



TRADIZIOAK
TRADITIONS

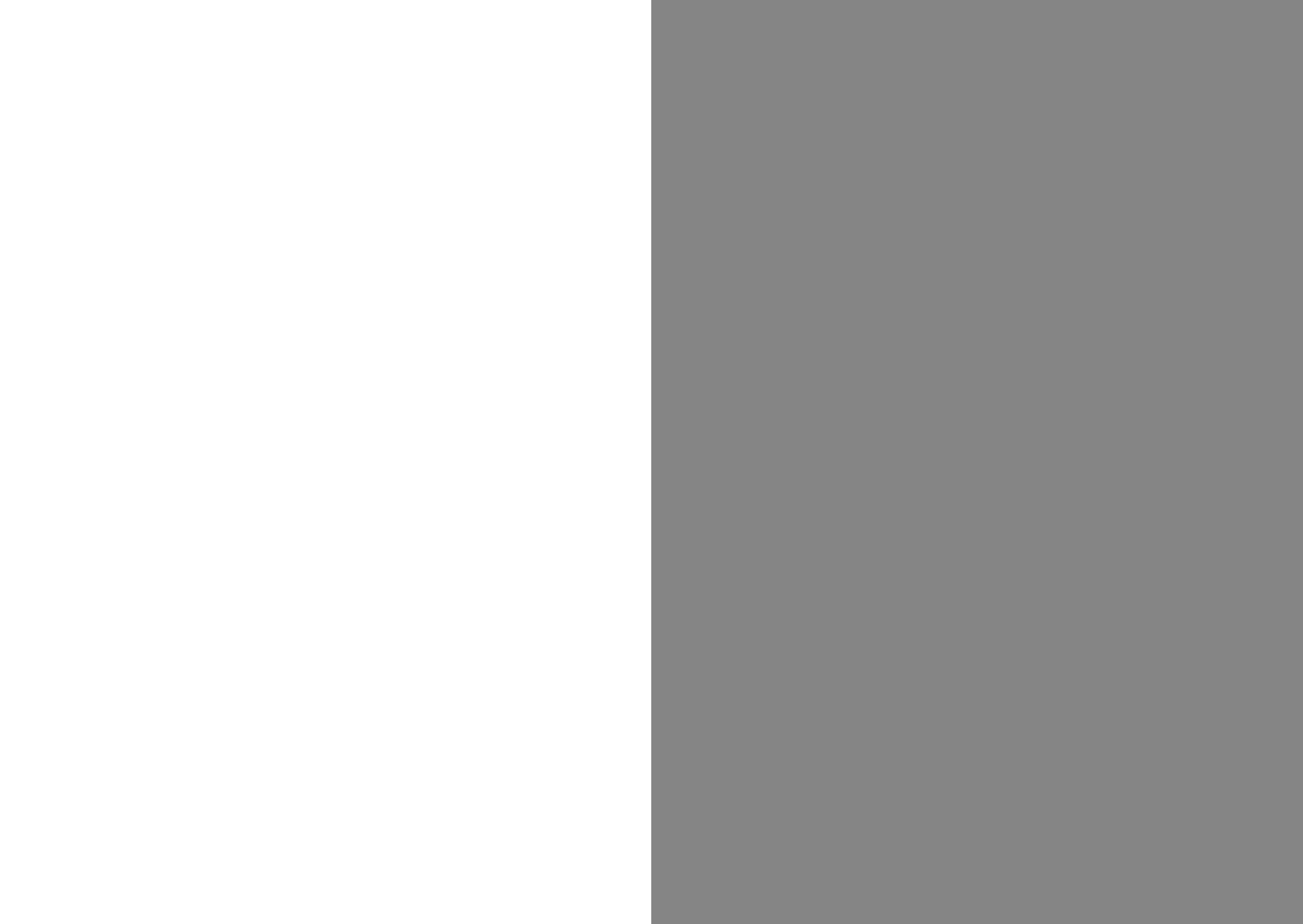
10

Aitzpea Leizaola

BASQUE.



**ETXEPARE
EUSKAL
INSTITUTUA**



TRADIZIOAK
TRADITIONS

Aitzpea Leizaola

BASQUE.

01
Euskara
The Basque Language

02
Literatura
Literature

03
Musika klasikoa
Classical Music

04
Euskal kantagintza: pop, rock, folk
Basque Songwriting: Pop, Rock, Folk

05
Artea
Art

06
Zinema
Cinema

07
Arkitektura eta diseinua
Architecture and Design

08
Euskal dantza
Basque Dance

09
Bertsolaritza
Bertsolaritza

10
Tradizioak
Traditions

11
Sukaldaritza
Cuisine

12
Antzerkia
Theatre

Etxepare Euskal Institutuak sortutako bilduma honek hamabi kultura-adierazpide bildu ditu. Guztiak kate bakarraren katebegiak dira, hizkuntza berak, lurralde komunak eta denbora-mugarri berberak zeharkatzen dituztelako. Kulturaren eskutik, euskararen lurraldean tradizioa eta abangoardia nola uztartu diren jasoko duzu. Kulturaren leihotik, bertakoaren eta kanpokoaren topalekua erakutsiko dizugu. Kulturaren taupadatik, nondik gatozen, non gauden eta nora goazen jakiteko aukera izango duzu. Liburu sorta hau abiapuntu bat da, zugar jakin-mina eragin eta euskal kultura sakonago ezagutzeko gogoia piztea du helburu.

This collection created by the Etxepare Basque Institute brings together twelve cultural disciplines, all of them intertwined as they share language, land and history. Hand in hand with our culture, we invite you to witness the fusion of tradition and innovation, the melding of local and foreign. In short, we invite you to learn where we come from, where we are now and where we're heading. This set of books is a launchpad intended to spark your curiosity.

TRADIZIOAK TRADITIONS

Aitzpea Leizaola

10	Sarrera	Introduction
14	Jatorri misterioetsutik gizarte postindustrialera	From mysterious origins to postindustrial society
20	Baserriaren zentraltasuna	The centrality of the 'baserri'
28	Auzoa eta auzolana	The 'auzo' and 'auzolan'
32	Iraganeko gizarte egituraketaren lekukoak	Witnesses to the social structuring of the past
36	Azokak	Fairs
42	Lanak eta festak bat egiten dutenean: herri-kirolak	When work and play coincide: Traditional Basque sports
46	Ingurunea dema-zelai	The environment as a field of contest
50	Sozializazio-esparru biziak: kuadrillak, elkarteak, lagunarte-sareak	Dynamic socialisation frameworks: 'cuadrillas', associations, activist networks
56	Festa-egutegi bizi eta oparoa	A rich and lively festive calendar
64	Ohitura zaharrak? Tradizio berriak, bizi-biziak	Old customs? New dynamic traditions
68	Tradizioa, etorkizunera begiratu bat	Tradition, a gaze at the future



Nola lortu du Mendebaleko Europako berezko hizkuntzen artean indoeuroparra ez den bakarrak bere lekua hartzea XXI. mendean? Zertan datza euskal kultura gaur egun eta zertan bereizten da besteengandik? Zer presentzia merezi du nazioartean?

Liburu hauen bidez, Etxepare Euskal Institutuak erantzun batzuk proposatu nahi ditu, beste kultura eta identitate batzuei eskua luzatzeko asmoz. Elkar ezagutzea baita elkar estimatzeko eta ulertzeko modu bakarra. Ongi etorri.

How has the only indigenous language of Western Europe that is not of Indo-European origin achieved its own place in the 21st century? What is Basque culture and what sets it apart from others? What international presence does it deserve?

Through the books that make up this collection, the Etxepare Basque Institute would like to offer a series of responses to reach out to other cultures and identities. The better we know each other, the more we appreciate each other. Ongi etorri.

Sarrera

Tradizioa, ohitura, usadioa, aztura, ekandua. Hainbat hitz erabiltzen dira euskaraz iraganetik jaso dugun eta ondare kontsideratzen dugun hura izendatzeko. Euskal Herriaren iruditerian, izan bertan ekoizitakoan nola kanpotik sortutakoan, tradizioak leku esanguratsua izan du eta izaten jarraitzen du.

Luzaz, tradizioak iraganetik orainerako bidea egiten duten gizarte-mailako jarduera, ekintza eta ospakizun gisa aurkeztu izan dira. Arbasoengandik jasotakoak direnaren ideari estuki lotuta, tradizioek belaunaldien arteko transmisioa bide eta oinarri hartzen dituzte. Hona tradizio moduan identifikatzen ditugun zenbait elementu: errituak, errepresentazioak, ospakizunak, formulak, diskurtsoak eta egiteko moldeak. Guztiek dimentsio kolektibo bat plazaratzen dute. Ezin bestela. Taldeak bizi du tradizioa, bai eta biziberritu ere. Tradizioak balio eta errepresentazio zehatzak gorpuzten dituzten praktika bezala ulertu dira, iraganaren eta etorkizunaren arteko soka orainean gauzatzen dutenak. Ikuspegi honen arabera, tradizioa balio moduan ikusi izan da, bere horretan mantendu beharreko zerbait. Gizarte gehientsuenetan errotuta dagoen ikuspegi baten arabera, urterik urte modu identikoan errepikatzen den zerbait da tradizioa. Irakurketa honek, muturrera eramanda, gizartea immobilismora behartuko luke ezinbestean. Errealitateak besterik diosku, ordea. Tradizioa herri edo talde jakin baten iragana eta etorkizuna orainetik irakurtzeko tresna moduan baliatu izan da.

Hala, XX. mendearen azken laurdenera arte, antropologiak gizarte *tradizionalak* gizarte *modernoekin* kontrajarri ditu, *ahozko tradizioko* gizarteak versus *tradizio idatziaren* gizarteak. Elkarri bizkarra ematen zioten bi errealitate bereizi bezala irudikatzen ziren. Ikertzaile haiek beren burua historiadun gizarteetako kide moduan identifikatzen zuten. Ahozko gizarteei

erreparatzen zieten nagusiki eta, beren garai-kide izanagatik ere, delako gizarte tradizional haien kultura-produkzioari iraganaren lekukotza jaso eta transmititzen zuten elementu moduan begiratzen zioten. Haien gaineko bilketa-lanak lekukotza interesgarriak utzi dizkigu, hala erregistratuaren beraren gainekoak nola erregistratzeko aukeratutakoen gainekoak. Baina hau beste eztabaida luzeago baten parte da.

Orduko ikuspegiaren arabera, idazketak aldaketaren, bilakaeraren kontzientziaren eta jarraitutasunaren auzia dakar mahai gainera. Idatziak gertakariak betikotzeko aukera ematen duen heinean, antropologoek eta folkloristen lanek XIX. mendean jasotako tradiziozko agerraldiak geroztik aldagaitzak balira bezala irudikatzea eragin du. Ikuskera honetan tradizioa errepikapen zurrunarekin identifikatzen da, aldaketarik onartzen ez dituen –eta izan beharko ez lituzkeen– fenomeno gisa. Hain zuzen, tradizionalismoa delakoak kartsuki bere egin eta defendatuko duen ideia da. Euskal Herriko historia ez hain urrunean badugu diskurtso horren adibiderik.

Alabaina, tradizio gisa identifikatutako edozein fenomeno ikertzeko orduan, iraganeko agerpenak aletzen hasi eta artxibo lanari ekiterakoan, azkar asko jabetuko da ikertzailea urterik urte *tradizio* moduan ezagutzen ditugun horietan aldaketak gertatzen direla: ñimiñoak eta nabarmenagoak diren aldaketak. Moldatzeko gaitasuna praktikan gauzatzen duten fenomeno sozialak izango dira, azken batean, tradizio estatusa eskuratu eta denboraren joanean mantenduko dutenak. Izan ere, tradizio delakoen atzean, une oro gizarte jakin baten balioak eta interesak azaleratzen dira. Tradizioa berez garaikidea den kultur fenomeno garrantzitsua da: bizia, gizarteak sortu, bereganatu eta moldatzen duena.

Antropologoek eta historialariek erakutsi moduan, tradizioak, transmititua izateko,

Introducción

Tradition, custom, usage, habit, convention. Many words are used to label that which the past has bequeathed us and we consider heritage. In the imaginary of the Basque Country (Euskal Herria), both that constructed therein as well as that established externally, tradition has enjoyed and continues to enjoy a significant place.

For a long time, traditions have been presented as social activities, acts and celebrations that have made their way down from past to present. Closely linked to the idea of those things received from ancestors, traditions follow the path and basis of intergenerational transmission. These are some of the elements which we identify as tradition: rites, representations, celebrations, formulas, discourses and modes of activity. All of them reveal a collective dimension. They could not do otherwise. Traditions are experienced and revived by groups. Traditions have been understood as practices which embody specific values and representations, a thread between past and future which takes shape in the present. According to this perspective, tradition has been viewed as a value, something to be maintained as such. According to the perspective which is rooted in most societies, tradition is something which is repeated in an identical way year after year. This interpretation, taken to an extreme, would necessarily force society to stagnate. Reality tells us otherwise, however. Tradition has been used as a tool in order to read the past and future of a specific people or group in the present.

Thus, until the last quarter of the 20th century, anthropology distinguished between *traditional* and *modern* societies, *oral tradition* societies versus *written tradition* societies. They were depicted as two distinct realities which ignored each other. Those researchers considered themselves members of societies with history. They mostly turned to oral societies and, despite

being contemporaneous, observed the cultural production of those traditional societies as elements which received and transmitted the legacy of the past. The compilation work on them has left us with interesting testimonies, both about those who made the records and about those who were chosen to be recorded. But this is part of another broader debate.

According to perspective at that time, writing brought about the issue of change, an awareness of evolution and continuity. Insofar as writing presents an opportunity to immortalise events, the appearance of tradition in 19th-century works by anthropologists and folklorists resulted in it being represented as if it were immutable. In this view, tradition is identified with unyielding repetition, as a phenomenon which does not –and should not– acknowledge any change. Specifically, it is an idea that so-called traditionalism would embrace and defend fervently. There are examples of this discourse in the not-so-distant history of the Basque Country.

Nevertheless, when it comes to analysing any phenomenon as tradition, in beginning to sift through expressions of the past and undertake archival work, any researcher will quickly realise that changes have taken place in the way in which we understand *tradition* over the years: both subtle and more obvious changes. Social phenomena that put the ability to adapt into practice would, ultimately, acquire the status of tradition and maintain it over time. Indeed, one constantly finds the values and interests of a particular society behind that so-called tradition. Tradition is an important cultural phenomenon which is inherently contemporary: one that is dynamic, created, appropriated and shaped by society.

As anthropologists and historians have demonstrated, in order to be transmitted, tradition must know how to adapt to the values of the

garaian garaiko baloreetara egokitzen jakin behar du. Hau da, aldiro biziberritu egiten da eta, aldi berean, moldatu, egokitu eta gaurkotu. Azken batean, gizartearen balioen erreprezentazio edo eszenifikatze bat dira tradizioak, dagozkion gizartearen kezken arabera indartu, lausotu edo eraldatzen doazenak, iraganarekiko harreman berezi horretan betiere. Orogen gainetik, tradizioa orainalditik egindako atzera begiratua baita.

Euskal Herriaren egungo egitura administratiboak inertzia propioak eta tradizio espezi-fikoak sortu eta elikatu ditu denboran zehar; batik bat, denboraren antolaketarekin zerikusia dutenak, izan otorduen garaia nola festei eta ospakizunei lotutakoak. Jaien eta ospakizunen eremuarekin josi izan dira tradizioak; usu folklo-rearekin eta izaera erlijioso edo gremiala duten ospakizunekin identifikatu dira. Baina badira bestelako izaera duten tradizioak. Mugaz ari garen honetan, azpimarratzekoa da tradizioaren eremuan kokatzen dugun elementu horietako bat, oraindik ere, mendez mende eguneratu den bi bailaren arteko akordioa oroitarazten duen erritua izatea.

Hiru behien tratatua izenaz ezagutzen dena Erdi Arotik orain arte indarrean jarraitzen duen Europako trataturik zaharrena da. Bere jatorri zehatzaren berri ez badugu ere, egun ospatzen den tratatuak 1375ean idatziz jaso zen epai bati egiten dio erreferentzia. Dokumentu horrek jasotzen du orduetik aurrerantzean Bearnoko Baretos bailarako biztanleen obligazioa Erronkari-ko bailarakoekiko: auzo diren bailarok goiko mendietako larreen ustiapenagatik piztutako gatazken ordainsari gisa urtero hiru behi eman behar dizkiete nafarrei. Nolanahi ere, tratatua 1375eko epaia baino askoz lehenagokoa da. Geroztik, urterik urte etengabe eraberritu da. Behiala, Europako estatu boteretsuen artean banatuta dauden bi bailaren artean sinatutako

akordioak nazioarteko izaera hartu zuen estatu-arte muga definitzearekin batera. XVII. mendean arazo larriak egon ziren bere jarraitutasunean, eta, gerora, inoiz istilu edo atzerapen txikiak izan dira inguruko gerra-gertaerak direla eta. XX. mendearen azken laurdenean, tradizioa ekitaldi folkloriko lehenik eta ondoren ondare-elementu bilakatu zen. Orduetik, urtero, Pirinioetako Ernazeko lepoan dagoen 262 mugariaren ingurura bertako eta nazioarteko ehunka turista iristen dira, uztailaren 13an eraberritzen den errituala bertatik bertara jarraitzeko.

Muga politikoek eta bestelako egitura-keta administratiboek errealtate espezi-fikoak eragin dituzte denboraren joanean, gizarteak, alde batean zein bestean, modu desberdinean bereganatu dituenak. Hala ere, gisa honetako faktoreei eta tokian tokiko espezi-fikotasunari uko egin gabe, hamaika dira mugaz gaindi topa ditzakegun elementu komun eta bateratzaileak. Jarraian, Euskal Herriaren XXI. mendeko tradizioen panorama zabalaren baitan hautatutako zenbait adibide ekarri ditugu.

moment. In other words, it is constantly revived and, at the same time, shaped, adjusted and updated. Ultimately, traditions are a representation or a reproduction of a society's values, those that are strengthened, blurred or transformed according to the concerns of the society of the time, as long as they have a special relationship with the past. Because above all else, tradition is a gaze back in time from the present.

The present administrative structure of the Basque Country has created and nourished its own inertia and specific traditions over time; above all, those that have to do with the organisation of time, whether those linked to meal times or festivals and celebrations. Traditions have been woven into the field of festivals and celebrations; they are often identified with folklore and celebrations of a religious or associative nature. Within these boundaries we are referring to, it is worth highlighting one of those elements that we place in the field of tradition for being a rite which, still today, recalls an agreement between two valleys which has been renovated down the centuries.

It is the oldest treaty in Europe still in existence since the Middle Ages, which is known by the name of the Treaty of the Three Cows. While we are unaware of its specific origins, the treaty celebrated nowadays refers to a judgment which was transcribed in 1375. This document includes the obligations from that moment on of the inhabitants of the Baretous Valley, in Bearn, towards the Erronkari Valley: the neighbouring valley must give three cows a year to the Navarrese as remuneration for the conflict that broke out over farming of the high mountain pastures. In any event, the treaty predates the 1375 judgment by a long way. Since then, it has been renewed continuously year after year. Formerly, this signed agreement between the two valleys, which were divided between Europe's most powerful states,

took on an international dimension with the demarcation of the border between the two states. In the 17th century there were serious problems in continuing the agreement, yet thereafter there have never been even any minor incidents or delays due to surrounding bellicose events. In the last quarter of the 20th century, the tradition became, first, a folkloric act and, then, a piece of heritage. Since then, hundreds of tourists, both locals those from further afield, arrive annually at boundary stone 262 on the summit of Ernaz in the Pyrenees in order to follow first-hand the ritual which is renewed on 13 July.

Political borders and other kinds of administrative structuring have led to specific realities over time which society, on one side and the other, has embraced in different ways. However, without disregarding such factors like these as well as local specificity, there are many common unifying elements that we can find which traverse the border. In what follows, we include several examples chosen from among the wide panorama of 21st-century traditions in the Basque Country.

Jatorri misteriozkoak gizarte postindustrialera

XIX. mendeaz geroztik, Euskal Herria misterioz blaitutako herri gisa irudikatu da, iraganari estuki errotua. Iruditeria horretan, tradizioei berebiziko lekua aitortu izan zaie. Ez da harrizkoa; izan ere, garai hartakoak dira folkloristen eta lehen antropologoaren lanak. Iraganari garrantzia handia ematen zioten eta ikuspegi horretatik ulertu beharra dago zein punturaino kokatu zuten tradizioa ikerketaren erdigunean. Erromantizismo garaian sortu eta garatutako irudi jakin hura bidaiaren testigantzek hauspotu eta ikertzaileen lehen hurbilketek garatu eta errotu zuten. Horien artean ezagunenetakoa, Madrilera bidean Wilhelm von Humboldt pentsalari eta estatu-politikari prusiarrak 1799an Euskal Herria zeharkatu zueneko bidaiak du. Bertan ikusitakoak liluratuta, bi urte beranduago espresuki itzuli zen Euskal Herrira. Aparteko herri moduan deskribatu zuen Humboldt, ezagunak zituen gainerako herriei eta kulturei alderatuta, berezia.

1. Hiru Behien Tratatu San Martin Harrian.



1. Treaty of the three cows on Saint Martin's Rock.

From mysterious origins to postindustrial society

From the 19th century on, the Basque Country would be portrayed as a land full of mystery, rooted deeply in the past. In that imaginary, traditions were given pride of place. It is hardly surprising, considering that the early works of folklorists and anthropologists appeared during that time. They gave great importance to the past and it is from that perspective that one must understand the extent to which tradition lies at the heart of their studies. That specific image, created and developed during the age of romanticism, was kindled by travelogues and established and developed by the initial studies of scholars. One of the most renowned of these was the 1799 journey of the Prussian thinker and statesman Wilhelm von Humboldt, in which he crossed the Basque Country on his way to Madrid. Fascinated by what he saw there, he returned specifically to the Basque Country two years later. Humboldt described it as an extraordinary country, distinct from all the other peoples and cultures he was familiar with.

The Basque Country stirred the interest of numerous scholars in the 19th century. As well as nourishing and disseminating academic knowledge about the Basque Country, their works, which were pioneering in establishing *Bascolology*, constructed a specific imaginary which was extended by the works of folklorists at the time: the image of an ancient and traditional society in the Basque Country, one that was deeply rooted in the past. That distinctiveness, within the field of the nascent human and social sciences, gave the Basque Country and Basque culture in general a special place. From where did that special distinctiveness originate, and how had it survived to that time? In the West, there was an emerging intense interest in origins which spread, almost to the point of becoming an obsession, and this was reflected and weighed heavily in different sciences and disciplines. Following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, the theory of evolution became influential not just in biology and more generally in the natural sciences, but also in philology, physical anthropology and prehistory. In the end, the question of origins became front and centre in academic research; for example, the source of philology.

In 19th-century studies based on comparison by European scholars about sacred texts in Sanskrit there was a desire to learn about the origins and development of languages. Those early philologists began to explore the relationship amongst the world's languages by grouping languages together in *families* in order to demonstrate the connections between them. In that initiative, Basque enjoyed a special place in the cartography made up of the languages spoken in Europe, as it was differentiated outside the large Indo-European language family as well as all other living and dead languages.

Paradoxically, the most radical changes the Basque Country had ever known were taking place during that time, as the end of the Carlist Wars and the liberal victory paved the way for a free market and industrialisation.

Euskal Herriak hamaika ikertzailearen interesa piztu zuen XIX. mendean. *Baskologiaren* aita ponteko izan ziren haien lanek, Euskal Herriari buruzko ezagutza zientifikoa elikatu eta zabaltzeaz gain, iruditeria jakin bat eraiki zuten, orduko folkloristen lanek areagotu zutena: Euskal Herria gizarte tradizional eta antzinakoaren irudia, iraganari estuki errotua zegoena. Bereztasun horrek, bidea egiten hasi berriak ziren giza zientzien eta gizarte-zientzien agertokian, Euskal Herria eta euskal kultura oro har aparteko tokian jarri zituen. Nondik zetorren aparteko bereztasun hori, eta nolatan iraun zuen ordura arte? Mendebaldean jatorriarekiko interes bizia piztu eta zabaldu zen, kasik obsesio bihurtzeraino, eta zientzia eta diziplina desberdinetan isla eta pisu nabarmena izan zuen. Darwinek *Espezien jatorriaz* argitaratu ondoren, eboluzionismoaren teoriak, biologian eta orokorrean natur zientzietan ez ezik, filologia, antropologia fisikoa eta historiaurrean eragina izan zuen. Finean, jatorriaren auzia ikerketa zientifikoaren lehen planora ekarri zuen; esaterako, filologiaren sorburura.

XIX. mendean sanskritoz idatzitako testu sakratuei buruz Europako ikertzaileek egindako azterketatan, konparazioa oinarri hartu zuten lanetan, hizkuntzen jatorriari eta bilakaerari buruzko jakin-mina zegoen. Antzinako beste hizkuntza batzuen egitura gramatikala, lexikoa eta sistema bokalikoa alderatuz munduko hizkuntzek elkarren artean duten harremana arakatzeari ekin zioten lehen filologo haiek, elkarren arteko loturak islatzeko hizkuntzak *familiatan* multzokatuz. Ekinbide horretan Europar hitz egiten ziren hizkuntzek osatutako kartografian euskara bereiz agertzen da, Indoeuropar hizkuntza-familia handitik kanpo, eta gainerako hizkuntza biziengandik eta hilengandik berezia.

Paradoxikoki, garai hartakoak dira Euskal Herriak ezagutu dituen eraldaketa erradikalenak, Karlismaldien amaierarekin eta liberalen garai-penarekin merkatua ireki eta industrializazioari bide eman zioten. Oso hamarkada gutxiren buruan, herri koxkor zirenak hirigune jendetsu bilakatu ziren eta zenbait kasutan biztanleria bikoiztu, hirukoiztu eta are laukoiztu ere egin zen bertako landa-eremuetatik eta urrunagoko probintzietatik lanera joandakoekin. Bilboko ezker aldearen eraldaketa da bilakaera



2. Izaroko Teila Jaurtiketa.

Within the space of a very few decades, what were once small towns became crowded cities and in several cases their populations also doubled, tripled and quadrupled as a result of people moving there to work from rural areas and distant provinces. The best example of this radical development was the transformation of the left bank of Bilbao in Biscay. For example, in 1900, Barakaldo had a population of 15,013, an increase of just 2,369 compared to the census of 1857. Within forty years, the population increased sevenfold due to workers enticed there by the mines, shipyards and other kinds of factories. In a very short space of time, the landscape and demographic reality was completely urbanised. As was the case elsewhere throughout the world, industrialisation brought about significant changes as regarded social values and organisation.

In the face of all these transformations, a certain representation of the so-called traditional society was formed, and later disseminated, especially in the late 19th century and throughout the 20th century. This perspective had an impact on Basque communities in both the Basque Country itself and dispersed around the world as well as on visitors and scholars from abroad. Therefore, during the last two centuries a certain imaginary of the Basque Country has been constructed, consolidated and expanded in which tradition has been given a special place, often nourishing a specific imaginary and expectation, in the name of continuity, and fostering immobility. An imaginary was constructed which responded to an ideal. Reality, however, demonstrates a completely different image.

As in many other places, in keeping with the essentialist approach of the previous century, tradition has been conceived and applied as an intangible legacy inherited from the past. In recent decades, one of the clearest examples of this has been the stance against women's participation in several festivals and celebrations in the Basque Country, in the name of tradition; one that has been manifested in an especially violent way in several towns. In the case of the *Alardes* (parades) in the Bidasoalde district of Gipuzkoa, the conflict has lasted for a quarter of a century. In several other towns, however, there has been women's participation without any noticeable conflict, even though it was not to everyone's liking during the early years. Despite resistance, traditions are intense, and, albeit at different paces, the participation of women in most towns is being carried out. Traditions are adapting to the values and demands of contemporary Basque society, as long as they are maintained.

Contemporary Basque society has little in common with the rural society overwhelmed by 19th-century industrialisation. Although industry continues to be important to the economy, it has nothing like the importance it once had in the past, and sometimes it is more accurate to speak of a post-industrial Basque Country. Moreover, industrialisation generated its own traditions, whether in terms of work practices, values, leisure and protest models or other kinds of acts linked to work. Numerous values, activities and perspectives from the past have survived to this day. Nowadays, we understand several others as *tradition*, those that appeared in response to industrialisation and many of which were quickly established as if they had always been practiced. Some of them were created and encouraged by Basque nationalism in the 19th century, such as free dance competitions. Others were rejected violently, like the two-row diatonic accordion or *trikiti* which Italian labourers that came to build the railways brought with them. In spite of their very different receptions, in time both came to be considered part of folklore. Lastly, there are traditions that have been around for only

2. Hurling of the tile in Izaro (Biscay).

TRADITIONS

erradikal honen adibiderik behinena. Esaterako, 1900. urtean, Barakaldok 15.013 biztanle zituen –1857ko erroldan 2.369 besterik ez ziren–. Berrogei urteren buruan biztanleria zazpikoiztu egin zen Bilboko eta inguruko meategietara, ontzioletara eta bestelako lantegietara erakarritako langileekin. Oso denbora tarte laburrean paisaia eta errealitate demografikoa guztiz hiritartu ziren. Munduko beste tokietan gertatu moduan, industrializazioak bizimoduari, baloreei eta gizarte-antolaketari dagokionez aldaketa nabarmenak ekarri zituen.

Eraldaketa horien guztien aurrean gizarte tradizional delakoaren irudikapen jakin bat eratu zen, bai eta gerora zabaldu ere, batik bat XIX. mende amaieran eta XX. mendean zehar. Ikuskera honek Euskal Herrian bertan eta munduan barreiatuta dauden euskal komunitateengan eta kanpotik etorritako bisitariengan zein ikertzaileengan oihartzuna izan zuen. Horrenbestez, azken bi mendeetan Euskal Herriaren iruditeria jakin bat eraiki, sendotu eta zabaldu zen non tradizioari berebiziko tokia aitortu zitzaion, sarritan iruditeria eta igurikimen jakin batzuk elikatuz, jarraitutasunaren izenean, immobilismoa hauspotuz. Ideal bati erantzuten zion iruditeria eraiki zen. Errealitateak, aldiz, oso bestelako irudia erakusten digu.

Beste hainbat tokitan bezala, aurreko mendeko hurbilketa esentzialistari jarraiki, iraganetik jasotako ondare ukiezin moduan pentsatu eta egikaritu izan da tradizioa. Azken hamarkadetan horren adibide agerikoenetako bat izan da Euskal Herriko zenbait festa eta ospakizunetan, tradizioaren izenean, emakumeen parte-hartzearen kontrako posizionamendua; zenbait herritan modu biziki bortitzean gertatu dena. Bidasoaldeko alardeen kasuan gatazka mende laurden pasa luzatu da. Beste herri batzuetan, aldiz, emakumeen parte-hartzea gatazka nabarmenagirik gabe gertatu zen, nahiz eta hasierako urteetan guztien gustukoa ez izan. Erresistentziak erresistentzia, tradizioak biziak dira, eta, erritmo desberdinetan bada ere, herri gehientsuenetan emakumeen parte-hartzea egikaritzen ari da. Euskal gizartearen balio eta eskakizunetara egokituz doaz tradizioak, bizirik iraungo badute bederen.

Egungo euskal gizarteak zerikusi gutxi du XIX. mendeko industrializazioak bete-bete harrapatu zuen nekazaritza-gizartearekin. Industriak oraindik ere ekonomian garrantzia izaten jarraitzen badu ere, ez du inolaz ere iraganeko pisua, eta zenbaitetan Euskal Herri postindustrialaz hitz egitea zuzenagoa da. Horrez gain, industrializazioak ere bere tradizio propioak garatu zituen, izan lan-moldeetan, balioetan, aisialdian eta protesta-ereduetan edo lanari lotutako bestelako ospakizunetan. Orduko zenbait balore, ekintza eta ikuskera guregana heldu dira. Egun *tradizionaltzat* jotzen ditugun beste hainbat, industrializazioari erantzun moduan agertu ziren eta horietako asko azkar batean betidanik praktikara eraman balira bezala finkatu ziren. Batzuk, euskal abertzaletasunak sortu eta sustatu zituen XIX. mendean –dantza solte txapelketak, esaterako–. Beste batzuk bortizki arbuiatuak izan ziren –trenbidean lanera etorritako italiar beharginek ekarritako soinu txikia edo trikitia, esaterako–. Biak ala biak, hain harrera desberdina izanagatik, folkloreaken parte kontsideratu dira luzaz. Azkenik, badira gure artean duela bi hamarkadatik baino ez dauden tradizioak, zeinak honezkero guztiz errotuta dauden euskal gizartearen. Horien guztien adibide gutxi batzuk ekarri ditugu, Euskal Herriko tradizioen panorama aberats eta biziaren lekuko.

3. Zarauzko Euskal Jaia.



3. Zarautz Basque Festival (Gipuzkoa).

two decades and which are now deeply rooted in Basque society. We have included a few examples of all these, a testament to the rich and dynamic panorama of the traditions of the Basque Country.

Baserriaren zentraltasuna

Euskal Herria aipatzerakoan, paisaia jakin bat nabarmendu izan da: lurralde menditsua non berdea kolore nagusia den eta mendi hegaletan barreiatu-tako baserri teilatu gorritz jantziak dauden. Europako eta munduko beste hainbat tokitan gertatu moduan, XIX. mendean sendotu egiten da herrialde bat paisaia jakin batekin identifikatzeko joera. Ingalaterrako landa-eremua da horien artean ezagunenetakoa. Euskal Herrian, orografiai aldaera ikaragarriak ditu berez mugatua den eremu batean, geografia aberats eta batez ere anitza osatuz. Hala, paisaia aldetik ikaragarritzko aniztasuna dago eta oso kilometro gutxiren buruan kostaldetik barnealdera joan gaitzkeen moduan, Pirinio aldetik lautadarako bidea irekitzen da. Ur isuriaren alde banatan, antropologoen aztertutako bi habitat mota desberdin dira nagusi: mediterraneo aldean habitat bildua eta atlantikoko aldean, aldiz, habitat sakabanatua. Azken honetan oinarritu da XIX. mendeaz geroztik gailendu den paisaia-iruditeria non baserriak berebiziko tokia izan duen. Kulturaren esparrutik, batik bat idazleen eta margolarien eskutik, zabaldu zen paisaiaren eraikuntza. Orduko euskal abertzaletasunari esker zilegitasuna hartuz joan zen irudi hori indartu eta areagotu egin zen, bai eta diaspora testuinguruetan nagusitu ere. Iruditeria-eraikuntza honek Euskal Herriko gainerako beste paisaia humanizatuak bazter utzi zituen, hala nola itsasoari lotutako bizimoduak, lautadakoak eta, batez ere, garai bertsuan ikaragari hazten ari ziren hirien errealitateak.

Euskal Herri atlantikoko ezaugarria izanik ere, baserria izan da zailtzarik gabe euskal iruditerian arrasto sakonena utzi duen egitura eta gizarte-antolaketa. Luzaz, kanpoko zein bertako idazle, ikertzaile eta artisten eskutik iruditeria jakin bat ardaztu da non Euskal Herriko gizarte tradizionala baserriari lotua ageri zaigun. Baserria, euskal mundu tradizionalaren funtsezko instituzioa denez gero, folkloristen eta antropologoen aztergai izan da. Gaur egun, lehen sektoreko gainerako jarduekin parekatuz ekonomian pisu handirik ez badu ere, historiaren eta kulturaren ikuspegitik, bai eta sinbolikoki irudikatzen dituen balioengatik ere –identitate, balore eta izateko manera jakin batzuei lotuak–, garrantzi nabarmena izaten jarraitzen du.

Familia-unitatean oinarritutako nekazaritza-ustiategia da berez baserria. Etxea bera, etxeokak eta haren inguruko lursailak batasun baten parte dira. Baserriarrarentzat harreman estua dago nekazaritza-ustiategiaren eta familiararen artean. Iragan ez hain urrun batean, etxeokoen artean egiten zituzten lan guztiak eta baserriak familia mantentzeko adina eman behar zuen. Izan ere, familia bakar batek gobernatzen zuen baserria. Oinordeko bakarraren sistema izan du euskarri baserriak bizirik irauteko. Azken batean, baserri handien kasuak bazter utzirik, gehien-gehientsuenetan iraupen-ekonomia eta bizimodua izan baitira mendeetan baserriaren ezaugarri nagusiak.

Baserri bakoitzak izen propioa du. Horietako asko abizen bilakatu ziren Erdi Aroaren amaieran. Hala, inguruko abizen antroponimoekin alderatuta, Euskal Herrian halakoak badauden arren toponimikoak nagusi dira. Leku izenak sarri baserriak ingurune fisikoan duen kokaguneari egiten

4. Ezkioko Igartubeiti Baserri Museoa.



4. Igartubeiti Museum. Ezkio (Gipuzkoa).

The centrality of the 'baserri'

When the Basque Country is mentioned, a specific landscape is highlighted: a predominantly green mountainous land in which the red-tiled rooftops of the Basque farmhouse (*baserri*) dot the hillsides. As happened in many other places throughout Europe and the rest of the world, in the 19th century the tendency to identify a country with a specific landscape was reinforced. The rural setting of England is one of the best known examples of this. In the Basque Country, there are major orographic differences within an inherently limited space, making up a rich and above all varied geography. Thus, there is tremendous diversity as regards landscape and as one moves from the coast inland within the space of a very few kilometres, the Pyrenees give way to rolling plains. On each side of the watershed, two different types of environment studied by anthropologists predominate: on the Mediterranean side a concentrated environment and on that of the Atlantic, in contrast, a dispersed environment. The landscape imaginary, in which the *baserri* enjoys a special place, which has predominated since the 19th century is based on the latter. The construction of this landscape was disseminated in the field of culture, above all in the work of writers and artists. Thanks to Basque nationalism at that time, this image, which was gaining legitimacy, was strengthened and extended, and it even predominated in diaspora contexts too. This construction of an imaginary overlooked the other human landscapes of the Basque Country, such as lifestyles linked to the sea, those of the plains and, above all, the realities of the city which were increasing at a remarkable rate.

dio erreferentzia. Badira, halaber, lanbidea aipagai dituzten izenak, bai eta, baserria –edo etxea, sarri biak ala biak sinonimo moduan erabili ohi dira– aitzinagoko etxe batekiko harremanean kokatzen dutenak. Horrela gertatzen da Etxeberria edo Etxebarria, Goikoetxea edo Garaikoetxea, Beherekoetxea edo Etxenagusia moduko abizenekin. Hori guztia dela eta, esan ohi da oraindik ere baserriek bertan bizi direnen identitate edo izanaren arteko lotura egikaritzen dutela. Eta, behinola etxearen izena bertan bizi zirenen abizen bilakatu bazen, etxearen izenak izengoiti funtzioa bete ohi du bereziki landa-eremuan. Interesgarria da aipatzea, bidenabar, belaunaldiz belaunaldi transmititu daitekeen zerbait dela, komunitateak erreferentziazko termino gisa ulertuz gero betiere. Egun ez da hain arraroa oraindik ere jendea izen-abizenaz ezagutu ordez, baserriaren edo etxearen izenaz ezagutzea.

Baserrietan nekazaritza eta abelazkuntza uztartu izan da kasurik gehientsuenetan eta baserria oinarri duen iraupen-ekonomiak paisaia jakin bat sortu du. Horren sinbolo paradigmaticoa gisa uler dezakegu belar-meta: baserriak lur komunaletan –horretarako aukera dauden kasuetan– zein bere lurretan moztu eta lehortutako belar edo garoz egindako metak. Ziri baten funtzioa duten egurrezko egitura ximple baten inguruan pilatuta, belar edo garoak azienda neguan bizirik irautea bermatzen zuen: azpietarako ez ezik, elikagai metatu gisa erabiltzen ziren neguan. Izan ere, larreetan bazkarik ez zegoenean, belar ondu hori ematen zitzaion azieldari. XX. mendearen amaierara arte ohikoak ziren belar-meten tokia, soroetako bazterretan pilatutako plastiko ilunean bildutako belar-bolak hartu dute Mendebaldeko gainerako tokietan bezala. Alta, eremu atlantikoaren orografia dela eta, oraindik ere toki malkartsuetan belar-metak ikus daitezke.

Etxearen egitura, baserriaren ardatza den aldetik, instituzioaren autonomia ekonomikoaren eta sozialaren ispilu da. Baserriaren tipologia ikertu dutenen lanek erakusten dutenez, askotarikoa da eraikinari dagokionean, eta eskualde-aldaera berezituak aspalditik ezagutzen dira. Mota zabalduena, teila gorri estalitako bi ur isuriko teilatua duen hiru solairuko eraikina da. Bertan azienda, etxeokak eta baserriko uzta kokatzen dira, hurrenez hurren ukuilu, bizitoki eta ganbara edo sabaian. Baserria bizitoki ez ezik bizibidea izan da, gainerako kultura tradizionala gertatu moduan. Oraindik ere, hala izaten jarraitzen du nekazaritza eta abelazkuntzaren aldeko apustua egin duten etxaldeetan, neurri apalago batean bada ere.

XX. mendean, baserriaren bilakaera goitik behera aldatu zen. 1900. urtera arte, baserriaren autonomia ekonomikoa ia erabatekoa zen. Baserrian bertan ekoizten zen bizitzeko behar zen guztia. Gauza gutxi erosten ziren, besteak beste, diru gutxi izaten zutelako baserri-munduan non truke-ekonomiak ezinbesteko garrantzia zuen. Hala, truke bidez eskuratu ohi zen sarri baserrian lortu ez zitekeena. Dieta sinplea zen: zopa, taloak eta morokilak, ahia, esnea, esnekiak, babarrunak eta, oso aldian behin, okela. Edari nagusiak esnea eta sagardoa ziren, eta horiek ere etxean egiten ziren. Urtean behin txerri bat hiltzen zuten etxeokak eta haragia ontzen jarri, gatz edo gantzetan, urte osoan iraun zezan. 1960ko hamarkadarako baserriarren dieta askoz ere zabalagoa zen, azokan eta dendetan era askotako janariak erosteko modua zutenez. Baserriaren erregimen ekonomikoa guztiz aldatu zen, iraupen-ekonomiatik merkatu-ekonomiara igaroz.

Mendeetan zehar landa-eremuko dieta tradizionalaren oinarrian bere garaian ezzagunak ziren produktuak egon dira; esate baterako, Ameriketatik ekarritako artoa eta babarrunak edo indabak. Euskal Herriko klima eta orografiara bikain egokitu ziren eta bereziki emankorrak izan dira. Berriak izanagatik ere, oso harrera ona izan zuten baserri-munduan

Although a feature of the Atlantic Basque Country, the *baserri* has without doubt been the structure and social organisation which has left the deepest impression on the Basque imaginary. Over time, a certain imaginary has been forged by foreign and local writers, scholars and artists in which the *baserri* has been linked to traditional society in the Basque Country. The *baserri*, insofar as it is a basic institution of the traditional Basque world, has been a topic of research for folklorists and anthropologists. Today, even though the primary sector no longer has the same importance as other activities in the economy, it continues to enjoy a special prominence from the perspective of history and culture as well as that of the principles it symbolically represents: namely, those linked to identity, values and certain specific behaviours.

The *baserri* intrinsically is a way of farming rooted in the family unit. The house itself, the people in the house and the lands around it are all part of a unity. For those of the *baserri*, there is a close relationship between the way of farming and the family. In the not-too-distant past, all of the work carried out by those who lived in the house and the *baserri* had to be enough to support the family. Indeed, one single family ran the *baserri*. The foundation for the continuation of the *baserri* has been the single inheritance system. This is because, in the final analysis and leaving to one side the situation of the larger *baserri*, in the vast majority of cases the chief features of the *baserri* for centuries have been the subsistence economy and lifestyle.

Each *baserri* has its own name. Many of those became surnames in the late Middle Ages. Thus, in comparison to the anthroponymic surnames of the surrounding lands, while they do exist in the Basque Country, toponymic ones predominate. Place names often refer to the location of the *baserri* in its physical environment. There are, though, names which denote a profession as well as those which define the *baserri* –or *etxe* (house), as both terms are often typically used as synonyms– in terms of its relationship to an earlier house. That is the case of surnames like Etxeberria or Etxebarria ('new house'), Goikoetxea or Garaikoetxea ('upper house') and Beherekoetxea ('lower house') or Etxenagusia ('main house'). Because of all that, it is typically said that the *baserri* still imbues those who live there with an identity or personality. And, while the name of the house became at one time the surname of those who lived there, the name of the house typically serves as a nickname, especially in rural areas. It is interesting to point out, in passing, that it is something which can be transmitted from generation to generation, as long as it is always understood as a point of reference for the community. It is still today not unusual to know people by the name of their *baserri* or *etxe* rather than their names and surnames.

In most cases, *baserri*s have combined agriculture and livestock rearing and the subsistence economy based on the *baserri* has created a specific landscape. We can understand the *belar-meta* (grass rick) as a paradigmatic symbol of that: namely, ricks made up of grass or fern cut and dried from both the *baserri* as well as communal –where that option exists– land. Stacked around a simple wooden structure functioning as a wedge, grass or ferns guaranteed winter survival for livestock: not just for bedding, but they were also used as a stockpiled food source in winter. Indeed, when there was no food in the pastures, this fermented grass was given to livestock. The place of the *belar-meta* was common until the late 20th century, when it was replaced by dark plastic bags of silage spread out over the fields, as in other western countries. That said, because of the orography of the Atlantic area, one can still see the *belar-meta* in rugged places.

eta luzaz egunerokoan jaten ziren. Ordutik, babarrunak jaki preziatu bilakatu dira eta egun ez dira lehen bezala egunero jaten. Jatetxe zenbaiten espezialitate bilakatu dira eta familia zein lagunarteko ospakizun edo otordu berezietako jaki nagusi dira, aza-olioak eta txerri-hiltze edo txerri-bodatik ekoiztutako sakramentuekin lagunduta. Azken hauek sinbolikoki seinalatuak izan dira, auzoen arteko harremanetan opari gisa ematen baitzitzaion lehen auzoko etxekoei. Taloak, aldiz, festa-egun seinalatueta jaten dira gaur egun, ia beti etxetik kanpo.

Baserriaren erabateko autonomia ekonomikoaren irudi hura, ordea, guztiz aldatu zen XX. mendean. Euskal nekazariak mundu modernoak eskura jartzen zizkien erosotasunak eta etekin materialak bereganatu zituzten. Truke-ekonomia bazter utzirik, salerosketa bidez, baina bereziki baserriko lana lantegikoarekin batera uztartuz, dirua irabazten eta gastatzen hasi ziren, ordura arte inoiz ez bezala. XX. mende osoan zehar ohikoa izan da kalera lanera joatea, askotan lantegietara jaitsitako baserritarrek bi

5. Talogileak Donostiako Santo Tomas Azokan.



5. Making talos at the Santo Tomas Fair. San Sebastian (Gipuzkoa).

The structure of the house, insofar as it is the axis of the *baserri*, is a reflection of the economic and social autonomy of the institution. As studies of the *baserri* typology demonstrate, there are numerous kinds of constructions, and specialised regional variants have long been known. The most extended form is a three-storey building with a gabled red-tiled roof. It is home to livestock, the householders and the *baserri* crops in, respectively, the barn, the main dwelling and the attic or loft. The *baserri* was not just a dwelling but a way of life, as was the case in all other traditional cultures. This is still the case on farms which have opted for agriculture and livestock rearing, albeit to a lesser extent.

In the 20th century, the evolution of the *baserri* changed dramatically. Until 1900, the *baserri* was virtually fully autonomous in economic terms. Everything needed to live off was produced on the *baserri*. Few things were purchased, mainly because there was little money in the *baserri* world, in which exchange economy was of vital importance. Thus, whatever could not be produced on the *baserri* was often obtained through exchange. The diet was simple: soup, dairy products, beans and, only very occasionally, meat. The main drinks were milk and cider, and they were also homemade. Once a year, the householders slaughtered a pig and the meat was preserved, in salt or fat, so it would last throughout the year. The *baserri* diet became much more varied in the 1960s, as there were more opportunities to buy different kinds of foods at markets and in shops. The economic system of the *baserri* changed completely, passing from a subsistence economy to a market economy.

Down the centuries, there were products which were well-known at the time as the being at the core of the traditional rural diet; for example, corn and beans brought over from the Americas. They were adapted successfully to the climate and orography of the Basque Country and were especially bountiful. Despite being new, they were widely accepted in the *baserri* world and were consumed on a daily basis for a long time. Since then, beans have become a valued delicacy and they are not eaten everyday like they were before. They have become a speciality in many restaurants and are the main meal for special meals or celebrations amongst families and friends, accompanied by sautéed cabbage and the so-called *sacramentos* made up of pork cuts taken from the *txerri-boda* or pig slaughter. The latter were symbolically marked by the fact that they were given to the first-neighbour householders as a gift as part of the neighbourhood relations. The *talo* or corncake, however, is nowadays eaten on designated festive days, almost always outside the home.

That image of the *baserri's* complete economic autonomy, however, changed completely in the 20th century. Basque farmers took advantage of the comforts and material benefits that the modern world had to offer. Abandoning the exchange economy, through business dealing, but especially by combining *baserri* work with factory work, they began to earn and spend money, like never before. Throughout the 20th century, it was common to find work outside the farm, and often by working in factories farmers combined two activities through great effort. Thus, although at a more modest level, the *baserri* has been maintained as a functioning unit in many valleys, nowadays thanks to numerous economic elements, jobs and efforts on the part of families.

For centuries the *baserri* was the main rural social institution. The word *baserri* expresses an entire concept, a socioeconomic unit (an agricultural holding and the inhabitants of the house), a way of life (being a *baserritar* or from a farm as opposed to a *kaletar* or urban dweller) and a symbol of

jarduerak esfortzu handiz uztartu izan dituzte. Hala, maila apalago batean bada ere, ustiapen moduan mantendu da baserria bailara askotan, oraingoan, familiaren ekonomiaren osagarri, lan eta ahalegin askoren truke.

Mendeetan baserria izan zen nekazaritza-gizarteko instituzio nagusia. Baserri hitzak kontzeptu oso bat adierazten du, atal sozioekonomiko bat (nekazaritza-ustiategia eta etxeko jendea), bizitzeko modu bat (baserritarra kaletarraren aurrean) eta euskal tradizioen sinbolo bat. Natura ingurune gizatiartu baten elementu adierazgarria da baserria. Ur isuri atlantikoan habitat sakabanatua gailentzen da, etxeak bata bestearengandik urruti daude, eremu aldapatsu eta hezean barreiatuta. Baserri hoberenak egutera aldean eraiki izan dira, hainbatetan lur-eremu zabal eta lauez inguratuta. Historikoki halako guneeetan topa ditzakegu baserririk zaharrenak. Aitzitik, beranduago eraikiak izan direnak toki ospel eta malkartsuagoetan egon ohi dira.

Basque traditions. The *baserri* is an evocative element in a humanised natural environment. The dispersed environment predominates in the Atlantic watershed, the houses are far apart from one another, scattered in a steep humid area. The best *baserris* were constructed in sunlit areas, often surrounded by flat wide expanses of land. That is where, historically, one can find the oldest *baserris*. In contrast, those built later tend to be in less sunlit and more rugged areas.

Auzoa eta auzolana

Landa-eremuan baserriak administrazio-barrutietan edo auzoetan antolatuta daude. Auzoa zer den adieraztea ez da dirudien bezain erraza; esan genezake barruti bat dela, bere izen propioa duena eta mugak ongi zehaztuak dituena. Hala ere, beste toki batzuetan ez bezala, euskal auzoak ez du berezko egitura-politikorik, Espainiako eta Hego Amerikako zenbait lekutan gertatzen den bezala. Auzotasunak baditu bi ezaugarri nagusi: batetik, auzokoez beren arteko harremani eutsi egiten diete beti; bestetik, harreman horiek proportzio bat gordetzen dute ematen denaren eta hartzen denaren artean. Auzokoen artean sortzen diren loturek eta betebeharrak ehuntzen dituzte harreman ekonomiko eta sozialen sarerik sendoenak. Iraganean, auzotasun-sarea, bereziki auzo hurrena edo lehen auzoa deiturikoa –izendapenak baserriarengandik hurbilen dagoen baserriko biztanleak deskribatzen ditu–, baserriaren iraupenerako funtsezkoa zen, eta bi etxeak elkarrekiko harremana zuten.

Hala, etxe bakoitzak lehen auzoaren beharra zeukan premiazko obligazio eta eginbeharretarako; larrialdietarako, adibidez. Hainbat eginkizun familiako

6. Auzolana Lazkaomendin.



6

The 'auzo' and 'auzolan'

In rural areas *baserri*s are organised into an administrative district or *auzo* (literally, 'neighbourhood'). Defining the *auzo* is not as easy as it may seem; we could say that it is a district, one with its own name and well-defined boundaries. However, unlike in other places, the Basque *auzo* has no intrinsic political structure, as is the case in many places in Spain and South America. The neighbourhood has two main features: on the one hand, its inhabitants always maintain social relations with one another; and on the other, those relations sustain a proportion between what is given and what is taken. The bonds and obligations established among inhabitants of the *auzo* weave the strongest networks of social and economic relations. In the past, the local network, especially that of what was termed the closest or first neighbour –the term describes the inhabitants of the closest *baserri* to the *baserri* in question– was crucial to the endurance of the *baserri*, and the two houses shared a close relationship.

Thus, each house needed a first neighbour in order to fulfil essential tasks and obligations; in emergencies, for example. Instead of leaving certain tasks in the hands of family members, they were shared with neighbours or left entirely to them. Whenever bad fortune struck, the first neighbour was told before anyone else outside the family. This was frequently the case with funerary rites, which were of an obvious symbolic nature. Whenever someone from a house died, the first neighbour informed the priest and the civil authorities; the neighbour was in charge of the funeral and coffin, and he contacted relatives of the deceased's family. During the initial days of mourning, the first neighbour took over the deceased's work on the *baserri*. The importance of relationships with the first or closest neighbour is also contained in old sayings and proverbs; sometimes, the first neighbour even comes before family members: "*Hobe senide urrunekoa baino auzo hurkoa*" (A close neighbour is better than a distant relative).

The relationship amongst neighbours responds to the principle of reciprocity in a so-called traditional society. For many jobs, the help of neighbours was essential and that is still the case, for example in helping one another cut grass or other kinds of tasks. At the same time, the mutual support system has been crucial beyond the *baserri* level, as numerous public works were carried out among all the houses in the village; for example, mountain and forest conservation or road maintenance. That is termed *auzolan* (literally, communal neighbourhood work). In the opinion of several observers, *auzolan* is the reason for the high number of associations and non-governmental organisations in the Basque Country, as well as the strength and dynamism of participatory projects and initiatives on social issues. From this perspective, the mutual support network of the past has been fruitful outside the rural context.

That was typically the case, for example, when it came to making cider. The sound of the *txalaparta* (a kind of wooden xylophone) called on neighbours to take part in *auzolan*. Not too long ago, what today is a musical

6. Communal neighbourhood work in Lazkaomendi (Gipuzkoa).

kideen eskuetan utzi beharrean, auzoekin partekatzen ziren edo haien esku uzten ziren. Ezbeharren bat sortzen zenean, lehen auzoari ematen zitzaion, kanpoko beste inori baino lehen, berria. Hala gertatu ohi zen izaera sinboliko nabarmena duten heriotza-errituekin. Etxean norbait hiltzen zenean, lehen auzoak ematen zien heriotzaren berri apaizari eta agintari zibilei; auzoa arduratzen zen hiletaz eta zerraldoaz, eta bera jartzen zen harremanetan hildakoaren familiako senideekin. Aurreneko dolu-egunetan, lehen auzoak bere gain hartzen zituen zendutakoaren baserriko lanak. Lehen auzoarekin edo auzo hurkoarekin harremanen garrantzia esaera zaharretan eta atso-titzetan ere jasotzen da; batzuetan senideen aurretik ere jartzen da lehen auzoa: «Hobe senide urrunekoa baino auzo hurkoa».

Auzoen arteko harremanak elkarrekikotasun-printzipioari erantzun dio gizarte tradizionala delakoan. Hainbat lanetarako, auzoen laguntza ezinbestekoa zen eta oraindik ere hala da, esaterako belar-mozte edo bestelako lanetan elkar laguntzen zuten. Era berean, elkar laguntza-sistema baserriaz gaindiko mailan funtsezkoa izan da, herrian etxe guztien artean burutzen zituztelako hainbat herri-lan; esate baterako, mendi- eta baso-garbiketak edo bide-konponketak. Auzolana esaten zaio horri. Hainbaten ustez, auzolanaren pisuaren oinarrian dago Euskal Herrian egun dagoen elkarte eta gobernuz kanpokoko erakunde kopuru altuaren zergatia, bai eta gizarte alorreko gaietako parte-hartze proiektu eta ekimenen indarra eta dinamikotasuna ere. Ikuspegi honetatik, iraganeko elkarren arteko laguntza-sareak landa-eremutik kanpo eman ditu bere fruituak.

Hala izan ohi zen, adibidez, sagardoa egiteko lanei zegokienez. Txalaparta-hotsek auzolanerako deia haizatzen zuten. Egund euskal musikagintza garaikidean garrantzia handikoa bihurtu den musika-tresnak duela ez hain aspaldi funtzio oso zehatza betetzen zuen sagardoaren lurraldean. Donostia aldeko baserrietan, esaterako, XX. mendearen hasieran auzoak sagarra jotzera deitzen zituzten txalaparta bidez. 1960ko hamarkadan, Ez Dok Amairu taldeko musikari, poeta eta artisten eskutik tresna honek baserri-mundutik abangoardiako kultura-ikuskizunetara egin zuen jauzi. Orduetik, musika-instrumentu honek balio sinboliko handia hartu du, tradizioan errotutako elementu identitario gisa.

7. Joxean Artze eta Aitor Alkorta txalaparta jotzen 2005ean.



7. Joxean Artze and Aitor Alkorta playing the txalaparta, 2005.

instrument which has become very important in contemporary Basque music fulfilled a very specific function in those cider-producing areas. In *baserri*s around San Sebastian, for instance, in the early 20th century the *txalaparta* was used to call on neighbours to go and pick apples. In the 1960s, this instrument made the leap from the world of the *baserri* to avant-garde cultural performances through the musical ensemble Ez Dok Amairu, poets and artists. Since then, this musical instrument has taken on tremendous symbolic value, as an element of identity rooted in tradition too.

Iraganeko gizarte egituraketaren lekukoak

Historiaren joanean, herriak eta hiriguneak sortu eta egonkortu ziren, izan kostaldean ibai arroen ibilguaren abaroan edo lautada eta bailara menditsuetan. XX. mendean nonahi hedatu zen hiritartze-fenomenoa Euskal Herrian ere nagusitu zen, bere egitura eta tradizio propioak sortuz. Esate baterako, herri askotan udaletxeak, elizak eta frontoiak itxi ohi dute bizitza publikoaren erdigunea den plaza. Plaza zein frontoia, herriaren erdigunea eta muina dira: bertan gertatu dira jarduera ekonomiko seinalatuak eta ekitaldi politiko eta sozial nagusiak.

XX. mendearen azken laurdenean, frontoiek eraberritze aro handi bat ezagutu zuten. Frontoi estaliak ugaritu egin ziren, sorreran pilotan jokatzeko kirol-eremua zena erabilera anitzeko espazio bilakaraziz. Umeen jolasleku, herri-kirol probaleku, bazkari herrikoi, azoka, berbena, kantaldi, bertso-saio eta beste hamaika ekimen ospatu izan dira frontoiaren estalpean. Aisialdiaz gain, politikagintzaren adierazpide gune seinalatuak ere izan dira, mitin, protesta-ekitaldi eta izaera politikoko bestelako ekimenen plaza nagusi izan diren heinean. Azpimarratzekoa da, diasporako euskaldunen identitate-ikur eta bilgune seinalatu bilakatu direla XIX. mendeaz geroztik: hala, munduan zehar barreiatuak, Euskal Etxeen bueltan, pilotan jokatzeko eraikitako hamaika frontoi topa ditzakegu.

Plaza izan da, hain zuzen, euskal bizitza sozialaren erdigunea, bai eta botere zibilaren eta erlijiosoaren kokagune nagusia. Iraganean baina, hainbat kasutan botere zibilaren egituren erabakiguneak aire librean kokatuak egoten ziren. Horren adibide ezagunena Gernikako Arbola da, XIX. mendean Iparagirrenen kantuak Euskal Herri osorako ikur bilakatu zuena. Haritz haren gerizpean Gaztelako erregeek lehenik eta haien ondotik Espainiakoe, foruen zina egin behar zuten Bizkaiko batzarkideen aurrean. XIX. mendekoa da Gernikako Juntetxea, Erdi Aroaz geroztik Bizkaiko batzarra ospatzen zen haritzaren ondoan eraikia.

Bizkaiko batzarraren moduan, Lapurdiko biltzarra Uztartzeko harizti batean bildu ohi zen. Zuberoako kasuan, Aro Modernoan herri xehearen ordezkariak osatzen zuen silbieta biltzen zen Libarrenx Irabarne basoan. Politikagintza eta gizarte-antolaketa asanblearioaren lekuko izan dira zuhaitzok historian zehar. Badira hain ezagunak ez izanagatik ere, erabakiak hartu eta tratatuak ixteko gune seinalatuak izan diren beste zuhaitz batzuk ere. Horren adibide dira, esaterako, Bizkaian Muxikako Peru eta Marije gaitainondoak. Bi zuhaitz horien itzalpean ixten ziren ezkontzak eta bestelako tratatuak, bai eta Gernikako azokan egindako salerosketen ordainketak ere.

Bizkaiko zenbait herritan eliz atariek bete izan dute historikoki erabakigune politikoa izatearen funtzioa. Bertan gauzatzen ziren besteak beste herriaren ordezkariak osatzen zuten etxeko nagusien biltzarrak. Fisikoki elizaren babesean, baina Elizatik bereizita, botere zibila ordezkatzeko baitzuten. Lehenetariko unitate administratibo haiek elizate izenez ezagutzen

Witnesses to the social structuring of the past

Throughout history, towns and cities were created and stabilised, whether on the coast, along the course of river basins or in the plains and mountain valleys. The urbanisation phenomenon which spread all over the world in the 20th century also predominated in the Basque Country, creating its own structures and traditions. For example, in many towns, town halls, churches and *frontons* (*pilota* courts) typically enclose the square or central space of public life. The square and the *fronton* are the central space and essence of the town: that is where specific economic activities and the main social and political events take place.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, *frontons* experienced a major phase of renovation. Covered *frontons* proliferated, transforming what was once a sports area for playing *pilota* (a Basque sport with different variants of hand and racket ball) into a multi-use space. The *fronton* has become a place to accommodate children's playgrounds, Basque traditional sports, communal lunches, markets, open-air dances, musical performances, *bertso* (improvised verse) sessions and numerous other events. Besides leisure, they have also been a chosen point of expression for politics, insofar as they have been the main square for rallies, protests and other initiatives of a political nature. It is worth emphasising that, since the 19th century, they have become a distinct meeting place and symbol of identity for Basques in the diaspora: thus, scattered all over the world we can find numerous *frontons* built to play *pilota* around the corner from Euskal Etxeak (Basque Centres).

The square has been, specifically, the central space of Basque social life as well as the chief location of the civil and religious authorities. In the past, however, in many cases the decision-making bodies of civil authority structures were located in the open air. The best known example of that is the Tree of Gernika in Biscay, which Iparagirre's 19th-century song turned into a symbol for the whole Basque Country. Under the shade of that oak tree, the royal families of, first, Castile and later Spain had to swear an oath of loyalty to the *fueros* (charters establishing a degree of decision-making authority) in the presence of members of the governing provincial council (*batzar*) of Biscay. The Gernika Council Building (Juntetxea), the edifice next to the oak tree under which Biscay provincial council members met since the Middle Ages, dates from the 19th century.

Like the Biscay council, the Lapurdi (Labourd) council (*biltzar*) used to meet in an oak grove. In the case of Zuberoa, during the Modern Era the *silviet*, the representative body of its small villages, met in the forest of Libarrenx. Throughout history, trees have been witnesses to political and social organisation of an assembly nature. Although not so well known, there are other trees that have been identified as a place to make decisions and close deals. Examples of those, for instance, include the Peru and Marije chestnut trees in Muxika in Biscay. Weddings and other deals were closed



8. Tree of Gernika (Biscay).

dira, eta egungo hainbat udalerriren osaketaren oinarrian daude. Aipagarria da, halaber, herritarrek kudeatutako erabakigune bat izateko joera honi segida emanez, bestelako ekimenen aterpe izan direla eliz atari zenbait. Hala, 1965ean Durangoko Andra Mari eliz atarian ospatu zen lehenengo euskal liburu- eta disko-azoka. Orduz geroztik, hainbesteraino sendotu eta hazi da Durangoko Azoka euskaltzaleon topagune nagusienetakoa bihurtu dela.

8. Gernikako Arbola.

under the shade of these two trees, as well as payments made for business done at the Gernika market.

In several towns in Biscay church porches fulfilled historically the function of being political decision-making spaces. That is where, among other things, elders met to establish the town representation. They were physically sheltered by the building of the church, but differentiated from the Church, because they represented civil authority. Those early administrative units were known by the name *elizate* (literally, 'in front of the church'), and they are the basis of the composition of many present-day municipalities. It is worth noting, however, following the sequence of this tendency to be a decision-making space managed by citizens, that many church porches have been havens for other kinds of initiatives. Hence, in 1965 the first Basque book and record fair was held under the Andra Mari church porch in Durango. Since then, it has been strengthened and consolidated to such an extent that the Durango Fair has become one of the principal encounters for pro-Basque culture enthusiasts.

Azokak



Mende erdia pasatxo betea duen Durangoko Azokak propio horretarako pentsatu eta eraikitako gune bat du egun, gisa honetako jarduerak eskatzen duten beharretara egokitua. Euskarazko kultura-produkzioaren erakusleho nagusia da, eta azken hamarkadetan literatura- eta musika-produkzioaren agenda markatu du. Bost egunez, milaka bisitari hartzen ditu, eta ehunka dira urterik urte bertan beren lanak aurkezten dituzten idazle eta musikariak. Neurri handi batean, urteko euskarazko kultura-produkzioaren erakusleho eta saltoki ez ezik, Durangoko Azokarako txangoa tradizio bilakatu da dagoneko. Izan ere, milaka euskaldunentzat argitaletxe eta diskoetxe handi zein txikien standen arteko itzulia, erosketa-poltsa mardulak eskuetan aspaldiko lagunekin topo egitea eta lagunartean *pote* bat edo mokadu bat partekatzea urtero eraberritzen den zita da. Edozein azokarekin gerta bezala, dimentsio ekonomiko hutsaz harago doa Durangoko Azokaren eragin-esparrua. Giza harremanak ehuntzeko abagunea eskaintzeaz gain, euskalgintza eta kultura-ekoizpena sendotzeko nahiz sartzeko une eta gune garrantzitsua da.

Erdi Aroz geroztik dugu Euskal Herriko toki desberdinetan ospatzen diren merkatuen eta azoken berri. Landa-eremua eta hiriguneak bat egiten duten gune/espazio komertzial gisa definitu ditzakegu, data/denbora jakin batean ospatzen direnak. Baina hori baino askoz gehiago dira. Hainbatek mendez mendez iraun dute guganaino, eta egun kontsumo-eredu berrien lekuko eta eragile garrantzitsu bilakatu dira. Tradizioa deitzen dugun horrek

9. Durangoko Azoka.

Fairs

9. Durango Basque Book and Record Fair (Biscay).

The Durango Fair, which is just over half a century old, now has a space designed and built for this purpose and adapted to the needs of such activities. It is the main showcase of cultural production in Basque, and has marked the agenda of literary and musical production for several decades. Over five days, it welcomes thousands of visitors, and hundreds of writers and musicians present their works there every year. To a great extent, as well as a showcase and sales venue for cultural production in Basque, the Durango Fair has now become a traditional excursion. Indeed, for thousands of Basques, after perusing the stands of large and small publishing houses and record companies, with large shopping bags in their hands it is an annually repeated rendezvous in which to meet old friends and share a drink or snack with friends. As can happen at any fair, the sphere of influence of the Durango Fair goes beyond the purely economic dimension. Besides offering an opportunity to weave social relations, it is an important space and moment in which to network and strengthen pro-Basque cultural initiatives and cultural production.

There is evidence of markets and fairs being held in different places throughout the Basque Country since the Middle Ages. We can define these as commercial spaces in which rural and urban areas coincided, held on specific days or at certain times. Yet they were so much more. Many have survived down to our times, and have nowadays become important testaments to and agents of new consumption models. Fairs are vibrant and interesting examples of what we call tradition in tandem with the values of postmodern society: a sustainable economy and the proximity between the production site and the buyer (as in the Farm-to-Table or Slow Food movements), which have long been a part of the fairs and markets in towns and cities in the Basque Country.

Historically, as in many other places throughout Europe and all over the world, fairs have been centres of development for towns and cities. They were often located in the town square until, in the 19th century, their own buildings were built for this purpose. Fairs were traditionally spaces in which to exchange and sell goods, as well as places in which to forge relationships between locals and outsiders. They have been important spaces in which to reveal and strengthen new methods of production and consumption, because they encourage the sale of not just local foods but other kinds of products. At one time, it was typically the main place in which to get products which were not made locally. Later, travelling salesmen and shops appeared on the market scene.

Several markets have a long history. Thus, we can find in the archives documents which mention that, already in the 11th-12th centuries, a fair was being held around the San Bartolome chapel in Ordizia in Gipuzkoa. Following the fire of 1512, Joanna I of Castile gave royal permission there for "a free market, without any duties, every Wednesday, throughout the year" and since then it has been held every Wednesday in the main town square in the town centre. In Araba, the case of the Agurain fair documented since 1250 is

gizarte postmodernoaren balioekin bat egiten dueneko adibide interesgarri eta bizia dira azokak: ekonomia jasangarria eta ekoizpen gune eta eroslearen arteko hurbiltasuna (egun Km 0 edo *Slow Food* –janari geldoa– moduko mugimenduek bere egin dutena), aspaldidanik gauzatu izan dira Euskal Herriko herri eta hirietako azoka eta merkatuetan.

Historikoki, Europako eta munduko beste leku askotan bezala, azokak herri eta hirien garapen guneak izan dira. Sarri, herriko plaza izan dute kokagune, harik eta XIX. mendean zeregin horretarako propio eraikinak egin ziren arte. Salerosketa eta trukea gauzatzeko espazioak izan dira tradizioz azokak, auzoen eta kanpokoen arteko harremanak eraikitze lekuak ere bai. Ekoizpen- eta kontsumo-molde berriak ezagutzera eman eta sendotzeko gune garrantzitsuak izan dira, tokian tokiko janariaz gain, bestelako produktuen salmenta ere bertan gauzatzen baita. Garai batean, inguruan ekoizten ez ziren produktuak eskuratzeko toki nagusia izan ohi zen. Beranduago saltzaile-ibiltariak eta dendak agertu ziren merkataritzaren paisaian.

Historia luzea dute zenbait merkatuk. Hala, artxibategietan topa ditzakegu XI-XII. mendeetan jadanik Ordizian, San Bartolome ermitaren inguruan, azoka ospatzen zela aipatzen duten dokumentuak. 1512ko suteaz geroztik, Espainiako Joana I. Gaztelako erreginak «urtean zehar, asteazkenero, merkatu librea, zergarik gabea» egiteko errege-baimena eman zuen eta orduz geroztik udalerraren erdigunean dagoen plaza nagusian ospatu da asteazkenero. Aguraineko azokaren kasua ere aipagarria da, 1250. urteaz geroztik dokumentatua baitago. Bizkaian 650 urte baino gehiagoko ibilbidea du Gernikan astelehenero ospatzen den azokak. Tolosakoak historia luzea du hiriaren antolaketak berak islatzen duen bezala. Azoka hiru guneetan egiten dute larunbatero: Zerkausian, Berdura plazan eta Euskal Herria plazan.

Urtean zehar, gehientsuenetan astero ospatu ohi diren merkatu edo azokez gain, badira urteko data seinalatuetan arrakasta handiz ospatzen diren azokak. Fenomeno berria da, bereziki XX. mendearen azken aldean sortua. Azoka horiek bertako produktuen ekoizpenaren sustapenari emanak daude, baita tokiko identitatearen goratzeari ere. Hala, bere izaera ekonomikoaz gain, azoka garrantzi handiko instituzioa da giza harremanak gauzatzeko gunea den heinean: lanari eta iraupenari lotua dago, noski, baina baita aisialdiari ere. Are gehiago, azokara joan ondoreneko sozialazioa jarduera ekonomikoa bera bezain garrantzitsua izan da harreman sozialak ehuntzeko eta sendotzeko, baita auzo eta herri desberdinetako bizilagunak elkar ezagutzeko ere.

Iragan mendeetan abelazkuntzak izan duen garrantziaren lekuko dira oraindik ere zenbait herritan ospatzen diren ganadu-feriak. Nekazaritza eta abelazkuntzaren motor eta erakusleho izan dira luzaz. Ganadu-feriek berebiziko lekua izan dute gizarte tradizionala delakoan non lehen sektorea nagusi zen. Zaldi, moxal, behi, txahal, ardi, ahuntz, oilo, oilanda eta kapoi izan dira hamaika feriatako protagonistak. Abenduan Zumarraga eta Urretxuko Santa Lutzi ferien edo udazken-negu partean Agurain, Tafalla, Altsasu eta Elizondon ospatzen diren ferien ardatza ganadua da. Gaur egun, saltzera eta erostera baino jende gehiago joan ohi da animaliak ikustera, bide batez, bestelako produktuak erostera eta, finean, familian edo lagunartean eguna pasatzera. Ondare immaterialaren adibide dira ferioak, baita beste zenbait ere: Gernikako urriko azken astelehena edo Donostian eta Bilbon ospatzen diren Santo Tomas feriak, besteak beste.

Ganadu-ferien osagarri, zenbaitetan egungo bizi-baldintzak medio haiei gain hartuta, bestelako produktuen inguruan antolatzen diren azokek indarra hartu dute azken hamarkadatan. Esate baterako, euskal kostaldean

10. Aguraingo ganadu-feria.

10. Agurain Livestock Fair (Araba).

also worth mentioning. In Biscay, the fair held every Monday in Gernika has a history stretching back more than 650 years. That of Tolosa in Gipuzkoa has a long history as a reflection of urban development there. The fair takes place in three areas every Saturday: in Zerkausi, Berdura Square and Euskal Herria Square.

Throughout the year, besides the markets or fairs which are most often held on a weekly basis, there are also fairs that are held very successfully on certain dates in the year. This is a new phenomenon, dating especially from the late 20th century. Those fairs are dedicated to promoting local production, as well as celebrating local identity. Thus, in addition to its economic dimension, the fair is a very important institution when it comes to developing social relations: it is linked to work and conservation, of course, but also to leisure. Moreover, socialisation after attending the fair has been just as important as the economic activity itself in weaving and strengthening social relations, as well as getting to know the inhabitants of different neighbourhoods and towns.

The livestock fairs still held in many towns are testaments to the importance of livestock rearing in previous centuries. They have for a long time been a showcase and motor of farming and livestock rearing. Livestock fairs have had a special place in the so-called traditional society in which the primary sector once predominated. Horses, foals, cows, calves, sheep, goats, chickens, hens and capons have been the protagonists of many fairs. The main focus of the December Santa Lutzi Fair in Zumarraga and Urretxu (Gipuzkoa) or in the autumn and winter fairs held in Agurain (Araba), Tafalla, Altsasu and Elizondo (Navarre) is cattle. Today, more people go there to see the animals rather than to buy or sell and, in the final analysis, to spend the day with family





uda partean antolatzen diren arrantzaren inguruko azoka edo egun bereziak: antxoaren eta berdelaren eguna edota nazioartean azken urte hauetan izen handia hartu duen Ezpeletako piperraren azoka, Lapurdin. Azoka horietako batzuk mendez mende mantendu dira eta motor ekonomiko garrantzitsua izaten jarraitzen dute. Halaber, ohiko salerosketa-jarduerari, duela bi hamarkadatik hazten ari den turismoaren eragina batu zaio. Tradizioaren diskurtsoa kontsumo-praktikekin uztartuta ageri zaigu halakoetan.

11. Ezpeletako piperraren azoka.

or friends. These fairs are examples of non-material heritage, as are others: including that of Gernika on the last Monday in October or the Santo Tomas fairs held in San Sebastian and Bilbao.

11. Ezpeleta Chilli Pepper Fair (Lapurdi).

In addition to cattle fairs, which have in many cases been surpassed by contemporary lifestyles, fairs organised around other kinds of products have become increasingly important in recent decades. For example, the special fairs or days organised around fishing on the Basque coast during the summer: anchovy or mackerel day or the chilli pepper fair of Ezpeleta in Lapurdi, which has taken on international importance in recent years. Some of those fairs have been preserved down the centuries and continue to be an economic driving force. Furthermore, during the last two decades the growing influence of tourism has been added to the usual commercial activity. The discourse of tradition has often combined with consumer practices in these cases.

Lanak eta festak bat egiten dutenean: herri-kirolak

Uda partean euskal kostaldeko herriak kolorez betetzen dira, asteburuetan estropadetan parte hartzen duten traineruetako eskifaiak animatzeko. Tradizio handiko kirol-erakustaldia ematen dute uretan arraunean jo eta su dabiltzan arraunlariek, gizon eta emakumeek. Egun, kirol gisa ikusi eta bizitzen den kirol-jarduera honek Euskal Herriko historiaren garai garrantzitsu batean du jatorria; bale-arrantzan, hain zuzen. Euskal kostaldeko baleak desagertzearaino arrantzatu zituzten eta bale bila urrunago jo zuten euskal arrantzaleek. XVI. mendeaz geroztik, euskaldunak Atlantikoko itsaso hotzetan bale-arrantzan zebiltzanaren arrastoak ditugu artxibategietan gordetako dokumentuetan eta Kanadan topatutako aztarnategi arkeologikoetan. Horien artean ezagunena, ezbairik gabe, San Juan Baleontzia dugu, Unescok urazpiko kultura-ondarearen ikur izendatua: 1565ean, Red Bay-n, Ternua parean, hondoratu zen euskal baleontzia. Pasaian, Albaola elkarteak erreplika eraikitzen ari dira orduko ontzigintza teknikak baliatuz. Bale-arrantzan erabilitako txalupen ondorengoa omen dugu estropadetan erabiltzen den trainerua, baxurako arrantzan XIX. eta XX. mende hasierara arte antxoia eta bestelako arrainak harrapatzeko erabili izan dena.

12. Kontxako Bandera, Hibaika trainerua. Donostia, 2017.



12. Concha Bay Flag, Hibaika rowing team, San Sebastian (Gipuzkoa), 2017.

When work and play coincide: Traditional Basque sports

In summer, the Basque coastal towns are swathed in colour, in order to cheer on the crews of rowing boats taking part in weekend regattas. Men and women rowers give it their all, rowing in the sea, in a very traditional sporting display. Nowadays, this sporting activity which is experienced and viewed as a sport has its origins in an important time in the history of the Basque Country: namely, in whaling. Whaling was an activity on the Basque coast until whales became extinct there and Basque whalers went further out to sea in search of their prey. There are records kept in archive documents and archaeological sites found in Canada pointing to Basque whalers in the cold Atlantic waters since the 16th century. The best well-known of these was, without any doubt, the San Juan whaling ship, elected by Unesco as a symbol of the world's underwater cultural heritage: a Basque whaling ship which sank in 1565, in Red Bay, near Newfoundland. Members of the Albaola association in Pasaia (Gipuzkoa) are currently reconstructing a replica using shipbuilding techniques from that time. It is said that the rowing boat used today in the regattas is a modern version of the small boat (*txalupa*) used in whaling, one that was used in 19th- and 20th-century inshore fishing to catch anchovies and other kinds of fish.

It was in 1901 in Orio (Gipuzkoa) that the last North Atlantic right whale was caught in the Bay of Biscay. Although the harpooning method had been lost for some time, a passage in a *bertso* collection recounts the story of how it was caught with the help of a rowing boat. *Bertsos* which tell of other whaling events that took place in previous centuries show the intense competition among towns. A consequence of this competition are the regattas we know today. They are part of a totally regulated sport nowadays: one with a specifically established rowing model, classification method, crew make-up and boat specifications. Until 1990, the rowing boats were made of wood, until carbon fibre boats replaced them; as well as being lighter, they lasted three years longer than their wooden counterparts.

As with the regattas, the other well-known Basque sports have their origins in the work of traditional society: that is the case of wood chopping, grass cutting, weight carrying and so on. The stone drillers related to the context of industrialisation and iron mining in Biscay are also considered part of Basque sports. Exceptions are hill running and *pilota*, both of which have achieved renown beyond the rural environment. What is no more than a folkloric showcase of Basque culture for many, has become a delight for tourists. In the 19th century, Basque sports which were established in the form we know them today had different degrees of importance and popularity. In all cases, it is an activity which embodies a demonstration of physical force, and as in the case of other kinds of sporting activities, endurance, resistance, dexterity and physical and mental abilities are key to winning the competition.

Several Basque sports have managed to establish a striking organisation and dynamic, to the extent of becoming a high level sporting competition.

1901ean Orion arrantzatu zuten Bizkaiko Golkoan harrapatutako azken sardako balea. Arpoiaren maneiua aspaldi galdua bazuten ere, traineruen laguntzaz harrapatu zuteneko kontakizuna iritsi zaigu pasarte jasotzen duen bertso sortaren bidez. Aurreko mendeetan gertatutako beste zenbait bale-ehizen berri ematen duten bertsoek erakusten dute herrien artean zer-nolako lehia bizia pizten zen. Norgehiagoka haien ondotik agertu ziren egun ezagutzen ditugun estropadak. Goitik behera araututako kirola dira gaur egun: arraun-eremua, sailkatzeko modua, eskifaiaren osaketa eta ontziaren ezaugarriak zehatz-mehatz finkatuak dituena. 1990. urtera arte estropadetako traineruak zurezkoak ziren, harik eta karbono-zuntzezko ontziek haien lekua hartu zuten arte; arintasunaz gain, zurezkoek ez bezala, hiru urte baino gehiagoko bizitza dute.

Estropadekin gertatu moduan, famatu diren gainerako herri-kirolak gizarte tradizionaleko lan-munduan dute jatorria: hala gertatzen da aizkora, sega, txinga eta abarrekin. Industrializazio testuinguruarekin eta Bizkaia aldeko burdin-meategien ustiapenarekin lotzen diren harri-zulatzailak ere herri-kirol gisa kontsideratzen dira. Salbuespena mendi-lasterketa eta pilota dira, eta biak ala biak lortu dute landa-eremutik haragoko sona. Hainbatentzat euskal kulturaren erakusleho folkloriko hutsa dena turisten gozagarria da. XIX. mendean, egun ezagutzen ditugun forman sortutako herri-kirolek pisu eta indar desberdina zuten. Guztietan, indar-erakustaldi baten inguruan gorpuzten da jarduera, eta bestelako kirol-jardueratan gertatzen den moduan iraupena, erresistentzia, trebezia eta ahalmen-fisiko eta -mentala funtsezkoak dira lehia irabazteko.

Herri-kirol zenbaitek ikaragarriko antolaketa eta dinamika sortzea lortu dute, goi-mailako kirol-lehiaketa izateraino. Pilota dugu adibide gorena: Joko Olinpiko modernoak antolatu zirenetik pilotaren modalitate desberdinak presente egon dira. Hala izan zen 1900 eta 1924ean Parisen ospatutako Joko Olinpikoetan, bai eta Mexikon 1968koetan ere; 1992ko Bartzelonako Jokoetan, aldiz, kirol erakusgarri izan zen. Badira herri-kirol federazioak eta horietako batzuk nazioarteko egituretako parte dira duela bi hamarkada; zenbait herri-kirolek profesionalizazio bidea hartu dute. Badira, halaber, testuinguru profesionalaz gain sozializazio- eta festa-giroan ohikoak direnak, haurtzaroko hamaika festa eta eskola-ospakizunetako egitarauetan topa ditzakegun sokatira, zaku-lasterketa edo lokotx-biltzeak, esaterako.

13. Albaola, itsas ondarea berreskuratzen eta ezagutza transmititzen.



13. Albaola, recovering maritime heritage and handing over knowledge to the next generation.

The best example of this is *pilota*: since the modern Olympic Games have been organised, different forms of *pilota* were included therein. That was the case during the Olympic Games held in Paris in 1900 and 1924, and in Mexico City in 1968 too; at the Barcelona Games in 1992, however, it was an exhibition sport. There are Basque sports federations and some of those have been part of international frameworks for two decades; some traditional Basque sports have taken the path towards professionalization. There are, however, those that in addition to a professional context are more typically associated with a socialising or festive atmosphere, such as the tug-of-war, sack racing and corncob gathering which can be found within the structures of many children's parties and school celebrations.

Ingurunea dema-zelai

Egungo gizarte postindustrialean ingurunearekiko lotura eta naturarekiko konexioa duela ehun eta berrogeita hamar urte zegoenarekin alderatuta oso bestelakoa da. Haatik, nagusiki lan-eremu izatetik, herritar askorentzat orain aisialdi gunea da, bai eta neurri batean tradizioen eraberritze-eremua ere. Europa Mendebaldean XVIII-XIX. mendeetako joera naturalistaren barruan errotu zen mendizaletasuna zeina, Pirinioetan ez ezik, Euskal Herri osoan XX. mendean zabaldu zen. Orduetik, zientoka mendi-talde daude gurean. XX. mendean, Francoren diktadura garaian bereziki, mendia sozializazio gune garrantzitsua izan zen; mendi-irteerek eta mendi-taldeen harremanak sartzeko funtzioa bete zuten abertzaletasunaren baitan.

Hala, zenbait eskualdetan, mendiarekin zerikusia duten tradizioak berritzen dira urtez urte. Ezagunenaren artean daude XX. mende hasieraz geroztik Urtats Eguneako mendi-igoerak; Adarrara edo Pagasarri, esaterako. Zaharragoak dira erronka abiapuntu duten mendi-zeharkaldien aipamenak. Kontrastean, eta azken hauei estuki lotuta, duela hiru bat hamarkadatik eraberrituak datozkigu mendi-lasterketak.

Herri-kirol gisa sailkatu dute hainbat adituk mendi-lasterketa. XIX-XX. mendeetan sona handia izan zuten banakoek elkarren kontra jokatzeko zituzten lasterketek, ibilbide librean. Dokumentatuta dauden XIX. mendeko lasterketa horiek joko-eskemaren arabera antolatuta zeuden eta bi aurkariren arteko lehia gorpuzten zuten. Norbanakoek lasterka egiten bazuten ere, sarritan herri batek beste bat, maiz auzoko herria, aurkari hartzen zuen. Denboraren joanean, bertakoen memorian errotu eta egonkortu egin dira. Esate baterako, Zuberoako Basabürüko Barkoxen behiala artzainen lasterketa zena, egun kirol-froga entzutetsua bilakatu da; hain zuzen, Ahargo lasterka edo *Trail des bergers*. Gisa berean, Artzainen lasterketa topa dezakegu Baigorri eta bada ere historia luzea duen kontrabandisten krosa ere, urtero, Saran, mugakide diren herrien artean lehiatzen dena. Adibide hauek erakusten duten moduan mendi-lasterketek ibilbide luzea dute Euskal Herrian.

Aurreko mendearen azken laurdenean aire libreko muturreko kirol-frogak nazioartean indartu ziren eta azken urteetan gurean ere mendi-lasterketak hedatu egin dira. Orografiak eskaintzen duen erliebea dela-eta, Euskal Herria goi-mailako lehiaketa-eremu bilakatu da. Trail, kilometro bertikalak eta erresistentzia frogak ikaragarri ugartu dira mende berriarekin batera. Horien artean ezagunena, ezbairik gabe, Zegama-Aizkorri mendi maratokia da. Skyrunner World Series munduan ospetsua egin den mendi maratoi sortan puntuagarri izateko lasterketa izan da 2018. urtera arte. Geroztik, Golden Trail Series-eko parte da, hau da, mundu osoko bikaintasun maila goreneko bost mendi lasterketa biltzen dituen sortakoa. Mont Blanc, Sierre-Zinal, Pikes Peak eta Ring of Steall lasterketekin batera kokatzen da Zegama-Aizkorri; bost froga horietan munduko mendi-lasterkari onenek parte hartzen dute. Finean, garai bateko desafio-lasterketen tradizioa gaurkotuta eta nazioarteko proiektioarekin eraberrituta dator.

14. Eli Anne Dvergsdal.
Zegama-Aizkorri Mendi
Maratokia. Zegama, 2019.

The environment as a field of contest



14. Eli Anne Dvergsdal.
Zegama-Aizkorri
Mountain Marathon.
Zegama (Gipuzkoa),
2019.

The link to the environment and connection to nature is very different for contemporary post-industrial society than it was a hundred and fifty years ago. Nevertheless, from being mainly a work area, for many people it is now a space of leisure, as well as being a place for rekindling traditions too. The hiking pastime rooted in the naturalist tendency of the 18th and 19th centuries in Western Europe was founded and disseminated not just in the Pyrenees but throughout the whole Basque Country in the 20th century. Since then, hundreds of Basque hiking groups were established in the 20th century and, especially during the time of the Franco dictatorship, mountains were an important socialisation space; mountain excursions and hiking groups fulfilled a function in developing social relations within Basque nationalism.

Thus, in some regions, mountain-related traditions are renewed annually. Among the most well-known of these are the Urtats Eguneako hikes (New Year hikes), which date from the early 20th century; to Mounts Adarra (Gipuzkoa) and Pagasari (Biscay), for example. Older still are the references to mountain crossings which started out as challenges. In contrast, and closely linked to the latter, hill running has been reorganised during the last three decades.

Several experts have classified hill running as a traditional Basque sport. In the 19th and 20th centuries free-form races which pitted individuals against one another enjoyed great renown. These documented 19th-century

Bi urtean behin ospatzen da AEKren (Alfabetatze Euskalduntze Koordinakundea) eskutik Euskal Herria alderik alde zeharkatzen duen Korrika. Milaka korrikalarik betetzen dituzte kale eta errepideak, eskuz esku txandakatzen doan lekukoaren atzetik. Euskararen alde egiten den mobilizaziorik zabalena, indartsuena eta irudimentsuena da, ezbairik gabe. Hemen ere erronka dago ekintzaren erdigunean. Aitzitik, erronka hori lasterkarien arteko norgehiagokaz harago doa Korrikaren kasuan. Jokoan dagoena da hizkuntzarekiko atxikimendua, lurralde-batasuna, hiztun-komunitatearen agerraldia eta trinkotzea. Hori guztia gizartearen inplikazio zabal eta anitzaren eskutik egiten da, hamar egunez eta gauez gelditu gabe, festa-giroalaian korrika egiteari utzi gabe.

15. Korrika 21. Gasteiz, 2019.



races were organised according to the competitive sport model and embodied the rivalry between two opponents. Although individuals competed, often one town, frequently the neighbouring one, took on another. In time, they took root and became embedded in the memory of locals. For example, what was once a shepherds' race in Barkoxe, in the Basabürüa region of Zuberoa, has today become a well-known sporting contest; specifically, the *Trail de Barcus* or Mount Ahargo race. In the same way, there is a shepherds' race in Baigorri (Lower Navarre) and the annual smugglers' cross-country run in Sara (Lapurdi), in which towns from both sides of the border compete, has a long history. As these examples demonstrate, hill running has a long trajectory in the Basque Country.

In the last quarter of the last century, extreme outdoor sports events became more popular internationally, and in recent years hill races have also spread throughout the Basque Country. Because of the relief offered by its orography, the Basque Country has become a setting for high-level competitions. Trail running, skyrunning and resistance trials have multiplied strikingly together with the new century. The most well-known of these, without any doubt, is the Zegama-Aizkorri mountain marathon in Gipuzkoa. It was a race which counted towards points in the world-famous Skyrunner World Series of mountain marathons until 2018. Since then, it has been part of the Golden Trail Series, that is, a series which includes five mountain races of the highest level of excellence in the world. Zegama-Aizkorri sits alongside races on Mont Blanc, Sierre-Zinal, Pikes Peak and the Ring of Steall; the best mountain runners in the world take part in those five races. Ultimately, the former tradition of races based on challenges has been updated and revamped with an international projection.

The Korrika or sponsored run throughout the length and breadth of the Basque Country, organised by AEK (Alfabetatze Euskalduntze Koordinakundea, Coordination of Education and Literacy in Basque), takes place every two years. Thousands of runners fill the streets and roads, running behind people who take it in turns to carry a baton. It is the most widespread, popular and imaginative pro-Basque language mobilisation, without a doubt. Here, too, there is a challenge at the heart of the activity. However, in the case of the Korrika, this challenge goes beyond the rivalry among runners. What is at play here is adherence to a language, territorial unity and the display and consolidation of a community of speakers. This is all done on the part of a broad and diverse involvement of society, without stopping over ten days and nights, without ceasing to run in a festive atmosphere.

15. Korrika sponsored run. Vitoria-Gasteiz (Araba), 2019.

Sozializazio-esparru askotarikoak: kuadrillak, elkarteak, lagunarte-sareak

Euskal Herrira datozen bisitariak harriduraz erreparatzen diote soziabilitateak eta gizarte harremanek oro har espazio publikoan duten presentziari. Bertako jendeak kalea du maite. Etxetik kanpo gertatu ohi dira familia-unitatetik aparteko gainerako harreman gehientsuenak. Euskal Herriko kale eta plaza biltzen da jendea, neguan eta udan, antzinako zein duela hiruzpalau hamarkada sortutako tradizioak gorpuzteko, eraberritzeko edo arbuizatzeko.

Lana edo eskola garaiaz gain, lagunartea da sozializazio gune nagusia. Euskal gizartean egitura berezkoak eratu dira, kuadrilla izenez ezagutzen direnak. Adiskidetasunean oinarritutako sozializazio-egitura da kuadrilla. Beste herrialde batzuetako egiturekin alderatuz itxuraz informala da, baina funtzionamendu eta arau inplizituak ditu. Sarri, adinkideak biltzen dituen lagun-taldea da, nahiz eta gerta daitekeen bestelako irizpideren baten inguruan eratzea. Kuadrillaren helburua aisialdiaz elkarrekin gozatzea da, baina babes-egitura bezala funtzionatzen du, eta nerabezaro eta gaztaroan bereziki ohikoa da kuadrilla bidezko sozializazioa. Askotan gaztaroan eratu eta bizi osorako iraun ohi du, baina jarduerak eta kideek elkarrekin ematen duten denbora nabarmen alda daiteke bizitzaren zikloetan zehar. Iraganean ez bezala, egun neskak zein mutilak bildu daitezke kuadrillatan, batzuetan oraindik ere generoaren arabera banatuta badaude ere. Kuadrilla edukitzea gauza arrunta eta orokortua dela irudikatzen da egun; kuadrillarik ez izateak, aldiz, kutsu negatiboa eduki dezake. Gaztaroaz harago mantentzen den adinkideen arteko sozializazio modu hau kanpotik datozen bisitari askorentzat bitxia suerta daiteke. Kuadrillaz kanpoko lagunak eta adiskideak izatea ohikoa bada ere, kuadrillak denbora eta dedikazioa eskatzen du, baina baita aisialdirako plan eta lagunarte finko bat eskaini ere, tartean kuadrilla-afari, asteburu pasa eta antzerakoak.

Euskal Herrian senideez haragoko jende multzoa biltzen duten festa eta ospakizun nagusiak espazio publikoan gauzatzen dira. Bereiz-lerro nabarmena dago etxe barruko ospakizun eta gainerako artean. Lagunarterako ere, etxetik kanpoko guneak izan ohi dira biltzeko eta harramantzako tokiak. Kalea, etxetik kanpoko gune urbanizatua, giza harremanak ehundu eta indartzeko gune esanguratsua da. Izatez pribatuak diren baina erabilera publikoa duten zenbait gune gehitu behar zaizkio kaleari: tabernak, jatetxeak eta mota guztietako elkarteak, bereziki, elkarte gastronomikoak. Azken hauek gizarte zientzietan aditu direnen arreta piztu dute, Euskal Herriko gizarte-egitura berezko bilakatu baitira azken hamarkadetan. Bertan gorpuztu eta mamitu dira azken mende eta erdian sortuak izanagatik ere, gaur egun inork auzitan jartzen ez dituen hamaika tradizio berri.

Mila bostehunetik gora elkarte gastronomiko daude egun Euskal Herrian eta Hegoaldean 30.000 bazkidek gora biltzen dituzte orotara. 1870ean

Dynamic socialisation frameworks: 'cuadrillas', associations, activist networks

Visitors to the Basque Country are amazed at the presence of sociability and social relations in general in the public space. Locals love being out in public. Most social relations outside family units typically take place outside the home. People meet in the streets and squares of the Basque Country, in winter and summer, in order to personify, renew or reject traditions which were established long ago or just a few decades previously.

Besides work or school time, groups of friends make up the main space of socialisation. Intrinsic structures have been formed in Basque society which are known by the name of *cuadrillas*. The *cuadrilla* is a socialisation structure based on friendship. It is seemingly informal in comparison to structures in certain other countries, yet it has an implicit functioning and norms. It is often a group of friends made up of people of the same age, although it may gather members on the basis of other criteria. The goal of a *cuadrilla* is to enjoy leisure time together, but it functions as a support structure too, and socialisation via the *cuadrilla* is especially typical during adolescence and young adulthood. It is frequently established during youth and lasts a lifetime, but the time and activities that members spend together can change significantly over the cycles of life. Unlike in the past, nowadays *cuadrillas* may include both girls and boys, even though sometimes they are still separated along gender lines. Having a *cuadrilla* is portrayed as a simple widespread thing today; not having a *cuadrilla*, though, may have a negative connotation. This form of socialisation among people of the same age, which goes beyond that of just youth, can be a curiosity for many visitors from abroad. While it is typical to have friends and acquaintances outside *cuadrillas*, the *cuadrilla* demands time and dedication, although it also offers an established group of friends and plans for leisure time, including *cuadrilla* dinners, weekend activities and similar undertakings.

In the Basque Country, the main festivals and celebrations involving groups of people outside the family context take place in the public space. There is a distinct line between household and external celebrations. Places outside the home are privileged to meet friends and get to know people. The street or urban space outside the home is an important site in which to weave and strengthen social relations. Certain spaces which are basically private but used publically should also be added to the street: bars, restaurants and associations of all kinds, especially gastronomic associations. The latter have tweaked the interest of social science experts, because in recent years they have become intrinsic to the social structure of the Basque Country. Although what is embodied and takes place there was established a century and a half ago, there are numerous new traditions which today nobody challenges.



16

eratu zen gisa honetako lehen elkarte Donostiako Alde Zaharrea, Union Artesana delakoa. Hiriaren testuinguruan sortutako fenomeno modernoak izanik ere, hasieratik oihartzun ikaragarria izan zuen eta hamarkada gutxi-zen buruan elkarteak Hego Euskal Herri osora zabalduta ziren. Egun, herririk txikiak bere elkarteak du eta, tabernarik ezean, sozializazio gune nabarmena bilakatu da. Herri koxkor eta hirietako auzoetan dauden elkarteak kontaezinak dira, izaera eta helburu aldetik askotarikoak dira. Hala, badira kirol-jarduera jakin bat ardatz duten elkarteak edo lanbide jakin bati lotutakoak. Gehientsuenek, hala ere, kultura-elkarte edo elkarte gastronomiko gisara definitzen dute beren burua.

Taberna eta sagardotegien ordutegien mugak zirela-eta agertu ziren Donostian lehen elkarteak XIX. mendean. Jakiak prestatzeko beharrezkoak diren baxera, tresna eta ekipamendua dituen sukalde eta ardo, sagardo edota bestelako alkohol-dun edari zein freskagarriz ongi hornitutako ardandegia dira edozein elkareren funtsa. Otorduak lagunartean disfrutatu ahal izateko espazio bat, mahai luze eta behar adinako banku edo aulki sendoak dituzte. Bazkideek bertan prestatu eta kozinatzen dituzte lagunartean dastatzeko otorduak, aurretiaz berauek erositako jaki freskoekin. Kozinatu eta zerbitzatu, mahaiak jaso eta kontuak egin, guztia bazkideen esku gelditzen da. Zenbait kasutan garbiketa egitea ere bai, nahiz eta elkarte gehientsuenetan soldatapeko garbitzaile bat egon ohi den. Elkarrenganako konfiantza du oinarri elkarteak. Otorduaren ondoren, bazkideek kontua egin eta guztien artean ordaintzen dute. Bertako antolaketaz arduratzen den batzordea asanblada bidez hautatutako bazkideek osatzen dute. Bazkideak bazkide ez diren lagunak gonbidatu ditzake elkartera eta beren portaeraren arduradun izango da. Bazkaltiarrek mahai luzeen bueltan eserita, lagunarteko giro umoretsu eta sarritan zaratatsua egon ohi da elkarteetan.

16. Txotx sagardotegian.

16. Txotx call to drink in a Basque cider house.

There are at present more than fifteen hundred gastronomic associations in the Basque Country and in the Southern Basque Country there are over 30,000 members in total. The first association of this kind, known as the Union Artesana, was founded in the Old Quarter of San Sebastian in 1870. Although this was a modern phenomenon which emerged in the urban context, from the outset it was very influential and within a few decades associations had spread throughout the whole territory. Today, even the smallest villages have their own association and, in the absence of bars, it has become a prominent space of socialisation. There are countless associations, of a very different nature and objectives, in both small villages and city neighbourhoods. Hence, there are associations whose main focus is a specific sporting activity or those linked to a particular profession. Most of them, however, define themselves as cultural associations or gastronomic societies.

The first associations emerged in San Sebastian in the 19th century because of the limited opening hours of bars and cider houses. The essence of any association is the kitchen with all the crockery, tools and equipment needed to prepare food, and a well-stocked wine cellar with wine, cider or other alcoholic beverages and soft drinks. They have a space in which to enjoy meals with friends, long tables and a sufficient number of benches or sturdy chairs. Members prepare and cook meals there to be enjoyed among friends, with fresh ingredients which they have purchased in advance. Cooking and serving, clearing tables and calculating costs, everything is down to the members. In several cases they also take care of the cleaning, although in most associations there is usually a paid cleaner. The basis of the associations is mutual trust. Following a meal, members calculate the cost and everyone contributes to paying the bill. The committee responsible for its organisation is made up of members elected by assembly. Members may invite non-members into the association and will be responsible for their behaviour. With those dining seated around long tables, there is a humorous and often noisy atmosphere among friends in the associations.

The associations have been basic elements in and starting points for numerous cultural dynamics and social activities in towns and neighbourhoods, especially throughout the 20th century because they were structures which offered an opportunity for people to meet under the dictatorship. Thus, numerous activities, projects and plans have taken shape in an association in the course of lunches and dinners, and hundreds of activist networks created, too, within the refuge of an association. Nowadays, for young people, basements rented by *cuadrillas* fulfil the function of a leisure time meeting place resembling associations.

In city centres and neighbourhoods, in most cases they are typically on the ground floors or in basements of buildings. Unlike in restaurants, associations offer the chance to spend a long time there following meals. In recent years, as well as hosting meals for groups of friends and other kinds of lunches and dinners, they have become spaces in which to hold family celebrations; an anniversary lunch or supper and, more and more often, in view of the size of the contemporary family, for other kinds of events which are typically large family celebrations; such as Christmas lunches and dinners. Associations offer several advantages: a professional (properly equipped) kitchen, a wider space than that available within most houses and the tranquillity of not disturbing any neighbours.

At the outset, associations were structures made up of men alone. Only men had the right to be members, and women were just allowed in as lunch guests. In some associations, the entry of women was completely restricted:

Herri eta auzoetako hamaika kultura-dinamika eta gizarte-ekimenen abiapuntu eta funtsezko elementu dira elkarteak, batik bat, XX. mendean zehar, diktadurapean, jendea biltzeko abagunea eskaintzen zuten egiturak izan zirelako. Hala, hamaika ekimen, proiektu eta proposamen gorpuztu dira elkarte batean ospatutako bazkari eta afarien bueltan, bai eta ehunka ekintzaile-sare sortu ere elkarte baten abaroan. Egun, gazteentzat elkarten antzerako aisialdi-bilgune funtzioa betetzen dute kuadrillek alokatutako sotoek.

Hirigune zein auzoetan, gehientsuenetan etxebizitzaren behealde eta sotoetan egon ohi dira. Jatetxeetan ez bezala, bazkaloste luzeak egiteko aukera eskaintzen dute elkarteek. Azken urte hauetan, lagunarteko otordu eta bestelako bazkari eta afariez gain, familiako ospakizunak egiteko gune bihurtu dira; urtemuga bazkari edo askari eta, gero eta sarriago, egungo etxeen tamaina ikusita, familia-ospakizun handi izan ohi diren bestelakoetarako; Gabonetako afari-bazkariak kasu. Elkarteak hainbat abantaila eskaintzen ditu: sukalde profesional bat (behar bezala hornitua), etxe barru gehienetan baino espazio zabalagoa eta bizilagunei trabarik ez egiteak dakarren lasaitasuna.

Sorreran, soilik gizonezkoek osatzen zituzten egiturak ziren elkarteak. Gizonezkoek baino ez zuten bazkide izateko eskubidea, eta emakumeak bazkaltiar moduan baino ez ziren onartuak. Zenbait elkartetan emakumeek sarbidea guztiz mugatua zuten: data seinalatu jakin batzuetan besterik ez, eta inolaz ere gaez. Berdintasun-printzipioa parekidetasunarekin bat ez datorrela azaleratzen duen funtzionamendu honek luzaroan, Euskal Herrian ere, etxe kanpoko aisialdirako aukera gizonezkoen esku egon dela gogorazten du. Erresistentziak egonagatik ere, XX. mendearen amaiera aldean sortutako elkarte berri gehientsuenek parekidetasuna funtzionamendurako printzipio gisa ezarri zuten eta gizonei eta emakumeei bazkide izateko eskubidea aitortu zitzaien. Honela, mugimendu feministak herrietan zein maila instituzionalean parekidetasunaren alde egindako borroka izan du islarik elkarten bilakaeran. Aldaketa nabarmenak gertatu dira eta oraindik ere salbuespenak dauden arren, emakumeei zabalduz joan zaie bazkideztza.

only a few specific dates, and never at night. Such functioning, demonstrating that the principle of equality was not in line with parity, reminds us that for a long time, in the Basque Country too, leisure outside the home was only available to men. Although there was resistance, most of the associations created in the late 20th century established parity as a principle of their functioning and acknowledged the right of both men and women to be members. That way, the struggle of the feminist movement in favour of equality at both the social and institutional level has been reflected in the development of associations. Striking changes have taken place and although there are still exceptions, membership has expanded to women.

Festa-egutegi zabal eta oparoa



Festa-errepertorio bereziki aberatsa du Euskal Herriak. Urte osoan barreiatu-rik ospakizun-zerrenda luzeak osatzen du festa-egutegi bizi eta oparoa. Historikoki, festak elizako ospakizun bati edo herri bati lotuak egin dira gehientsuenetan eta, neurri batean, lurralde-izaera jakin bat marrazten eta azaleratzen lagundu dute. Iraganean festa kasik guztiek izaera erlijiosoa zuten. Festek, beren erara, behar komunitario bat adierazten dute eta Euskal Herrian hain presente dagoen soziabilitatearen sinboloetako bat dira. Soziabilitate horrek belaunaldien arteko lotura eta komunitateko kideen integrazioa ahalbidetzen du oraindik ere. Gazte zein nagusi, gizarteko atal guztiek parte hartu dute bereziki estimatuak diren festa eta ospakizun hauetan, sarritan ez soilik gozamen hutserako, baizik eta errotik festaren edo ospakizunaren antolaketan ere bai.

Azken berrogei urteetan, festen izaera asko aldatu da. Iraganean, herrietako festak santu baten gurtzari lotuak zeudenez, meza, prozesio eta kutsu erlijiosoko bestelako ekintzak ageri ziren festa-egitarauan. Kutsu hori festen izenean mantentzen bada ere, erreferentzia erlijiosoa desagertzen ari da edo pisua galdu du egungo gizarte sekularizatuan. Horrekin batera inongo izaera erlijiosorik gabeko festa ugari eratu dira; auzune berrietan, adibidez. Bestelako gaien inguruan ardaztu diren festak agertu dira, hala nola euskarari lotutakoak non aldarrikapenakbat egiten duen ospakizunarekin. Urterik urte egutegia egun seinalatuz jantzia ageri zaigu.

Gizarte tradizionala delakoaz ari garenean, festa eta ospakizunak berehalakoan datoz burura. Tuterako Bolantina, Lazkaoko Astotxoa, Gernikako marijesiak, Zuberoako pastoralak... Horietako asko Erdi Aroaz geroztik daude dokumentatuta, nahiz eta akaso jatorriz zaharragoak diren. Inauteriak daude festa horien artean. Jatorriz paganoak, kristautasunaren eraginpean

17. Zuberoako Maskarada, buhameak.

18. Zalduondoko inauteria.

A rich and lively festive calendar

17. Maskarada in Zuberoa, buhameak (gypsies).

18. Zalduondo Carnival (Araba).

The Basque Country has an especially rich festive repertoire. A long list of celebrations spread over the whole year makes up a rich and lively festive calendar. Historically, festivals have in most cases been connected to a church celebration or a town and, to some extent, have helped to express and depict a specific territorial identity. In their own way, festivals represent a community need and are one of the symbols of the sociability which is so present in the Basque Country. That sociability still facilitates an intergenerational connection and the integration of community members. Both old and young, all parts of society, have taken part in these especially valued festivals and celebrations, often not just for sheer enjoyment, but also in the basic organisation of the festival or celebration too.

In the last forty years, the nature of festivals has changed very much. In the past, as town festivals were linked to the veneration of a saint, masses, processions and other activities with a religious touch were part of the festival structure. While that religious touch has been maintained in the names of festivals, the religious reference is disappearing or it has lost significance in today's secular society. Alongside that, many festivals have been established without any religious dimension; in new districts, for example. Festivals have emerged with a focus around other kinds of themes, such as those connected to the Basque language in which demands coincide with the celebration. With every passing year, there is a calendar replete with specific days.

As we are discussing so-called traditional society, festivals and celebrations spring immediately to mind. The Volantin in Tuter (Navarre), Astotxoa in Lazkao (Gipuzkoa), *Marijesiak* in Gernika (Biscay), pastorals in Zuberoa, and so on. Many of those have been documented since the Middle Ages, even though they may be even older in origin. The *inauteriak* (carnivals) are among those festivals. Pagan in origin, they have survived to this day under



heldu dira guregana. Euskal Herriko geografia zabalean probintzia guztietan agertzen zaizkigu inauterietako ospakizunak, batzuetan pertsonaia jakin batzuen inguruan arduzuta, besteetan xumeagoak. Neguko festekin gerta ohi den moduan, esanahi berezia dute herri-mailan zeren komunitatea trinkotzeko abaguneak baitira. Gabon-garaia amaitu berritan, zenbaitek Aste Santura bitartean luzatzen den festa-egutegi bizi eta koloretsua osatzen dute. Mozorroak, musika, dantza eta jan-edanik ez da falta. Desfile, antzeppen, tokian tokiko dantza eta bestelako errituek osatu ohi dute inauterietako alderdi ezagunena. Herri askotan eske-errondak, puska-biltze izenez ere ezagutzen direnak, egiten dira. Hala, aipatzekoak dira Zuberoako maskaradak, XIX. mendeko folkloristen deskribapenez geroztik aski ezagunak direnak. Urtero, Zuberoako herri batetako gazte jendeak bere gain hartzen du maskaradaren antolaketa. Hiru hilabetez herriz herri ibiltzen dira asteburuetan maskarada plazaratzen egun osoko emankizunean. Ikuskizun soila baino askoz gehiago da: belaunaldien arteko elkar ezagutza eta tokiko gatazkak zein tentsioak plazaratzeko eta askatzeko abagunea dira, bai eta umore eta ilusioaren pizgailua ere.

Inauteriek, historian zehar, kritika soziala eta politikoa modu adeigabe eta umoretsuan plazaratzeko aukera eskaini dute eta horrexegatik hamaika jazarpen ezagutu izan dituzte, autoritate erlijiosoen eskutik lehenik eta botere zibiletik ondoren. Hego Euskal Herriko zenbait herritan desager-tzeaz egon ziren frankismoaren debekuaren ondorioz. Alabaina, 1970eko hamarkadatik landa, Europa osoa astindu zuen tradizioen berreskuratze- eta bilketa-lanen bidetik arnasberrituta heldu zaizkigu. Beste herri batzuetan, aldiz, goitik beherako ospakizunak asmatzeko gaitasuna izan dute, eta errotutako tradizio bilakatu dira denboraren joanean. Egun, tradizioaren dinamikotasuna ulertzeko adibide paregabea eskaintzen digute inauteriek.

XIX. mendeaz geroztik ospakizun berri mordoa agertu dira. Zaharren artean, izaera erlijiosoko ospakizunak ditugu oraindik ere; Olarizuko

19. Iturenjoaldunak Zarautzeko Euskal Jaian.

20. Erraldoiak Olarizuko erromerian.



19

the influence of Christianity. There are carnival celebrations in all the provinces throughout the geography of the Basque Country, sometimes centred on certain specific figures, and other times more humble ones. As happens typically with winter festivals, they have special meaning at the local level because they are opportunities to strengthen the community. Following the end of the Christmas season, many make up a lively colourful festive calendar which extends to Easter. There is no shortage of people in fancy dress, music, dance as well as drinking and eating. Parades, performances, local dances and other rituals usually make up the most popular dimension of the carnivals. In many towns there are monetary collections, also known as *puska-biltze* (a little donation). Thus, the *maskaradak* (masquerades) in Zuberoa are worth mentioning, which became very well-known following the descriptions of 19-century folklorists. Every year, the young people of a town in Zuberoa take on the organisation of the *maskarada*. They travel from town to town for three months performing the *maskarada* on weekends over the course of a whole day. It is much more than a mere performance: they are opportunities for different generations to meet one another and to unleash and convey local problems and tensions, as well as kindling humour and fun.

Throughout history, carnivals have offered a chance to bring to light social and political critiques in irreverent humorous ways and for that reason they have experienced a lot of persecution, initially on the part of the religious authorities and later that of the civil powers. In the Southern Basque Country they were on the point of disappearing in several towns as a consequence of being banned by the Franco regime. However, apart from the

19. Ituren *joaldunak* at the Zarautz Basque Festival (Gipuzkoa).

20. Giants at the Olarizu Open-air Dance (Araba).



22. The show *Simfeuny* by the Deabru Beltzak street TRADITIONS group. Outside the Arriaga TRADITIONS in Bilbao (Biscay), 2019.

20



21. Descent of Celedón in the festivals of Vitoria-Gasteiz (Araba).

erronomia, adibidez. Halaber, aisialdiari zuzen-zuzenean lotutakoak ere baditugu; esaterako, XIX. mendeko azken laurdenean udatiarren gozagarri sortutako Donostiako Aste Nagusia. Euskal identitateari gorazarre egiteko asmoz sortu ziren jite tradizional markatua zuten festa berriak ere XIX. mendean, *euskal jaiak* izenez ezagutzen ditugunak. Denboran gugandik hurbilago, aurretiaz abian jarritako joerari jarraiki, festa-egutegia eraberritu, osatu eta ikaragarri zabaldu zen XX mendean zehar. Hala, festa urbano berriak agertu dira; Baionako festak, adibidez, 1932an lehen aldiz ospatu ziren, edota frankismoaren amaieran errotik itxuraldatu zen Bilboko Aste Nagusia, bai eta hamaika herri eta hirietako auzo berrietan sortutakoak ere.

Lurraldetasunari erreferentzia egiten dioten tokiko komunitatea ardatz duten beste zenbait jai garrantzitsu sortu ziren XX. mendearen azken laurdenean bereziki: Baztandarren Biltzarra eta Aezkoako Eguna, adibidez, antzinako antolaketa administratibo zabaldua zen *bailara* oinarri dutenak eta berau osatzen duten herritarren arteko kohesioa sendotu eta harremanak sartzeko balio izan dutenak. Hauei guztiei gehitu behar zaizkie tokian tokiko ondare eta produktuen inguruan asmatu diren jai egun seinatuak. Halakoak dira, baita ere, lanbide tradizional gisa irudikatzen diren inguruan sortutakoak, izan desagertutako lanbideen oroimena transmititzea helburu dutenak –basoan moztutako enborrak ibaian lotuta garraiatzen zituen almadieroen omenez ospatzen den festa, adibidez–, nola mendiko jardueraren inguruan Euskal Herriko hainbat lekutan ospatzen diren artzain egunak; Oñati, Araia, Uharte Arakil, Amaiur eta Amurrion, esaterako. Festa hauek guztiek beren tradizio sorta propioa sortu dute.

Euskal Herriko festa guztien artean badago bat nazioartean sona handia duena. Urtero, uztailak 6arekin batera lehertzen da festa Iruñean. Sanferminek mundu osotik milaka eta milaka bisitari erakartzen ditu Iruñeko kaleetara eta bertakoek zein kanpokoek gau eta egun gozaten dute festaz. Iruñeko biztanleria boskoiztu egin ohi da festak iraun bitartean. Munduan globala bilakatu den fenomeno baten adierazlea ere bada. Izan ere, literaturaren edo

21. Zeledonen jaitsiera Gasteizeko jaietan.

1970s, they survived and thrived in the wake of the work of recovering and collecting traditions which affected the whole of Europe. In other towns, though, they have been able to completely invent celebrations which have become ingrained traditions over time. Today, carnivals offer an exceptional example by which to understand the dynamism of tradition.

Since the 19th century, many new traditions have appeared. Among the older ones, there are still celebrations of a religious nature; the Olarizu open-air dance in Araba, for example. Likewise, there are also those completely connected to leisure time; such as the Aste Nagusia (principal week) of San Sebastian, created for the enjoyment of holidaymakers during the last quarter of the 19th century. New festivals marked by a traditional dimension, what we know today as *euskal jaiak* (Basque festivals), were also created in the 19th century with the aim of extolling Basque identity. Closer to us in time, in line with previous trends, the festive calendar was revamped, assembled and expanded dramatically throughout the 20th century. Thus, new urban festivals appeared; the Baiona festivals, for example, were held for the first time in 1932, and the Aste Nagusia of Bilbao, which was completely transformed after the end of the Franco regime, as well as other numerous newly created festivals in towns and city neighbourhoods.

Several other important festivals focused on the local community which make reference to territoriality were established especially in the last quarter of the 20th century: the Baztandarren Biltzarra (meeting of the Baztan Valley peoples in Navarre) and the Aezkoako Eguna (Aezko Valley Day in Navarre), for example, those based on the valley or broad old administrative organisation and which were intended to weave networks and strengthen the cohesion of the people who live there. One should add to all these specific festive days which have been invented around local products or heritage. As are those, too, which were founded around what is depicted as a traditional profession, whether those with the aim of transmitting a memory of now extinct occupations –such as the festival held in honour of the rafters who transported logs cut in woods along rivers– or the shepherds’ days, centring on mountainous activities, which are held in several locations throughout the Basque Country: for example, in Oñati (Gipuzkoa), Araia and Amurrio (Araba) and Uharte Arakil and Amaiur (Navarre). All of these festivals have created their own collection of traditions.

Among all the festivals of the Basque Country, there is one which has had an international repercussion. Every year, on 6 July, a festival explodes in Pamplona. The San Fermin festival attracts thousands of visitors from all over the world to the streets of Pamplona and locals and outsiders alike enjoy the festival night and day. The population of Pamplona typically increases fivefold in line with the duration of the festival. It is also an indicator of a phenomenon which has become global all over the world. In other words, a specific place in a country becomes known through the influence of literature or film, and achieves worldwide fame. That happened with the San Fermin festival after the publication of Ernest Hemingway’s novel, *The Sun Also Rises*. The American writer who would later win a Nobel Prize arrived for the first time in Pamplona in 1923 and, dazzled by the festive spirit experienced by the city, he wrote the aforementioned novel three years later.

The San Fermin festival at that time was quite different from that we know today. There were bulls, because they were part of the original livestock fair held on the saint’s day of San Fermin. The bull-running at the well-known heart of the festival today reminds us of that. Yet there was no such mass dimension as that of the late 20th century, nor the waves of people dressed

zinemaren eraginez herrialde bateko toki jakin bat ezagutzera eman, eta nazioartean fama lortzen du. Hala gertatu zen San Fermin jaiekin Ernest Hemingway-k idatzitako *Fiesta: Eguzkia jaikitzen da* (ingelesez *The Sun Also Rises*) eleberria argitaratuz geroztik. Gerora Nobel saria irabaziko zuen idazle estatubatuarra 1923an heldu zen Iruñera lehen aldiz, eta hiriak bizi zuen festa-gogoak liluratuta idatzi zuen aipatu eleberria hiru urte beranduago.

Orduko sanferminak egun ezagutzen ditugunen aldean oso bestelakoak ziren. Zezenak presente zeuden, San Fermin santuaren egunez ospatzen zen feria baitago festaren jatorrian. Egungo festaren erdigune entzute-tsuenetakoa den entzierroak halaxe gogorarazten digu. Baina ez zen XX. mende amaierako halako masifikaziorik, ez eta zuri-gorritz jantzitako jende uholderik ere, ez eta uztailaren 15ean villabesaren entzierrorik ere. Sanferminen bilakaerak ongi erakusten duen bezala, tradizio moduan ezagutzen ditugunak eraldaketa handiak eta txikiak izan dituzte denboraren joanean.

22. Erronkariko almadieroak Eska ibaian behera.

23. Sanferminetako entzierroa Iruñean.



22



23

22. Rafters in the Erronkari Valley going down the River Eska (Navarre).

23. San Fermin bull-running, Pamplona (Navarre).

in white and red, nor the closing procession (Encierro de la Villavesa) held on 15 July either. As the evolution of the San Fermin festival demonstrates very well, those events we understand as tradition have experienced both major and minor transformations with time.

Ohitura zaharrak? Tradizio berriak, bizi-biziak

Euskal gastronomia munduan ezaguna bilakatu da XX. mendearen amaieraz geroztik. Michelin izarrak bata bestearen ondoan zerrendatzen dituzten goi-mailako punta-puntako jatetxeak daude. Horiez gain, sukaldaritzaren tradizionaltasunak jarraitzen duten ostalduak eta sagardotegiak, bodega zein txakolindegiek bertatik bertara ekoiztutako eta tentuz eta mimoz kositutako jakien eskaintza oparoaz hartzen dituzte bezeroak. Bada, baina, guztien gainera zabaldu den gastronomia-fenomeno bat: pintxoak. Abiapuntua gerraosteko Donostian izan bazuen ere, egun Euskal Herri osora zabaldu den fenomenoa dugu, bai eta Euskal Herriaren kanpora ere; esaterako, Espainiar estatuko hiri handietara eta euskal jatetxeetako eskaintza berezitu gisara, Estatu Batuetara eta Kanadara ere bai, besteak beste.

Gerraostean taberna giroko txikiteoaren testuinguruan sortu zen lehen pintxo *gilda* izan zen. Tabernaz taberna egunero zebiltzan gizon kuadrillei *baxoerdi* eta *baxoerdi* artean mokadu bat eskaini asmoz, Donostiako erdialdeko arandegi batean sortu omen zen pintxo ezaguna. Osagaien kalitateak egiten du *gilda* bereziki bere soiltasunean: piperrak, gazitutako antxoak eta olibak elkarren ondoan txotx batean sartuta, guztia mokadu bat edo bitan jaten dena, olio tantekin ez zikintzeko tentuz betiere. Izenak gaztelaniazko hitz-joko batean du oinarria: berdea, gazia eta bizia, Rita Hayworth-ek zinema klasikoko harribitxia den *Gilda* filmean gorpuzten duen izen bereko pertsonaiaren gisakoa.

Hiriko beste tabernak berehala pintxo erako bestelako mokaduak eskaintzen hasi ziren, tabernako barra gainera zuzenean bezeroak eskuz jateko modukoak. Txikiteo eremutik zabaldu egin zen pintxoak jateko ohitura, emakumezkoak ere taberna giroan murgiltzen hastearekin batera. Lehenik asteburuko jardura eta, ondoren, aste osoko jardura gisa. Denboraren joanean, pintxoak sofistikatzen joan dira, goi-mailako sukaldaritzaren erakusle bizi eta aparta bihurtzeraino. Miniaturazko sukaldaritzaren moduan ezagutzen dira baita ere. Horrekin batera, pintxoak euskal kulturaren barruan tradizio gisa pentsatu eta aurkeztu dira, denboran ongi identifikatu daitezkeen asmatutako tradizioa izan arren.

Zer jaten den baino –pintxoaren zerrenda tabernena bezain amaigabea litzake–, nola jaten den, edo, bederen orain artean, nola jan den da interesgarria. Gizonezko txikiteoaren ohitura moduan sortu zena, euskal gizartearen sozialitate-tradizio errotu bilakatu zen hamarkada gutxiaren buruan. Preziantza eta zaindu beharreko zerbait moduan ikusten dira pintxoak XXI. mende hasiera honetan, jakiak mimatuz, bezeroak egunerokotasunetik ihes egiteko gozamenerako aukera ematen dute, lagunartez gozatzeko. Lagunarteko jardura moduan bizi da eta kanpotik etorritako bisitariei harrera ona egiteko modu original gisa ikaragarri zabaldu da azken hamarkadatan, bai eta arlo profesionalen ere, bertako esperientzia barrutik bizitzeko aukera moduan. Ez hain aspaldikoak izanagatik ere, jaki tradizionaltzat jotzen dira jada pintxoak.

24. Pintxo barra bat.

Old customs? New dynamic traditions



24. Pintxo bar counter.

Basque gastronomy has been world renowned since the late 20th century. There are world-class vanguard restaurants which list their Michelin stars one after the other. Besides those, inns, cider houses, wineries and *txakolina* cellars, which continue to prepare more traditional cuisine, offer their customers a wide range of dishes produced locally and cooked with care and attention. There is, however, a gastronomic phenomenon that has spread out above all others: the *pintxos* (small snacks). Although they first emerged in San Sebastian after the civil war, it is a phenomenon which has extended throughout the Basque Country and even beyond; for example, to the main cities in Spain and, as a special offering in Basque restaurants, to the United States and Canada too.

The first *pintxo*, which emerged in the post-civil war context of bars frequented by *txikiteros* (bar hoppers), was the *gilda*. With the aim of offering a snack to male *cuadrilla* members who went from bar to bar on a daily basis drinking a *baxoerdi* (small glass of wine), it is said that a wine bar in central San Sebastian created this well-known *pintxo*. The quality of its ingredients makes the *gilda* special in its simplicity: a pickled green chilli pepper, canned anchovy and olive are combined on a toothpick, all eaten in one or two bites, so as not to spill the olive oil. The name is based on word-play in Spanish: green (a synonym for bawdy), salty (a synonym for witty) and vibrant, in the manner of the eponymous character portrayed by Rita Hayworth in that gem of classic cinema, *Gilda*.

Other bars in the city immediately began offering other kinds of snacks in the form of *pintxos*, placed on the bars so they could be eaten directly by

Tradizioak etengabe aldatzen direla erakusten du pintxoaren bilakaerak berak: 2008ko krisi ekonomikoaren ondorioei aurre egin asmoz, Gasteizen formula berezi bat proposatu zuten: *pote* edo edariarekin batera, pintxoa eskaintzea salneurri finkoan. Hala, *pintxo-potearen* sorreraren lekuko izan gara, azkar errotu eta zabaldu den jarduera, hirigune nagusietan erdigunetik auzoetara indar handiz hedatu dena.

Badira, halaber, bestelako bidea egin duten tradizioak. Egunerokotasuna eraldatzearekin batera, iraganaren lekuko moduan memoria kolektiboan errotu direnak. Horren adibide dira hainbat kozinatzeako modu edo plateren bueltan antolatzen diren lehiaketa eta herri-bazkariak. Asko eta askotari-koak dira; zenbaitek arrantzaleen ohiko otorduari erreferentzia egiten diote, marmitakoari adibidez. Industrializazioaren garaiaz geroztik, Bizkaiko Enkarterrietan eta bereziki Balmasedan errotu den *putxeren* tradizioa ekarri nahi dugu hona. Trena erreferentzia duen eltzekaria da *putxera*, babarrun gorri eta txerrikiz (txorizo, odolki, xingar) osatua, ikatzez zebiltzan trenak sortutako lurruna baliatuz kozinatutakoa. Valentziar herrialdeko paellarekin gerta moduan, hemen ere ontziak ematen dio izena jakiari.

Trena eta trenbideak euskal historia garaikidean berebiziko garrantzia dute, lehen-lehenik Bizkaiko meatzetako burdin-ustiapenari lotuta eta bigarrenik, burdingintza-industriaren produktu eta garraio bide moduan. Estatuko FEVE enpresaren lantegiak eta tailerrak Balmasedan kokatuta zeuden. Bertatik pasatzen ziren ikatz bila Leonera bidea egiten zuten trenak. Tuperrik eta mikrouhinik ez zegoen garaian, baten bati bero jateko premiak zorrotzu zion nonbait gogo. Tradizioak agindu moduan, ezin jakin nori otu zitzaion trenaren lurruna kozinatzeako moduko lapikoa egokitzea. Aspaldi desagertu dira lurrunezko trenak gure paisaietatik, baina *putxerek* hor segitzen dute, urtero San Severino egunez Balmasedako plaza eltzekari usain goxoz lurruntzen.

25. *Putxeren* inguruko erakusketa Balmasedan.



25. *Putxera* display in Balmaseda (Biscay).

clients. The custom of eating *pintxos* extended beyond the realm of *txikiteo* or bar hopping, at the same time as women, too, began frequenting bars. It was initially a weekend activity and extended later to the rest of the week. In time, *pintxos* have become more sophisticated, to the point of becoming a special and distinct showcase for top-notch cuisine. They are also understood as miniature cuisine. Together with that, *pintxos* have been presented and thought of as a tradition within Basque culture, even though they are an invented tradition which can be precisely identified in time.

Rather than what is eaten –the list of *pintxos* would be as endless as that of the bars– the way it has been eaten to date, is interesting. What was founded as a custom among male *txikiteros* became, within a few decades, a deeply rooted sociability tradition in Basque society. At the beginning of the 21st century, *pintxos* are seen as something to be valued and protected, making a fuss of the food, they give an opportunity for customers to flee their everyday lives enjoyably, something to be enjoyed among friends. It is an activity experienced among friends and it has expanded tremendously in recent decades as an original way to welcome visitors from abroad as well as in the professional environment too, as a chance to experience a real local experience from within. Although they are not very old, *pintxos* are now understood as traditional food.

The very development of *pintxos* shows that traditions change constantly: with the aim of defying the economic consequences of the 2008 crisis, a special formula was suggested in Vitoria-Gasteiz: together with a *pote* or small drink, offering a *pintxo* at a fixed price. Thus, we witnessed the creation of the *pintxo-pote* (*pintxo* and drink special offer), an activity which quickly took root and spread out, one which has spread successfully from the principal city centres to the neighbourhoods.

There are, though, traditions which have undertaken different journeys. Along with the transformation of everyday experiences, those which are rooted in the collective memory as witnesses to the past. Examples of these are the competitions organised around a particular dish or cooking method as well as communal lunches. They are many and varied; some of them make reference to the regular meals of fishermen, such as *marmitako* (tuna stew). One is also reminded of the *putxera* tradition which has been rooted in the Enkarterri region of Biscay and especially in Balmaseda since the age of industrialisation. The *putxera* is a legume stew related to the coming of trains, which was made up of red beans and pork products (chorizo, black pudding and bacon), cooked using steam generated by coal-fired trains. As in the case of the paella of Valencia, here, too, it is the receptacle which gives its name to the dish.

Trains and railways are especially important in modern Basque history, initially in connection with the mining of iron ore in Biscay and, secondly, as a product and means of transport in the iron and steel industry. The factories and workshops of the state-owned company FEVE were located in Balmaseda. Trains passing through there made their way to Leon in search of coal. At a time when there was no tupperware or microwaves, the urge to eat something hot tweaked someone's interest somewhere. As tradition dictates, it is impossible to know who was responsible for adapting a pressure cooker from the steam of the train. Steam trains have long since disappeared from our landscapes, but the *putxeras* are still here, used to pressure cook sweet-smelling pots every year on San Severino Day in Balmaseda square.

Tradizioa, etorkizunera begiratu bat

Tradition, a gaze at the future



26. Laja eta Landakanda trikitilariak 2005ean.

26. The *trikitilari* accordionists Laja and Landakanda, 2005.

Kultura tradizionala delakoa edukiz, euskarriz eta formaz eraberrituta iritsi da guganaino. XIX. mendeko ikuskerak markatuta, luzaz *herri-tradizio* deiturapean jaso izan dira kultura-agerkari jakin batzuk. Izendapen horrek, idatzizko transmisioa nagusi duten bestelako formen aurrean, ahozko tradizioari erreferentzia egiten dio, izan eduki aldetik nola ezagutzaren transmisioa gauzatzen den kanalarri dagokionez. Usu, halakoak folkloarekin identifikatu izan dira eta euskal kulturaren identitate-ikur moduan agertu izan dira luzaz, fenomeno hauen bilakaera zentzu batean zein bestean baldintzatuz. Garaiaren arabera hauspotu edo lausotu egin da fenomeno hauek gizartean izan duten harrera. Txistua eta txapelak erakusten dute halako identifikazio batek iraganean izan zezakeen goresmena, bai eta ondotik haiekiko lausotzea. Euskal dantza edo trikitiaren kasuan, esaterako, bilakera konplexuagoa izan dute, gorabehera eta eraldaketa handiekin. Oro har, herri-tradizioaren nozioa da berrikusi beharrekoa, egungo gizarteak zerikusi gutxi duelako iraganearekin. Ordenu soziala irizpide moral jakin batzuen baitan gorde beharraz mintzo zaizkigu behialako xaribari eta zintzarrotsak, biolentzia sinboliko zein errearen bidez, komunitateko kideen portaera eta zenbait bizi hautu –alargunen berrezkontzea, adibidez– bortizki kritikatu. Egun halakorik ez da onartzen. Tradizio moduan ezagutzen ditugun horiek etengabe eraberritzen dira, hutsalak kontsideratzen direnak baztertuz eta berriak sortuz eta asmatuz.

Tradizio gisa identifikatzen ditugunak errutinak markatutako egunerokotasunetik aparteko denbora batean gauzatu ohi dira, erritu eta formula jakinek markatutako aparteko espazio eta denbora batean non emozioak lehertu eta adierazten diren; zenbaitetan sotilki, modu xume eta intimoetan,

What is termed traditional culture has come down to us today with renewed contents, bases and forms. Marked by a 19th-century perspective, certain cultural manifestations have for a long time been received under the name *popular tradition*. That term, in the face of other kinds of forms dominated by written transmission, refers to the oral tradition, whether as regards content or with respect to the channel through which the transmission of knowledge takes place. Often, such things have been identified with folklore and have appeared for a long time as a kind of symbol of identity in Basque culture, conditioning the evolution of these phenomena in one sense or another. Depending on the age in question, the social reception for such phenomena has been either kindled enthusiastically or more blurry. As the *txistu* (three-holed pipe) and *txapela* (beret) demonstrate, such identification may have been extolled in the past but later received in more lukewarm terms. In the case of Basque dance or the *trikiti*, for instance, their development has been complex, with major variations and transformations. In general, the notion of popular tradition needs to be revised, because society today has little in common with that of the past. The *xaribari* and *zintzarrotsak* (types of charivari) of yesteryear speak to us of the need to preserve certain social order moral criteria, by means of both symbolic and real violence, critiquing vehemently the behaviour and certain lifestyle choices –widows remarrying, for example– of community members. Nowadays, such things are not acceptable. Those things we understand as tradition are updated constantly, those considered ephemeral are discarded and new ones invented and created.

Those we identify as tradition typically take place at a time outside the daily life marked by routine, at a time and in a space marked by particular rites and formulas in which emotions are ignited and expressed; in certain cases, discretely, in a simple intimate way, and in others, as an explosion of experiences and collective euphoria. Although there is a major tendency to associate traditions with celebrations and festivals, that is in no way the only reality or way in which traditions take shape. We have seen how professions, activities and landscapes themselves may be the object of the process of transformation into tradition. Often, that occurs in tandem with phenomena which cause profound changes in decline or meaning.

Even in cases in which there appear to have been few changes formally over time, the intensity experienced by traditions can vary greatly according to the era. Because the focus changes in line with the interests and parameters of society in the past or today. As we have been able to see, they reveal an incredibly rich reality, diverse and varied in form and content. On both sides of the border, beyond the influence of states and other kinds of administrative structures, the dynamic nature of a tradition and its ability to adapt to new times and lifestyles –sometimes including conflicting exceptions– are obvious.

In contemporary Basque society we can find an interesting vivid scenario of the form and varieties of tradition. As happens in other kinds of

besteetan bizipen-eztanda eta euforia kolektibo moduan. Tradizioak ospakizunekin eta festekin lotzeko joera handia badago ere, hori ez da inondik inora tradizioak gorpuzten diren modu edo errealitate bakarra. Ikusi dugu nola lanbide, jarduera edo paisaia bera tradizio bihurtzeko prozesuen objektu izan daitezkeen. Sarri, galbidean edo esanahia aldaketa sakonak eragiten dituzten fenomenoekin batera gertatzen da hori.

Formalki denboran zehar aldaketa gutxi izan dituztela dirudien kasuetan ere, tradizioak bizitzeko intentsitatea zeharo desberdina izan daiteke garaiaren arabera. Orduko eta egungo gizartearen interesen eta parametroen arabera fokua aldatu egiten baita. Ikusi ahal izan dugunez, errealitate ikaragarri aberatsa uzten dute agerian, formaz eta edukiz anitza eta askotarikoa. Mugaren bi aldeetan, estatuen eta bestelako egituratze administratiboen eraginaz harago, tradizioaren dinamikotasuna eta garai eta bizimolde berrietara egokitzeko gaitasuna –batzuetan salbuespen gatazkatsuak barne– agerikoak dira.

Tradizioaren formaren eta aldaeren agertoki bizia bezain interesgarria topa dezakegu egungo euskal gizarte garaikidean. Bestelako jarduerekin gerta moduan, tradizioen eraberritzeko gaitasuna frogatzeko garai berezia bizitza egokitu da XXI. mendearen hasieran: bizimoduaren aldaketa azkar eta etengabeak, gatazka-iturri bilakatu ditu hainbatetan tradizio moduan ezagutzen ditugun horiek. Iragana eta etorkizunaren arteko zubi-lana egiten duen jarduera, praktika eta adierazpide moduan uler dezakegu tradizioa eta horrexegatik zaizkigu batzuetan kuttun eta besteetan gorrotagarri. Azken batean, munduko beste tokietan bezala, Euskal Herrian tradizioek unean uneko gizartearen balio, lehentasun eta korapiloak beste ezerk baino nabarmenkiago agerian uzten dituzte.

27. Esne Beltza, 2016.



27. Esne Beltza, 2016.

activities, in order to demonstrate the capacity for renewal of traditions, in the early 21st century it adapted in order to live at a special time: endless rapid lifestyle changes have, in several cases, become sources of conflict for those things we understand as tradition. We can understand tradition as an activity, practice or expression which acts as a bridge between past and future, and for that reason they are sometimes dear to us and other times unbearable. Ultimately, as in other places all over the world, in the Basque Country traditions reveal the values, priorities and problems of today's society more conspicuously than anything else.



Aitzpea Leizaola (San Sebastian, 1971)

Antropologoa. Hizkuntzalaritza eta antropologia ikasketak burutu zituen Parisen. Paris Nanterre Unibertsitatean doktorea, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatean irakasle agregatua da, bai eta bertako antropologia master ofizialeko zuzendaria. Oxford Universityn *Basque Visiting Fellow* izan da eta ikertzaile gonbidatua nazioarteko hainbat unibertsitatetan ere. Erromako Visual Fest 2014 saria lortu zuen *Abordatzera! Dokumental etnografikoa*-rekin. Aldizkari zientifikoetan 30 artikulua inguru argitaratu ditu eta *Ankulegi* aldizkariaren sortzaile eta edizio-taldeko kide izan da. Dibulgazioan jardun ohi du, hitzaldi eta iritzi artikulua bidez.

Multi-kokatutako eta epe luzeko landa-lana burutu du Euskal Herrian, Espainian eta, berriki Turkian, komunitate sefardiaren inguruan. Identitate eraikuntza prozesuetan aditua, bere ikergai nagusiak mugak, ondarea, memoria gatazka-osteko testuinguruetan eta, oro har, euskal kultura dira.

An anthropologist. She carried out linguistic and anthropological studies in Paris. She holds a doctorate from Paris Nanterre University and is a senior lecturer at the University of the Basque Country, where she is also the director of an official master's programme in anthropology. She was the Basque Visiting Fellow at Oxford University and has also been a guest researcher at several other universities. She was awarded a prize at the 2014 Visual Fest of Rome for her *Abordatzera! Dokumental etnografikoa*. She has published around 30 articles in scholarly journals and she is a founder and editorial team member of the journal *Ankulegi*. She often works in outreach, by means of talks and op-ed articles. She has carried out extensive and multi-sited fieldwork in the Basque Country, Spain and, recently, Turkey, in relation to the Sephardic community. An expert in identity construction processes, her main research interests are borders, heritage, memory in post-conflict contexts and Basque culture in general.

KREDITUAK / CREDITS

Euskal Kultura Bildumaren edizioa

A publication in the Basque Culture series
Etxepare Euskal Institutua

Testua / Text

Aitzpea Leizaola CC BY-NC-ND

Ingelesezko itzulpena Translation into English

Cameron Watson

Edizioa / Edition

Miriam Luki Albisua

Maketazioa / Layout

Iñigo Cerdán Matesanz

Diseinua / Design

Mito.eus

Azaleko argazkia / Cover Photo

Hondarribiko Alardea / *Alarde* in Hondarribi (Gipuzkoa). Oarso Bidasoako Hitza.

Argitalpen urtea / Publication Year

2021

Argazkiak / Photos

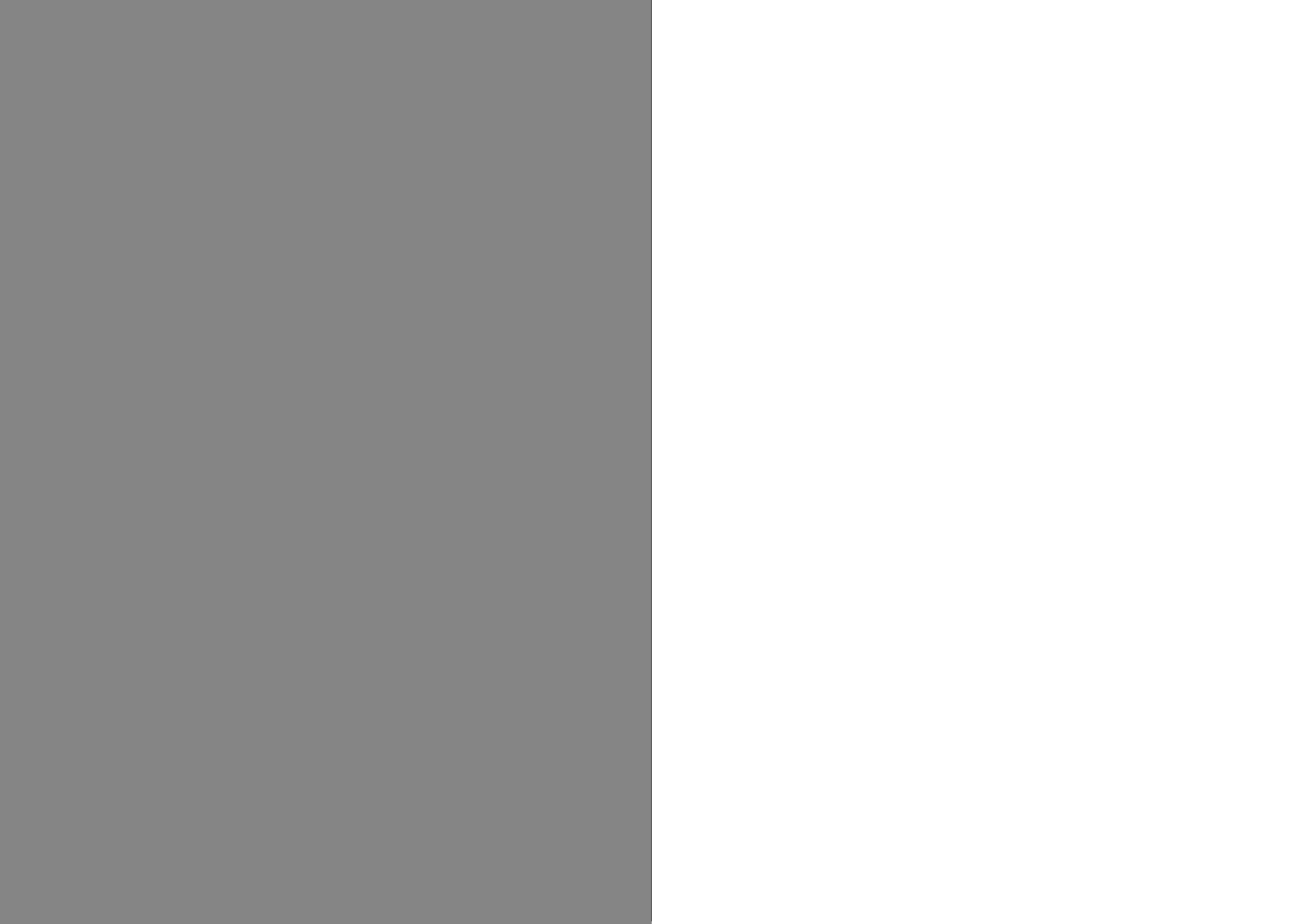
1. Izabako Udala / Izaba Town Council.
2. Luis Jauregiartzo – FOKU.
3. Tolin. Zarauzko Udala / Zarautz Town Council.
4. Igartubeiti Baserri Museoa-Gipuzkoako Foru Aldundia / Igartubeiti Museum-Provincial Council of Gipuzkoa.
5. Juan Carlos Ruiz – FOKU.
6. Asier Zaldua.
7. Séverine Dabadie.
8. Gernika-Lumo Udala / Gernika-Lumo Town Council.
9. Txelu Angoitia – Gerediaga Elkarte / Gerediaga Association.
10. Jaizki Fontaneda – FOKU.
11. Euskal Elkargoko Turismo Bulegoa / Basque Country Tourist Information Office.
12. Juan Carlos Ruiz – FOKU.
13. Albaola.
14. Sergi Colomer – Zegama-Aizkorri Mendi Maratoia / Zegama-Aizkorri Mountain Marathon.
15. Eneko Gómez Mariñelarena – AEK.
16. Mikel Arrazola. Irekia-Eusko Jaurlaritza / Basque Government. CC BY-3.0-ES 2012.
17. Séverine Dabadie.
18. Basquetour.
19. Tolin. Zarauzko Udala / Zarautz Town Council.
20. Quintas. Gasteizko Udala / Vitoria-Gasteiz City Council.
21. Basquetour.
22. Nafarroako Almadiazainen Kultur Elkarte / Rafter's Cultural Association of Navarre.
23. Carlos Mediavilla Arandigoyen.
24. ondojan.com
25. Basquetour.
26. Jon Urbe – FOKU.
27. Juanan Ruiz – FOKU.
28. Arkaitz Garmendia.

Etxepare Euskal Institutua

Etxepare Euskal Institutua erakunde publiko bat da. Gure helburua nazioartean euskara, euskal kultura eta sorkuntza sustatzea eta ezagutzera ematea da, eta, horien eskutik, beste herrialdeekin eta kulturekin harreman iraunkorrak eraikitzea. Horretarako kalitatezko jarduera artistikoak sustatzen ditugu, eta sortzaile, artista nahiz kultura-sektoreetako profesionalen mugikortasuna errazten dugu, baita euskararen eta euskal kulturaren irakaskuntza ere. Halaber, nazioarteko eragile kulturalekin eta akademikoekin elkarlana bultzatzen dugu. Zeregin horietan guztietan Euskadiko kanpo ordezkariak gertuko bidelagun ditugu.

Etxepare Basque Institute

The Etxepare Basque Institute is a public agency dedicated to promoting Basque language, culture and creative talent internationally, and to building lasting relationships with other countries and cultures in these areas. To this end, we foster quality artistic activities and support the mobility of artists and cultural industry professionals, as well as teaching Basque language and culture. We also encourage collaboration with international stakeholders in both the cultural and academic fields, working closely with the official Basque delegations abroad.





BASQUECULTURE.EUS
THE GATEWAY
TO BASQUE CREATIVITY
AND CULTURE

BASQUE.

Europarrok kultura-ondare oparoa partekatzen dugu, mendeetan zehar izan ditugun trukeen eta migrazio-fluxuen ondorioa dena. Hala, bertako hizkuntzen eta kulturen aniztasuna, berezi egiten gaituen horri esker guztiok jorituria, Europak duen balio handienetakoa bat da. **BASQUE.** lurralde baten isla da (euskararen lurraldearena), historia baten isla, mundua ulertzeko modu batena, gurea. Bere sustraiez harro dagoen kultura baten adierazpidea da, ikuspegi berri bat eskaintzeko tradizioa eta abangoardia uztartzen jakin duen kultura batena. **BASQUE.** euskal kultura eta sorkuntza garaikideari begiratzeko leihoa da. Musikaren, dantzaren, antzerkiaren, zinemaren, literaturaren, artearen eta beste adierazpide batzuen bidez euskal kultura eta euskara ezagutzera emateko leihoa. Eta, era berean, sormenari zabalik dagoen leku bat da, partekatzeko, zubiak eraikitzeko eta solaserako, kulturen artean elkar aditzen lagunduko diguten elkarrizketa berriei bide emateko.

Europeans share a rich cultural heritage from centuries of trade and migration. Linguistic and cultural diversity is one of Europe's main assets, each of us contributing with our uniqueness. **BASQUE.** is a window into a land (the land of the Basque language, Euskara), a history, a way of seeing the world. It is the expression of a culture proud of its heritage, a people that have learned to embrace difference to create a new vision for tomorrow. **BASQUE.** opens a new door to Basque culture and contemporary creation through music, dance, theatre, cinema, literature, art... and the Basque language. It is a place open to creativity, to sharing ideas, building bridges, sparking new conversation, and fostering dialogue between cultures.

EUSKADI
BASQUE COUNTRY



EUSKO JAURLARITZA
GOBIERNO VASCO



ETXEPARE
EUSKAL
INSTITUTUA