at *Vitti*. In 1915 he settled for a time in Ondarroa, Biscay. During the 1920s, he returned to Uruguay and joined the “planista” painting movement, alongside José Cuneo, Petrona Viera, Humberto Causa, and others (Argul 1975). Beyond his cosmopolitan artistic training, de Arzadun had never forgotten his Basque roots (Peluffo 1999).

This can be seen in several of his works, where he reflects certain cultural traits of Basque tradition recreated by the immigrants who arrived in the country. The existence of some Basque traces in his art is recognized not only by art critics, but also by the public. In some of his paintings, it is possible to observe the typical dances (*euskal dantzak*) that took place at the “fiestas euskaras” in the Basque Community celebrations in Montevideo, Uruguay (Figure 1). Finally, in 1925 he married Micaela Aramberri Olaso, with whom he had two

children: Nestor and Raquel. According to several relates, de Arzadun always intended to transmit the Basque tradition to his family. As stated by those who knew him (Juanena and Soto 2018), he frequently wore a red beret (*txapel gorria* in Euskara).



Figure 1 – “Romería” (1940). Oil on canvas (Photo: I. Serrano)

Another artist who has demonstrated some traditional traits of Basque culture in his paintings is Ignacio Iturria (1949). Son of Basque immigrants, he showed great skill in drawing and painting from a very young age. At present, is considered one of the most significant representatives of Uruguayan *avant-garde* art of the last decades (Peluffo 2001). Although his major works are framed within the pictorial current called “informalism”, Iturria has materialized in his plastic art some diacritical features of Basque culture. An example of this is the oil on canvas entitled “Aitona” (*grandfather* in Euskara). This painting was made to commemorate the centenary of *Centro Euskaro-Español* in Montevideo. While the original size of the work conforms to the standard of oil paintings on canvas, the painting was released in the format of a postage stamp (Figure 2). The painting is a naturalistic portrait of an old man with a “txapela” (*Basque-style beret* in Euskara), exhibiting certain physical characters that illustrate the phenotype of traditional Basque.



Figure 2 – “Aitona” (2011). Oil on canvas (Photo: G. Casas)

In the same way, the plastic artist María Ángela Juanena has also expressed in some of her works the traditional traits of Basque culture. Born in the city of Salto, Uruguay, and daughter of Basque immigrants, Juanena not only represented in her works traditional aspects of Basque culture but has also been concerned with perfecting the Euskara (Gamboa 2018). Beyond the miscellaneous character of her artwork, it is possible to identify the influence of Basque tradition in several of her productions. An example of this is the piece “Txapelak Munduan” (*Berets around the World* in Euskara) (Figure 3). The painting portrays a series of berets (*txapelak* in Euskara) in motion, which are crossing the Atlantic Ocean. The movement of the berets through the imaginary geography of the two continents shows the sailing and cosmopolitan tradition of Basque people (Douglass and Zulaika 2007).



Figure 3 – “Txapelak Munduan” (2015). Oil on canvas (Photo: M. Gamboa)

As for the aesthetic realm of the painting, Juanena linked the polysemous character of the Euskara language to the natural geographic space. To achieve this visual effect, the artist portrayed a series of berets moving across the Atlantic Ocean. Most of the berets found across the ocean strip are composed of the colors gray, light gray, blue, green, water-green, and red. In terms of composition, Juanena achieved an isomorphism between the chromatics of these berets and the semantic content of the word “urdin” in Euskara. This aesthetic singularity can only be achieved by having a deep knowledge of the etymology of the Basque language. By portraying in these berets the three colors in which the word *urdin*³ can be transmuted, the artist joined the semantic polysemy of Basque language with the imaginary geography of the work. The chromatic and figurative overlapping created an aesthetic effect, where a fusion between the colors of the berets and the three meanings that the term “urdin” can acquire in Euskara.

In relation to the denotative content, Juanena attempted to represent the cosmopolitan character of Basque culture (characterized by its sailing tradition), predisposed to explore new territories. Because of this, she used aesthetic and linguistic resources by linking the chromatic domain with the semantic plane, making use of the different tones that the word “urdin” can acquire according to the context. Besides, she not only depicted the colors of the *ikurrina* (Basque flag), but also used one of the most distinctive elements of traditional *euskaldun* culture: the *txapela*, or Basque beret. It should be noted that the work is on permanent display in the hall of the *Saltoko Euskaldunen Taldea*⁴ in the city of Salto, Uruguay.

Literature

Another field in which certain traditional traits of Basque culture are visible is in Uruguayan literary production at the beginning of the 21st century. Although the bibliography is not much, a wide range of Basque cultural traits are depicted. Up to now, all of the literature has been written by descendants of the second generation⁵. The most noted example is the novel-fiction of the writer Elaine Mendina Mendina, entitled: *Sorginkeria. De brujas, pueblos y exilios*⁶ (Figure 4). Born in 1956 in the department of Artigas, Mendina Mendina is granddaughter of Basque immigrants. She is considered one of the most prolific essayists of the interior within the Uruguayan literary field. However, before the publication of

³ Originally, the word “urdin” could mean green, blue or gray, depending on the context (Trask 2008). This polysemy at the semantic level is due to changes in the coloring of the sea. In some areas of Basque Country it means “turbid water”.

⁴ The *Saltoko Euskaldunen Taldea* (“Grupo Vasco de Salto”) is a Euskal Etxea founded in 1992.

⁵ Moreover, Uruguayan literary production that develops traditional aspects of Basque culture has been written in Spanish rather than in Euskara.

⁶ In English: “Sorginkeria. Of witches, peoples, and exiles”.

Sorginkeria. De brujas, pueblos y exilios in 2007, no features belonging to Basque culture have been found in her literary production. So, it is in this novel-fiction that elements of the classical mythology of this ethnic group are present.

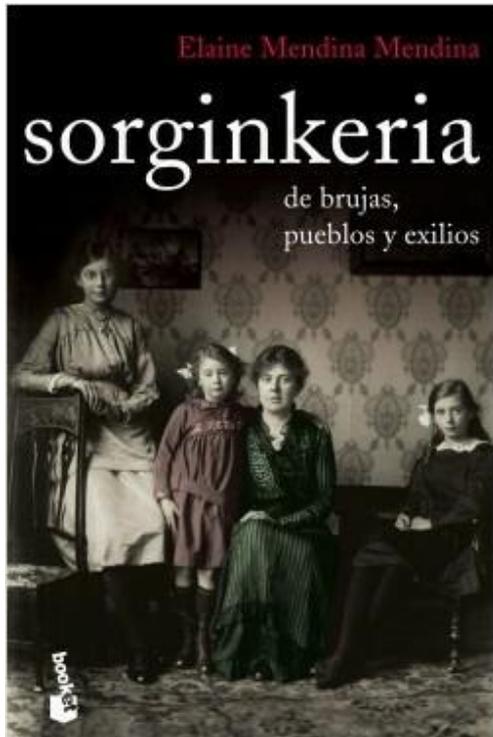


Figure 4 – Front cover of *Sorginkeria. De brujas, pueblos y exilios* (Photo: M. Gamboa)

In reference to the content of this novel-fiction, the plot is based on the story of a family of Basque immigrants that opposes the introduction of technology in the agricultural-livestock area. The story takes place in the hinterland of Uruguay, where some residents determined in exploiting the mining wealth of the area harshly confront the Basque family. The conflict of interests arises when some inhabitants of the town want to include modern techniques of mining extraction to which the Basque family is opposed. The latter is in favor of maintaining traditional agriculture and cattle breeding as the only form of production and wealth. As a result, the narrative plot revolves around scenes of conflict and revenge that give rise to the entry of magic and superstition, inspired by “sagas euskaras” that are transmitted from generation to generation by a lineage of females. That is why the novel is entitled *sorginkeria* (“witchcraft” in Euskara), which comes from *sorgin* (“witch”). The story takes place at the beginning of the 20th century and is set in the rural area of the Brazilian-Uruguayan border, within an environment of mountains and quarries of precious stones.

The other writer who has incorporated elements of Basque culture into her narrative has been Bernarda Lima Menéndez. Although Lima Menéndez has not written novels, she has published a large number of short stories and fiction essays. The most momentous essay in relation to the presence of certain features of Basque culture is called: “Le sucedió a un

vasco”⁷ (2015). The plot of this story describes the adventures of “Antolín”, a Basque immigrant living in a Latin American country. According to the author’s story, Antolín is dedicated to agriculture, and practices Basque gastronomy as a hobby in his spare time. Likewise, the author assigns to this fictitious character certain traits of the Basque “basic personality”. Throughout the story, the storyteller lets us see -through quotes and phrases-, some characteristics of the personality that the popular imagination has assigned to the members of this ethnic group. A few examples are the stubbornness, the inexpressiveness of affections, and the constancy in the work. Lima Menéndez describes in this essay a series of popular myths about the “basic personality structure” of the Basques⁸.

In the end, it is important to highlight the work of the poetess and Basque language teacher Margarita Muñoa. Daughter of Basque immigrants by paternal line, Muñoa was the first Basque teacher in the *Saltoko Euskaldunen Taldea* (“Basque Group of Salto”). A student of the Basque language and essayist, throughout her literary production she has expressed certain traits of Basque culture. An example of this is her poem “Raíz” (*roots* in Spanish). In this poem, the author begins with a dedication in Euskara to her grandfather: “Aitasaba kutunari” (*beloved grandfather*). Notwithstanding, in the first stanza points out that she did not know her grandfather during her lifetime. Sprinkled with a few words in Euskara, the poem describes some of the personality traits of her grandfather and great-grandfather passed down from her mother. She also refers to the Guernica tree and the tenacity of the Basques for work. The poem ends by highlighting the importance of his grandfather’s legacy and of the Basque ethnicity in general.

Conclusions

The main objective of this research was to carry out a critical review of the concept of *cultural legacy* in Uruguay. Therefore, the study demonstrates how the notion of “cultural legacy” is not restricted only to the generations that arrived in the country in one of the three major waves. Beyond the differences in methodology⁹ between the research carried out by Pi Hugarte and Vidart (1969) and Arocena and Aguiar (2011), both continue to conceive *cultural legacy* as a contribution restricted to the first immigrants who entered the country. This approach prevented the catch of new cultural manifestations produced in

⁷ In English: “It happened to a Basque man”.

⁸ This characterization of the temperament and personality traits of the Basques is also developed in Argentinian literature. As an example, one of the authors who described in his essays the “basic personality” of the Basques was Jorge Luis Borges. Two essays in which Borges narrates the personality traits characteristic of Basque ethnic group are “El muerto” and “El congreso”.

⁹ The most important difference concerning the initial studies of Pi Hugarte and Vidart (1969) included giving voice to immigrants and descendants.

other social fields. In fact, the legacy of tangible and intangible cultural heritage was reduced to the ancestors who disembarked in the capital's harbor.

On the contrary, the *cultural legacy* made by Basque immigrants does not stop in time, nor is it subordinated to the migratory past. In other words, the cultural contribution does not cease after the arrival of the third migratory wave, but continues until today. The most interesting question of the *continuum* of cultural legacy is that Basques have integrated into Uruguayan society. Nevertheless, this biological and cultural melting (Sans et. al. 2011) did not generate a gradual loss of the tangible and intangible traits of Basque culture. Moreover, not only were certain traditional features preserved, but new cultural manifestations also *re-emerged* in other domains of culture.

Such is the case of plastic arts and literature. Both artistic domains confirm the thesis developed in the introduction, where the impulse of the *creative becomings* (Deleuze and Guattari 1994) of the following generations is explained. Beyond the fact that some traditional elements had been lost or forgotten (e.g. mythological sagas, ancient gastronomy trends, some styles of Basque pelota, etc.), the most important thing lies in the emergence of several traits of Basque culture in other fields of culture. The *cultural legacy* of this ethnic group was not exhausted in the contributions coming from any of the three migratory waves. Consequently, the *creative becomings* continue to this day by the descendants of the first, second, third, and fourth generation, as well as those who have no blood ties with this ethnic group.

It is clear that the concept of "cultural legacy" that has prevailed in the anthropological and sociological researches carried out in Uruguay blocked us from thinking about its historical *continuum*. Furthermore, the *cultural legacy* did not stop with the arrival of the first immigrants, but rather, is continuously *becoming*. Furthermore, this process even transcends the ethnic group itself, especially since many practitioners of Basque pelota (*euskal pilota*) and students of Euskara are currently not descendants of Basques, yet they still participate in the Basque culture through their own forms of self-expression.

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