

Exiled intellectuals in Guatemala. The foundation of the Faculty of Humanities

Exilio intelectual en Guatemala. La creación de la Facultad de Humanidades

Jon Diaz Egurbide
Universidad del País Vasco UPV-EHU
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4496-7718

Recibido: 4/11/2024
Aceptado: 15/05/2025

DOI: 10.20318/cian.2025.9605

Abstract: This article explores the founding of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of San Carlos, which occurred during the Democratic Revolution in 1944. This period saw a significant influx of intellectuals and educators, primarily from Europe and Latin America, who were fleeing political conflicts such as the Spanish Civil War. Supported by Guatemala's policies under President Juan José Arévalo, these scholars, including figures like María Solá de Sellarès, Pedro Bosch Gimpera, and Salvador Aguado Andreut. The Faculty benefited from foreign talent, consolidating itself as an academic and cultural development centre. The article outlines how these exiled academics contributed to fields like philosophy, history, arts and pedagogy, and how their presence catalyzed cultural and educational progress. It further reviews the initial curriculum and the challenges the

Resumen: Este artículo examina la fundación de la Facultad de Humanidades en la Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, que tuvo lugar durante la Revolución Democrática de 1944. Este período fue testigo de una significativa afluencia de intelectuales y educadores, principalmente de Europa y América Latina, que huían de conflictos políticos, como la Guerra Civil Española. Apoyados por las políticas migratorias de Guatemala bajo el presidente Juan José Arévalo, estos académicos, incluyendo figuras como María Solá de Sellarès, Pedro Bosch Gimpera y Salvador Aguado Andreut, desempeñaron un papel fundamental en la configuración de la Facultad. El artículo describe cómo estos académicos exiliados contribuyeron a áreas como la filosofía, la historia, la literatura y la pedagogía, y cómo su presencia catalizó el progreso cultural y educativo en el país.

Faculty faced in its formative years, as well as the structural changes that influenced the growth of higher education and humanistic studies in Guatemala.

Key words: Universities, exile, history of education, curriculum, intellectuals.

Además, revisa el plan de estudios inicial y los desafíos que la Facultad enfrentó en sus primeros años, así como los cambios estructurales que influyeron en el crecimiento de la educación superior y los estudios humanísticos en Guatemala.

Palabras clave: Universidad, exilio, historia de la educación, plan de estudios, intelectuales.

Introduction

The Democratic Revolution is one of the most fascinating periods in Guatemala's history. The end of Ubico's dictatorship and the beginning of a democratic government marked a transcendental milestone in the history of the University of San Carlos, especially with the creation of the Faculty of Humanities. This year marks the 80th anniversary of its foundation, an event reflecting that historical moment's importance. An analysis of the literature on the early years of the Faculty of Humanities shows that many of these works are related to the contest of exile, particularly the Spanish Civil War¹. The University of San Carlos experienced significant growth thanks to the arrival of exiled intellectuals, who found refuge in Guatemala to continue their academic careers, supported by the program for refugees and exiles promoted by Juan José Arévalo and Enrique Muñoz Meany².

This research is related to one of the professors who played a leading role at the time and also appeared in the official documents as a founding professor of the Faculty of Humanities. «Joaquín Zategui y Plazaola, foun-

¹ Miguel Castro Gómez, "El aporte de los emigrantes españoles a la economía, cultura y educación de Guatemala en los años 1900-1968". 128. La llegada de la democracia a Guatemala con el advenimiento de los gobiernos de Juan José Arévalo Bermejo y Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán motivaron el traslado de varios intelectuales exiliados políticos, quienes se llegaban a Guatemala atraídos por la política socialista -conocida como socialismo espiritual-, del maestro y pedagogo José Arévalo. Además, a partir de 1944 los refugiados españoles encontraron en tierras guatemaltecas un espacio geográfico donde poder mantener sus inquietudes político-sociales y desarrollar sus propias vidas.

² Sergio Tischler Visquerria, *Guatemala 1944: crisis y revolución: ocaso y quiebre de una forma estatal*, (Universidad San Carlos, 1998); Arturo Taracena Arriola, Arturo. *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*, (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 7-21.

ding professor of Greek, arrives in the classroom with his name of illustrious translator of Sophocles into the Basque language³». Most of the research carried out on the Basque writer Jokin Zaitegi has focused on the literary aspect of the author⁴. The results of these studies highlight his literary work and the creation of the magazine *Euzko Gogoa*, one of the most important publications of the Basque exile and the only one written exclusively in Basque. He is also mentioned, together with Nicolás Ormaetxea ‘Orixe’ and Andima Ibinagabeitia, as one of the precursors of the Basque Renaissance⁵.

On the other hand, Zaitegi’s life, in addition to being a writer, poet, and Director of the magazine *Euzko Gogoa*, has other aspects that could be better known⁶. We are talking about his teaching role as Director of the America Institute in Guatemala, founder and Director of the Rafael Landibar School, and professor of Greek Language in the Faculty of Humanities between 1946 and 1955. He was the only priest who taught at the Faculty. However, the biography dedicated to the Basque writer mentions that Jokin Zaitegi’s presence is not directly related to Spanish exile. In 1931, Zaitegi was already outside Spain because the Republic government expelled the Jesuits, and he had to move to Belgium to study theology in Marneffe and Morialme. Later, in 1937, when the Society of Jesus returned to Spain, the Basque Jesuits were relocated to teaching posts in Venezuela and El Salvador. Zaitegi held a teaching post at the San José de La Montaña Major Seminary from 1937 to 1944. It was in 1944 when Zaitegi left the Society of Jesus due to the pressure he was under from the Rector of the Seminary, Father Beriain. After that, Zaitegi

³ Universidad San Carlos, Nacional y Autónoma de Guatemala, “Memoria de Labores de la Facultad de Humanidades 1944-1947”, Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.

⁴ Ziortza Gandarias. “Jokin Zaitegi erbestetik Euskal komunitate irudikatua eraikitzen”. In *Exilio y humanidades: las rutas de la cultura: ochenta años después*. San Sebastián: Hamai-ka Bide Elkartea (2021): 93-104. “The paper examined how Zaitegi, an exiled Jesuit priest, was able to develop a network of fellow Basque intellectuals to save and rebuild the defeated Basque Country through the Basque language. In order to pursue this goal, Zaitegi created *Euzko-Gogoa* (Basque-Will), the first magazine written entirely in the Basque language, published in Guatemala between 1950-1960. This magazine became a platform for building an imagined community that could be a reference for the future Basque nation. Gandarias focused on the importance of place in the case of *Euzko-Gogoa* Guatemala, showing how it became the archetype of freedom, a place where the Basque culture found space to grow and build an imagined community, and where exile became a fundamental pillar for the modernization and development of Basque culture and literature”.

⁵ Jon Díaz Egurbide, *Jokin Zaitegiren ekarpenak euskal curriculumean: eginak eta asmoak*, (Utriusque Vasconiae, 2012).

⁶ Paulo Iztueta Armendáriz, *Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua: bi belaunaldikoek lekukoak: “Euzko-Gogoa” eta “Zabal”*, (Utriusque Vasconiae, 2000).

moved to Guatemala and made a new start as a priest⁷. He was involved in consular relations between the Government of Guatemala and the Basque Government in Paris during his stay in Guatemala.

The main aim of this article is to recover the names of the founding professors from the archives in the Memory of the Faculty of Humanities. Among these notable intellectuals were María Solá de Sellarès⁸, Antonio Román Durán, Amador Pereira Redondo, Salvador Aguado Andreut, Luis Recasens Siches⁹, Pedro Bosch Gimpera and Rafael de Buen from de Spanish exile¹⁰. However, others are not mentioned, and it is essential to recognise that, although exile was the starting point for some of them, numerous other professors from different American countries also collaborated in the founding of the Faculty, thus contributing to the academic and cultural development of the institution. Including Thomas B. Irving, Ricardo Castañeda Paganini, Raul Osegueda, and Hugo Cerezo Dardón.

1. Literature review

There are several documents that we are going to consider in this article. I recently came across Taracena's work *Guatemala, la república española y el gobierno vasco* in which the author analyses the impact and influence of Republican exiles in Guatemala. The article mainly takes into account several professors, especially Salvador Aguado Andreut¹¹, Rafael De Buen y Loza-

⁷ Jon Díaz Egurbide, *Jokin Zaitegiren ekarpenak euskal curriculumean: eginak eta asmoak*, (Utriusque Vasconiae, 2012), 116.

⁸ Miguel Castro Gómez, "El aporte de los emigrantes españoles a la economía, cultura y educación de Guatemala en los años 1900-1968". 363.

⁹ Blasco Gil, Yolanda, y Mancebo Alonso, M. F.: «Pere Bosch Gimpera y Luis Recasens Siches. Profesores exiliados y provisión de sus cátedras», en *Estudios y testimonios sobre el exilio español en México. Una visión sobre su presencia en las Humanidades*, Armando Pavón Romero, Clara Inés Ramírez González y Ambrosio Velasco Gómez (coords.), (Bonilla Artigas-Conacyt, 2016), 311-334.

¹⁰ Arturo Taracena, *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*, (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 356-364. 396-399. Para entonces, Rafael de Buen era en Guatemala miembro del Sindicato de Trabajadores del Pensamiento, como también lo eran sus paisanas Leonor Tejada, profesora de francés, que había llegado a Guatemala el año 1948 en el programa de inmigración para republicanos españoles residentes en Francia del presidente Arévalo, así como la pedagoga catalana María Solá de Sellarès, directora del Instituto Belén de la Ciudad de Guatemala.

¹¹ Miguel Castro Gómez, "El aporte de los emigrantes españoles a la economía, cultura y educación de Guatemala en los años 1900-1968". 363.

no¹², Antonio Román Durán and Isaías Rebolleda Ortiz de Zárate. They all participated in the University of San Carlos from 1944 to 1954. The presence of these exiles in the Guatemalan educational institution is framed in the context of the Spanish Civil War, which led many intellectuals and academics to seek refuge in Latin America. The Faculty of Humanities at the University of San Carlos benefited significantly from the arrival of these professionals, who contributed to Guatemala's academic and cultural development. The second part of the book provides a detailed study of the establishment of the immigration programme to Guatemala, which was launched by its then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Enrique Muñoz Meany, and some of its ambassadors in Europe, between 1947 and 1952, with the strong support of President Juan José Arévalo¹³.

On the other hand, the book *Guatemala 1944: Crisis y Revolución* by Sergio Tischler Visquerra takes the Guatemalan Revolution as its object of study and analyses in detail how the crisis of the oligarchic liberal state was articulated. The liberal state began in 1871 with the government of Justo Rufino Barrios and ended with the mandate of General Jorge Ubico. The author analyses in depth the evolution of political and economic relations during this long period and explains, in passing, how the crisis arose that involved all social structures and led to the Revolution in the summer of 1944¹⁴.

We also analysed the book *Historia de la Educación en Guatemala* by Dr. Carlos González Orellana¹⁵. This author was Secretary General of Education in the government of the Democratic Revolution and personal secretary

¹² Arturo Taracena, *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*, (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 396-399. Para entonces, Rafael de Buen era en Guatemala miembro del Sindicato de Trabajadores del Pensamiento, como también lo eran sus paisanas Leonor Tejada, profesora de francés, que había llegado a Guatemala el año 1948 en el programa de inmigración para republicanos españoles residentes en Francia del presidente Arévalo, así como la pedagoga catalana María Solá de Sellarès, directora del Instituto Belén de la Ciudad de Guatemala.

¹³ Ibid., 21-22. The text analyzes the limited recognition of the support provided by the governments of Arévalo and Arbenz to the Spanish Republic in exile, despite their immigration program from France and Portugal starting in 1948. This support was influenced by the Basque Government in exile, led by Manuel de Irujo. It also examines how the Cold War affected Guatemalan diplomacy, according to documents from diplomats in Europe. The efforts of Muñoz Meany and ambassadors to attract Republican technicians and laborers are highlighted.

¹⁴ Sergio Tischler Visquerra, *Guatemala 1944: crisis y revolución: ocaso y quiebre de una forma estatal*, (Universidad San Carlos, 1998).

¹⁵ Carlos González Orellana, "Historia de la educación en Guatemala", (PhD thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1960).

to President Jacobo Arbenz. It is an obligatory work of analysis for anyone interested in the evolution of education in the Republic of Guatemala, the importance of the Faculty of Humanities, and the processes of literacy and social development, especially between 1944 and 1955, developed by the government of Juan José Arévalo and Jacobo Arbenz. The author's relationship and closeness to the events of this period are noteworthy.

To delve deeper into the academic movement within the University, it is also advisable to analyse the book *Conventos, Aulas y Trincheras* [Convents, Classrooms and Trenches] by Virgilio Álvarez Aragón¹⁶. Nevertheless, the section that interests us most is the one that refers to the movement led by intellectuals and academics within the University. As already mentioned, thanks to these groups of intellectuals, the creation of the Faculty of Humanities materialised for the first time in history.

Finally, some unpublished documents from the General Archive of San Carlos University. Documents that are essential to know the first steps in the foundation of the Faculty of Humanities. The first document, which consisted of 23 pages and was written by José Rölz Bennett, is undated and refers to the *Faculty's Annual Report* from 1944 to 1947. This document will show the teaching staff for the first four years. The second is called *First Biography* and includes the Project for the Creation of the Faculty of Humanities and the Minutes of the sessions held by the Higher University Council. It also includes excerpts from the speeches of Dean José Rölz Bennett.

2. The Faculty of Humanities

The Faculty of Humanities was created for the first time after the triumph of Revolutionary Democracy in Guatemala. In most of the literature, the Faculty is closely linked to the university movement of students and professors who promoted a political change in the history of Guatemala. However, the Revolutionary Junta suspended and replaced the rules and controls of the military command that lasted from 1931 to 1944. The Decree 1710 of May 7-1931 was repealed, and the order under which the executive governed all university bodies was annulled. A new process of change in higher education began, and the order to return Autonomy to the University, Decree 12, was signed¹⁷:

¹⁶ Virgilio Álvarez Aragón, *Conventos, aulas y trincheras, Universidad y movimiento estudiantil en Guatemala*. (FLACSO, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 2002).

¹⁷ Universidad San Carlos, Nacional y Autónoma de Guatemala, "Memoria de Labores de la

In the popular uprising that led to its fall, in 1944, there was a rampant resurgence of the student movement, whose *ideology* included the restoration of Autonomy and essential aspects of the reform. Moreover, the Revolutionary Junta that replaced the dictator hurried - Decree 12 November 9 - to declare that the University, this time *National and San Carlos*, was autonomous in the fulfilment of its scientific and cultural mission and the administrative order and had the legal personality to develop its aims. This decision was ratified in December by the legislative assembly¹⁸.

In July 1944, the Commission for University Organisation was set up to develop a feasibility plan to create the Faculty of Humanities. José Rölz Bennet, Feliciano Fuentes Alvarado, Julio Solares and Miguel Ángel Gordillo participated in this working group. This Commission received the support of the president and humanist Juan José Arévalo. Creating a Faculty of Humanities aims to bring humanitarian disciplines to the University. On December 5, the Commission presented the project for the Faculty of Humanities to the Higher University Council, together with the teaching and administrative planning and the Financial Plan¹⁹.

The Faculty of Humanities was launched on January 13-1945, and Jose Rölz Bennett was appointed interim Dean. It was not until August 21 1945 that the General Council of Universities unanimously appointed José Rölz Bennett as Dean: «Act No. 78, item 16, dated August 21-1945: The Higher University Council unanimously agreed to appoint Professor José Rölz Bennett²⁰, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities».

Facultad de Humanidades 1944-1947", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript; Virgilio Álvarez Aragón, *Conventos, aulas y trincheras, Universidad y movimiento estudiantil en Guatemala*. (FLACSO, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 2002).

¹⁸ Jose Mario García Laguardia, "La Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala. Perfil histórico y proceso de su autonomía". (Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos, 4, 2012), 158-159. [En la gesta popular que provoca su caída, en 1944, se produce un resurgir rampante del movimiento estudiantil, que en su *Ideario* incluye la restitución de la autonomía e importantes aspectos de la reforma. Y la Junta Revolucionaria que reemplaza al dictador, se apresura -Decreto 12 de 9 de noviembre- a declarar que la Universidad, esta vez «Nacional y de San Carlos», era autónoma en el cumplimiento de su misión científica y cultural, y en el orden administrativo y tenía personalidad jurídica para desarrollar sus fines, decisión que ratificó en diciembre, la asamblea legislativa].

¹⁹ José Rölz Bennett, "Primera Biografía y Proyecto de Creación de la Facultad de Humanidades. Archivo General de la Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala (AGU)", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.

²⁰ Artemís Torres Valenzuela, *Docencia y Humanismo en Guatemala*, (USAC, 2003), 36-37. «Founder and first elected Dean of the Faculty of Humanities for two consecutive terms. He was born in Quetzaltenango in 1918. He played an essential role in the June and October 1944 popular movements. Lawyer and notary graduated from the Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences of the University of San Carlos, promoter of the foundation of the School of

The first Board of Directors consisted of Doctors Luis Cardoza y Aragón, Ricardo Castañeda Paganini²¹ and Antonio Goubaud Carrera²², including Don Edelberto Torres Espinosa²³ and Don Alberto Velázquez as a member, and Don Raúl Osegueda as a secretary²⁴.

The Board's first requirement was to search for a Residence and appoint the delegated Professors and Lecturers. Initially, they attempted to rent building 51 on 9^a Av. Sur in the capital, but since this was not possible, the Faculty of Humanities was temporarily located in the building of the Faculty of Legal and Social Sciences (9^a Av. sur y 10^a Calle, Zona 1). Later, it moved to

Journalism, worked as a deputy in the Constituent Assembly (1945), professor in the Faculties of Humanities and Juridical and Social Sciences, and was recognised as an intellectual of international prestige». [Fundador y primer decano electo de la Facultad de Humanidades durante dos periodos consecutivos. Nació en Quetzaltenango en 1918. Participó de manera relevante en los movimientos populares de junio y octubre de 1944. Abogado y notario egresado de la Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales de la Universidad de San Carlos, promotor de la fundación de la Escuela de Periodismo, laboró como diputado en la Constituyente (1945), catedrático universitario de las Facultades de Humanidades y de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales, ocupó importantes cargos, fue reconocido como intelectual de prestigio internacional].

²¹ Ibid., 57. «Professor Ricardo Castañeda Paganini, originally from Quetzaltenango, graduated in Law from the University of Salamanca and received his doctorate in the same speciality from the Central University of Madrid»

²² Ibid., 66. Among these first professors appointed to the Faculty of Humanities, Professor Antonio Goubaud Carrera was also in charge of ethnic problems. Some educational centres contributing to his training were the German School, Belmont Military Academy, St. Mary's College in San Francisco, California, Harvard University and the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Chicago, where he studied social anthropology. With the collaboration of experts, he made a new linguistic map of the country, and created technical studies of the country's languages. Antonio Goubaud Carrera is Guatemala's first systematically trained anthropologist and Indigenous anthropologist.

²³ Arturo Taracena, *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*, (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 334. He was born in Managua in 1898. He was a teacher and writer. In July 1944, he was expelled from Guatemala for being one of the founders of the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Educación de Guatemala (SETG). On his return, he co-founded and taught at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of San Carlos. After the fall of Arbenz, as Director of the Tipografía Nacional, he was imprisoned for six months and then deported to Mexico.

²⁴ José Rölz Bennett, "Primera Biografía y Proyecto de Creación de la Facultad de Humanidades. Archivo General de la Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala (AGU)", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript; Jose Mario García Laguadía, "La Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala. Perfil histórico y proceso de su autonomía". (Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos, 4, 2012), 159; Arturo Taracena, *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*, (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 396.

the Instituto Nacional Central para Señoritas (9^a Av. y 14 calle, zona 1). At the end of the 1960s, it moved to the University Campus, Area 12, building S-5. It is currently in building S-4²⁵.

Inauguration of The Faculty of Humanities on September 17 1945

The inauguration of the Faculty of Humanities took place in the presence of President Juan José Arévalo, Doctor of Philosophy and Educational Sciences, the recently appointed Rector of the University Jose Rölz Bennett and Carlos Martínez Durán, a doctor by profession and a humanist by vocation; including the Higher University Council and Manuel Galich, Minister of Public Education. Dr. Sydney David Markman was also called upon for the inauguration.

Because of the need for more humanists among the people of Guatemala, foreign professors were called upon to fill the vacancies in the different disciplines. Dr. Eduardo García Máynez, Secretary General of UNAM in México; Samuel Ramos, Director of the Faculty of Philosophy; Antonio Caso, Luis Recaséns Siches and José Gaos, former Rector of the University of Madrid and then Rector of the University of Havana²⁶. Well-known professors and humanists from all over the world were also invited. They brought together the necessary professors to sow the foundations for the new harvest of the humanitarian discipline in Guatemala. As we shall see later, the professors exiled in México and Guatemala by Franco's regime also participated in this process.

After the Dean's inaugural address came José Mata Gavidia's lecture and also the lectures of two other foreign professors. *The non-conformity of man* [La inconformidad del hombre] by Alfonso Guillén Zelaya and *The ethical problem of freedom* [El problema ético de la libertad] by Eduardo García Máynez. All those from foreign education and culture who accepted the invitation were presented with the diploma of *Honorary Founding Professors* [Catedráticos fundadores]. Basque professor Jokín Zaitegi was among them²⁷.

²⁵ Universidad San Carlos, Nacional y Autónoma de Guatemala, "Memoria de Labores de la Facultad de Humanidades 1944-1947", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.

²⁶ Universidad San Carlos, Nacional y Autónoma de Guatemala, "Memoria de Labores de la Facultad de Humanidades 1944-1947", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.

²⁷ Ibid.

Syllabus

The main objective at all times was to complete the school project by September. The *syllabus* was based on the National Autonomous University of Mexico's programme (UNAM). They assumed the three objectives: one, research into scientific truth; two, the training of professionals in the field of knowledge; and three, the Faculty as a repository of culture. The objective of receiving and preserving the research and culture of scientific truth in the Faculty of Humanities fell squarely upon it. It was based, above all, on philosophical, literary, historical and pedagogical thought. In order to develop the figure of the cultural depository, direct contact with all the cultural institutions of the Republic was essential, including the National Library, archives, private and public cultural institutions, and museums²⁸.

The Faculty's initial programme was designed to accommodate the structure and curriculum of the four specialisations and allow students who wished to study up to two majors at a time. The curriculum was developed in four specialisations: Philosophy, Pedagogy, History and Literature. University studies were to lead to three possible degrees, aimed at secondary school teaching training, a bachelor's degree and a doctorate. In order to obtain a bachelor's degree, four years of study were required. On the other hand, two years of specialisation and preparing an original thesis were necessary to obtain a doctorate. The first year was common to all four specialisations. It included a living language course of choice and the respective *Introductions*.

Pedro Bosch Gimpera²⁹, who had adopted Mexican citizenship in 1942, was recruited from UNAM, where he taught at the Faculty of Philosophy. On October 2, 1945, he started the course with the subject *Introduction to History*³⁰.

²⁸ José Rölz Bennett, "Primera Biografía y Proyecto de Creación de la Facultad de Humanidades. Archivo General de la Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala (AGU)", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.

²⁹ Miguel Castro Gómez, "El aporte de los emigrantes españoles a la economía, cultura y educación de Guatemala en los años 1900-1968". 223-224. In 1931, he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at the University of Barcelona. However, his most outstanding achievement came in 1933, when the Generalitat granted Autonomy to the University, thus emphasising its Catalan identity. On December 13 of the same year, Dr Bosch was elected Rector, a position he held until his exile in 1939.

³⁰ Artemís Torres Valenzuela, *Docencia y Humanismo en Guatemala*, (USAC, 2003), 59. «Another professional appointed as a professor of the Faculty of Humanities was the Doctor of History Pedro Bosch Gimpera; this renowned intellectual worked as a professor in some universities in Mexico, in the National School of Anthropology of the same country, he was also Rector of the University of Barcelona, honorary member of the Royal Anthropological

Table 1. **Syllabus.**

Course	Philosophy	Pedagogy	History	Arts
1	Introduction to Philosophy – Introduction to Pedagogy Introduction to History – Introduction to Literature – Living Language			
2	History of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy Logic Biology Anthropology General Psychology Living language	History of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy Logic Biology History of Education General Psychology Living language	General and American Prehistory Ancient History Human Geography Anthropology General Psychology Living language	Spanish Literature Latin Greek History of the Spanish Language General Psychology Living language
3	History of Modern Philosophy Gnoseology and Metaphysics Sociology General Didactics Living Language	History of Modern Philosophy History of Education Sociology General Didactics Child and Adolescent Psychology Living Language	History of the Middle Ages American History Sociology General Didactics Living Language	Spanish Literature Ibero-American Literature French and Italian literature Latin 2 course Greek 2 course Living Language
4	Contemporary Philosophy Ethics Aesthetics History of Science Special didactics and teaching practice History of Central America Living Language	Contemporary Philosophy Ethics Education policy Experimental Pedagogical Psychology Special didactics and teaching practice History of Central America Living Language	Modern and Contemporary History American History II History of Art Special didactics and teaching practice History of Central America Living Language	Greek and Latin literature English and German literature Philology Latin 3rd grade Special didactics and teaching practice History of Central America or History of Art Living Language

Source: Primera biografía, n.d., Archivo General de la Universidad San Carlos (AGU).

During this first year, Professor Edelberto Torres taught *Introduction to Pedagogy* on an interim basis until the incorporation of Professor Juan Mantovani, *Introduction to Literature* by Professor David Vela, and *Introduction*

Institute of Great Britain and the Society of Antiquaries of London, which corresponded to the Hispania: Society of America [Otro profesional nombrado como profesor de la Facultad de Humanidades fue el Doctor en Historia Pedro Bosch Gimpera, este reconocido intelectual laboró como profesor en algunas universidades de México, en la Escuela Nacional de Antropología de ese mismo país, fue, además, Rector de la Universidad de Barcelona, miembro de honor del Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain y de la Society of Antiquaries of London, que era correspondiente de la Hispania: Society of America].

to *Philosophy* by Professor Rölz Bennett. All these courses were included in the Bachelor's degree in Philosophy, Pedagogy, History and Literature Curriculum. Enrolment for the first year was 258 students (regular and auditory). The Faculty also issued certificates of attendance for auditory students.

The General Archive of the Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (AGU) lists at the beginning of the 1945 academic year Isidro Lemus Dimas in Anthropology, Rafael Iriarte Orantes as Professor of French Language, and Alex Grundig in German Language.

3. *International staff in the Faculty of Humanities*

The following tables show the configuration of the teaching staff in the 1946-1947, 1947-1948 and 1948-1949 academic years. The first table refers to 1946 and shows the new teachers, mainly from Mexico and Spain, recruited to meet the demand for the second year. These teachers were trained in different humanitarian disciplines to meet the needs when the number of students in the second year was about to double.

In the same document, the following professors are also mentioned: Licenciado Hugo Cerezo Dardón³¹, Professor of Introduction to Literature [Catedrático Extraordinario en Introducción a la Literatura], Doctor Thomas Irving Professor of Introduction to History [Catedrático Extraordinario en Introducción a la Historia], Manuel Luis Escamilla Professor of Introduction to Pedagogy [Catedrático Extraordinario en Introducción a la Pedagogía]. Doctor Antonio Román Durán Professor of Introduction to Psychology [Catedrático Extraordinario en Introducción a la Pedagogía], Doctor Rafael de Buen³², Professor of Biology [Catedrático Extraordinario en Biología]; Bachelor Antonio Goubaud Carrera, Professor of Anthropology [Catedrático Extraordinario en Antropología]; Doctor Laudelino Moreno Professor of Geography [Catedrático Extraordinario en Geografía]; Pedro Bosch-Gimpera³³ Extraordinary

³¹ Jose Rölz Bennet was Dean of the Faculty of Humanities from its foundation until 1954. Manuel Luis Escamilla briefly replaced him, but Hugo Cerezo Dardón took over the post in the same year and was Dean from 1954 to 1958, and from 1962 to 1966.

³² Arturo Taracena, *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*, (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017), 386-409. A short biography of Rafael de Buen's family is published in Taracena's work.

³³ Yolanda Gil Blasco, "Los costes del franquismo para la universidad española y para los profesores exiliados. El Caso de Pere Bosch-Gimpera", *Historiografías*, 3, (2012): 53-54. DOI: https://doi.org/10.26754/ojs_historiografias/hrht.201232495. El citado expediente nos permite conocer detalles de la docencia mexicana de Bosch Gimpera; nos revela que desde

Professor of General and American Prehistory, and Ancient History [Catedrático Extraordinario de Prehistoria General e Historia Antigua], Doctor Joaquín Zaitegi y Plazaola Professor of Greek Language [Catedrático Extraordinario de Idioma Griego], Professor José Mata Gavidia Professor of Latin Language [Catedrático Extraordinario de idioma Latín] and Professors Jacques Figué and Loetitia de Figué Professor of French Language and Literature³⁴.

All the positions must be obtained through competitive examinations³⁵. However, new professors were selected from universities of international prestige in the first call for applications. That same year, Pedro Bosch Gimpera obtained the *Chair of History* and Manuel Cabrera Macías the *Chair of Philosophy*, and Juan Mantovani, Argentinean pedagogue and Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Educational Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires, obtained the *Chair of Pedagogy*. In this list, we also include Dr. Thomas B. Irving and the son of the famous Guatemalan poet José Mata Gavidia, Antonio Gavidia, among others. Jokin Zaitegi Plazaola also obtained a professorship in the 1946 academic year. It is worth mentioning that Zaitegi became a naturalised Guatemalan citizen and obtained his nationality in 1952³⁶.

For the third course in 1947, the list of professors grown and Antonio Goubaud Carrera, Isidro Lemus Dimas, Rafael Iriarte Orantes, Alex Grundig, Almonte C. Howell, Ernesto Mencos, Robert B. MacVean and C. L. Hulet appear as a professor.

julio de 1942 éste daba clases, en su nuevo destino de exiliado, de variadas materias con un dedicación de diez horas semanales. Estaba adscrito a la Escuela de Verano dependiente de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, encargo que continuaría. Dos años más tarde logró dos horas semanales en la Facultad, que compaginaría con la Escuela de Verano. Y así continuó como profesor de dicha Facultad durante tres décadas. Cabe señalar que su nombramiento no era a tiempo completo, por lo que su sueldo guardaba una estrecha relación con sus horas de clase y era, sin duda, reducido. No es extraño, por tanto, encontrarlo impartiendo docencia en otras instituciones mexicanas como la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (a partir de 1941), el Mexico City College (entre 1943 y 1945) o, incluso, fuera del país, en la Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, entre 1945 y 1947. En la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM continuó hasta 1974, si bien con algunas interrupciones.

³⁴ Universidad San Carlos, Nacional y Autónoma de Guatemala, "Memoria de adata, typescript.

³⁵ José Rölz Bennett, "Primera Biografía y Proyecto de Creación de la Facultad de Humanidades. Archivo General de la Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala (AGU)", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript. «It was also agreed to approve the provision that applicants for language professorships must first take a competitive examination».

³⁶ Jon Diaz Egurbide, *Jokin Zaitegiren ekarpenak euskal curriculumean: eginak eta asmoak*, (Utriusque Vasconiae, 2012), 173-176.

Table 2. **Years 1946 and 1947.**

Professors	Chairs jobs	Background
Dr. Hugo Cerezo Dardón	(1946). Introduction to Literature; History of Education; Spanish Literature & Seminar on Literature	Bachelor of Arts from Universidad Autónoma de Mexico (UNAM), and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities (USAC)
Dr. Thomas B. Irving	(1946). Introduction to History; Introduction to Philology; Spanish Literature & Spanish Literature Seminary	Bachelor of Modern Languages from the University of Toronto and Doctor of Near Eastern Studies from Princeton University
Dr. Luis Escamilla	(1946). Introduction to Pedagogy	Graduate in The Normal School of Teachers, El Salvador, and Doctor of Educational Sciences
Dr. Antonio Román Durán	(1946). General Psychology	Medical degree from the Faculty of Medical Sciences (Cadiz) at The University of Sevilla. Professor of Psychology at the University of Santo Domingo. Director of the Center of Psychological Research at the Faculty of Humanities (USAC).
Dr. Rafael de Buen y Lozano	(1946). Biology	Doctor of Studies of the Seabed from the Universidad Central de Madrid. Professor of Botany at the National Biological Sciences of the Mexican National Polytechnic Institute.
Dr. Laudelino Moreno	(1946). Geography. General and American History, Ancient History, and Director of the Prehistory Seminar.	Professor of Law, Doctor of Law, Universidad de Madrid
Dr. Pedro Bosch Gimpera	(1946). General and American History; Ancient History; and Director of the Prehistory Seminar	Degree in Philosophy and Arts and Law from the University of Barcelona and a Doctor of Law and Arts at the Universidad Central de Madrid. Dean of the University of Barcelona from 1933 to 1939.
PhD Joaquin de Zaitegui	(1946). Greek Language	Bachelor's Degree of Arts (Loyola) and PhD of Philosophy at Universidad Pontificia de Oña (Burgos), Theology at Society of Jesus (Marneffe & Morialmé, Belgium). Director of the Rafael Landibar School and Instituto América in Guatemala.
Dr. Jose Mata Gavidia	(1947). Latin Language	Philosophy at the Society of Jesus at Santa Tecla, and a Bachelor's Degree in Humanities at the Faculty of Humanities (USAC). Dean of the Faculty of Humanities (USAC) in 1958.

Professors	Chairs jobs	Background
BA. Antonio Goubaud Carrera	(1947). Anthropology	Bachelor's Degree in Social Anthropology and Master of Arts at the University of Chicago.
BA. Isidro Lemus Dimas	(1947). Sociology	San Carlos University of Guatemala (USAC)
Dr. Rafael Iriarte Orantes	(1947). French Language	Full Professor, Faculty of Humanities (USAC)
BA. Alex Grundig	(1947). German Language	Full Professor, Faculty of Humanities (USAC)
BA. Almonte C. Howell	(1947). English Language	PhD of Arts and Sciences at the University of North Carolina
Ernesto Mencos; Robert B. Mac Vean and C. L. Hulet	(1947). English Language	

Source: Primera biografía, n.d. (AGU).

In 1947, the Faculty of Humanities began developing new programmes of study and offering new courses. In July and August, the Summer School, attached to the Faculty of Humanities, was set up to accredit the Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala internationally. The objective was to give international accreditation and attract North American students to carry out studies related to national topics. That first year, about 150 students from the United States and Canada came to the country.

In 1948, Dr Carlos Martínez Durán, Mr José Rölz Bennett and Mr Enrique Chaluleu Gálvez began analysing the creation of a School of Journalism in the Higher University Council. The Council approved the syllabus for the new school, which will initially be attached to the Faculty of Humanities³⁷. In 1952, The Central American School of Journalism (ECAP) began its academic activities. Three years of study were required to grant the title of Professional Journalist at the intermediate level, but five years for the academic degree of Licentiate in Journalism.

On February 1, 1948, The School of Library Science was officially inaugurated by the first Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, who introduced the only Professor who would develop the first curriculum of the School, Mr. Gonzalo Dardón Córdova. From February 3 to October 31, Gonzalo Dardón Córdoba gave an experimental free course in Library Science at the Faculty of Humanities. Those who attended the course received the Diploma of *Aptitude in Library Science*. This course can be considered the beginning of library

³⁷ José Rölz Bennett, "Primera Biografía y Proyecto de Creación de la Facultad de Humanidades. Archivo General de la Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala (AGU)", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.

Table 2. **The year 1948.**

Professors	Chairs jobs	Background
Dr. Eduardo Nicol	History of Greek Philosophy	Mexico UNAM & University of Barcelona
Dr. Raul Osegueda	Child and adolescent psychology	Minister of Education in the Argentine Republic; Professor of Pedagogy at the University of La Plata.
Bachelor J. Joaquín Pardo Gallardo	History of Central America	Director of the General Archives of the Republic, and President of the Association of Geography and History
Bachelor Maria Solá de Sellares	Advanced Spanish Grammar	University of Valencia; Director of the Female Normal School of Belen, Guatemala
Dr. Flavio Herrera	Hispano-American Literature	Faculty of Humanities (USAC)
Dr. Vicente P. Quintero	History of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy	University of La Plata
Bachelor Ricardo Castañeda Paganini	American History	Bachelor's in Diplomacy from the University of Salamanca, Spain; Secretary of the Embassy of Guatemala in Madrid and Ambassador of Guatemala in Cuba (1948); a Guatemalan delegate diplomat to the United Nations—Minister of Education during the Government of President Juan José Arévalo and Director of the National Library.
Bachelor Manuel Luis Escamilla	Introduction of Pedagogy, Didactics & History of Education	Faculty of Humanities (USAC)

Source: Primera biografía, n.d. (AGU).

studies in Guatemala. During the first years, the function of the school was considered *Cultural extension work* and not a central teaching activity of the Faculty of Humanities. From its beginnings until 1955, the study time was set at one year for Assistant Librarian and two years for Librarian. However, in 1955, the School of Librarianship, attached to the Department of History, received a new impetus with the change from an annual to a semester system and was given more presence to practical work and research. In 1962, a Bachelor's degree in Library Science was established. In 1964, student enrolment rose to 114 students for the three specialisations³⁸.

The last table available in the Memoria de Labores corresponds to 1949.

³⁸ Petrona Villatoro de Rivas, *La Bibliotecología: sus profesionales en Guatemala 1948-1986*, (Guatemala: Tópicos Bibliotecológicos nº3, Facultad de Humanidades, 1989), 1-18.

Table 3. The year 1949.

Professors	Chairs jobs	Background
Dr. Salvador Aguado Andreut	Latin Language	Full Professor of Philology and Literature and Director of the Chair of Language of the School of General Studies, USAC
Dr. Heinrich Berlín	Prehistory, History	BA Philosophy and Arts, and Doctor of Antrophology, Universidad Autónoma de Mexico, UNAM
Dr. Carlos Federico Mora	Psychology	Faculty of Humanities (USAC)
Dr. Ricardo Ponce	Psychology	Faculty of Humanities (USAC)
Dr. José Russo Delgado	Philosophy	University of San Carlos de Lima
Dr. Amador Pereira	Pedagogy	University of Madrid
Dr. Andrés Towsend Escurra	History of America	Doctor of Law from the University of La Plata
Bachelor Jorge del Valle Matheu	Sociology	Faculty of Humanities (USAC)
Bachelor. Roberto Girón Lemus	Literature	Autonomous University of Mexico, UNAM
Walter A. Payne	English Language	Director of the Summer School (USAC)
BA Gonzalo Dardón Cordova	Bibliothecology	BA Bibliothecology at the University of Michigan. Chair of Bibliothecology in the School of Bibliothecology at the Faculty of Humanities (USAC) (Villatoro, 1989)
Fernando de León Porras	Psychology	

Source: Primera biografía, n.d. (AGU).

4. Cultural and Educational Development of the Revolution

To conclude this brief article, it is necessary to mention some of the contributions of the revolutionary process. Most were considered social adjustment, resulting from the Decree creating the National Literacy Committee. Others had the character of national development according to the Decree granting Autonomy to the University of Guatemala³⁹.

³⁹ Carlos González Orellana, “Desarrollo cultural y educativo de Guatemala durante la revolución de octubre de 1944”. Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript. «The University, through Autonomy, broadens the input and participation of students and Faculty in the internal government of the University and gives it absolute freedom for its expansion and scientific and technical development. Autonomy gave the University a new dynamic in its growth and new alternatives for academic activity, especially with the foundation of the Faculty of Humanities, which was a dream of the intellectual sectors of the country and which came to

During Juan José Arévalo's first government, several literacy campaigns covered essential sectors of the population. The work continued during the second government under Jacobo Arbenz and was adapted to the new circumstances that demanded *agrarian reform* in the rural world. Although we wanted to highlight the foundation of the Faculty of Humanities as a milestone of the Revolution, the revolutionary impulse supported education and also influenced many of the changes generated in cultural aspects⁴⁰. The National Indigenist Institute was founded on August 28, 1945, for the first time. As we mentioned, the first director was Mr. Antonio Goubaud Carrera⁴¹. Other disciplines were also established, such as, the *Institute of Anthropology and History*, the *General Directorate of Fine Arts*, and the *General Directorate of Libraries*⁴².

The national education system grew significantly, something that has never happened before in the Republic's history. Quantitatively and qualitatively, the doctrine of the Revolution and the approach to freedom stand out. Adult education and literacy classes promote people's development in marginalised sectors and expand primary education.

endow the Nation with historicity» [La Universidad, mediante la autonomía, amplía la entrada y participación del alumnado y del profesorado al gobierno interno de la Universidad y le da libertad absoluta para su expansión y desarrollo científico y técnico. La autonomía imprimió a la Universidad una nueva dinámica en su crecimiento y nuevas alternativas a la actividad académica, sobre todo al crearse la facultad de humanidades, que ere un sueño de los sectores intelectuales del país; y que vino a dotar de historicidad a la Nación].

⁴⁰ Artemís Torres Valenzuela, *Docencia y Humanismo en Guatemala*, (USAC, 2003), 10. «This revolutionary project showed its excellent work in the cultural field, putting into practice the most diverse initiatives, both in achieving the extension of elementary education - including literacy campaigns, the creation of schools, teacher training, and cultural missions - and the introduction of qualitative changes in the university sphere. The creation of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of San Carlos de Guatemala was the intellectual seed of the *humanist socialism* that inspired the thinking and work of President Juan José Arévalo. Thus, from its inception, the Faculty of Humanities sought to link itself to the national reality and respond to social demands, reinforcing social and cultural democracy» [Este proyecto revolucionario mostró su gran labor en el campo cultural, poniendo en práctica las más diversas iniciativas, tanto en la consecución de la extensión de la educación elemental -campanas de alfabetización, creación de escuelas, capacitación de maestros, misiones culturales, etc.- como la introducción de cambios cualitativos en el ámbito universitario. La creación de la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, constituyó el germen intelectual del *socialismo humanista* que inspiraba el pensamiento y la obra del presidente Juan José Arévalo. De tal forma que desde su inicio la Facultad de Humanidades pretendió vincularse a la realidad nacional y responder a las demandas sociales, reforzando la democracia social y cultural].

⁴¹ Carolina Barrero Anleu, "Antonio Goubaud Carrera. Su aporte a la antropología guatemalteca", (Bachelor thesis, Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala, 2000).

⁴² Carlos González Orellana, "Historia de la educación en Guatemala", (PhD thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1960), 402-410.

The postulates of the Revolution were incorporated into the educational sphere; there was unprecedented quantitative growth in the national education system. In the qualitative aspect, it was given a greater widespread scope. Attention began to be paid to large marginalised sectors of the population, where the message of social vindication, the spirit of justice and the dissemination of fundamental knowledge necessary to promote the legitimate development of the country⁴³.

At the same time, the construction of new educational centres in small municipalities was promoted, as well as the opening of specific programmes for children, canteens and kindergartens, health centres, and nursing homes. «When the foundations of educational planning are laid, on the one hand, as the illiterate is a sector not empowered in the democratic functioning, practical educational efforts were guaranteed to recover the democratic foundations». According to the data referenced in the work of González Orellana:

In 1950, statistics show that 15,453 children died because of lack of medical care, misery or ignorance. In the same year, 64 per cent of school-age children did not attend any educational institution, adding to the high rate of illiteracy in the country. About 34,000 children did not attend school because they had to help support the household with their work. Poverty and the lack of educational centres in sufficient numbers prevented large masses of peasant children from benefiting from educational services. Remember that 89.2% of the Indigenous school population does not attend school and that in urban areas, only 19% of the school population attends school⁴⁴.

Legislative changes were also established in child protection, gender and family reconciliation. Revolutionary legislation, starting with the Cons-

⁴³ Carlos González Orellana, "Desarrollo cultural y educativo de Guatemala durante la revolución de octubre de 1944". Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript. [En el orden educativo se produce un crecimiento cuantitativo sin precedente, del sistema educativo nacional; y en el aspecto cualitativo, se incorporan los postulados de la Revolución. Se da a la educación mayores alcances populares y se inicia la atención de grandes sectores marginados de la población, a donde se procuró trasladar el mensaje de reivindicación social, el espíritu de justicia y la divulgación de conocimientos básicos, necesarios para impulsar el desarrollo legítimo del país]

⁴⁴ Carlos González Orellana, "Historia de la educación en Guatemala", (PhD thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1960), 417. [Todavía en 1950 registran las estadísticas que 15,453 niños murieron por falta de asistencia médica, por miseria o por ignorancia. En este mismo año un 64% de los niños en edad escolar no asistieron a ningún centro educativo, sumándose un alto índice de analfabetismo que existe en el país y cerca de 34,000 niños no asistían a la escuela por tener que ayudar con su trabajo al sostenimiento del hogar. La pobreza y la falta de centros educativos en suficiente número impedían que grandes masas infantiles campesinas gozaran de los servicios pedagógicos. Recordemos que el 89,2% de la población escolar indígena no concurre a la escuela, y que en las zonas urbanas sólo el 19% de la población escolar concurre a los centros de educación].

titution of the Republic promulgated on March 11-1945, protected working mothers and minor children. Article 58 ensured better working conditions for mothers-to-be, stating that «no distinction may be made between married and unmarried women for work», and the Law shall regulate maternity protection for working women, who may not be required to do work requiring considerable physical effort for three months prior to giving birth.

In short, although we have recalled and highlighted the changes introduced by the Revolution in the educational system, especially at the literacy and university levels, we would like to say that the Revolutionary Junta took over the two extremes of education: the National Literacy Committee and the Decree of Autonomy of the University of San Carlos. Academic life was invigorated under the auspices of the Decree of Autonomy of the University. Moreover, the Faculty of Humanities became a reality, the most cherished aspiration of Guatemala's intellectuals and humanists. These measures were honestly based during two periods of literacy: first, when Dr Juan José Arévalo was president, and during the mandate of General Jacobo Árbenz, in the shadow of the Agrarian Reform. When the Government of Guatemala tried to establish measures to respond to the needs of the rural and peasant demands, a new coup d'état returned to the pre-revolutionary situation⁴⁵.

After President Jacobo Árbenz resigned in June 1954, over 800 people—many of them Spanish Republicans—sought asylum in foreign embassies in Guatemala, either due to their support for the overthrown regime or their status as refugees⁴⁶. These exiles, particularly the Spanish Republicans, were quickly labeled as communists by the new Guatemalan government and the United States within the broader context of the Cold War and CIA intervention. Their militant involvement in the Spanish Civil War, their time in exile in France, and the support they had received from the Árbenz administration reinforced this perception. The CIA had already identified several of them on lists of alleged communists, reinforcing the narrative of an international communist conspiracy used to justify repression and a new forced exile.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 314-315.

⁴⁶ For further information or detail about the Republican intellectuals who were considered communists by the Government of Guatemala, and those who applied for exile in 1954 after the coup d'état, go to: Arturo Taracena Arriola, *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*. (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017) 295-320. Isaias Rebolledo, Rafael de Buen, Antonio de Zugadi, Antonio Román Durán, Maria Solá de Sellarès, took refuge in Mexico.

References

- Álvarez Aragón, Virgilio. *Conventos, aulas y trincheras, Universidad y movimiento estudiantil en Guatemala*. Guatemala: FLACSO, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 2002.
- Álvarez Aragón, Virgilio. *Conventos, aulas y trincheras: El sueño de transformar*. Guatemala: FLACSO, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 2002.
- Álvarez Sánchez, Adriana. "Las Cátedras de lenguas Indígenas en la Universidad del Reino de Guatemala, Siglos XVII-XIX". *Estudios de Cultura Maya* (2014): 119-139.
- Barrero Anleu, Carolina. "Antonio Goubaud Carrera. Su aporte a la antropología guatemalteca". Bachelor thesis, Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala, 2000.
- Blasco Gil, Yolanda. "Los costes del franquismo para la universidad española y para los profesores exiliados. El caso de Pere Bosch-Gimpera". *Historiografías: revista de historia y teoría*, nº3, (2012): 45-81. DOI: https://doi.org/10.26754/ojs_historiografias/hrht.201232495
- Blasco Gil, Yolanda, y Mancebo Alonso, M. F.: «Pere Bosch Gimpera y Luis Recasens Siches. Profesores exiliados y provisión de sus cátedras», en *Estudios y testimonios sobre el exilio español en México. Una visión sobre su presencia en las Humanidades*, Armando Pavón Romero, Clara Inés Ramírez González y Ambrosio Velasco Gómez (coords.), (Bonilla Artigas-Conacyt, 2016), 311-334.
- Castro Gómez, Miguel. "El aporte de los emigrantes españoles a la economía, cultura y educación de Guatemala en los años 1900-1968". PhD thesis, Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2013. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24310/TSN.2023.vi15.18160>
- Díaz Egurbide, Jon. *Jokin Zaitegiren ekarpenak euskal curriculumean: eginak eta asmoak*. Utriusque Vasconiae, 2012.
- Gandarias, Ziortza. "Jokin Zaitegi erbestetik Euskal komunitate irudikatua eraikitzen". En *Exilio y humanidades: las rutas de la cultura: ochenta años después*. San Sebastián: Hamaika Bide Elkarte (2021): 93-104.
- García Laguardia, José Mario. "La Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala. Perfil histórico y proceso de su autonomía". *Anuario de Estudios Centroamericanos*, 4 (2012): 155-161. Disponible en <https://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/anuario/article/view/3307>

- González Orellana, Carlos. "Historia de la educación en Guatemala". PhD thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1960. Disponible en <https://repositorio.unam.mx/contenidos/94199>
- Iztueta Armendáriz, Paulo. *Erbesteko euskal pentsamendua: bi belaunaldikoen lekukoak: "Euzko-Gogoa" eta "Zabal"*. Donostia: Utriusque Vasconiae, 2000.
- Taracena Arriola, Arturo. *Guatemala, la República Española y el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio (1944-1954)*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017.
- Tischler Visquerra, Sergio. *Guatemala 1944: crisis y revolución: ocaso y quiebre de una forma estatal*. Guatemala: Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción, Universidad de San Carlos, 1998.
- Torres Valenzuela, Artemis. *Docencia y Humanismo en Guatemala*. Guatemala: Centro de Estudios Folclóricos, USAC, 2003.
- Villatoro de Rivas, Petrona. *La Bibliotecología: sus profesionales en Guatemala 1948-1986*, Guatemala: Tópicos Bibliotecológicos nº3, Facultad de Humanidades, 1989. Disponible en <https://sistemas.iibi.unam.mx/biblioteca/pavd/latpdf/LAT001581.pdf>

Unpublished documents

- González Orellana, Carlos. "Desarrollo cultural y educativo de Guatemala durante la revolución de octubre de 1944". Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.
- Rölz Bennett, José. "Primera Biografía y Proyecto de Creación de la Facultad de Humanidades. Archivo General de la Universidad San Carlos de Guatemala (AGU)", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.
- Universidad San Carlos, Nacional y Autónoma de Guatemala, "Memoria de Labores de la Facultad de Humanidades 1944-1947", Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.
- Universidad San Carlos, Nacional y Autónoma de Guatemala, "Memoria de la Facultad de Humanidades, año 1947". Unpublished manuscript, no data, typescript.