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Title: Yaeko Nogami's Travelogue about the Basque Country: Implications for a Transnational Perspective for Basque Studies

Abstract: Basque Studies, with reference to its transnationality, have so far faced a certain unintended limit of range: on one hand, Basque Studies outside the Basque homeland are primarily conducted in the Basque diaspora communities, and on the other hand, even if they are not, a majority of those engaged in Basque Studies at some point in time until now share a cultural or religious background of Christianity. To stretch this limit of range, the author illustrates the perception of "Basque" as an idea in modern Japan and its use as a vehicle of a travelogue by the Japanese novelist Yaeko Nogami (1885–1985) in her journey to the Basque Country in the days leading up to World War II. Then, the author argues that Nogami's non-orientalist, realistic description and level-headed insight into the Basque Country at that epoch can undoubtedly be considered an eclectic, pluralistic contribution to transnational perspectives in the early days of Basque Studies.

Keywords Basque Studies, transnationality, world literature, travelogue, external image, historiography

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Approach to the historical context of the transnationality of Basque Studies

The history of Basque Studies did not involve the progressive development of a single discipline but rather the confluence of several discursive currents in late 19th-century Bascology, each one of which defined its object of study in a different way. Such definitions predetermined the range of expectations and possibilities for the nascent discipline. In fact, the strategy of the journal *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* (RIEV, founded in 1907 by Julio de Urquijo)¹ was characterized by the integration of two traditions: one “local,” linked to Basque homeland, and the other “foreign,” related to European Bascology (Anduaga 2022a). These traditions influenced the way in which Basque Studies were constituted as a subject of academic inquiry through the foundation of an international journal (RIEV) and the organization of several institutions and congresses.² The successive establishment of Basque Studies Society (*Eusko Ikaskuntza/Sociedad de Estudios Vascos*)³ in 1918 and the Royal Academy of Basque Language (*Euskaltzaindia*)⁴ in 1919 meant the first steps toward the constitution of Basque Studies.⁵

Since then, despite difficult periods during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), World War II (1939–1945), and the Francoist regime (1939–1975),⁶ Basque Studies have expanded not only in Europe but also in the Americas (Hagio 2013). The mechanisms of transnational development through which Basque Studies evolved can be summarized in the following three aspects, as put forward by Aitor Anduaga (Anduaga 2022b): 1) the deployment of a transnational scholarly network, whose groundwork was laid by the journal RIEV and the Basque Studies Society; 2) the mobility linked to exile and the intellectual diaspora⁷, whose intellectual results were achieved by editorial houses as *Ekin*, the American Institute of Basque Studies (*Instituto Americano de Estudios Vascos*) in Buenos Aires (Beramendi 2012), and others; and 3) the politics of transnational scholarly exchange and scholarships, which was headed by the Center for Basque Studies in Reno (Douglass 2006. Oiarzabal 2007) from the 1960s and by the University of the Basque Country since the late 1980s, and which is still occasionally supported by the Basque Autonomous Government.

¹ The emergence of this journal has some short-lived but prestigious regionalist antecedents over the second half of the 19th century: *Sociedad Euskara* and *Sociedad Euskalerra*. However, if we focus on the significant international dimension of Basque Studies, there is no question in considering the publication of the RIEV as a starting point.

² For the history of RIEV, see Monreal (2001). For 19th-century Bascology historiography, see Gómez (1997).

³ For the institutional history of Eusko Ikaskuntza, see: Estornés (1983) and Aguirre Sorondo (2018). On the role of Eusko Ikaskuntza in the construction of a Basque nationality, see Estornés (1990).

⁴ Noteworthy literature on the history of Euskaltzaindia and the Basque language institutionalization includes Goenaga (1999), Irujo and Urrutia (2022), Zalbide and Atxaga (2003) and Torrealdai and Urria (2009).

⁵ On the relationship between Basque Studies and the institutionalization of the Basque language see Anduaga (in press), who has suggested that the academic and social legitimation of Basque Studies was a key factor in the early process of standardization of the Basque language.

⁶ During this period, Eusko Ikaskuntza moved its activities base to the Basque Country in France, and the publication of RIEV was suspended until 1983, when it was reissued. As for Euskaltzaindia, it was not until the late 1960s, when it proposed a common written Basque language (*euskara batua*), that its activities became active enough to have a social impact.

⁷ Anduaga considers the notion of intellectual diaspora as the intellectual exiles provoked by the successive wars and political cleansing campaigns, especially considering the emigration of Basque scholars and Bascologists caused by the Spanish Civil War and the persecution of Basque nationalists and republicans under the Franco regime (Anduaga 2022b). A similar notion was elaborated by Henry Kamen in the Spanish cultural context: elite diaspora. In this regard, see Kamen (2008).

In fact, the early subject domains of Basque Studies were primarily linguistics, history, folklore, and anthropology; subsequently, it spread to various areas of the discipline and, in some cases, across disciplines. The transnationality of Basque Studies, however, has a certain unintended limit of range; on one hand, Basque Studies outside the Basque homeland are often conducted either in relation to the Basque diaspora communities or associated with Basque missionary activities, and on the other hand, even if they are not, the majority of those engaged in Basque Studies have a cultural or religious background of Christianity.

If we consider the Basque image—an important theme in Basque Studies—we can easily comprehend that such external perspectives have been confined within the above-mentioned framework.⁸ In fact, the elaboration of the Basque image, especially in the process of the modern nation-state constructions of France and Spain from 19th century onward, was accompanied by the search for a historical, often imaginary, reflection on their own past. From the 1830s to 1870s, Basque historiography developed in Paris, Madrid, London, and other Western European cities, thereby advancing the representation of the historical, ethnic, and political image of the Basque Country (Sánchez-Prieto 1993. Agirreazkuenaga 2016).

The process of nation-state integration caused a long-distance mass migration of people as a consequence of frequent wars between traditional conservatives and modern liberals since the French Revolution. Industrialization and the energy revolution (use of coal) that began in England, as well as the transportation revolution (railroads and steamships), also encouraged migration. Throughout the 19th century, a few hundred thousand Basques fled abroad due to political conflicts, economic deprivation, and the desire to evade military service, among other reasons.

However, since Napoleon's invasion of Spain at the beginning of the 19th century, the Basque coastal area has seen resort development, starting with the coast of Biarritz. This coincided with the "Hispanicism" craze of the time, and the Basque Country became a favorite destination for Romantic writers such as Victor Hugo, Stendhal, Théophile Gautier, Hippolyte Taine, Prosper Mérimée, Alexandre Dumas, Pierre Loti, and Edmond Rostand (VV. AA. 2002), as well as for the conservative ruling and/or leisured classes in Paris.

The prototype of these literary circles might be found in the travel writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt⁹ in the beginning of the 19th century. However, far more important for this article is the work entitled *Voyage en Navarre pendant l'insurrection des Basques (Journey to Navarre during the Basque uprising)*, written by Joseph Augustin Chaho¹⁰ in 1836 and published by a Parisian travel publications company. Chaho was born in the Soule region, and his work was the starting point of a new genre of Basque travel literature despite his own intentions. It enhanced the Parisian literary circles of the time to travel to the Basque Country, giving them a Romantic and Orientalist flavor (Gabilondo 2016) only to contribute to the conventional image of the traditional, pious Basque people resisting modernization and the idyllic Basque Country.

Since then, moving portrayals of the Basque Country and its people have been made by intellectuals and cultural figures outside the Basque Country, such as Romantic writers

⁸ For example, an anthology of foreigners' views on the Basque Country from antiquity to the 20th century (Diaz de Tuesta, 2006) does not include any records of non-Western figures in spite of its original point of view.

⁹ On Wilhelm von Humboldt's thought about the "Basque nation" and his anthropological and linguistic view of the Basque people, see Humboldt (2013) and Zabaleta-Gorrotxategi (2003). See also Juaristi (1992), Garate (1933), and Sarrionaindia (2000).

¹⁰ Chaho frequented Charles Nodier's literary circle during his student days in Paris. With reference to the relationship between Chaho and German-French romanticism in literature, see Gabilondo (2016).

beginning with Victor Hugo¹¹ followed by Louis-Lucien Bonaparte¹² and other comparative linguists, Ernest Hemingway,¹³ and many other writers of various genres in the 20th century. Further, although the Basque Country and its people have tended to be the subject of individual studies (e.g., monographs), comprehensive comparative studies of such images created outside Basque Country have rarely been conducted so far.¹⁴

Before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s, most of the writers outside Basque Country who produced different Basque images were, as noted above, of Basque origin or otherwise possessed a cultural and/or religious Christian background. They were also mostly men. In this context, the author argues for the possibility of transcending this limited range of Basque images and amplifying a transnational perspective of Basque Studies by highlighting the significance of the 1939 travelogue on Basque Country written by Yaeko Nogami, a female Japanese novelist, after briefly outlining the formation of Basque images among Japanese nationals in the early 20th century.

Formation of the prototype of the image of Basque culture in Japan¹⁵

The generally accepted view is that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to disembark in Japan in 1543. Then in 1549, a Jesuit named Francisco Xavier (1506–1552), from the Kingdom of Navarra and of Basque origin, arrived in Japan with the mission of propagating Christianity there. Even today, many Japanese people still consider this the moment when Japan first encountered Europe.

Shortly thereafter, the Edo shogunate, established in 1603, banned Christianity after 1612 and adopted an isolationist policy in the late 1630s, closing its doors to foreign countries except the Netherlands, China, and two neighboring countries. In 1868, the Meiji Restoration put an end to this 250-year-old feudal political system and began to modernize Japan by selectively advancing science, technology, economic and political systems, and modern thought from the West to the country with the introduction of numerous diplomats, scholars, experts, and traders.

As Japan was westernized, an image of Basque culture gradually formed there. In this historical context, the notes on the Basque Country around 1900 by Naojiro Murakami (1868–1966), a pioneer in the study of history of Japan-Europe relations, became the prototype for the image of Basque culture in Japan that still exists to this day to some extent: “The Basques are descendants of the Iberian race, the oldest inhabitants of Hispania, and they adhere to the ancient customs and habits of this mountainous region and speak a special language not unlike

¹¹ The relationship between the French writer Victor Hugo and the Basque people began in his childhood and was reflected during his trip to Basque Country in 1843. He depicted his impressions in album notes for future publication, and they were posthumously published in 1890 (?) (Hugo n.d.). On Bonaparte’s thought about the Basque nation and language, see Azurmendi (1985).

¹² One of the main promoters of the study of the Basque language in the 19th century, Louis Lucien Bonaparte made five trips to the Basque Country between 1856 and 1869; his best-known publication is a linguistic map printed in 1863 showing the dialects, varieties, and sub-varieties of the Basque language. See Bonaparte (1863) and Villalonga (1953-1957).

¹³ On Hemingway and the Basques, see Jimenez (2003).

¹⁴ Sierra’s comprehensive depiction of the historical relationship between Japan and the Basque Country in modern and contemporary history (Sierra 2012) has the potential to transcend the abovementioned limitations, and in this sense, it was a pioneering essay. However, it is a depiction from a Basque perspective, which is often missing from many of the works written in Japanese about the Basque Country that have had a significant influence on Japanese society.

¹⁵ The narrative in this part is based on and developed from the author’s earlier paper (Hagio 2014). For an overview of Basque Studies in Japan from the 1960s until the 2000s, refer to this paper.

Japanese.”¹⁶

However, an image of Basque culture did not spread among the educated classes of Japan until the 1920s, when the literati digested imported Western civilization, translated it into Japanese, and expressed it in the Japanese language.

In this process, late romanticism in European literature and comparative linguistics contributed to the prevalence of the image of Basque culture in Japan. Prosper Mérimée’s *Carmen* and Pierre Loti’s *Ramuntcho* were the most successful examples, as well as the Japanese original anthological works of Pio Baroja titled *Basuku Bokkachô* (Basque Idylls), although his style did not necessarily reflect romanticism¹⁷.

Through these literary works, an idyllic scene of pious Basques, who turned their backs on modernization and adhered to their own traditional customs, was cultivated among the Japanese educated class. Philologist Izui Hisanosuke’s review (1938) of Wilhelm von Humboldt’s works on Basque language also made the Japanese intellectuals aware of the existence of this isolated language. Admittedly, such an image certainly reflected the 19th century’s Western Orientalist view of the Basque Country.

Despite the confirmed presence of Basque missionaries in Japan after the Meiji era (Beillevarie 2010. Doak 2017. Guo 2020), it was rare for them to advocate Basqueness in the public sphere, carrying as they were the universality of Christian civilization on their shoulders. The sole exception was probably Sauveur Candau (1897–1955), originally from Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port, who was known by the public and had a great influence on Japanese intellectuals and political and religious circles in the mid-20th century (Diharce 1966. Anduaga and Hagio 2020). In 1949, during the celebration of the 400th anniversary of Francisco Xavier’s arrival in Japan, which was the first international event in Japan after World War II, Candau advocated that Xavier, who had long been considered Portuguese or Spanish, was of Basque origin, and proposed a standard Japanese alphabetical spelling of Xavier. This stance contrasted with that of Pedro Arrupe (1907–1991), who translated selected letters written by Xavier into Japanese (Xavier 1949) on this occasion without any mention of Basque.

Nearly 30 years before the dawn of Basque Studies in Japan in the 1960s, as initiated by the Kyoto University¹⁸, Yaeko Nogami visited the Basque Country and wrote a short but vivid record of her journey.

Historical background of Yaeko Nogami’s travelogue

Yaeko Nogami¹⁹ (1885–1985), a renowned female Japanese novelist, visited the Basque Country in the second half of August 1939 with her spouse Toyochiro Nogami (1883–1950), scholar of English literature and *Nô*, a classical Japanese dance-drama; he was dispatched to the UK by Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deliver lectures in the academe there.

The couple left Japan on October 1, 1938, stopping in China, Singapore, and Egypt before entering Italy, where their eldest son was studying Italian literature. Toyochiro delivered lectures at Oxford, Cambridge, and other British academic institutions and toured the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, France, and Spain. The outbreak of World War II forced them to cut short their journey; they returned to Japan in November 18, 1939.

¹⁶ See Murakami (1904, 17). English translation is by the author.

¹⁷ *Carmen* was originally published in 1845, and its Japanese translation was first published in 1914. *Ramuntcho* was originally published in 1897, and its first Japanese translation appeared in 1924. *Basuku Bokkachô* is an anthology of 18 short stories written by Pio Baroja translated into Japanese and published in 1924.

¹⁸ For an overview of Basque Studies in Japan from the 1960s until the 2000s, see Hagio (2014).

¹⁹ This is her pen name. Her maiden name was Yae (or Yawe) Kotegawa.

In fact, Spain was not initially included in the Nogami couple's itinerary because Spain had been in a state of civil war since July 1936, with the country divided between the Nationals and the Republicans. Basque Country, which had a strong Catholic influence, was expected to side with the pro-Catholic Nationals, but the Basque Nationalist Party, which prioritized political autonomy, took the side of the Republicans, though even within the Basque Country, there was a struggle between the two factions. In terms of international politics, this civil war was also said to be a prelude to World War II, and for Germany and Italy in particular, as symbolized by the bombing of Guernica in April 1937, it was also a testing ground for their latest weapons. The civil war ended with the establishment of Franco's dictatorship in April 1939. In World War II, which broke out in September of the same year, Francoist Spain, despite its pro-Axis position, could not afford to enter the war because of the social devastation caused by the recent civil war.

Under such circumstances, the Nogami couple's visit to Spain was likely at the enthusiastic recommendation of Makoto Yano, the Japanese Minister to Spain. Yano was appointed Minister to Spain in May 1936, and during his stay in San Sebastian, he became embroiled in the civil war broken out in July. When the Japanese government recognized the Franco regime in December 1937, Yano returned to Japan to obtain credentials from the Japanese government, and on his way back to the Japanese Legation in San Sebastian, he met the Nogami couple and befriended them on the ship. According to Yaeko's diary, Minister Yano, who met with the Nogami couple again in Paris in early August 1939, strongly recommended that they visit Spain, but the reason for this is unclear. Thus, the couple stayed in the Basque Country nearly two weeks in August 1939.

After being reported piecemeal by different publishers and newspapers²⁰, Yaeko's 1,200-page travelogue titled *Ōbei no tabi* (Travels in Europe and the United States) was published in 1942 (Volume 1) and 1943 (Volume 2) in Japan. In this massive travelogue, Spain accounts for more or less 10% of the total, with the majority of this section comprising descriptions of the Basque Country.

It should be noted that Yaeko's trip took place in the midst of the Sino-Japanese War, and her travelogue was compiled and published amid the Pacific War, a theater of World War II. Censorship of this wartime travelogue, however, did not lead to major changes in Yaeko's anti-militarist stance and her writing style, which makes full use of carefully considered expressions. In her preface, Yaeko explains that "Knowing is necessary in every case. We must always correctly perceive its true nature, whether it is to be our ally or to be our enemy. It is incomplete to understand it merely in terms of politics, economics, or military affairs." It was probably fortunate for the publication of this book that it focused more on the Axis powers such as Italy and Germany, Japan's allies, than on the UK, France, and the United States, which became Japan's enemies at the time of its publication.

Yaeko's private diary (published posthumously), which she kept from 1923 until her death in 1985, and small notebooks in which she scribbled notes during her journey are supplementary historical sources to her book. Her husband Toyochiro's travelogue *Seiyō Kengaku* (Visiting the West) (1941) contains interesting observations from a perspective similar to but sometimes different from Yaeko's; this can be observed in some of the interviews of the couple published in *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*.

²⁰ For example, from 1940 to 1941, Yaeko published a series of short essays on London and Michelangelo in the general review magazine "Chuōkōron" (Central Public Opinion). In 1941, Yaeko published a report titled "Supein Nikki" (Diary in Spain) in the rather socialism-oriented review magazine "Kaizo" (Reorganize), which later became amplified and included in *Ōbei no tabi*.

Intellectual and empathetic observation with memories and premonitions of war

The Nogamis stayed at La Cumbre in San Sebastian, a villa where the Japanese Legation was located, courtesy of Minister Yano. An official car was provided for their transportation in and out of the city. They were often accompanied in their daily travel by Yano himself.²¹

Yaeko was able to relativize the privileged position²² they were in. She describes, for example, their exceptional situation of an almost free pass at the border inspection when entering Spain from France, contrasting it with the situation of ordinary people who are fingerprinted and prevented from easily crossing the border.

Yaeko's broad interests and detailed descriptions can be divided into three areas: war, daily life, and cultural activities.²³ Yaeko's narrative is remarkably calm and objective and infused with empathy for the people, and her ability to relativize or balance the events related to the war is particularly striking.

In San Sebastian, the walls of the casino, now a military museum, still bear bullet holes, a vivid reminder of the civil war. During her visit there, Yaeko noticed that the walls depict many British, French, and other warships that supplied arms and provisions to the Red Army, but they do not show German or Italian warships. When Yaeko later visited Durango and Guernica, which had been bombed, she heeded the official explanation²⁴ of the vandalism there but accurately noted that it was not done by red Spaniards but by what she called "foreign helpers."

Yaeko's calm writing once became emotional when she found letters of encouragement and comfort from Japanese schoolgirls to Franco's soldiers, which were on display in the military museum. Yaeko did not feel nostalgic to find the Japanese language in a foreign land; instead, she was disgusted by those who had induced innocent schoolgirls to write such letters.²⁵

Outside the military museum, the bustling beach of La Concha, with its luxurious residences and royal palace, are a sight to behold, but when Yaeko learns of the nearby prison, she is puzzled by "the Spaniards' unconcern for the disproportionate contrasts." Her bewilderment was soothed when she saw a camp for prisoners of war in Victoria that was indistinguishable from an ordinary house, where, according to Yaeko, the Nogamis could talk to a seemingly friendly neighborhood guard and could even see the prisoners through the windows. Thus, she understands, in her own way, the improvisational nature of the prison,

²¹ According to Yaeko's diary, the friendship between Yano and the Nogami family continued after World War II. Yano left his ministerial post before Japan attacked Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941 (Hawaiian local time).

²² In fact, the number of Japanese residents in Spain during this period was estimated only slightly more than 10, associated with the Japanese Legation established in San Sebastian.

²³ In this article, the following quotations of Yaeko Nogami's writings are based on *Nogami Yaeko Zenshū* (The Complete Works of Yaeko Nogami), Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1980–1982, 1986–1991. English translation is by the author.

²⁴ Kano suggests this explanation was done not only by Francoist officials but by the Minister Yano himself (Kano 2009). It would be possible but there is no evidence.

²⁵ In December 1937, shortly after the Japanese Government recognized the Franco regime, a letter from Franco's Foreign Legation to the newly appointed Spanish Charge d'Affaires in Tokyo was said to have requested that he solicit letters from Japanese "war maidens" to inspire Franco's forces. Whether true or not, in response to this request a tacit campaign was encouraged by the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, to which Yaeko often contributed. According to this newspaper, over 300 letters had been sent to the Spanish Charge d'Affaires from all over Japan by February 7, 1938. These letters would have been delivered to the Japanese Legation in San Sebastian. The *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* published propaganda articles with photos supporting Franco's army at multiple points in 1938, including on January 29, January 31, February 7, February 13, June 20, July 10, and September 11.

which is the result of the civil war—a struggle between people from the same hometown.

In Bilbao, she contrasts the liveliness of the city with the ravages of the civil war: “ships from the UK, Germany and Poland are bustling at anchor along the riverbanks where hoists are lined up with large hooks in the air, small boats loaded with heaps of coal are floating, and factory chimneys are emitting black smoke.” She is, however, unable to overlook the slogan “Franco” written here and there on the factory walls.

On her way back to San Sebastian, in Zumaya, near the residence of Ignacio Zuloaga (then considered one of the best painters in Spain), Yaeko thinks of Pablo Picasso, who was abroad. She imagines that one day, she may think of Zuloaga (who could be exiled if the political situation changed) near Picasso’s Spanish residence, thus relativizing the positions of these two key figures in Spanish art.

Visiting the Basque Country,²⁶ Yaeko often preferred to engage with city dwellers. She always went to the market, where she wrote in detail about agricultural products, stock farm products, dairy products, and fisheries products on display and the prices at which they were sold, as well as the salary of the drivers, housemaids, and the like. Her records paint a concrete picture of the prices and rationing of the time.

In fact, Yaeko’s diary from September 1, 1938, to November 17, 1939—which corresponds to the period she was traveling in Europe and the United States—lists personal belongings to be brought on the trip and keeps the meticulous records of exchange rates. Unlike her husband, Toyoichiro, whose travel expenses were covered by public subsidy, Yaeko had to pay her own expenses through the sales of her manuscripts and other means. It goes without saying that this diary served as a memorandum for the narrative of *Ōbei no tabi*. From her thoroughly practical approach, we know, for example, that as of August 1939, it was necessary to pay an entry tax to access the city of Tolosa and that even for daily purchases, change was often offered in stamps rather than in coins due to a shortage of metal.

Yaeko’s observations even extend to people’s facial expressions and gestures, and her description of their clothing is particularly vivid. She describes with curiosity that many citizens were in mourning clothes and that men were wearing black, dark blue, and red berets – of which red berets were the most common – often seen playing cards. Like Yaeko, most of the authors of Basque travelogues belonged to a social class with abundant intellectual and cultural resources, and they were unable to describe the subtleties of ordinary people’s lives in a realistic way, even if they might have been able to do so with some imagination. Yaeko’s descriptions, along with Hugo’s, are exceptional in this sense.

However, even in Hugo’s depiction, the perspective is that of a man. Depictions of Yaeko’s experiences at a hair salon and seeing corsets and brassieres in stores provide a female perspective unseen in Basque travelogues written by men. Compared to her spouse Toyoichiro, who only discussed the Basque Country in his 1941 travelogue *Seiyō Kengaku (Visiting the West)* by mentioning the cathedral in Loyola and the bullfights in San Sebastian, the breadth and depth of Yaeko’s observations are outstanding.

Visiting Oñati, Aranzazu, and Loyola, Yaeko refrained from commenting on their religious aspects but focused on the detailed description of their exquisite architecture. Since her translation and publication of Thomas Bulfinch’s *The Age of Fable* (originally published in 1855) into Japanese in 1913, possessing a keen appreciation for Western art and culture,

²⁶ In her travelogue, Yaeko refers to the following municipalities in the Basque Country: Bayonne, Biarritz, Saint-Jean-de-Luz, Hendaye, Irun, San Sebastian, Azpeitia (Loyola), Oñati (Aranzazu), Tolosa, Durango, Bilbao, Guernica, Motorico, Zumaya, Vitoria, and Estella, as well as the following cities in Spain: Burgos, Palencia, Toledo, Madrid, Segovia, Valladolid, and Logroño.

Yaeko was transfixed by the Sevillian dances and the bullfights performed in San Sebastian. Yaeko had no way of knowing that these spectacles were not rooted in the Basque culture, but she devoted many pages to vividly portraying every move of the dancers and matadors and was admittedly perplexed when the local newspaper devoted as much ink to an injured bullfighter as it did to news of the Treaty of Non-Aggression between Germany and the Soviet Union.

Yaeko's diary entry of November 23, 1936, records that she saw scenes of the bombing of Toledo, Spain, in a newsreel film projected in Tokyo. Her premonition that "in less than ten years, we will have to see this sort of ghastly spectacle all around us in its many times more ghastly form" was becoming brutally true.

Although Yaeko seemingly had no perception or impression of the Basque Country before visiting,²⁷ she left behind a highly valuable record, with no Orientalist preconception, of the Basque Country during the period between the end of the Spanish Civil War and the beginning of World War II. Even under these circumstances, colored by the remnants of the civil war and the prospect of a new world war, Yaeko's observations and insights were calm and composed without showing overwhelming feelings of anxiety or tension.

As the signs of war were building, the Nogamis cut short their stay in Spain and headed for Paris on August 31, 1939. The next day, World War II broke out. They flew back to Bordeaux on September 2 and from there evacuated to Liverpool on the 28th. After quickly visiting London to hear Chamberlain's parliamentary speech, they left on October 5 for Japan via New York, Los Angeles, and Hawaii. In a photograph taken at a press conference on November 18, immediately after their return, Toyochiro is wearing a Basque beret alongside Yaeko with a half-length coat worn over a kimono.

For the sake of transnational perspectives for Basque Studies: In lieu of conclusion

In Yaeko's enormous volume of work, novels occupy an important position, whereas travelogues and essays are of secondary importance. There are a diverse number of evaluations of Yaeko's *Ōbei no tabi*, including a debate over whether it is a travelogue or a diary. The book was published during World War II, when many people could not afford to purchase or read books. Even in postwar Japanese society, where recovery from the turmoil was the top priority, the records of privileged people who had traveled abroad during the wartime were unpopular outside of a few intellectuals and cultural figures who were either exploring the future possibilities of diary and travelogue literature in Yaeko's exquisite writing style or trying to make some historical reflections on her work. The fact is that many 20th century Japanese scholars of Spain—who often internalized European Orientalist perspectives and were more interested in the "exotic" southern parts of Spain—showed little interest in Yaeko's travelogue even after it was republished and included in the *Nogami Yaeko Zenshū (Complete Works of Yaeko Nogami)*, which began publication in the early 1980s.

Written in Japanese, Yaeko's travelogue was never translated into foreign languages, and its contents are little known internationally. Nevertheless, if the external perspective of Yaeko's travelogue has any significance for the study of external Basque images, or for Basque Studies in general, it can be considered from the following three viewpoints.

The first is the realistic external image of the Basque Country and its people perceived by a non-Christian intellectual, less influenced by the Orientalist views in Europe, who had little

²⁷ In her small notebook which she carried with her during her trip, the terms "the Basque Country" and "Basque people" are found. There is a scribble that suggests that Basque nationalism was one factor in the civil war. It is clear that she wanted to learn about the Basque Country along the way. However, in her published writings, the term "Basque people" is not found, while the term "Spaniard" is confirmed.

advance knowledge of the region and no relationship with the Basque diaspora community. Although Yaeko personally adhered to an anti-militarist attitude, she did not go to the Basque Country in search of an ideal world untainted by the evils of modernity, nor did she make a sentimental trip to visit her own roots there. Her visit was merely a series of coincidences. One reason for her narrative's objectivity may be that she herself was well aware of the dangers of subjective interpretations of things she did not know well. Another was that she understood the importance of writing down what she saw and heard calmly and accurately, without being carried away by emotions or sentimentality because of the wartime situation. As a result, she paints a realistic image of the Basque Country in her prose. Even when she inserts her own impressions, she uses the technique of relativizing her impressions by contrasting them with a point of view that contradicts them.

The second is the travelogue's value as a historical record to understand the physiognomy of Basque daily life at that time, even if it was fragmentary and based on an individual's observation. It is true that an individual's observations do not need to have too much value to be regarded as a testimony of the society at that time. However, Yaeko's personal observations have ample value as a public record when she recounts the details of market prices, for example, and they also had ethnographic value at the time when she put the raw voices of ordinary citizens into writing. This is justifiable inasmuch as public records and testimonies in Spain from the period immediately after the Spanish Civil War and during World War II are limited. Moreover, due to the censorship of the press, it is rare to find a record of the real voices of city dwellers that was written during the period and not as a memoir or sponsored by journalists. The unofficial patronage of the Japanese legation, based on her friendship with Minister Yano, allowed Yaeko a considerable degree of freedom in her activities on the streets.

Finally, although Yaeko did not like to advocate her own femininity in her writings, this travelogue offers a refreshing perspective often lacking from male visitors of the Basque Country, who were generally from social classes and occupations that allowed them to live comfortably. In terms of social origin, the Nogami couple belonged to the wealthy intellectual class of Japanese society. However, unlike her husband Toyoichiro, who was supported by a public subsidy, Yaeko had to manage her own travel expenses and constantly take care of her and her husband's personal belongings during the trip. Yaeko's perspective is most conspicuous in the domain of household chores. Her method of recording a cross-section of the lives of the city's people, albeit in fragments, is consistent with ethnographic methods that are used today.

Of course, Yaeko's travelogue alone does not provide a transnational perspective on extant Basque Studies. There are likely records similar to Yaeko's travelogue scattered around the world, unknown to those involved in Basque Studies. Only by collecting similar representation of "external" perspectives recorded in public or private spheres, which have not necessarily been included in the current scope of Basque Studies, will it be possible to formulate any inter-comparative axes of reference. Systematically conducting such comparative research would be the first step toward transnational Basque Studies. In this sense, Yaeko's travelogue should be read and understood as one such text.

In a postscript dated May 1, 1943, Yaeko concludes her travelogue, "If anyone had walked around the globe before it was covered by the Flood and written about it, the scholarly contribution would have been enormous" and immediately denies, "but I don't think of such a big deal through my travelogue." However, the pride in her ability to "not let hatred or excitement get in the way" and to "remain calm and precise" reinforces the fact that, in hindsight, she has made a substantial contribution to Basque Studies, even if her knowledge of

the Basque Country was virtually nonexistent at the time²⁸.

²⁸ When Yaeko first met Father Sauveur Candau in 1952, she wrote in her diary that they talked a great deal about the Basque Country and she felt like she had wanted a friend like him, even if they had different political views. Yaeko rarely spoke publicly about the Basque Country, but in a dialogue in 1984, shortly before her death, she mentioned it briefly, recalling Father Candau. It is possible that Yaeko's memory of the Basque Country was represented by Father Candau in the latter years of her life.

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