

SPAIN AND KAZANTZAKIS' TRAVEL WRITING

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis will provide a close, critical and comparative reading of Nikos Kazantzakis' writings on Spain as a whole, namely both the ones included in the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* and those published in the newspapers *Eleftheros Typos* and *I Kathimerini*. The focus will not be on their literary value, but on the extent to which these texts function as cultural, historical, political and ideological documents relating to one man's view of a country and an era. In the first chapter of my thesis I will refer to Kazantzakis' successive journeys to Spain and examine the transformation of his newspaper articles into a book. In the second chapter I will present the themes that recur in Kazantzakis' writings on Spain and the author's reflections on them. The third chapter will be devoted to Kazantzakis' coverage of the Spanish Civil War and his attitude towards it. In the fourth chapter Kazantzakis' writings on Spain will be compared with those of the Greek writers Kostas Ouranis and Zacharias Papantoniou who also visited the country in the same period and wrote about it. Finally, it will be demonstrated that Kazantzakis' writings on Spain deserve to be noticed, as they not only reveal things about the country in the crucial years 1926-1936, but about the author as well.

*To my dear parents
and to the memory of Juergen Koepcke*

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Introduction

“Travel has recently emerged as a key theme for the humanities and social sciences, and the amount of scholarly work on travel writing has reached unprecedented levels.”¹ Though travel writing seems to have its roots in the Homeric *Odyssey*, the literature of travel had not received critical attention worldwide until recently.² Hence, there has been a difficulty in defining it and in deciding whether it constitutes a literary genre or not. The fact that it often embraces the forms of ethnographic writing, journalism and autobiography adds to its hybrid nature and has prompted the scholar Jan Borm to argue that travel writing “is not a genre, but a collective term for a variety of texts both predominantly fictional and non-fictional whose main theme is travel.”³ Contemporary research tends to examine travel texts as texts that should be acknowledged and evaluated not only for their literary value or lack of it, but also for the fact that they function as agents of a plethora of issues (ethnographic, anthropological, historical, cultural, political etc.).

In contrast to its undoubtedly growing popularity among academics abroad, in Greece travel writing has not attracted scholars’ attention on a large scale. The studies by Stelios Xephroudias (*Ταξιδιωτικά*, 1956), Petros Charis (*Από τον πανάρχαιο στον καινούριο κόσμο*, 1970), Apostolos Sachinis (“Οι ταξιδιωτικές εντυπώσεις”, 1971) and Annita Panaretou (*Ελληνική Ταξιδιωτική Λογοτεχνία*, 1995) appear to be the only

¹ Peter Hulme & Tim Youngs (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002, p. 1.

² The terms “travel writing”, “travel literature” and “literature of travel” are considered synonyms by Jan Borm. (See: Jan Borm, “Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology” in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, Glenn Hooper & Tim Youngs (ed.), Aldershot: Ashgate 2004, p.13)

³ Jan Borm, “Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology”, op. cit., p.13.

ones to discuss the subject of travel writing for Greek writers. These scholars did not question whether travel writing (“ταξιδιωτική λογοτεχνία” in Greek) was a genre or not; they all took it for granted that it was.⁴ As a result, they presupposed that travel texts, which belong to the “genre” travel writing, are first and foremost literary and that non-literary travel texts should not be considered as part of travel writing. Sachinis and Panaretou, who have dealt with the subject of travel writing in Greece more extensively, have argued that it became a literary genre when writers of fiction began to work in it. They both claimed that it should be distinguished from travel reportage written by journalists rather than authors. Furthermore, they seemed to agree that the year 1927, when Kazantzakis’ book *Ταξιδεύοντας* was published, constituted the starting point for the development of travel writing in Greece.

Though it appears that it was not Kazantzakis who invented Greek literary travel writing (this honour probably belongs to Kostas Ouranis), he was the one who established it as an art form for Greek letters.⁵ Kazantzakis’ first travel writings were composed when he was a doctoral student in Paris. After that, he went on to spend almost half his life abroad; he resided at one time or another in most European countries and visited the USSR, China, Japan and the Middle East. He worked for various Greek newspapers as a correspondent; the numerous accounts of his travels, first published in newspapers, afterwards provided voluminous material for his five travel books: *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* (part of which was first published in *Ταξιδεύοντας* in 1927 followed by the whole book in 1937), *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ιταλία, Αίγυπτος, Σινά, Ιερουσαλήμ, Κύπρος, Ο Μοριάς* (the “Ιταλία” part was first published in 1927 and the

⁴ Sachinis and Panaretou mainly base themselves on Albert Thibaudet’s “Le Genre Littéraire du voyage” (in *Réflexions sur la critique*, 1939), which actually re-established travel writing as a literary genre.

⁵ Peter Bien, *Kazantzakis: Politics of the Spirit*, Volume 2, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 2007, p. 17.

complete volume in 1961), *Ταξιδεύοντας-Αγγλία* (1941), *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ιαπωνία-Κίνα* (published in 1938) and *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ρουσία* (part of which was first published in 1928 as *Τι είδα στη Ρουσία (από τα ταξίδια μου)* followed by the whole book in 1956);⁶

Though Kazantzakis often travelled as a newspaper correspondent in order to earn some money and make a living, he really loved to travel and acknowledged the deep influence travelling had on him. There are two phrases in his oeuvre that best demonstrate that and I will quote them both, as it is interesting to see how a writer like Kazantzakis, who often changed his mind, remained loyal to his primary acknowledgement of the role of travel. One is the very first phrase of the preface to *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*: “Το ταξίδι κι η εξομολόγηση (κι η δημιουργία είναι η ανώτερη και πιστότερη μορφή της εξομολόγησης) στάθηκαν οι δυο μεγαλύτερες χαρές της ζωής μου.”;⁷ the other can be found in his autobiography *Αναφορά στον Γκρέκο*, his swan-song: “Στη ζωή μου οι πιο μεγάλοι μου ευεργέτες στάθηκαν τα ταξίδια και τα ονειράτα”.⁸ Thus, it can be understood that the high quality of his travel pieces, which earned him the distinction of being called one of the two “fathers” of travel writing in Greece,⁹ was not unrelated to his genuine love for travel.

⁶ All the books have been translated into English; *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* and *Ταξιδεύοντας-Αγγλία* were both translated by Amy Mims and took the titles *Spain* (New York: Simon and Schuster 1963) and *England. A travel journal* (New York: Simon and Schuster 1965) respectively; *Ταξιδεύοντας Ιαπωνία-Κίνα* was translated by George C. Papageotes and took the title *Japan, China* (New York: Simon and Schuster 1963); *Ταξιδεύοντας Ιταλία-Αίγυπτος-Σινά-Ιερουσαλήμ-Κύπρος-ο Μοριάς* was translated by Themis and Theodora Vasils and was entitled *Journeying: travels in Italy, Egypt, Sinai, Jerusalem and Cyprus* (Boston: Little, Brown 1975); finally, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ρουσία* and *Τι είδα στη Ρουσία* were both translated by Michael Antonakis and Thanasis Maskaleris in one book with the title *Russia. A chronicle of three journeys in the aftermath of the revolution* (Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Co. 1989).

⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclos Stavrou) 2002, p. 7.

⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Αναφορά στον Γκρέκο*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclos Stavrou) 2009, p. 441.

⁹ Apostolos Sachinis, ‘Οι ταξιδιωτικές εντυπώσεις’, in *Η σύγχρονη πεζογραφία μας*, Athens: Galaxias 1971, p. 66.

Indeed travel writing was generally considered Kazantzakis's forte by the Greeks.¹⁰ Aimilios Hourmouziou, the well-known writer, journalist and literary critic, who was also the editor of the newspaper *I Kathimerini*, to which Kazantzakis sent most of his reports from Spain, argued that Kazantzakis continued the classical tradition of literary perambulations that had been carved out by Hippolyte Taine and Stendhal.¹¹ G. P. Savvidis recognized Kazantzakis only as a great reporter and writer of impressive travel pieces.¹² Even Theotokas, who generally did not appreciate Kazantzakis' contributions to other genres, admitted in his diary on 13 April 1946 that his travel writing stood out from the rest, writing: "Το θέατρό του δεν είναι θέατρο, η ποίησή του δεν είναι ποίηση, η φιλοσοφία του δεν είναι φιλοσοφία, η μυθιστοριογραφία του δεν είναι μυθιστορηματική και μονάχα τα *Ταξίδια* του είναι καλή δημοσιογραφία."¹³

Perhaps the most applauded of his travel books and the one that determined Kazantzakis' popularity as a travel writer was *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, part of which was first included in the landmark book *Ταξιδεύοντας* of 1927. Kazantzakis went to Spain four times (August-September 1926, October 1932-January 1933, October-November 1936, September 1950); his book, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, was based on the reports he had sent from his first three journeys to the newspapers *Eleftheros Typos* (12 December 1926 - January 1927) and *I Kathimerini* (21 May 1933 - 3 June 1933 and 24 November 1936 - 17 January 1937). Just after it was published in book form in 1937 by *Pyrros*, it received dithyrambic reviews by the author's contemporaries; more

¹⁰ Peter Bien, *Politics of the Spirit*, vol. 2, op. cit., p.16.

¹¹ Aimilios Hourmouziou, "«Ισπανία» του κ. Ν. Καζαντζάκη", *I Kathimerini*, 19 April 1937.

¹² Lena Arampatzidou, "Nikos Kazantzakis and Travel Writing: between Poetics and Politics. Some thoughts based on his journey to England", unpublished, 2009, p. 1.

¹³ Giorgos Theotokas, *Τετράδια Ημερολογίου (1939-1953)*, Dimitris Tziouvas (ed.), Athens: Estia 2005, p. 556.

particularly, in April 1937, Andreas Karantonis, who characterized *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* as “perfect work of literature” (“τέλειο λογοτέχνημα”), wrote: “Από ένα βιβλίο ταξιδιωτικών εντυπώσεων με τόσο πλούσιο υλικό σαν την *Ισπανία* του Καζαντζάκη, μπορεί κανείς να πάρει ό,τι του αναλογεί και ό,τι του χρειάζεται.”¹⁴ Aimilios Hourmouziος argued that Kazantzakis’ travel accounts from Spain were real works of literature (“πραγματικά λογοτεχνήματα”) that combined art, history, aesthetics, ethnography, myth, drama, tradition and contemporary reality. According to Hourmouziος, Kazantzakis brought Spain into sharp focus.¹⁵ In his review Minas Dimakis wrote: “Κλείνοντας το βιβλίο του Καζαντζάκη, νιώθεις τον εαυτό σου γεμάτο χαρά και υπερηφάνεια που είσαι Έλληνας κι έχεις να διαβάζεις τέτοια βιβλία σαν την «Ισπανία».”¹⁶ Petros Charis, who emphasized the dynamic presence of Kazantzakis’ personality in his texts, added: “Δεν ξέρω αν βρήκε το ψυχικό του κλίμα στην Ισπανία. Είχε όμως την ευκαιρία να φέρη στην επιφάνεια ό,τι το δραματικό και το σκοτεινό ήταν μέσα του και να γράψη ένα βιβλίο με μοναδική ενότητα και με παλμό που περνάει αμέσως στον αναγνώστη του.”¹⁷ Giannis Hatzinis, who agreed with Petros Charis that Kazantzakis’ book on Spain was more revealing of a personality (i.e. that of Kazantzakis) than a country, wrote: “Μπορούμε να ονομάσουμε αποκαλυπτικό αυτό το βιβλίο. Ο συγγραφέας μάς οδηγεί ως το βάθος της Ισπανικής ψυχής, -γιατί όχι κι’ ως το βάθος της ίδιας της δικής του ψυχής;”¹⁸

The book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* has been appreciated in later studies too. James K. Demetrius (1965) considered the second part of Kazantzakis’ book, “Viva la

¹⁴ Andreas Karantonis, “Τα Βιβλία: Νίκου Καζαντζάκη: Ταξιδεύοντας. Α’ Ισπανία”, *Ta Nea Grammata (1935-1944)*, April 1937, p.33. The article was republished in Andreas Karantonis, *Κριτικά Μελετήματα*, Athens 1980.

¹⁵ Aimilios Hourmouziος, “«Ισπανία» του κ. Ν. Καζαντζάκη”, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁶ Minas Dimakis, “Φιλολογική Σελίδα”, *Kritika Nea*, 31 May 1937.

¹⁷ Petros Charis, “Νίκου Καζαντζάκη: «Ισπανία»”, *Nea Estia*, 15 June 1937.

¹⁸ Giannis Hatzinis, “Νίκου Καζαντζάκη: «Ταξιδεύοντας. Α’ Ισπανία»”, *Pneumatiki Zoi*, July 1937.

Muerte!”, one of the most beautiful pieces of prose writing that Kazantzakis had ever composed.¹⁹ Emmanuel Hatzantonis (1966), who analysed the book further, claimed that *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* was responsible for the belated discovery of Spain by Greek men of letters and applauded its predominantly literary nature.²⁰ Apostolos Sachinis (1971), characterized Kazantzakis’s travel book on Spain as his best.²¹

In parallel with the qualities of *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, scholars have also highlighted the importance of the Spanish experience for Kazantzakis. Nikiforos Vrettakos pointed out that, whereas during his first two trips to peacetime Spain, Kazantzakis enjoyed the marvels of that world, in his third trip he confronted the destruction of these marvels: “Πράγματα που είχε δει την προηγούμενη, την άλλη μέρα τα είδε στάχτη. Όλοι αυτοί ταυτίστηκαν με το νόμο που διέπει τις κινήσεις της αγωνίας του: όλα όνειρα, όλα σκιά, όλα τίποτα.”²² In other words, what Kazantzakis saw in Spain both chimed with and endorsed his own preconceived ideas, which were more explicitly analysed in his philosophical essay, *Ασκητική* (1927). Recently Peter Bien attributed the significance of his Spanish experience for Kazantzakis to the fact that it constituted the testing ground for his new “freedom”.²³ Indeed, on his way to Spain in 1936, Kazantzakis wrote to his friend, Pantelis Prevelakis: “Με τέτοιον οπλισμό -δηλ. ολόγδυμος- κάνω την πρώτη κρίσιμη expérience της νέας μου ελευτερίας: πάω να δω την αιματωμένη Ισπανία.”²⁴

¹⁹ James K. Demetrius, “Nikos Kazantzakis in Spain”, *Studies in Honor of M.J. Bernardette (Essays in Hispanic Culture)*, New York: Las Americas 1965, pp. 215-225.

²⁰ Emmanuel Hatzantonis, “Kazantzakis’ Spiritual Itinerary through Spain”, *Hispania: A Journal devoted to the teaching of Spanish and Portuguese*, vol. 49, no 4, 1966, pp. 787-792.

²¹ Apostolos Sachinis, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

²² Nikiforos Vrettakos, *Νίκος Καζαντζάκης: Η αγωνία και το Έργο του*, Athens: Sypsas: 1960, p. 210.

²³ Peter Bien, *Politics of the Spirit*, volume 2, *op. cit.*, p.25.

²⁴ Pantelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια Γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη*, Athens: Eleni N. Kazantzaki Publications 1984, p. 465.

In the same vein, there is something else that added to the importance of the Spanish experience for Kazantzakis. It seems that Spain provided him with a congenial environment. Spanish people, whom he analyzes in depth, as will be shown in the second chapter, are characterized by vehemence and passion, qualities that Kazantzakis both appreciated and admired. In addition, the Spanish temperament is often presented by Kazantzakis as very close to his own temperament. The affinity Kazantzakis felt for Spain and Spaniards was explicitly expressed by him during his second journey to Spain in one of his letters to Pantelis Prevelakis: “Εδώ στην Ισπανία νιώθω καλύτερα mon climat, εδώ, θαρρώ, θα μπορούσα να δουλέψω. Έχει η ράτσα αυτή ορμή, χαρά, τραγικότητα, θερμότητα, μάτια όλο φλόγα, μορφές εξαισιες –που νιώθω πως βρίσκουμαι, σαν τον Greco, ανάμεσα σε αδερφούς...”²⁵ In another letter to Prevelakis, Kazantzakis recognizes how closely his soul is related to the Hispanic soul: “Ωστόσο εδώ διαβάζω ισπ[ανική] ποίηση, μεταφράζω πολλά τραγούδια, πάω στο «Ateneo» και ξεφυλλίζω βιβλία, μπαίνω στην ισπ[ανική] ψυχή, που όλο και μου φαίνεται πως συγγενεύει με την ψυχή μου βαθύτερα από κάθε άλλη.”²⁶

Though generally appreciated by critics and despite the significance of the Spanish experience for Kazantzakis, as seen above, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* has yet to receive a detailed analysis in terms of a close reading that would shed light on Kazantzakis’ view of the country and the contribution this text has made to the image of Spain. In addition, the few studies that have dealt with Kazantzakis’ book on Spain have not examined all the relevant texts, namely both his reports published in

²⁵ Ibid., p. 343.

²⁶ Ibid., p.354.

Eleftheros Typos and *I Kathimerini* and the texts that were finally included in the book.

Hence, in the present thesis I will attempt a close critical and comparative reading of Kazantzakis' texts on Spain as a whole, that is both the journalistic material and the book. For this purpose, I shall firstly consider it important to compare the travel pieces he sent to the two newspapers for which he was a correspondent with the material that was finally included in the book. Differences between them, later additions or omissions might indicate changes in Kazantzakis' thoughts. Furthermore, I intend to investigate the themes that recur in Kazantzakis' writings on Spain and the author's reflections; hence, questions like "On what did Kazantzakis concentrate most when he was travelling?" and "What attracted his attention most frequently?" will hopefully find answers in my second chapter, which constitutes my main focus. The third chapter will be dedicated to Kazantzakis' visit to Spain during the Spanish Civil War. In this chapter I will discuss Kazantzakis' decision to cover the war from the Nationalist side and the extent to which he remained loyal to his intention to be impartial. In addition, since Kazantzakis was not the only Greek writer to write a travel book on Spain between 1926 and 1936, I consider it essential in my fourth chapter to compare Kazantzakis' view of Spain with that of Ouranis and Papantoniou, who also wrote important texts on Spain. In this way, Kazantzakis' writings on Spain will be further illuminated not only as regards their content, but also in relation to their form, style and techniques.

As well as *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, I believe that all Kazantzakis' travel books deserve a closer reading. Though scholarly research on his novels is extensive, his travel books have not been studied thoroughly. Furthermore, despite Kazantzakis'

worldwide fame, his travel writing has not attracted much critical notice abroad. Hence, future studies on Kazantzakis' more or less neglected travel books will be invaluable, as they could illuminate another aspect of the oeuvre of this influential author mainly famous for his novels. Kazantzakis' pioneering role and his contribution to travel writing in Greece (five travel books and a plethora of travel reports) should not be underestimated.

Chapter 1

Kazantzakis' journeys to Spain: from the newspaper articles to the book

Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία (first published as a book in 1937) is based on eighty-seven journalistic reports that were published in the newspapers *Eleftheros Typos* (12 December 1926 - 7 January 1927) and *I Kathimerini* (21 May 1933 - 3 June 1933 and 24 November 1936 - 17 January 1937).¹ However, it includes only part of this extensive journalistic material. Parts of the texts published in the newspapers and even whole reports are absent from the book. Hence, the question that arises and to which I will endeavour to provide an answer is: according to what criteria was the selection of the journalistic accounts to be included in the book made? In this chapter, I will also attempt to compare the journalistic material with the texts that were finally included in the book and examine possible changes in Kazantzakis' ideas. To this end, I shall first provide more detailed information about Kazantzakis' trips to Spain which gave rise to his reports and then comment on the transformation of the journalistic material into a book.

As I have already mentioned, Kazantzakis travelled to Spain four different times: August - September 1926, October 1932 - March 1933, October - November 1936 and September 1950. His experiences included in the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* derive from his three first visits to the country. The book consists of two

¹ I am basing myself on the invaluable bibliography Katsimpalis composed on Kazantzakis' published works (Giorgos Katsibalis, *Βιβλιογραφία Ν. Καζαντζάκη. Α' 1906 - 1948*, Athens: 1958). The eighty-seven reports to which I refer do not include eight reports from 1933 that were republished by *I Kathimerini* in 1936 as an introduction to his later reports. It should be noted that the republished reports have been slightly edited (mainly minor changes in the titles and in the spelling).

parts: the first part could have the title “Spain in peacetime”, as it comes from the author’s first two journeys to Spain, while the second, entitled “Viva la Muerte!” refers to the Spanish Civil War and draws on Kazantzakis’ third trip to the country. Between these two parts, a canto on Don Quixote² which Kazantzakis had written in Aegina in May 1934 was inserted when the book was reprinted by *Diphros* in 1957. All later editions of the book were based on this definitive *Diphros* edition which continues in publication to the present day.

Kazantzakis’ first encounter with Spain took place in August - September 1926. From the available journalistic material we learn that he passed from France into Spain and visited Barcelona, Madrid, Toledo, Córdoba, a small provincial town in Castile that is not named, Valencia, Seville and Granada. During this journey, he interviewed Primo de Rivera, the Spanish dictator. The newspaper *Eleftheros Typos* published Kazantzakis’ first impressions of Spain in twenty-five texts from 12 December 1926 to 7 January 1927. In 1927 the volume *Ταξιδεύοντας* was published by the publishing house *Serapeion* in Alexandria and contained parts of Kazantzakis’ impressions of Spain, Italy, Egypt and Sinai.

On 3 October 1932 Kazantzakis went again to Spain. At first, he resided in Pension Abella (Calle San Bernardo 13), and then in the house of his friend, Timoteo Pérez Rubio, a Spanish painter. In Madrid, Kazantzakis found his old friend, the poet Juan Ramon Jimenez and met the Spanish dramatists Jacinto Benavente and Valle-Inclán and other intellectuals. During this period he began to translate the best of contemporary Spanish lyric poetry, which he published in the Greek periodical *O*

² Don Quixote, the well known protagonist of Cervantes’ eponymous novel, dominates Kazantzakis’ writings on Spain. For more information on the references to Don Quixote, see the second chapter of my dissertation.

Kyklos.³ He also made a French adaptation of his tragedy *Νικηφόρος Φωκάς* (1927) and composed a canto as homage to Dante.

On December 1932, distressed by his father's death, he started a long journey by train through Spain, a journey of some 2,000 kilometers: he went to Avila, Salamanca, Valladolid, Burgos, Zaragoza, Valencia, Alicante and Elche. When he went back to Madrid (on 4 January 1933), he began writing down his impressions of Spain. In the middle of March 1933, just before he left Spain, he started composing a new canto for his other hero, El Greco. Kazantzakis published his new reports from Spain in the Greek newspaper *I Kathimerini* (21 May 1933 - 3 June 1933). In 1934 he revised the "Ισπανία" part of the old *Ταξιδεύοντας* published in 1927, adding new pages derived from his second journey to Spain.

In 1936 Kazantzakis was sent as correspondent to war-torn Spain by the Greek newspaper *I Kathimerini*. On 25 October he was in Burgos, on 3 November in Toledo, on 5 November in Getafe. On 19 November, according to his passport, Kazantzakis returned to Greece.⁴ Between 24 November 1936 and 17 January 1937 *I Kathimerini* published Kazantzakis' reports from the Spanish Civil War under the title "Τι είδα, 40 ημέρες, εις την Ισπανίαν".⁵ Some of these impressions constituted the

³ Kazantzakis translated poems by the following contemporary Spanish poets: J. R. Jiménez, Antonio Machado, Miguel de Unamuno, Pedro Salinas, Moreno Villa, Federico García Lorca, Rafael Alberti and Vicente Aleixandre.

⁴ Anastasia Markomihelaki, based on Kazantzakis' passport that is being exhibited in Nikos Kazantzakis' Museum (Varvaroi, Heraklion Crete), has recently argued: "Με βάση αυτό το έκθεμα, αποκαθίσταται η λανθασμένη εντύπωση που έχει τόσο ο Ανεμογιάννης όσο και ο Bien (2007, 39) ότι ο Καζαντζάκης επέστρεψε στο τέλος του μηνός." For more information see Anastasia Markomihelaki, "Ο Νίκος Καζαντζάκης στον Ισπανικό Εμφύλιο, μέσα από τις συλλογές του Μουσείου στους Βαρβάρους", announcement in the forth conference of the Society for Modern Greek studies of the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America, under publication, Zaragoza (Spain), 1-3 October 2009.

⁵ As mentioned above, the newspaper republished some of Kazantzakis' reports from his second trip to Spain in 1932 as an introduction to his later reports. In the newspaper there is the following note: "Οι αναγνώσται μας ιδιαιτέρως, δεν θα ελησμόνησαν τας περιφήμους εκείνας περιγραφάς του κ. Νίκου Καζαντζάκη εξ Ισπανίας, τας δημοσιευθείσας εις τας στήλας αυτάς. Επειδή δε πλείστοι εξακολουθούν να ζητούν εκ των αρχείων της εφημερίδος τα σχετικά φύλλα, αρχίζομεν αναδημοσιεύοντες από

second part of the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, which was published in 1937 by the publishing house *Pyrros*.

The last time Kazantzakis visited Spain was in September 1950.⁶ On this trip, he travelled around the country for seventeen days with his wife Eleni and his French friends Jean-Pierre, Yvonne Métral and Lucienne Fleury. During this last trip to Spain he visited Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, Alicante, Córdoba, Toledo, Pieskas, Madrid, Vitoria and San Sebastián.⁷ Kazantzakis' last journey to Spain signalled the end of a series of visits to a country that had deeply influenced him.

Following the details of Kazantzakis' journeys to Spain, I intend to explore the transformation of the journalistic material produced by the first three visits to the country into successive versions of a travel book. From Kazantzakis' correspondence with Prevelakis we learn that the publishing house *Serapeion* in Alexandria had accepted Kazantzakis' suggestion that he should publish his travel accounts from Spain, Italy, Egypt and Sinai in book form (*Ταξιδεύοντας*, 1927) on condition that the writer excluded all the ephemeral references and comments from his writings: “Εδώ βρήκα γράμμα από τη Ν[έα] Ζωή [της] Αλεξάντρ[ει]ας: δέχεται να μου τυπώσει ένα βιβλίο μου *Ταξιδεύοντας* όπου θα συγκεντρώσω, εξαφανίζοντας ό,τι εφήμερο υπάρχει, τα ταξίδια: Ισπανία, Παλαιστίνη, Αίγυπτο, Σινά.”⁸ Kazantzakis began rewriting, correcting and shortening his reports: “Από το πρωί ως τη νύχτα γράφω το

σήμερον εν είδει προλόγου της αποστολής αυτής, τας ανταποκρίσεις εκείνας αι οποίαι πλην άλλων έχουν το χάρισμα να δίδουν την πραγματικήν ατμόσφαιραν η οποία και εξεκόλαψε την σημερινήν επανάστασιν.”

⁶ On 15 September 1950 Kazantzakis wrote to Prevelakis from Toledo: “Αγαπημένε αδελφέ, ξαναγυρίζω την Ισπανία, ξαναβλέπω και ξαναχαίρομαι τα πάντα και τ' αποχαιρετώ.” (Pantelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια Γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclus Stavrou) 1984, p. 629)

⁷ The details on Kazantzakis' journeys to Spain are from: Pantelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια Γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclus Stavrou) 1984.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Ταξιδεύοντας, διορθώνοντας γλωσσικά και συντομεύοντας τα διάφορα άρθρα μου στις εφημ[ερίδες].”⁹

After his second journey to Spain in 1932 - 1933, the accounts of which were published in *I Kathimerini*, Kazantzakis decided to rewrite the old *Ταξιδεύοντας* by adding the experience of his recent trip to Spain; furthermore, he expressed for the first time the desire to publish his writings on Spain in a separate book: “Αυτές τις μέρες ξαναγράφω το *Ταξιδεύοντας*, σμίγοντας πλήθος άλλα, στοχασμούς, θύμησες, επεισόδια... Θα ’θελα να βγει, με την οριστική τούτη μορφή που τους δίνω τώρα, μια σειρά: 1) *Ισπανία*, 2) *Αίγ[υπτος]-Σινά-Ιερουσαλήμ*, 3) *Ρουσία*, 4) *Toda-Raba*, κι ίσως, αργότερα, άγραφο ακόμα: 5) *Κρήτη*.”¹⁰ Information as to how the selection of texts to be included in the second part of *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* (published as a book in 1937 by *Pyrros*) was made is provided by Aimilios Hourmouziou in the book review he published in *I Kathimerini* (19 April 1937): “Οι πρώτες αυτές ανταποκρίσεις, συγυρισμένες, πλουτισμένες –δεν χρησιμοποιώ τη λέξη «αναθεωρημένες» γιατί η πρώτη καυτερή εντύπωση παραμένει αυτούσια και στον πυρήνα και στην ακτινοβολία της- αποτελούν το πρώτο μέρος του βιβλίου του. Το δεύτερο που τιτλοφορείται «Βίβα Λα Μουέρτε», (Ζήτω ο Θάνατος) είναι οι ανταποκρίσεις που διάβασαν οι αναγνώστες της «Καθημερινής» από την τελευταία αποστολή της στην Ισπανία, αλλά τακτοποιημένες χωρίς την επείγουσαν ανάγκη της εφημεριδικής επικαιρότητας που ανάγκασε τον απεσταλμένο συγγραφέα να δώσει στο ταξίδι της Ισπανίας, που γινόταν μέσα στον καπνό και στο αίμα του εμφυλίου πολέμου, το χαρακτήρα άρθρων βγαλμένων από την πιο άμεση επικαιρότητα. Εδώ στο βιβλίο, τα

⁹ Ibid., p. 46. It should be noted that the reports Kazantzakis had sent to *Eleftheros Typos* were in a more puristic language (katharevousa); Kazantzakis, a well-known demoticist, turned the puristic language of the reports into vernacular in the book.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 415.

άρθρα πήραν τη φυσιολογική τους σειρά. Ακολουθούν το συγγραφέα στη διαδρομή του στο ισπανικό έδαφος και οι εντυπώσεις ανεβοκατεβαίνουν την κλίμακα της φρίκης και της τραγωδίας ανάλογα με τις μετακινήσεις του μέσα στη φοβερή κόλαση του αλληλοσπαραγμού.”¹¹ Consequently, from the available sources, it appears that Kazantzakis –either on his own initiative or in accordance with the requirements of the publishing houses– tended to exclude from *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* the purely journalistic texts that served the aim of a short-term purpose and to keep those that were more literary.

To be more specific, as far as the first part of the book is concerned, some parts of it are later additions, as they were never included in the journalistic material. Furthermore, in some cases, parts of an article dedicated to one place Kazantzakis had visited are added to a section in the book dedicated to another. For example, a part of his trip to Madrid has been added to the section “Βαγιαντολί”. This does not create problems, as in this specific part Kazantzakis is talking about the wider area of Castile to which both Madrid and Valladolid belong and about Don Quixote and Cervantes that are more general themes. In the second case, a part of Kazantzakis’ visit to Barcelona is included in the “Σεβίλια” section of the book. Surprisingly, this extract does not deal with a general subject which could fit in anywhere but is a specific description of a scene in a harbour, where strange people come and go. Ultimately, where had Kazantzakis seen this? In Barcelona? In Seville? Or was it another figment of his imagination?

It should be noted that the structure of the first part of the book does not follow the chronological order of Kazantzakis’ travels. The impressions from his first

¹¹ Aimilios Hourmouziou, “«Ισπανία» του κ. Ν. Καζαντζάκη”, *I Kathimerini*, 19 April 1937.

journey are combined with those from his second. Hence, while the first section of the book, entitled “Μπαίνοντας στην Ισπανία” begins with the impressions that were included in the very first text published in *Eleftheros Typos* in 1926,¹² the rest of that section includes thoughts and impressions that were part of the first report published in *I Kathimerini* in 1933.¹³ The next two sections, “Μιράντα” and “Μπούργκος” draw on Kazantzakis’ second trip to Spain, while the fourth section entitled “Βαγιαντολί” is based partly on Kazantzakis’ first visit to Spain and partly on his second. The next three sections, “Σαλαμάνκα”, “Αβιλα” and “Εσκοριάλ” come from Kazantzakis’ second trip to Spain. The main part of the eighth section, “Μαδρίτη”, also draws on this second journey. However, there are also some extracts from his first trip to Spain. The last five sections of the book, “Τολέδο”, “Κόρδοβα”, “Σεβίλια”, “Γρανάδα” and “Ταυρομαχία” together with the brief epilogue all draw on the author’s first trip to Spain.

Furthermore, most of the dialogic parts of the journalistic material, such as Kazantzakis’ interviews and conversations with important personalities or ordinary people, have not been included in the book. The conversation with Isabel de Palencia, “the leader of the feminist movement in Spain”,¹⁴ the conversation with Luis Benjoumea on the dangers in Spain,¹⁵ the interview with Primo de Rivera,¹⁶ the

¹² Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις την άλλην χερσόνησον της δικτατορίας - Η Ισπανία με τα δύο πρόσωπα”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 12 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

¹³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ισπανία 1933-Εισαγωγή - Ο Μοντέρνος Δον Κιχώτης!”, *I Kathimerini*, Sunday 21 May 1933, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Γυναίκες και άνδρες της Μαδρίτης - Φλογεροί χωρίς πνευματικήν ανησυχίαν”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 15 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Πώς ήτο η Ισπανία προ της δικτατορίας - Πώς είνε η Ισπανία μετά την δικτατορίαν”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 16 December 1926, p.1.

¹⁶ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Πρίμο ντε Ριβέρα, Ο κυρίαρχος της Ισπανίας - Δεν φοβείται και είναι έτοιμος ν’ αποθάνη!”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 19 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

discussion with the poet Juan Ramón Jiménez¹⁷ and even his talk with a nun in the small provincial town where he was waiting for the train to Valencia have been left out of the first part of the book. Most of the dialogues that have been included in the book are Kazantzakis' conversations with ordinary people.

Biographical details on celebrities, such as Christopher Columbus and El Greco have been eliminated and there are less historical references in the book than in the newspaper articles. Moreover, in the newspaper articles one can find various references to the political situation in Spain, most of which were not included in the book: e.g. the reasons for the decline of Spain;¹⁸ a written message from Primo de Rivera that Kazantzakis quoted in the newspaper article;¹⁹ Kazantzakis' discourse with Luis Benjumea mentioned above;²⁰ the views of the republican camp;²¹ what he has learned about Primo de Rivera, the interview with him and Kazantzakis' views on him;²² or the transition from monarchy (Primo de Rivera and King Alfonso) to republic (Azaña).²³ The fact that many of these texts were omitted from the book creates some ambiguity. For example, the view is expressed in the book that, before formulating an opinion on a subject, it is preferable to listen to two different views. Yet the reader must wonder how Kazantzakis reached that conclusion.²⁴ The answer

¹⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Χουάν Ραμόν Χιμένεθ, ένας ποιητής - Ο Ουναμούνο και ο Μπλάσκο Ιμπάνεθ”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 23 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

¹⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις την άλλην χερσόνησον της δικτατορίας - Η Ισπανία με τα δύο πρόσωπα”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 12 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Πώς ήτο η Ισπανία προ της δικτατορίας - Πώς είνε η Ισπανία μετά την δικτατορίαν-Μια ομιλία με τον Δον Λουίς Μπενχουμέα”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 16 December 1926, p.1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.1 and Nikos Kazantzakis, “«Σωματεν» το φασιο της Ισπανικής δικτατορίας - Σύμβολόν των: Ειρήνη και πάλιν ειρήνη”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 17 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

²¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Οι εχθροί του Ισπανού δικτάτορος - Το στρατόπεδο των φιλελευθέρων”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 18 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

²² Nikos Kazantzakis, “Πρίμο ντε Ριβέρα, Ο κυρίαρχος της Ισπανίας - Δεν φοβείται και είναι έτοιμος ν' αποθάνη”, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

²³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εθνική Αφύπνισις και πνευματικά αντιδράσεις - Ο τελευταίος μονάρχης”, *I Kathimerini*, 2 June 1933, pp.1-2 and “Μανουέλ Αθάνια ο Μυστηριώδης”, *I Kathimerini*, 3 June 1933, pp.1-2.

²⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, Kazantzakis Publications, Athens: 2002, p.70.

can be found in a journalistic text, in which it can be seen that Kazantzakis, after his discussion with Benjumea, a Rivera supporter, then asked for the views of the republican opposition.²⁵

The negative comments on the Spanish found in the journalistic material tend to disappear from the book. Was Kazantzakis attempting to whitewash their image when he decided to publish his writings in a more permanent form, i.e. as a book? Had he perhaps changed his mind about certain issues? Or, had the intervening period left him (as usually happens) with mostly good memories of Spain?²⁶ In my opinion, there is no easy answer to these questions, though all of the above could constitute reasons for Kazantzakis' reluctance to include these negative comments in his book.

To be specific, in the travel pieces, Spaniards are imputed with various negative characteristics: they are not passionate about cleanliness and seem to be rather irritable: “Ο ισπανός καθαρίζει ένα μήλον, ρίχνει τις φλούδες κάτω, στο βαγόνι. Αλλ’ όταν εύρη το μήλον χαλασμένο, θυμώνει και του δίδει μια και το πετά έξω από το παράθυρον. Πρέπει να ερεθισθεί. Η καθαριότης δεν του έχει γίνει πάθος. Βήχει, φτύνει χάμου. Όταν πολυβαστάξει ο βήχας, εξάπτεται, σηκώνεται και φτύνει έξω. Γιατί θύμωσε και θέλει με βίαν να κτυπήσει, να τιμωρήσει το σάλιο.”²⁷ They are philanderers: “Όταν μπαίνει μια γυναίκα στο βαγόνι, οι νέοι αναστατώνονται, παίρνουν στάσιν ερωτικήν, –χάνουν ώρες βυθισμένοι σε εκστατικήν, νωθράν ενατένισιν. Λέγω: Κρίμα εις την φλόγα αυτών των ματιών, πώς χάνεται! Οι Ισπανοί,

²⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Οι εχθροί του Ισπανού δικτάτορος - Το στρατόπεδο των φιλελευθέρων”, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

²⁶ Towards the end of his life, Kazantzakis visited China, where he caught Asian flu which proved extremely harmful to his already enfeebled body. In a personal conversation with his wife Eleni, who asked him whether he had regretted going to China, Kazantzakis answered in the negative and added: “-Περίεργοι είσαστε εσείς οι άνθρωποι. Μόνο το κακό θυμάστε... Εγώ μονάχα το καλό...” (Eleni Kazantzaki, “Μνημόσυνο”, *Nea Estia*, 25 December 1959, p.35).

²⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Κόρδοβα, αι Αθήναι της Δύσεως, Το κέντρον του αραβικ. Πολιτισμού-Ξανθαί κοιλάδαι της Ανδαλουσίας”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 28 December 1926, p.1.

αι φλεγόμεναι αυταί μορφαί που βλέπω, όταν είχαν πίστιν έκαμαν μεγάλα έργα. Τώρα ξοδεύονται άσκοπα εις ελαφρά τραγούδια, σε λιγούρες ερωτικές και σε στρατιωτικά προνοντσιαμέντα”. They have lost their appreciation of their own country: “Έχασαν και την εκτίμησήν των εις την μεγάλην πατρίδα των”.²⁸ They are gamblers: “Μανία τυχοδιωκτική των Ισπανών. Σε κανένα μέρος του κόσμου δεν υπάρχει τέτοια μανία για τα τυχερά παιχνίδια. [...] Ύστερα από την Παναγία και την Αμερική, η Λοταρία.”²⁹ The Spanish who live in the provinces do not have their own views: “Μεγάλη θλίψη να κοιτάξεις πώς περιμένουν το βράδυ, με τι λαχτάρα, στις πλατείες, τις πρωτευουσιάνικες εφημερίδες. Δεν τολμούν να σκεφτούν, να σχηματίσουν γνώμη, να διατυπώσουν επιθυμίες, πριν να διαβάσουν την εφημερίδα της πρωτεύουσας και να δουν τι λέει. Το αίμα έφυγε από το σώμα, τραβήχτηκε στο κεφάλι, η επαρχία και εδώ, όπως παντού μαράθηκε.”³⁰ As well as being egocentric, undisciplined and anarchistic, the Spanish are also inclined to be envious. “Ο χαρακτήρας του Ισπανού ο τόσο ατομικιστής, ο τόσο ακατάλληλος για πειθαρχία, υποταγή κι οργάνωση, ελεύθερος τώρα, ξέσπασε χωρίς χαλινάρι, μέσα στην ακαταστασία και τη σφοδρότητα της πρώτης δημοκρατικής πνοής. Ήταν φυσικό όλα τα ταπεινά προβλήματα να περιπλακούν επικίνδυνα. [...] Η αναρχία είναι βαθιά ανάγκη του Ισπανού. [...] Γι’ αυτό μια από τις κακίες του Ισπανού είναι ο φθόνος.”³¹

In the journalistic texts, Kazantzakis tends to compare Spaniards with people from other countries and most often with Germans and Russians. In most cases, the comparison is more favourable to the others: “Οι νέοι καλοκτενισμένοι,

²⁸ Ibid., p.1.

²⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ισπανία 1933 - Μιράντα του Έβρου”, *I Kathimerini*, 22 May 1933, pp. 1-2.

³⁰ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Το Μπούργκος, η κεφαλή της Καστίλιας - Η παλαιά Μητρόπολη της Ισαβέλλας”, *I Kathimerini*, Tuesday 23 May 1933, pp. 1-2.

³¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Μαδρίτη - Βαρκελώνα - Οι δύο πόλοι της Ισπανίας”, *I Kathimerini*, 29 May 1933, pp. 1-2.

καλοπουντραρισμένοι, κάθονται ώρες, ξεχάσκωτοι, με μεγάλα μάτια και βλέπουν. Καμιά ανησυχία, τίποτε δεν ταράζει το μυαλό. Χωρίς να θέλω ενθουμούμαι τους νέους της Ρωσίας και συγκρίνω. Εκεί πέρα η φλόγα, η μέριμνα, η ταραχή, αι λέσχει κ' αι συζητήσεις, τα χλωμά πρόσωπα, η τριμένες μπλούζες, τα ξυρισμένα κεφάλια. Καφενεία δεν υπάρχουν, μήτε χαζέματα εις τους δρόμους, μήτε η λαγγεμένες ματιές στις γυναίκες.”³² Moreover, after describing how dirty the Spanish are, Kazantzakis notes that: “Ένας Ρώσος σήμερα κάνει προσπάθειαν να είναι καθαρός, έχει στον νουν του και εφαρμόζει με ενθουσιασμόν νεοφωτίστου ό,τι τελευταία έμαθε. Ένας Γερμανός είναι καθαρός, σαν μηχανή, χωρίς πια προσπάθεια. Από όλους μου αρέσει ο Ρώσος· έχει κάτι πιο ανθρώπινον, πιο συμπαθητικόν· η διαρκής αυτή προσπάθεια δίδει αξίαν εις την αρετήν του.” One paragraph later, he adds: “Ο λαός λέγει: «Όταν ακούσης ένα να επαινή την πατρίδα του, είνε Άγγλος· όταν ακούσης ένα να υβρίζει τους Γερμανούς είνε Γάλλος· όταν ακούσης ένα να μικραίνει την πατρίδα του είνε Ισπανός.»”³³

In addition, though in the book Spanish women are attributed many qualities, the negative comments on their appearance found in the journalistic texts have been omitted: “Κάθομαι εις μίαν μικράν πλατειάν και κοιτάζω τας νέας μορφάς: βίαιαι φυσιογνωμιαί, ζωηρά, γοργοκίνητα μάτια, μακρουλά, ορθογώνια πηγούνια, η γυναίκες, αι περισσότεραι, άσχημες, θερμές και βαμένες.”³⁴ Elsewhere he becomes even more harsh: “Σε όλη την Ισπανία μάταια ζήτησα τον ηδυπαθή, επικίνδυνον τύπον της Ισπανίδας, όπως κάθε άνδρα τον έχει στο νου του. Έχουν ακόμα στην

³² Nikos Kazantzakis, “Γυναίκες και άνδρες της Μαδρίτης - Φλογεροί χωρίς πνευματικήν ανησυχίαν”, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

³³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Κόρδοβα, αι Αθήναι της Δύσεως, Το κέντρον του αραβικ. Πολιτισμού-Ξανθαί κοιλάδαι της Ανδαλουσίας”, op. cit., p. 1.

³⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Γυναίκες και άνδρες της Μαδρίτης - Φλογεροί χωρίς πνευματικήν ανησυχίαν”, op. cit., p.1-2.

Ανδαλουσία το «Θανατηφόρο», όπως το ωνόμασαν, κούνημα της μέσης, τα μάτια τους είνε σχεδόν πάντα ωραιότατα. Αλλά γενικά οι ισπανίδες δεν είνε ωραίες: άχαρες, παχειές, με κρεατοελιές μόλις προχωρήσουν τα χρόνια. Ό,τι τις σώζει είνε η υψηλή κτένα κι' απεπάνω η μαντίλια· αυτή δίδει ανάστημα και μυστηριώδες θέλγητρο. Η μαντίλια είνε η λεοντή της Ισπανίδας· το φρονιμώτερο είνε να μην τους την αφαιρέσετε.»³⁵

Unlike the book, in which all references to Greece have been eliminated, Greece appears quite frequently in the newspaper articles, perhaps because Kazantzakis was addressing the readers of a Greek newspaper. Sometimes, he draws parallels between the two countries: “Αυτή η Ισπανία του Σάντσου δεν είνε ακόμα πολύ γνωστή εις την Ελλάδα. Ρέει, εξελίσσεται, δεν πήρε ακόμα στερεάν όψιν. Κι' ακριβώς η δραματική αυτή στιγμή της προσπαθείας και της αναζητήσεως που διατρέχει η Ισπανία, ενδιαφέρει την Ελλάδα. Γιατί πολλά σημεία, ψυχικά και πρακτικά μας πλησιάζουν με την μακρυσμένην αδελφήν και συχνά η δόξα της κι' ο ξεπεσμός μοιάζουν με την ιδικήν μας δόξαν, παληά και νέα, και με τον ιδικόν μας ξεπεσμό, παληό και νέο. Και πολλά σύγχρονα προβλήματά της είνε όμοια με τα δικά μας. Το πρόβλημα του Κοινοβουλίου, της ελευθερίας, της δημοκρατίας, της διοικήσεως, το οικονομικόν πρόβλημα, η στρατοκρατία. Κι' αι λύσεις που εκεί μάχονται να τους δώσουν, καλαί ή κακαί, πάντοτε μπορούν να είνε χρήσιμες στην Ελλάδα.”³⁶ Or elsewhere: “Τα καφενεία είνε γιομάτα –όπως και εις την Ελλάδα. [...] “Με ηρώτησε για τις γυναίκες στην Ελλάδα. Της είπα: -Όπως παντού, όμοια και εις την Ελλάδα, η γυναίκες είνε σήμερα ανώτεροι από τους άνδρας. Έχουν

³⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ο τάφος του Χριστόφορου Κολόμβου - Το αιώνιον πέραςμα της ιδέας”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 4 January 1927, pp. 1-2.

³⁶ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις την άλλην χερσόνησον της δικτατορίας - Η Ισπανία με τα δύο πρόσωπα”, *op. cit.*, pp.1-2.

περισσότεραν ευγένειαν, ανησυχίαν, είναι πιο έτοιμες να δεχθούν την «Καλήν αγγελίαν».³⁷ Another direct connection with the Greek reality can be seen in the following passage: “Το 1898 –όπως εις εμάς το 1897– υπήρξε μέγας οδυνηρός και συνάμα σωτήριος σταθμός εις την εξέλιξιν της συγχρόνου Ισπανίας.”³⁸ To the question of the Spanish poet Juan Ramón Jiménez “What do you do in Greece?”, Kazantzakis replies amongst other things: “[...] Το πρόβλημα και σ’ εμάς είναι όπως παντού: Πώς να βρούμε την νέαν μορφήν εις τας νέας μας αγωνίας; Πώς το νέον φοβερόν, μαινόμενον διονυσιακόν πνεύμα να συμφιλιωθή πάλιν με την «απολλώνειον» ισορρόπησιν –για να γίνη έργον τέχνης; Αυτή είναι η μεγαλητέρα απασχόλησις των εκλεκτοτέρων νέων εις την Ελλάδα.” The incisive comment that follows is even more interesting: “Έτσι απεκρίθηκα κι’ όμως ήξευρα πως η ανησυχία αυτή που ανέφερα πως σχίζει την καρδιά των νέων μας, δεν υπάρχει στην Ελλάδα. Την εφεύρα την στιγμήν εκείνην, γιατί εντράπηκα.”³⁹ There are several other references to Greece in the newspaper material, both implicit and explicit, which have also been excluded from the book.

As far as the second part of the book is concerned, the greater part of the extensive journalistic material from which it derives (forty-seven reports) has not been included in it. The parts that have been kept seem to be the ones that Kazantzakis considered the most representative of his experience in war-torn Spain. On the other hand, parts that have been omitted seem to belong to two different categories: those that describe issues strongly connected to the contemporary reality

³⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Γυναίκες και άνδρες της Μαδρίτης - Φλογεροί χωρίς πνευματικήν ανησυχίαν”, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

³⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Δυο προσπάθειαι χειραφετήσεως από τον Μεσαίωνα της Ισπαν. Ζωής - Δυο Εκπαιδευτικοί Αναμορφωταί”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 21 December 1926, p.1.

³⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Χουάν Ραμόν Χιμένεθ, ένας ποιητής - Ο Ουναμούνο και ο Μπλάσκο Ιμπάνεθ”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 23 December 1926, pp. 1-2.

of the war and serve the short-term aims that dominate journalistic texts; examples of this category are: Kazantzakis' encounter with Franco, details on the different political forces that make up the Nationalist side in Spain, Kazantzakis' repeated and harshly negative comments on foreign journalists, the role of the Catholic Church in the war and so forth. The second category of texts that have not been included in the book is made up of those parts in which Kazantzakis deals with minor issues which tend to be slightly repetitive: references to problems he frequently faces when asking permission to enter a place, successive transfers from one place to another, short visits to different areas of the country and incidents that take place there, the atrocities of war, discussions (especially with soldiers), references to art and interpolations on democracy, life and death in war-time etc. have all been omitted.

It is likely that many of these issues had to be omitted on account of the book's length. Not every detail of the forty-seven newspaper articles could have been included in one book. However, in some cases, it is difficult for the reader to get a detailed view of Kazantzakis' stance on the Spanish Civil War. For example, his affinity with Franco and the Falangists, to which I will refer more extensively in the third chapter of my thesis, is not apparent in the book. Indeed, the omission of Kazantzakis' positive comments on Franco and the Falange might indicate that he later reconsidered these thoughts.

After comparing the book with the newspaper material, it can be seen that the material selected for inclusion in the book was more literary than journalistic. However, as the parts that have been left out were not only ones serving short-term aims, it appears that in some cases, Kazantzakis either changed his views or attempted to whitewash the image he had given of Spain. The exclusion of various parts of the

journalistic material often leads to ambiguity and, especially as regards the second part of the book, does not give the reader a comprehensive view of Kazantzakis' position on certain issues. Hence, I argue that Kazantzakis' travel book on Spain deserves to be published in a more complete version, which will include all the reports he sent to the newspapers. As I will try to demonstrate in the next chapter, apart from their literary value, which has been generally acknowledged, Kazantzakis' writings on Spain also function as the testimony of a Greek intellectual, who contrived to acquaint Greeks with the art, literature, architecture, history and politics of Spain as well as the character of Spaniards.

Chapter 2

Themes and reflections in Kazantzakis' writings on Spain

Kazantzakis sets his agenda from the very first part of his writings on Spain (both in the newspaper reports and in the book). All the themes he is going to deal with appear in a single paragraph: landscapes (“πεδιάδες”, “κοιλάδες”), people (“άντρες”, “γυναίκες”), buildings (“τζαμιά”, “εκκλησιές”, “παλάτια μουσουλμανικά”) and art (“μουσική μονόσερτη, αράπικη”, “Μουρίλλου”, “Βελάσκεθ”, “Γκόγια”, “Γκρέκο”).¹ In this chapter I intend to explore firstly the development of the above-mentioned themes that recur in Kazantzakis' travel pieces on Spain and secondly his reflections on several issues which arise during his journeys. For this purpose, I consider it important to divide the chapter into two sections, namely “Themes” and “Reflections”, so as to provide a more comprehensive view of Kazantzakis' writings on Spain. Furthermore, it should be noted that I will examine these writings as a whole, i.e. both the newspaper accounts and the book.

2.1. Themes

In this section I will deal with the following recurrent themes in Kazantzakis' writings on Spain: Spanish literature and art, Spaniards, public buildings in Spain, Spanish history and politics and Spanish landscapes. The order in which these themes

¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclos Stavrou), Athens: 2002, p.11.

have been arranged was decided in terms of their individual significance; more particularly, I shall start with the themes that occur most frequently and end with those that are not part of the author's main focus.

☉ Spanish literature and art

Spanish literature and art seem to play a dominant role in Kazantzakis' travelogues about Spain. Paradoxically, though he himself is not interested in creating a work of art in writing about Spain, as he states in the preface to *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*,² Spanish literature and painting, attracted above all else his attention during his travels in the country. Moreover, the first thing he asks in his first conversation on the second trip concerns two of the best-known literary creations of Spanish culture, namely Carmen and Don Quixote. Even if this conversation is a figment of Kazantzakis' imagination, it shows once again that Spanish literature and art were among his primary interests.

A predominant figure in Kazantzakis' writings on Spain is undoubtedly Don Quixote, the well known protagonist of the eponymous novel by Cervantes. As Alexandra Samouil has shown, Don Quixote first emerges as a character in Kazantzakis' oeuvre in the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*. According to the same scholar, Don Quixote's philosophy, which could be summarized in Kazantzakis' words "Μονάχα η μέσα μας επιθυμία είναι αλήθεια και ζωή"³, could be Kazantzakis'

² "Η εξομολόγηση τούτη μακάρι να 'χει την αξία μιας καλής πράξης: τίποτα μεγαλύτερο δεν πεθυμάει. Γιατί δεν κάνω τέχνη· αφήνω την καρδιά μου να φωνάζει." Ibid., p.8.

³ Ibid., p.18.

own motto.⁴ For Kazantzakis, not only did Don Quixote represent Spain, but Spain was also identified with Don Quixote.⁵

As Alexandra Samouil has rightly argued, Cervantes' novel is more than a thematic source for Kazantzakis.⁶ Thus, apart from functioning as a symbol of Spain, Don Quixote appears in *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία* as a comic mask for the tragic soul of Spanish people, an idealist, a dreamer who pursues chimeras, one who symbolizes human destiny, and one of God's two masks (the other, according to Kazantzakis, is that of Don Juan). Don Quixote and Sancho Panza represent the soul of Spain. Kazantzakis likens both El Greco and Columbus to Don Quixote. For Kazantzakis, Don Quixote, Sancho Panza and Dulcinea symbolize human nature through the ages; in the very first section of the book, there is a discussion with a young Spaniard, which, whether real or imaginary, shows how the characters of Cervantes' novel have been transformed into diachronic symbols of the Spaniard: “–Κι ο Δον Κιχώτης; – Μηχανικός. –Δεν είναι αιώνιος; –Είναι. Μα αλλάζει. Τότε ήταν ιππότης. [...] Τώρα είναι μηχανικός. [...] –Κι η Δουλσινέα; –Άλλαξε κι αυτή. Κατέβηκε από τα σύννεφα

⁴ Alexandra Samouil, *Ιδαλγός της Ιδέας, Η περιπλάνηση του Δον Κιχώτη στην Ελληνική λογοτεχνία*, Polis, Athens: 2007, pp. 192- 205. As Alexandra Samouil shows, Kazantzakis tried to write a script for a film about Don Quixote, which never came to fruition. He also translated a poem by Antonio Machado about Unamuno as Don Quixote published in 1933 and wrote a poem entitled “Don Quixote” in 1934 which was published in 1938. In the latest edition of *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, this poem has been placed between the first and the second part. It is also the eleventh poem in the collection *Τερτσίνες* published in 1960. Don Quixote is also present in *Οδύσεια*, the Kazantzakis' epic written between 1925 and 1935 and published in 1938, in *Αναφορά στον Γκρέκο* (1961) and more implicitly in *Βίος και πολιτεία του Αλέξη Ζορμπά* (1946).

⁵ “Ἦρθε τέλος ο μυστικός καρπός, η βαθιά σύνθεση, ο ήρωας όλης τούτης της γης, που έσμιξε όλα τα παράταιρα, εφήμερα πρόσωπα, σ' ένα πρόσωπο αιώνιο, που αντιπροσωπεύει πια την Ισπανία στα μεγάλα συνέδρια του καιρού και του τόπου: ο άγιος μεγαλομάρτυρας Δον Κιχώτης” and “Η Ισπανία είναι ο Δον Κιχώτης ανάμεσα στα έθνη”. (Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p.14) Or later: “Να το αληθινό βαθύ δράμα του Δον Κιχώτη, δηλαδή της Ισπανίας” (Ibid., p. 18). Or later: “Μερικοί όμως διανοούμενοι τινάχτηκαν αποφασισμένοι. Λίγοι στην αρχή, σιγά σιγά πλήθαιναν, περικύκλωσαν τον ετοιμοθάνατο Δον Κιχώτη [δηλ. την Ισπανία] κι άρχισαν να κάνουν συμβούλιο πώς να τον σώσουν”. (Ibid., p.71)

⁶ Alexandra Samouil, *Ιδαλγός της Ιδέας, Η περιπλάνηση του Δον Κιχώτη στην Ελληνική λογοτεχνία*, op. cit., p.107.

της φαντασίας, ανέβηκε από το ταπεινό χωριό της. [...] –Πώς τη λένε τώρα; –
Δημοκρατία.»⁷

Another personality from the world of art who appears and reappears in Kazantzakis' writings on Spain is El Greco. Kazantzakis recalls several paintings he saw in Spain and provides details that enable the reader to feel as if s/he is standing in front of them. They include: "View of Toledo", "The Apostle Bartholomew", "The Apostle Simon", "St John the Evangelist", "The Resurrection", "The Martyrdom of Saint Maurice" etc. The greater part of the section "Τολέδο" is dedicated to El Greco. In a way the painter compensates for the dirty streets, the ugly women, the unbearable mass of tourists and the dullness of Toledo. Kazantzakis visits the painter's house, observes the landscapes El Greco saw and gives biographical details about him starting with his death. He refers to the characteristic light in El Greco's paintings, to his agony and to the intensity of his portraits. Finally, he endeavours to explain the recent popularity of El Greco. After an extensive essay on art in general, he concludes that El Greco was a painter in a transitional period, which he attempted to express through his paintings.⁸ This explained why El Greco had become popular again when Kazantzakis visited Spain and, indeed, why El Greco will remain popular in any transitional period. Moreover, when Kazantzakis draws his conclusions after his first

⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

⁸ At this point, it should be mentioned that in 1932 Achilleus Kyrou published a book on Theotokopoulos (Achilleus Kyrou, *Δομήνικος Θεοτοκόπουλος Κρης*, Athens: Ekdotikos Oikos Dimitrakou 1932), in which the scholar stressed the importance of the "Byzantine Greekness" of the painter. In reply to that, Giannis Miliadis, wrote a book review in 1933 (Giannis Miliadis, "«Αχιλλέως Κύρου: 'Δομήνικος Θεοτοκόπουλος' Εκδοτικός Οίκος Δημητράκου. Αθήναι, 1932»", *Nea Estia*, vol. 13, issue 146, 1933, pp. 116-118), in which he expressed disapproval of Kyrou's book; the latter, according to Miliadis, did not deal with El Greco's painting as art, but as a national event. The dispute went on and it is considered to spring from the trend toward Greekness that dominated the decade of the 1930s (for more information on the subject see Dimitris Tziouvas, *Οι μεταμορφώσεις του εθνισμού και το ιδεολόγημα της ελληνικότητας στο Μεσοπόλεμο*, Athens: Odysseas 1989). Kazantzakis, who during that period travelled to Spain and eulogized El Greco, could not have remained silent. In a letter to Prevelakis, who had sent him Kyrou's book, he wrote: "Τον Κύρου θα τον διαβάσω και θα Σας τον επιστρέψω. Μια ματιά που έριξα, με σηδίασε." (Pantelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια Γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη*, op. cit., p. 267.)

journey to Spain, he admits: “Πέντε είναι αι ανώταται συγκινήσεις που μου έδωσε η Ισπανία: η Αλάμπρα, η ταυρομαχία, το τζαμί της Κόρδοβας, μια γυναίκα που είδα στην Κόρδοβα κι’ επάνω απ’ όλα, στην κορυφή ο Γκρέκο.”⁹ [The stress is mine].

Kazantzakis’ appreciation of the art of El Greco is even more evident in his writings on the Spanish Civil War. Toledo, which had disappointed him on his first trip with its dullness and filled him with embarrassment, because he had expected it to be as El Greco had painted it, had become a painting by El Greco during the war: “Το Τολέδο είχε γίνει ένας πίνακας του Γκρέκο με φλόγινα παλλόμενα σχήματα, με πανύψηλους ανέλπιδους τοίχους, παράλογο, υπέρλογο, ρυμοτομημένο σύμφωνα με μιαν αλλοπρόσαλλη αλαφροϊσκιωτη αρχιτεχτονική. Το θέαμα είταν τόσο γοητευτικό που δε μου’ κανε καρδιά να φύγω. [...] Το Τολέδο είχε γίνει πια άγριο, όπως του ταιριάζει, βρήκε επιτέλους το σώμα που ανταποκρίνεται στην πολεμική αγέρωχη ψυχή του.”¹⁰ He even recalls and quotes El Greco’s own words, «Βαγκέστισα πια!»¹¹ which express the way he feels: he was bored of seeing Toledo as a “jolly provincial city full of merchants, photographers, priests”¹²; now that Toledo had become ruins, change could finally take place. Later, in the section “Η Μαδρίτη που χάνεται (Α’)”, he seems to express a different view: “Κι ο Γκρέκο; Ο Γκρέκο μέσα στα κανόνια, στις πυρκαγιές και στα αίματα, ο μεγάλος Κρητικός, χάθηκε. [...] μα τώρα ποιος νοιάζεται για τους Αποστόλους του και τους αγγέλους του μέσα στο φοβερό τούτον αδερφοστρόβιλο;”¹³

⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις την Ισπανίαν της Κάρμεν και του Πρίμο ντε Ριβέρα - Επίλογος και συμπεράσματα μιας επιτοπίου ερεύνης”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 7 January 1927, p. 1.

¹⁰ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 163.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 163.

¹² Nikos Kazantzakis, *Spain*, Amy Mims (translated), Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Company: 1983, p. 184.

¹³ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 184.

The answer to who cares about these things should perhaps be: “Kazantzakis” as can be seen in several parts of the journalistic texts that have been omitted from the book: In his article of 1 December 1936, Kazantzakis asks for a permit to visit the Alcázar. He says to the colonel: “–Θα ήθελα να πεταχτώ, πρόσθεσα, στο Τολέδο, να δω τα ηρωικά απομεινάρια του Αλκάθαρ. Να δω αν λείπη τίποτα κι’ από τον πατριώτη μου τον Γκρέκο.”¹⁴ Later, in his article of 16 December 1936, he admits: “Δυστυχώς δεν αναπνέω αποκλειστικά το σύγχρονον αντιαισθητικόν αγέρα, παλιές παλαιϊκές αγάπες μ’ εμποδίζουν να ζήσω άρτια τον σημερινό σιδερένιο αιώνα όπου μπήκαμε. Και κάποτε-κάποτε –σπάνια τ’ ομολογώ με υπερηφάνεια– θυμούμαι μέσα στον πυρετό του ισπανικού παλμού, περνώντας από την Ιλλιέσκας, κοιτάζοντας από το Αλκάθαρ, τον πανύψηλο, μυστικόπαθο, πνευματικόν αθλητή Γκρέκο.”¹⁵ In the middle of the civil war, Kazantzakis visits the church of Santo Tomé in Toledo, where the painting “The burial of Count Orgaz” is, to see if it remains intact. Then, he visits the “House of El Greco” and wonders: “Άρα γε σώζεται εκεί το «Αποστολάτο» του;”¹⁶ As he enters the house, he asks the caretaker: “–Πληγώθηκε κανένας;” And, while the caretaker answers referring to people, Kazantzakis notes: “Νόμισε πως ρωτούσα για ανθρώπους. Πού να ξέρη πως ρωτούσα αν πληγώθηκε κανένας Απόστολος!”¹⁷ Then, he visits the Ospedale di Tavera, outside Toledo, where four of El Greco’s paintings are kept. Unfortunately, he does not find them in their places and feels inconsolable. Certainly, the references to El Greco and to Kazantzakis’ concern as to the fate of his masterpieces fate are not limited to the above-mentioned examples.

¹⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 ημέρες, εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 1 December 1936, p. 1.

¹⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις το σπίτι του Γκρέκο”, *I Kathimerini*, 16 December 1936, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 1.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 1.

In his writings on Spain Kazantzakis mainly focuses on two different categories of artist: poets/prose writers and painters. The poets/prose writers are: Abu Ali Sina Balkhi or Ibn Sina more commonly known by his Latinized name Avicenna, who was a Muslim mathematician and poet; Don Miguel Unamuno, whom he names “η πιο παλλόμενη και πιστή προσωποποίηση της αιώνιας Ισπανίας”¹⁸; the well-known Spanish dramatist of the Golden Age, Pedro Calderón de la Barca y Henao; “the great” Luis de Góngora y Argote, a Baroque lyric poet; Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Santibáñez Villegas and the Italian poet Dante whom he compares with Cervantes; the lyric poet Fray Luis Ponce de León; Lope de Vega, a Baroque playwright and poet; Antonio Machado, a Spanish poet; the poet Juan Ramón Jiménez Mantecón; Ángel Ganivet García, a writer and Spanish diplomat; José Augusto Trinidad Martínez Ruíz, a poet and writer; the poet, dramatist and theatre director Federico García Lorca; the dramatist and novelist Valle-Inclán; the Basque writer Pío Baroja y Nessi and the writer Gabriel Miró Ferrer.

The painters that Kazantzakis mentions are: Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez, Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, El Greco and the German Albrecht Dürer. Kazantzakis says that Madrid is naked like the Maja, referring to the well-known painting by Goya, “The Nude Maja”. He also tries to explain what led Goya to create the “Black Paintings” and recalls the famous painting “Saturn devouring his son”. Speaking about Goya, he takes the opportunity to comment on the fundamental and persistent way in which the artist worked with his own environment, namely, with what he saw around him. Finally, Kazantzakis refers to the Spanish sculptor Gregorio Hernández.

¹⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Οι προφήται της Ισπανικής Αναγεννήσεως”, *I Kathimerini*, 31 May 1933, p. 2.

The multitude of references to literature and art in Kazantzakis' texts on Spain indicates how much the author was attracted by them. As I have endeavoured to show, the theme of art is central to Kazantzakis' thought and dominates the greater part of his writings on Spain. The two figures that pervade his writings on Spain are, undoubtedly, Don Quixote from the world of literature and El Greco from the world of painting. These two figures, together with the plethora of literary men and artists to which Kazantzakis refers, enable the reader to acquire an overall view of Spanish art and literature through the eyes of an author who was knowledgeable about these things.

☉ Spaniards

During his second trip to Spain, Kazantzakis wrote from Madrid to Prevelakis: “Να μπορούσα να’ μενα σε μια μοναξιά εννιά μήνες και να ταξιδεύω τρεις, θα’ ταν θαρρώ ακριβώς ό,τι μου χρειάζεται. Επαφή με ανθρώπους, κοινωνική ζωή ή δράση κλπ. δε με γονιμοποιούν, μου είναι πράγματα ανώφελα και εξευτελιστικά.”¹⁹ However, people are an inextricable part of Kazantzakis' travel-writing on Spain. Not only does he observe, describe and analyze them, but he also enters into discussion with them. In this section, I will divide the people with whom Kazantzakis engages into two categories: ordinary Spanish people and Spanish celebrities. As I will attempt to demonstrate, people function in two ways in these travel pieces: they are either representing Kazantzakis' own views, which are thereby expressed in a more indirect way, or they are the ones who enable him to formulate an opinion.

¹⁹ Pantelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια Γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη*, Athens: Eleni N. Kazantzaki Publications 1984, p. 355.

Kazantzakis often observes and debates with people who come from the lower classes: in the first section, he has a brief chat with a woman who had come to Spain from France, where she had been working in the vineyards. Kazantzakis seems to identify with her because, as he declares, he is a worker too, but from other vineyards.²⁰ At this point, it is hard to tell whether Kazantzakis was referring to the fact that he was actually working for a newspaper or whether the comment is part of his philosophy of life and the way he viewed himself. The long conversation with Don Manuel, a modern Spanish man, whether real or imaginary as mentioned above, is a means of presenting the way the traditional symbols of Spain have changed over the years. In Miranda, Kazantzakis meets an old peasant and his wife and inquires of them about life in a democracy. At this point, Kazantzakis seizes the opportunity to explain why he was visiting Spain (something he also mentions in the preface to the book). Thanks to the old couple and their belief (“Όλα είναι του Χάρου!”²¹), Kazantzakis realizes that from a simple peasant to Calderón and Cervantes, the consciousness of nothing and the belief that life is a dream are the most representative characteristics of the Spanish soul. In the section “Τολέδο” he meets an old woman in the “House of El Greco” who reminds him of the utilitarianism and the self-interest that characterize ordinary people.

Kazantzakis seems to be deeply interested in the characteristics of the Spaniard; hence, his texts on Spain provide the reader with a portrait of Spanish people. Spanish people are characterized by Kazantzakis in his first journey to Spain as “φλογεράς ιδιοσυγκρασίας χωρίς πνευματικήν ανησυχίαν”.²² Their egocentric

²⁰ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit. p.12.

²¹ Ibid., p. 22.

²² Nikos Kazantzakis, “Γυναίκες και άνδρες της Μαδρίτης - Φλογεροί χωρίς πνευματικήν ανησυχίαν”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 15 December 1926, p. 1.

character constitutes one of the reasons for the Spanish decline.²³ They have degenerated; from heroic “Don Quixotes” they have become unheroic, practical and sensible “Sanchos”.²⁴ They are indifferent, not keen on cleanliness and philanderers; they waste their efforts on insignificant things and do not appreciate their country.²⁵

On his second journey to Spain, Kazantzakis presents Spaniards quite differently: the real Spaniard is reticent; in order to start talking he has to be stimulated.²⁶ Furthermore, through his friend Don Manuel’s words, we learn that Kazantzakis has probably changed his previous view that the Spaniards have become “Sanchos” and has realized the duality of the Spanish soul: “Η ισπανική ψυχή είνε Κιχωτοσάντσος. Ή Σαντσοκιχώτης. Εξαρτάται από την εποχή. Πότε υπερτερεί το ένα στοιχείο, πότε το άλλο.”²⁷ Later, he adds another element in the portrait of the Spaniard, namely that of his love for gambling.²⁸ The two virtues that Kazantzakis distinguishes in Spaniards are their deep human feelings and their stoicism, both of which derive from their Eastern, passive appreciation of reality. Spaniards are characterized by him as egocentric, proud, brave and simultaneously unable to collaborate, to work on a common project, to have the discipline to attempt a long-term task.²⁹ Maybe the most representative phrase that demonstrates how Kazantzakis views Spaniards in 1933 is the following: “Η άλλη ψυχή, η ισπανική, –ανισόρροπη,

²³ Kazantzakis concludes his first report from Spain (“Η Ισπανία με τα δύο πρόσωπα”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 12 December 1926) as follows: “Έτσι, επισκοπώντας την Ισπανία, μπορούμε να διατυπώσωμεν ως παράγοντας της παρακμής της, τους ακόλουθους πέντε: 1) Την έλλειψιν γεωγραφικής και φυλετικής ενότητας. 2) Τον εγωκεντρικόν, ατομιστικόν χαρακτήρα του ισπανού. 3) Την μεγαλομανίαν της Καστίλιας. 4) Τον επί οκτώ αιώνας και τον διωγμόν των Αράβων και των Εβραίων. 5) Την ανακάλψιν της Αμερικής.”

²⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις την άλλην χερσόνησον της δικτατορίας - Πώς ήτο η Ισπανία προ της δικτατορίας”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 16 December 1926, p.1.

²⁵ See the report “Κόρδοβα, αι Αθήναι της Δύσεως, Το κέντρον του Αραβικ. Πολιτισμού” (*Eleftheros Typos*, 28 December 1926).

²⁶ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ισπανία 1933 – Εισαγωγή - Ο Μοντέρνος Δον Κιχώτης”, *I Kathimerini*, 21 May 1933, p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ισπανία 1933 - Μιράντα του Έβρου”, *I Kathimerini*, 22 May 1933, p. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

τραχειά, όλο ταραχή, έκρηξη, άχτι, περιφρονεί τη λογική και τους κανόνες, δεν περπατάει, πηδά ή χορεύει ή σταματά απότομα, ανακηρύσσει το πάθος ως τη μόνη, αθάνατη πηγή της ζωής και της τέχνης.”³⁰ Moreover, Kazantzakis argues that the real Spaniard still retains deep inside of him his nomadic instinct and despises the peasantry. He goes even deeper into the Spanish character and observes the (only superficially) great contradiction of the Spanish soul: the co-existence of a passion for life with the feeling that everything is meaningless, since death lies in ambush.³¹ In Spain, Kazantzakis realizes, it is impossible to dislike a single person, no matter what s/he argues, because: “Οι Ισπανοί έχουν μια φλόγα στα μάτια τόσο βίαη, που μπροστά της όλες οι διαφορές κ’ οι ιδεολογίες εξαφανίζονται.”³² Furthermore, he adds, anarchy is a deep-seated need for the Spaniard and envy one of his disadvantages.

During the Spanish Civil War, namely on his third visit to Spain, Kazantzakis again observes the Spaniards’ characteristics and adds to the portrait he had already composed. One of the very first things he notices is the fact that the formerly passive Spaniards have woken up.³³ Kazantzakis concludes that the war is part of the Spanish character.³⁴ Furthermore, he confirms his already formulated view and stresses the Spaniards’ inability to remain disciplined and cooperate.³⁵ Another characteristic that Kazantzakis attributes to Spaniards is their inability to remain alone and their desire to

³⁰ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Σαλαμάνκα - Η κοιτίς της νεωτέρας Ισπανικής Αναγεννήσεως”, *I Kathimerini*, 25 May 1933, p. 1.

³¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Άβιλα - Η περιπέτεια μιας Αγίας”, *I Kathimerini*, 26 May 1933, p. 1.

³² Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εσκοριάλ - Το Μοναστήρι του Φιλίππου Β’”, *I Kathimerini*, 27 May 1933, p. 1.

³³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 ημέρες εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 24 November 1936, pp. 1-2. “Οι αγαθοί επαρχιώτες τινάχτηκαν από τους καφενέδες, τα πρόσωπά τους άναψαν, ντύθηκαν στρατιώτες, φορτώθηκαν τουφέκια, φυσέκια, χειροβομβίδες και βγήκαν κινήγι.” See also the last report Kazantzakis sent from wartime Spain, “Επίλογος”, *I Kathimerini*, 17 January 1937, p. 1.

³⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 ημέρες εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 29 November 1936, pp. 1-2.

³⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 ημέρες εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 2 December 1936, pp. 1-2. “Οι Ισπανοί είναι φύσει ατομικιστές, δύσκολο να υποταχτούν σε ομαδικούς κανόνες και να γίνουν μηχανές.”

have company and enter into conversation.³⁶ They are keen on disagreeing but extremely polite.³⁷ Kazantzakis repeats his belief as to the duality of the Spanish character, namely the fact that he is Don Quixote and Sancho at the same time.³⁸

Women seem to attract Kazantzakis' attention rather frequently. He observes them, describes them and discusses with them. Two examples of this are as follows: "... γριές στρίγγλες με χοντρές κρεατοελιές, γελαστές, μαυρομάτες, με παχύ χνούδι κοπέλες."³⁹ And: "Στράφηκα κι είδα: όλες οι γυναίκες είχαν καρφώσει στα μαλλιά τους ένα μπουκέτο γιασεμί."⁴⁰ Kazantzakis goes even further and endeavours to reach conclusions on their character and their role in society: e.g. in the section "Μπούργκος", Kazantzakis describes a woman's face as expressing passion and death. It seems, he says, that God is being incarnated in the bowels of a Spanish woman. In the section "Μαδρίτη", he describes the passion in the expression of Spanish women, their erotic movements, their utter femininity. However, he explains that this is only on the surface. Spanish women, according to Kazantzakis, are not looking for a lover, but for a husband. Their most important role is that of the mother. They represent sense and balance, in contrast with Spanish men, who tend to be

³⁶ Nikos Kazantzakis, "Θηριώδης απομίμησις ταυρομαχίας...", *I Kathimerini*, 30 December 1936, p. 1. "Οι Ισπανοί δεν μπορούν να μείνουν μόνοι, λαχταρούν συντροφιά, ψοφούν για κουβέντα. Η φόρμα της ζωής τους είναι δραματική, θέλουν φίλους, εχθρούς, στιχομυθία, πλοκή, κίνηση."

³⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, "Το πολιτικόν πρόβλημα της Ισπανίας", *I Kathimerini*, 3 January 1937, p. 1: "Τρελλαίνονται οι Ισπανοί να διαφωνούν, καθένας και δικό του μπαϊράκι, να φορούν ξέχωρο σκούφο και να κεντούν απάνω του ένα σταυρό που να παραλλάζει κι' αυτός από τον σταυρό του άλλου." And later in the same report: "Οι Ισπανοί είναι ευγενέστατοι, χαίρονται να τους δίνης την ευκαιρία να μιλήσουν."

³⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, "Το πολιτικόν πρόβλημα της αυριανής Ισπανίας", *I Kathimerini*, 5 January 1937, p. 1. "Και εδώ πάλι αποκαλύπτεται η ακατανόητη στον Ευρωπαϊό ψυχολογία του Ισπανού. Από τη μια μεριά γενικώτατα συνθήματα, δογκιχώτικες υψηλές ιδεολογίες και συνάμα ρεαλιστικές λεπτομέρειες, αγάπη για τα πιο καθημερινά και κοινά μικροπράγματα της ζωής. Ο Σάντσος. Το εξάισιο, στον Ισπανό, δεν απέχει ένα βήμα από το γελοίο· συνυπάρχει."

³⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op.cit. p. 67.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.100.

dreamers. Their influence on their country is great.⁴¹ In Seville, Kazantzakis again praises the passion and the erotic movements of Spanish women, whom he compares with the mythic sirens.

Kazantzakis also deals with many important personalities in Spain: Francisco Giner de los Ríos, the philosopher who established the “Institute of free teaching” and attempted to mould students who would fight for a “new” Spain. Kazantzakis dedicates most of the section “Αβίλα” to another significant personality of Spain, Saint Teresa; he gives biographical details and praises the example of her life. He also writes about the intellectuals of Spain who tried, after 1898, to save the “ill Don Quixote”, namely Spain. These were: Joaquin Costa, Ángel Ganivet García, Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo and José Ortega y Gasset. Kazantzakis gives some information on each of them and at the same time expresses his admiration for them. He also mentions those who contributed to the above-mentioned endeavour: Antonio Machado, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán y de la Peña, Azorín, Pío Baroja y Nessi and Miró. Later, in the section “Σεβίλια”, Kazantzakis refers to Spinoza and quotes some of his words. Furthermore, when he tries to define the excitement that the Alhambra had aroused in him, he refers again to Spinoza and to Loyola. He also mentions Christopher Columbus and speaks with bitterness about his tragic fate. Finally, Kazantzakis makes a long reference to the philosophy of Don Juan, who constitutes one of the two masks of God (the other being Don Quixote).⁴²

⁴¹ In the article of 15 December 1926 published in *Eleftheros Typos*, Kazantzakis visits Isabel de Palencia, the leader of the feminist movement at that time in Spain and discusses the subject of women in Spain and women in Greece with her; it seems that his views on Spanish women first expressed in the article of 28 May 1933 in *I Kathimerini* and later in the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, were strongly influenced by this conversation.

⁴² According to the scholar Adèle Bloch, masks are omnipresent in Kazantzakis' works; the author's fascination with masks can be traced to his visit to Berlin in post-World War I years, when a display of

Spaniards, as I have attempted to demonstrate, not only attracted Kazantzakis' attention, but they seem to dominate his texts on Spain. Since Kazantzakis was one of the first Greek authors⁴³ to write about Spain and acquaint Greek people with a country and a culture generally unknown to them, it is obvious that he would endeavour to describe the basic elements that constitute the Spanish character.⁴⁴ Moreover, the references to a plethora of celebrities indicate both his will to present the cream of Spanish intellectuals to his Greek readership society and, once again, the fact that he was a traveller extremely well-informed about the country he was visiting.⁴⁵

☉ Public buildings in Spain

There are three main categories of buildings that attracted Kazantzakis' attention: buildings related to an important person, buildings strongly connected with religion and palaces. The author observes them and describes their features. Buildings frequently give rise to Kazantzakis' reflections on several issues, which I will discuss in more detail in the section "Reflections".

One of the buildings belonging to the first category is the house of El Greco, situated in the Jewish quarter. El Greco's house stimulated Kazantzakis to make brief

African masks at an ethnographic museum made a lasting impression on him. (Adèle Bloch, "The Dual Masks of Nikos Kazantzakis", *Journal of Modern Literature*, 2:2 (1971/1972) p.189)

⁴³ There were four Greek writers who first dealt with Spain and its culture: Zacharias Papantoniou, Spyros Melas, Kostas Ouranis and Nikos Kazantzakis. For a comparison of Kazantzakis with Ouranis and Papantoniou, see Chapter 4 of my thesis.

⁴⁴ For more information on the reasons why Spain did not penetrate Greek literature and remained unknown among the Greek readership (in contrast to France, Italy, Germany, England and Russia), see Petros Charis, "Η Ισπανία στην Ελληνική λογοτεχνία", *Nea Estia*, 24 (1938), pp. 71-75.

⁴⁵ At the end of June 1926, Kazantzakis wrote to Eleni Samiou: "...Τώρα το γραφείο μου καθάρισε από εβραϊκά βιβλία κι από ρούσικα και γιόμωσε ισπανικά: Μέθοδο ισπανική, Δον Κιχώτη, Calderon, Lope de Vega, Αγία Θηρεσία, Baedeker Ισπανίας, Greco, Kultur der Araber κλπ." (Eleni N. Kazantzaki, *Ο Ασυμβίβαστος*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclos Stavrou) 1998, p. 173.

reference to the persecution of the Jews that took place at the end of the fifteenth century and, a more extensive one to El Greco, his life, work and popularity.⁴⁶ In the same vein, Kazantzakis describes the small, modest house of Cervantes in Valladolid, which is at the heart of the city and the most precious part of it: “Το σπιτάκι αυτό είνε η μυστική καρδιά του Βαγιαντολίδ, ό,τι πολυτιμότερο έχει –γιατί σε αυτό μια φορά κατοίκησε και υπέφερε ένας μεγάλος συγγραφέας. Ο Θερβάντες.”⁴⁷ The description of Cervantes’ house functions as a suitable introduction for Kazantzakis to speak about the great Spanish author.

However, churches and mosques tend to attract him even more: in Miranda, he visits the church of Saint Nicholas that used to be a mosque. In this church the head of a saint reminds him of an African mask, which gives rise to a long interpolation about Africa, the ancestor of all;⁴⁸ in Burgos, the Gothic cathedral fills him with awe and makes him think of the great era of creativity and comment on Spanish religion; in Valladolid, he finds many old churches and expresses his views on the Baroque and how art should be; in Madrid, he enters a church and describes its Crucifix in detail; in Córdoba, he visits the Mezquita (the Roman Catholic cathedral and former mosque) which really touches him and after a detailed description, he sings the praises of the Muslim religion in contrast to Christianity, of which he highly disapproves; in Seville, he visits the giant cathedral, in which he views a painting of Saint Francis and another of Saint Christopher and sees the tomb of Christopher Columbus.

⁴⁶ See the following reports: Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τολέδο, η ξακουσμένη πατρίς του Γκρέκο”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 24 December 1926, pp. 1-2, “Ο θρόλος και η ζωή του Γκρέκο”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 25 December 1926, pp. 1-3, “Γιατί η ιδική μας ανήσυχος εποχή κατανοεί κι’ αισθάνεται τον Γκρέκο”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 27 December 1926, p.1.

⁴⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Βαγιαντολίδ - Είς το σπίτι του Θερβάντες”, *I Kathimerini*, 24 May 1933, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 20. It should be remembered that this interpolation is a later addition; in the newspaper report (“Μιράντα του Έβρου”, *I Kathimerini*, 22 May 1933, p. 1) after observing the African mask, Kazantzakis talks about the Spaniards’ love of gambling.

Kazantzakis generally makes only brief references to palaces and most of the time he compares their glorious past with their inglorious present. The palace in Burgos, where the queen of Castile and Leon Isabella welcomed Columbus, was deserted. Kazantzakis, though he sees the difference between the past and the present, reins in his imagination and does not go on to describe an imaginary version of Columbus' admission into the palace.⁴⁹ A visit to the monastery and royal palace El Escorial, situated forty-five kilometres north-west of Madrid and built by Philip II of Spain prompts Kazantzakis to recall its history and provide information about various people who are related to it in one way or another (e.g. Philip II, King Alfonso, Manuel Azaña). According to Kazantzakis, the Madinat al-Zahra, located in Córdoba, used to be a “magic palace”, an “earthly paradise”. Now he observes its ruins and contemplates death; The Alcázar of Seville, an Arabic royal palace, really impressed him with its extremely rare fusion of ecstasy and precision. The Alcázar gave rise to thoughts on the Muslim religion, which Kazantzakis appears to praise highly, especially by comparison with Christianity. Finally, the Alhambra, the well-known Moorish citadel and palace in Granada, was one of the greatest joys that the whole Spanish experience offered him. For Kazantzakis, the Alhambra represented the juncture between architecture and music, a profound connection between geometry and metaphysics and erotic suggestibility.

Though Spanish culture and Spaniards seem to constitute the two basic themes Kazantzakis deals with during his travels to Spain, buildings are not unimportant to him. Most of the time, the author attempts to describe them in words and provides details on their history and their special features. Finally, buildings quite frequently

⁴⁹ “Κράτησα τη φαντασία να μην ξεχυθεί σ’εύκολα παιχνίδια –πώς μπήκε από την πόρτα τούτη και γιόμωσε την αυλή με όλη την παρδαλή φανταχτερή συνοδεία του ο Κολόμπος, ο «Δον Κιχώτης της Θάλασσας»...” (Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 33).

give Kazantzakis cause for reflection and enable him to express his views on several issues.

☉ Spanish Politics and History

Though the political and historical references detected in the journalistic accounts have been to a large extent eliminated in the book, I consider it important to deal with them, since they constitute an inextricable and invaluable part of Kazantzakis' writings on Spain. Through his observations and his comments, as well as his views on the Spanish Civil War that will be examined in the next chapter, the reader is informed about Spanish history and the political situation of the country in the decade 1926-1936. Furthermore, Kazantzakis' political comments allow the researcher to examine developments in his political stance during the above-mentioned period. Thus, in the next few paragraphs, I will endeavour to illustrate Kazantzakis' observations on the historical and political reality of Spain.⁵⁰

In the very first account Kazantzakis sent to *Eleftheros Typos* from Spain (1926), he described the political problems that afflicted the country in the post-war period. Parliamentary democracy had been suspended and a system of dictatorship under Primo de Rivera was endeavouring to enforce its will by eliminating freedom. Kazantzakis claimed that the problems Spain was facing were similar to those of Greece and the solutions the Spanish government was attempting to provide might be

⁵⁰ Since I will devote the next chapter of my dissertation to Kazantzakis' view of the Spanish Civil War, which is directly related to Spanish history and politics, I will not refer here to the historical and political comments Kazantzakis made during his third trip to the country (1936).

useful to Greece.⁵¹ The author acknowledged two virtues in the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera: promptitude and audacity, both of which, according to him, were unattainable by a “democratic government, which is by nature cumbersome and timid”.⁵²

When Kazantzakis first visits Madrid, he observes the indifference people show towards political issues.⁵³ He quotes a written message from Primo de Rivera and listens to Don Luis Benjoumea talking about the positive changes that the Rivera dictatorship had brought. Then, he listens to the views of the Democrats and, after that, he interviews Primo de Rivera. In his last report from Spain in 1927, Kazantzakis recapitulates and notes that the Spain of 1927 was not under a Fascist regime, but under a militarist one.⁵⁴ The current political system eliminated freedom, but ensured safety, order and discipline. However, as Kazantzakis predicts, the present situation was temporary and the “smouldering” problems would flare up again.

In the second series of journalistic pieces Kazantzakis sent from Spain to *I Kathimerini*, the political references are far fewer than those on his first journey to the

⁵¹ “Κι’ ακριβώς η δραματική αυτή στιγμή της προσπαθείας και της αναζητήσεως που διατρέχει η Ισπανία, ενδιαφέρει την Ελλάδα. [...] Και πολλά σύγχρονα προβλήματά της είνε όμοια με τα δικά μας. [...] Κ’ αι λύσεις που εκεί μάχονται να τους δώσουν, καλαί ή κακαί, πάντοτε μπορούν να είνε χρήσιμες στην Ελλάδα.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις την άλλην χερσόνησον της δικτατορίας - Η Ισπανία με τα δύο πρόσωπα”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 12 December 1926, p. 1)

⁵² “Τούτο είνε ένα από τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά της σημερινής ισπανικής Δικτατορίας: η ταχύτης και η τόλμη. Δύο αρεταί απρόσιτοι εις την κοινοβουλευτικήν διαχείρισιν της εξουσίας, που είνε φύσει νωθρά και άτολμος.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Βαρκελώνη, η καρδιά των αλητών και της ανταρσίας την οποίαν υπέταξεν ο Ντε Ριβέρα και έγινε δικτάτωρ”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 13 December 1926, p. 1).

⁵³ “Ο λαός, το αισθάνεσαι, εκουράσθη και με τους φιλελευθέρους και με τους στρατοκράτας: δεν ενδιαφέρεται και δεν επεμβαίνει εις την πολιτικήν. Ένα μονάχα ζητεί: τάξιν. Όταν του εξασφαλίσεις την τάξιν, όλα τ’ άλλα τα υφίσταται με παθητικήν αδιαφορία.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Γυναίκες και άνδρες της Μαδρίτης”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 15 December 1926, pp. 1-2)

⁵⁴ Kazantzakis explains the difference between them: “Ο Φασισμός είναι σύστημα υπευθύνων απαντήσεων σε όλα τα προβλήματα της πολιτικής και κοινωνικής συμβιώσεως των ανθρώπων. Καταργεί τις μικρές ελευθερίες των πολιτών, γιατί πιστεύη πως έτσι μόνο θα σώση τη μεγάλη ελευθερία του συνόλου. Ο μιλιταρισμός είναι απότομη επέμβαση ανευθύνων και ανιδέων στρατιωτών που μισούν την ελευθερία, μικρή και μεγάλη, γιατί μισούν το πνεύμα.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις την Ισπανίαν της Κάρμεν και του Πρίμο ντε Ριβέρα - Επίλογος και Συμπεράσματα μιας επιτοπίου ερευνής”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 7 January 1927, p. 1)

country. Moreover, it seems that it was not his intention to deal with the political situation in Spain: “Γράφω μια σειρά άρθρα για την Ισπ[ανία] –για την Ισπ[ανία] την culturelle– σκολειά, πνευματ[ική] κίνηση, progrès sociaux κλπ.”⁵⁵ From Don Manuel, who represents the contemporary Spanish man, Kazantzakis learns that there are now three main political figures in Spain: Macià, Unamuno and Azaña. He also refers to the collapse of the dictatorship and the first difficult moments of democracy that lead to a chaotic situation mainly caused by the inability of the different ethnic groups to cooperate. The two main centres of political power are socialist Madrid and anarchist Barcelona. Since 1931, Spain had been struggling to form a new type of society and government that would be neither extreme left nor extreme right. The middle course that Spain decided to follow was based on the leftist tendencies that sprang from the social needs of the time. In the Spain of 1933 monarchy has been abolished and democracy has now been established. Kazantzakis dedicates one of his reports to the prime-minister Azaña (one of the few political references that were incorporated in the book), mainly referring to Azaña’s past life that did not presage the crucial role he would play in the future. Kazantzakis’ view on Azaña is as follows: “ένας αρχηγός αμείλικτος, με καταπληκτική διαύγεια μυαλού, με μοναδική πολιτική ευστροφία, στις πρώτες, τις πιο δύσκολες στιγμές της νέας Δημοκρατίας.”⁵⁶

The historical references are mostly brief. In the first report Kazantzakis sent from Spain in 1926, he referred briefly to the tribes that had passed through Spain (Iberians, Celts, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Visigoths, Arabs, Jews) and contributed to the formation of the various modern Spanish ethnicities (Catalans, Castilians, Basques, Andalusians). He also summarized the history of Spain from the

⁵⁵ Pantelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια Γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη*, op. cit., p. 356.

⁵⁶ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Μανουέλ Αθάνια ο Μυστηριώδης”, *I Kathimerini*, 3 June 1933, p. 2.

first years of Christianity to the defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588. In Barcelona Kazantzakis listened to a Catalan narrating the history of Catalonia from the fifteenth century till the present day, when Catalonia was fighting for its independence.⁵⁷ Kazantzakis also refers to the crucial year 1898, when the Spanish fleet was destroyed in Cuba, during the Spanish-American war, only to explain how Spain emerged in the medievalism and the political anarchy of the nineteenth century and to spotlight the “Generation of 1898” and its contribution to Spain’s recovery. The Jewish quarter where the house of El Greco was situated in Toledo prompts him to speak briefly of the persecution of the Jews in 1492 and of the history of Toledo in general. When he visits Córdoba, he also provides some brief information about its history, with an emphasis on the glorious period between 756 and 1031, out of which came the marvellous mosque of Córdoba, the Mezquita, to which Kazantzakis refers more extensively.

In his second journey to Spain Kazantzakis makes brief references to the kings of Leon and Castile who set out from Burgos to persecute the Arabs of Spain, to the Crusades, to the Spanish defeat of 1588 against England, to the history of the University of Salamanca, to the Spanish Renaissance, to the transition from an Arabic world to a Christian one, to the construction of the church of Saint Laurence in Escorial by Philip II in 1563 and to the seven centuries during which the Arabic civilization prevailed in Spain. Furthermore, aware of the crucial historical moment that Spain was experiencing, he endeavoured to shed light on the historical factors that had engendered it.

⁵⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Βαρκελώνη, η καρδιά των αλητών και της ανταρσίας την οποίαν υπέταξεν ο Ντε Ριβέρα και έγινε δικτάτωρ”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 13 December 1926, p. 1).

As I have attempted to demonstrate, Kazantzakis' references to the political and historical reality of Spain are not insignificant. They allow the reader to become more familiar with the historical and political climate of Spain and contribute to a more comprehensive view both of the country and of the author.

☉ Landscapes

Just like in his fiction, landscapes appear infrequently in Kazantzakis' travel writing. Descriptions are brief and function as a means of giving the reader a general idea of the place Kazantzakis is visiting. For example: “Γυμνές, ξανθές, ακατοίκητες οι λοφοσειρές μετά από το Τολέδο. [...] Κάποτε, πέτρες άσπρες λάμπουν μέσα στο κοκκινόχωμα.”⁵⁸ Kazantzakis never devotes more than one or two paragraphs to describing the landscape. However, despite the fact that he does not provide extensive and detailed descriptions of landscapes, he does not seem to underestimate their importance; in two cases in his writings on Spain, Kazantzakis highlights how significantly landscapes influence people: “Η Ισπανία είναι γεμάτη ερημιές. Απέραντες εκτάσεις, όπου τα νερά έφυγαν, μετατοπίστηκαν οι ποταμοί, απόμειναν η αμμούδα κι ο γρανίτης. Λαμπρό εργαστήριο για ηρωϊκές ψυχές. Εδώ αναγκαστικά η ψυχή σφυρηλατείται, όπως στις μεγάλες φλογερές ή παγωμένες ερημιές.”⁵⁹ Landscape is equally important for an artist: “Σούρνω απάνω τους αγάλια τη ματιά μου και χαίρουμαι να συλλογούμαι πως σίγουρα τους ασκητές τούτους βράχους θα τους αγάπησε πολύ το εκστατικό, παράφορο μάτι του Γκρέκο.”⁶⁰ Or elsewhere: “Μυστική, αδιάκοπη είναι η συνεργασία του δημιουργού με ό,τι κάθε μέρα γύρα του

⁵⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 95.

⁵⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Μιράντα του Έβρου”, *I Kathimerini*, 22 May 1933, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 85.

βλέπει.”⁶¹ Thus, it can be concluded that, though Kazantzakis appreciates the importance of landscapes, he does not devote his texts to describing the natural environment that surrounds him, but focuses more, as seen above, on the observation of people and the contemplation of literature and art.

2.2. Reflections

Kazantzakis’ descriptions of what he sees in Spain are frequently interrupted by long or short interpolations about various issues that come to mind. In this way, the reader acquires the impression that s/he follows the flow of Kazantzakis’ thought. These interpolations can be divided into two categories: the ones that are related to Spain and those that constitute general issues that interest Kazantzakis and recur in the rest of his oeuvre.

The interpolations of the first category allow the reader to become more familiar with the country and its people: “Η Ισπανία είναι ο Δον Κιχώτης ανάμεσα στα έθνη. Ορμάει να σώσει τη γης. Καταφρονάει τα σίγουρα αγαθά και κυνηγάει τη χλιοπλούμιστη χίμαιρα. Εξαντλείται στη δονκιχώτικη τούτη πέρα από τη λογική εκστρατεία.”⁶² Interpolations of this category are those in which Kazantzakis endeavours to define those Spanish characteristics to which I have referred more extensively in the section “Spaniards”. As I have already mentioned, churches and mosques Kazantzakis visits, frequently give rise to observations on Spanish religion. In his first journey to Spain, Kazantzakis appears to be rather critical of Spanish religion. Jesuitism, according to him, has dominated Spain; the Jesuits, who consider

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 67.

⁶² Ibid., p. 14.

scientific knowledge a mortal sin, are responsible for education. Kazantzakis, realizing the omnipotence of the Church recalls his trip to Mount Athos⁶³ and feels fear, curiosity and anger. However, he understands that a theocracy is consonant with the Spanish tradition and that each grandiose task the country has achieved has derived from the religious mania that permeates it. Kazantzakis considers the Spanish clergy backward and uneducated and concludes that Spain is “τραγική, σκοτεινή, χωρίς ελπίδα”⁶⁴ due to the role of religion. When he visits Córdoba, he attributes its downfall to the advent of the Christians.⁶⁵ In writing about the Mezquita, for which he expresses his utmost admiration, he becomes even harsher about the Christian religion, especially after comparing it with Islam.⁶⁶ In addition, Kazantzakis seems mainly to blame the clergy for the degradation of Christianity.⁶⁷

⁶³ Kazantzakis had travelled to Mount Athos in 1914 with his friend the well-known poet Angelos Sikelianos. Their tour lasted forty days. In dark, theocratic Spain, Kazantzakis recalls his experience of Mount Athos and notes: “Θυμήθηκα τας ημέρας που έτρωγα, γυρίζοντας τα Μοναστήρια του Αγίου Όρους, μαζί με τους καλογέρους. Εκεί μια στυγνή, παραμορφωμένη από τους καλογέρους, θρησκεία, δεν άφινε τους ανθρώπους ν’ αναπνεύσουν.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Εις το «Σπίτι των σπουδαστών» της Μαδρίτης”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 22 December 1926, p. 1)

⁶⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Το μεσαιωνικόν μαύρον ράσσον τυλίγει και πνίγει την Ισπανίαν”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 20 December 1926, p. 1.

⁶⁵ “Υστερα ήλθαν οι εμφύλιοι σπαραγμοί· ύστερα ήλθαν οι χριστιανοί. Ήρχισαν αι σφαγαί των απίστων, οι διωγμοί, τα κανάλια που επότιζαν την γην έφραξαν, οι κήποι εμαράθησαν, τ’ αναβρυτήρια εστέρεψαν. Η τέχνη, το τραγούδι, η γυναίκα, εθεωρήθησαν θανάσιμοι αμαρτίαι. Η Κόρδοβα ξέπεσε – δεν ξανασηκώθηκε πια.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Κόρδοβα, αι Αθήναι της Δύσεως, το κέντρον του Αραβικ. Πολιτισμού”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 28 December 1926, p. 1)

⁶⁶ “Δεν μπορούσα να τον βλέπω. Η γης είναι ανθισμένο μονοπάτι που μας πηγαίνει στο μνήμα. Μπορείς να γιομάσεις –όπως έκαμε ο Χριστιανισμός– τη στράτα σου από τα σκουλήκια του τάφου και να μην μπορείς πια να φραθείς κανένα αγαθό της γης· πίσω από τα λουλούδια και από τη γυναίκα, θα βλέπεις τ’ άσπρα σκουλήκια να σαλεύουν. Μα μπορείς και να αναμερίσεις, ίσαμε τη στερνή τους στιγμή, τους ανήλεους αυτούς μαντατοφόρους και να πηγαίνεις στο μνήμα χωρίς να τρεκλίζεις, τρυγώντας τις χαρές της στράτας. Τέτοιος είναι ο δρόμος που διάλεξε ο Μουχαμέτης για να φέρει τους πιστούς του στον Αλλάχ. Κοιτάζω το τζαμί τούτο που *κατάντησε* [the stress is mine] εκκλησιά, πάω κι έρχομαι, αγγίζω τις κολόνες και συλλογούμαι: [...]” (Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 106). It should be noted that the above-mentioned quotation cannot be found in the journalistic texts; it is a later addition. Only the phrase “Τώρα το τζαμί έγινε εκκλησία” is found (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ένα θαύμα από κρύσταλλον και σιντέφι”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 30 December 1926, p. 2). The substitution of the verb “κατάντησε” for “έγινε” is indicative of Kazantzakis’ becoming even more critical of Christian religion.

⁶⁷ “Ειδικώς στην περίπτωσιν αυτή ο φορέυς του Ιησού, που πέρασε τον ωκεανό κομίζοντας στους δυστυχείς ερυθροδέρμους τον Χριστιανισμό, όπως τον κατήνησαν οι παπάδες, έπρεπε νάχει κεφαλή θηρίου.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ο τάφος του Χριστόφορου Κολόμβου - Το αιώνιον πέρασμα της ιδέας”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 4 January 1927, p. 1.)

On his second journey to Spain, Kazantzakis also refers to the Spanish religion: “Η θρησκεία του Ισπανού δεν είναι δόγμα αφηρημένο, μακρινή νοητή επαφή του ανθρώπου με τον απροσπέλαστο Θεό. Είναι θερμός εναγκαλισμός, είνε χέρι και πληγή –το χέρι του ανθρώπου που βυθίζεται στην πληγή του Θεού.”⁶⁸ The strong religious feeling had prevented the Renaissance from penetrating Spain and this is why Spanish art retained its unity. In the war-torn Spain of 1936, Kazantzakis seems to be once again interested in the role of the Catholic Church in the new Spanish government that will emerge after the end of the war.⁶⁹

The second category of interpolations includes issues that are not directly related to Spain and constitute Kazantzakis’ general concerns that are also detected in the rest of his oeuvre. For example, a saint’s head in a church in Miranda which, in the eyes of Kazantzakis, looks like an African mask prompts him to speak about Africa, the ancestor of all. Moreover, the African element recurs in Kazantzakis’ writings on Spain, as, according to Kazantzakis, it is prominent in the Spanish character. In the section “Μπούργκος”, Kazantzakis makes an interpolation about Saint Francis of Assisi, a character with which he has dealt more extensively in *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ιταλία* and *Ο Φτωχούλης του Θεού*. In the section “Αβίλα” there is an interpolation on how man should live his life.⁷⁰ These thoughts of Kazantzakis, subsequently added to the book, as they cannot be found in the newspaper articles, are a clear allusion to the philosophical theory developed in his book *Ασκητική*,

⁶⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Το Μπούργκος, η κεφαλή της Καστίλιας - Η παλαιά Μητρόπολη της Ισαβέλλας”, *I Kathimerini*, 23 May 1933, p. 1.

⁶⁹ “Μα υπάρχει μια άλλη δύναμη κρυφή, που ενεργεί σιωπηλά και παντοδύναμα, έχει άπειρα αποθησαυρισμένα πλούτη ψυχικά κ’ υλικά, κ’ έξυπνους υπομονητικούς, ανένδοτους μαχητές... Αιώνες τώρα, πότε ορατά, πότε αόρατα, κρατάει στα χέρια της την ψυχή της Ισπανίας. Η φοβερή αυτή δύναμη είναι η Εκκλησία.” (Nikos Kazantzakis, “Θηριώδης απομίμησις ταυρομαχίας...”, *I Kathimerini*, 30 December 1936, p. 1)

⁷⁰ “See in Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., pp. 55-57.

completed in 1923 (namely before Kazantzakis travelled to Spain) and published in 1927.

In the section “Έσκοριάλ”, Kazantzakis recalls a story he had read in an old legend about Saint John the Faster and Saint Nilus and offers the opinion that paradise does not exist. Later, he returns to his own concerns and describes his own paradise and hell: “Πάντα μου έπλαθα στο νου έναν Παράδεισο δικό μου και μιαν Κόλαση δική μου, που ολότελα διαφέρουν από τον αναγνωρισμένον επίσημο Παράδεισο και Κόλαση. Όλοι οι «ζεστοί», ενάρετοι ή κακούργοι, θα μούνε στον Παράδεισό μου· όλοι οι «κρύοι», ενάρετοι ή κακούργοι, θα μούνε στην Κόλασή μου. Και στον πάτο της Κόλασης, οι κρύοι ενάρετοι.”⁷¹ At the end of the section “Μαδρίτη” Kazantzakis, having tried to explain the popularity of El Greco, makes a long interpolation about his own views on art and the artist. In “Σεβίλια” he refers to the beauty of the earth and life and mentions that only through “κραυγή”⁷² can man praise life. At the beginning of the “Τρανάδα” section Kazantzakis, after referring to the five paths that, according to Islam, lead to God (faith, charity, prayer, fasting and pilgrimage to Mecca), clearly states that he would choose only the pilgrimage to Mecca, which might be situated in his heart: “Αν ανοίξεις την καρδιά μου, δε θα βρεις παρά ένα μονοπάτι όλο πέτρα κι έναν άνθρωπο ν’ ανηφορίζει χωρίς ελπίδα.”⁷³ This phrase is another clear-cut allusion to his philosophical book, *Ασκητική* (1927).

Kazantzakis’ reflections on various issues add to the personal touch that in any case characterizes his writings on Spain. Again, the reader acquires a more detailed

⁷¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 64.

⁷² “Κραυγή”, meaning “cry”, is a fundamental term in Kazantzakis’ world view and occurs in the largest part of his oeuvre. Peter Bien has aptly defined it as “a spiritual right act that will help bring an end to the injustice of the transitional age”. (Peter Bien, *Politics of the Spirit*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 22)

⁷³ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 118.

view not only of the country, but of the author as well. Though sometimes Kazantzakis seems to lack control and over-theorizes, his interpolations are rarely inappropriate or entirely redundant.



In conclusion, the five themes developed in Kazantzakis' writings on Spain (Spanish literature and painting, Spaniards, public buildings in Spain, politics and history of Spain and its landscapes) are blended with his reflections on a variety of issues, both related to Spain and more generally. It seems that Kazantzakis tends to be more reflective than descriptive in his writings on Spain. In other words, while he often provides detailed descriptions of works of art, people, buildings etc., most of the times he just notes his reflections on them, something that has prompted some critics to argue that Kazantzakis' writings on Spain reveal more of the author's personality than of Spain's.⁷⁴ In any case, through his travel narratives on Spain, Kazantzakis manages to provide an overall portrait of a country generally unknown to his Greek readership. At the same time, these texts reveal his talent as a storyteller (which would come under the spotlight after 1946 when the first novel of his maturity, *Βίος και πολιτεία του Αλέξη Ζορμπά* was published), his restless spirit and personality full of contradictions. The latter will be more explicitly demonstrated in the next chapter.

⁷⁴ See the articles by Petros Charis ("Νίκου Καζαντζάκη: «Ισπανία»", *Nea Estia*, 15 June 1937, pp. 946-948) and Aimilios Hourmouziou ("«Ισπανία» του κ. Νίκου Καζαντζάκη", *I Kathimerini*, 19 April 1937, p. 1).

Chapter 3

Kazantzakis on the Spanish Civil War

As has been already mentioned, Kazantzakis visited Spain for a third time in October-November 1936, namely three months after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. His impressions of this journey were published in the Greek newspaper *I Kathimerini* and some of them were later included in the second part of *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, which is entitled “Viva la Muerte!”.¹ In this chapter I will attempt a critical reading of Kazantzakis’ texts on war-torn Spain and comment on his attitude towards the Spanish Civil War. I will refer to the probable reasons for choosing to cover the war from Franco’s side, his reluctance to take sides and what caught his attention during this 1936 journey to Spain. To this end, I consider it essential to make brief reference to the history of the Spanish Civil War and to how deeply this dramatic event in modern European history engaged the world’s intellectuals. In this chapter I will be basing myself mainly on the journalistic material, which, in contrast to the book, includes all of Kazantzakis’ writings on the Spanish Civil War.

The Spanish Civil War began after a military coup against a legally elected Republican government (the Second Spanish Republic, the president of which was Manuel Azaña) led by a group of Spanish Army generals on 17 July 1936. The war lasted almost three years (from 17 July 1936 to 1 April 1939) and ended with a

¹ “Viva la Muerte!” meaning “Long Live Death” was the battle cry of the Spanish Foreign Legion. In my opinion, the choice of a slogan derived from the Nationalists as the title of his writings on the Spanish Civil War is provocative on that part of a writer like Kazantzakis whose aim was allegedly to be impartial while capturing the war.

victory for the military forces, the dissolution of the Republican government, the establishment of a dictatorship led by General Francisco Franco (which lasted forty years, from 1936 till Franco's death in 1975) and the formation of the Spanish state. It "signalled the greatest clash in the conflict of forces which had dominated Spanish history. One of those antagonisms was evidently between class interests, but the other two were no less important: authoritarian rule against libertarian instinct and central government against regionalist aspirations."² The two sides in the fight, the Republican and the Nationalist (the "Reds" and the "Whites" or "Blacks") consisted of many different groups among whom there was considerable tension (especially on the Republican side).³ The Republicans were supported by the Soviet Union, Mexico and volunteers who were either organized into the International Brigades⁴ or fought with anarchist or militia groups. The Nationalists were supported by Germany and Italy. Thus, the Spanish Civil War was largely seen as a proxy war between the Communist Soviet Union and the Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. As the Nazi government acknowledged from the beginning of the war, it offered the perfect testing ground for weaponry and tactics that would be invaluable for the Second

² Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*, London: Phoenix 2007, p.3.

³ The Republican side mainly included: a) Popular Front parties and affiliated organizations like the Unión Republicana (UR) which was the right wing of the Popular Front alliance, the Izquierda Republicana (IR) which was Azaña's Republican left party, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Lluís Companys's Republican Left Party of Catalonia), Partido Socialista Obrero de España (PSOE), the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, Partido Comunista de España (PCE), The Spanish Communist Party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM), the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification led by Andreu Nin, b) Allies of the Popular Front as The Libertarian Movement (anarcho-syndicalist and anarchist) and c) Basques (PNV, ANV, STV etc.). The Nationalist side included: Alfonsine monarchists (who supported the descendants of Queen Isabella II), the Carlists (who supported the rival Borbón line of Don Carlos), the Falange (a small Fascist-style party founded by José Antonio Primo de Rivera), CEDA (the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right), PRR (Partido Republicano Radical led by Alejandro Lerroux), DLR (The Republican Liberal Right party of conservatives) and LC (the Catalan League, which was the Catalan Nationalist party of the grande bourgeoisie).

⁴ The International Brigades consisted of approximately 32,000 to 35,000 volunteers from 53 different countries who, seeing Fascism as an international threat, had travelled to Spain to fight for the Republic.

World War that would follow.⁵ The Spanish Civil War was a tragic event that killed several hundred thousand soldiers and civilians, a war in which propaganda on both sides played a dominant role. It signalled a clash of beliefs and a betrayal of ideals and made a deep impression on all humanity.⁶

The extent to which the tragedy of the Spanish Civil War moved the intellectual world can be understood if one considers the many works of art that it generated.⁷ As Beevor has argued, “the Spanish Civil War engaged the commitment of artists and intellectuals on an unprecedented scale, the overwhelming majority of them on the side of the Republic.”⁸ In fact, only the Holocaust offers a parallel with the Spanish Civil War in terms of inspiring artistic and literary outpourings.⁹ According to a recent view, “it has generated over fifteen thousand books – a textual epitaph that puts it on a par with the Second World War”.¹⁰ Of these the most popular have been *L’Espoir* (1937) by André Malraux, the *Spanish Testament* (1937) by Arthur Koestler, the *Homage to Catalonia* (1938) by George Orwell and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) by Ernest Hemingway. All these writers, together with many

⁵ Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*, op. cit., p.472.

⁶ The bibliography on the Spanish Civil War is immense. For more information see: Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*, London: Phoenix 2007, Julián Casanova, *Anarchism, the Republic and Civil War in Spain: 1931-1939*, London: Routledge 2004, Helen Graham, *The Spanish Republic at war (1936-1939)*, Cambridge 2002, George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert, *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in context 1931-1939*, Longman 1995, Ronald Fraser, *Blood of Spain: The experience of civil war 1936-1939*, London: Allen Lane 1979, Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, London: Hamilton 1977 and so forth.

⁷ In the introduction to his *The Spanish Civil War in literature, film, and art: an international bibliography of secondary literature* (Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1994, p. ix) based on Walter’s Haubrich “Angst vor neuen Wunden. Spanien erinnert sich seines Bürgerkrieges” (published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 4 August 1986, p. 21) Peter Monteath mentions that: “One estimate puts the number of literary titles stemming from the war, including not just novels but also eye-witness accounts, histories, memoirs and propaganda publications, at over 20,000.”

⁸ Antony Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939*, op. cit., p. 274.

⁹ Janet Pérez and Wendell Aycock (ed.), *The Spanish Civil War in Literature*, Studies in Comparative Literature No. 21, Texas Tech University Press 1990, p.1.

¹⁰ Helen Graham, *The Spanish Civil War: a very short introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, p. ix.

others, visited Spain either as war correspondents or as volunteers, and afterwards, wrote down their experiences.¹¹

Nikos Kazantzakis was also one of those who visited Spain in 1936 as a war correspondent; he was sent by the Greek newspaper *I Kathimerini* and stayed there for forty days (October-November 1936). According to Eleni Kazantzaki, Kazantzakis' decision to visit wartime Spain was taken after the following conversation with the editor of the newspaper, Angelos Vlachos: “(Vlachos:) –Ξέρω πως θα προτιμούσες να πας στους Κόκκινους. Μα εγώ σε στέλνω στους Μαύρους, όπως τους λέτε. –Γιατί ίσια-ίσια εμένα; –Γιατί θα πεις την αλήθεια. Φίλοι κι εχθροί σου θα δυσαρεστηθούν, τόσο το καλύτερο. Δέχεσαι; Ναι ή όχι;”¹² Kazantzakis accepted the invitation, left for Spain and reported the Spanish Civil War from Franco's side. However, bearing in mind that most intellectuals worldwide favoured the Republican side, it is reasonable to wonder why Kazantzakis chose to take the Nationalist side.

The easiest and most obvious answer to this question would be that he did not go to Spain on the Nationalist side on his own initiative; it was proposed to him. Since

¹¹ One of the very first publications on writers' responses to the Spanish Civil War was Nancy Cunard's *Authors take sides on the Spanish War* first published in 1937 by *Left Review*, and republished by Cecil Woolf (London 2001). The book is based on a questionnaire that Cunard distributed to 148 British and Irish writers asking them the following question: “Are you for, or against, the legal government and people of Republican Spain? Are you for, or against, Franco and Fascism? For it is impossible any longer to take no side.” A similar survey was carried out in the United States among 418 American writers (*Writers Take Sides. Letters about the War in Spain from 418 American Writers*, New York: League of American Writers, 1938). For more information on the impact of the Spanish Civil War on literature see: Peter Monteath, *The Spanish Civil War in Literature, Film, and Art: an international bibliography of secondary literature*, Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1994, Janet Pérez and Wendell Aycock (ed.), *The Spanish Civil War in Literature*, Studies in Comparative Literature No. 21, Texas Tech University Press 1990, Valentine Cunningham (ed.), *Spanish Front: Writers on the Civil War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1986, Murray A. Sperber, *And I remember Spain: A Spanish Civil War Anthology*, Hart-Davis, MacGibbon Ltd London 1974, and Stanley Weintraub, *The Last Great Cause: the intellectuals and the Spanish Civil War*, W. H. Allen London 1968.

¹² Eleni Kazantzaki, *Ο Ασυμβίβαστος*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclus Stavrou) 1998, p.407.

his financial condition was bad,¹³ this trip offered the source of income he needed. Furthermore, at that time Greece was under the Metaxas' dictatorship, something that made travel to Spain on the Republican side rather difficult for Greeks. The two most popular (and conservative) newspapers of the time, *I Kathimerini* and *Eleftheron Vima* appeared to be objective and impartial, but they actually tended to highlight the barbarism of the "Reds".¹⁴ Only the Communist newspaper *Rizospastis* had sent its own correspondent to Spain, who apparently reported the war from the Republican side.¹⁵ Another possible answer may lie in Kazantzakis' political attitudes during the period in which his 1936 journey to Spain takes place. During the 1930s Kazantzakis had already become disillusioned with Communism and returned to the embrace of nationalism, which is more apparent in his 1937 travel book about Greece, *O Μοριάς*.¹⁶ Furthermore, despite his long-standing sympathy for the Left, he had also expressed sympathy for the Right in the past, especially between 1910 and 1920 when he was under the influence of the Nationalist Ion Dragoumis.¹⁷ Hence, it appears that there could have been several reasons that urged Kazantzakis to report on the war

¹³ Just before her husband received the telegram from G. Vlachos suggesting he go to Spain, Eleni Kazantzaki noted: "Και τα οικονομικά μας να πηγαίνουν κατά διαβόλου." (*Ο Ασυμβίβαστος*, p.407)

¹⁴ The examples of negative references to the "Reds" are multiple in both newspapers. Moreover, when *I Kathimerini* (2 October 1936) informs its readers about Kazantzakis' arrival in Spain and the fact that he will be covering the war, it notes: "Ο κ. ΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗΣ αναχωρήσας ήδη διά την επανεστατημένην Ισπανίαν θα ευρίσκειται εις το κέντρον της Επαναστάσεως εντός των προσεχών ημερών και θα έχη ίσως την τύχην [the stress is mine] να εισέλθῃ μετά των στρατευμάτων του Αρχιστρατήγου Φράνκο εις την ισπανικὴν πρωτεύουσαν." If we consider the importance of Madrid to the course of the war and the vigorous refusal of the Republicans to surrender, the advance of Franco and the Nationalists on it could not have been a happy moment. This is one of many references showing that *I Kathimerini* was well-disposed towards Franco and his supporters.

¹⁵ For more information about the Athenian newspapers' attitudes towards the Spanish Civil War see the section "Η στάση του αθηναϊκού Τύπου" in Dimitris Philippis' article "Η Ελλάδα μπροστά στον ισπανικό εμφύλιο (1936-39), first published in the periodical *Anti* (23 April 1999, pp. 41-52) and republished in Christos D. Lazos, *Πεθαίνοντας στη Μαδρίτη: Η συμμετοχή των Ελλήνων στον Ισπανικό Εμφύλιο Πόλεμο*, Athens: Aiolos 2001, pp. 166-185.

¹⁶ Peter Bien, *Nikos Kazantzakis: Novelist*, Bristol Classical Press 1989, p.22.

¹⁷ Peter Bien, *Kazantzakis: Politics of the Spirit*, Volume 2, New Jersey: Princeton University Press 2007, p.25.

from the Nationalist side. The question now is whether this means that he supported the Nationalists.

On his way to Spain, Kazantzakis wrote a letter to his friend Pantelis Prevelakis, explaining his current political position: “Τώρα περνώ το τρίτο –θάνατο το τελευταίο;– στάδιο: το ονομάζω ελευτερία. Κανένας ίσκιος. Μονάχα ο δικός μου, μακροντέμπλικος, σκούρος μαύρος, ανηφορίζοντας. Απαλλάχτηκα από κόκκινα ή άλλα χρώματα, έπαυσα να ταυτίζω την τύχη της ψυχής μου –τη σωτηρία μου με την τύχη οποιασδήποτε ιδέας. Ξέρω πως οι ιδέες είναι κατώτερες από μια δημιουργική ψυχή. Γίνομαι ολοένα amoral, anidéal, μα όχι με το αρνητικό, παρά με το θετικό, βαθύ περιεχόμενο που’ χουν οι λέξεις τούτες –που αρνητικές είναι μονάχα στις άγονες, αναίσθητες, κρύες ψυχές. [...] Με τέτοιον οπλισμό –δηλ. ολόγδυμνος– κάνω την πρώτη κρίσιμη expérience της νέας μου ελευτερίας: πάω να δω την αιματομένη Ισπανία.”¹⁸ In other words, though Kazantzakis accredited to the Nationalist side, on his trip to Spain, he intended to remain neutral, or “free”, as he claims. Spain constituted a test of his new “freedom”.

Furthermore, it appears that the side from which he would report the war did not really matter to him, as his primary aim was to tell the truth and be impartial; thus, in the prologue of “Viva la Muerte!” he declared: “Θα πω ό,τι είδα, τίμια, καθαρά, χωρίς καμιά μεροληψία.” [...] “...χρέος του σκεπτόμενου σήμερα ανθρώπου είναι να λέει την αλήθεια.”¹⁹ A similar declaration can be found in a letter to his wife Eleni, a

¹⁸ Pantelis Prevelakis, *Τετρακόσια Γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη*, Athens: Eleni N. Kazantzaki publications 1984, p.465. Kazantzakis’ letter to Prevelakis echoes the former’s response to the article by Kostis Bastias (“Νίκος Καζαντζάκης, ο ερημίτης της Αγίνης”, *I Kathimerini*, 13 July 1936, p. 1), in which Bastias comments on Kazantzakis’ ideas about Fascism in Italy and Germany. Bastias’ article was followed by Kazantzakis’ response (“Ο Φόβος και η Πείνα”, *I Kathimerini*, 20 July 1936), in which he defended his desire not to take sides, since the two enemies were fighting, according to him, for the same goal.

¹⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 145-6.

week before leaving for Spain: “Και θα ’μαι απάνθρωπα αμερόληπτος σε ό,τι γράψω. Κι οι δυο μερίδες θα δυσαρεστηθούν, μα δε μπορώ αλλιώς. Αρχίζω πια –αυτή ’ναι η ολόστερνή μου vision– να μην απασχολούμαι πια για ιδέες αριστερές ή δεξιές: ένα μονάχα μ’ ενδιαφέρει και με κάνει να χαίρουμαι και να πονώ: ο άνθρωπος, ο ανθρώπινος, ο εξάισιος σκούληκας, που σούρνεται και μάχεται να κάμει φτερά [...]”²⁰ Kazantzakis’ intention was not to take sides and express his own views, but to leave the protagonists of the events to speak for themselves and describe, in some way, the eternal human struggle.

It appears that Kazantzakis generally remained true to his aim of not taking sides. His impartiality and desire to stay neutral is reflected in some of his published thoughts: “Σκύβω σ’ ένα σωρό σκουπίδια και μαζεύω μιαν κόκκινη σημαία, μισοκαμμένη, τρυπημένη από τις σφαίρες. Την κοιτάζω με ταραχή και συλλογούμαι πόσο τρομακτικά θ’ άλλαζε το πρόσωπο της Ισπανίας κ’ ίσως και της Ευρώπης αν το κουρέλι αυτό κυμάτιζε τώρα στην κορφή του Αλκάθαρ...”²¹ Kazantzakis recognizes that not only the face of Spain but also the face of Europe would change dramatically if the Republicans won the war; however, he does not express an opinion as to whether a “Red” victory would change things for the better or for the worse.²² The same question also emerges later, when Kazantzakis stresses the importance of the occupation of Madrid by the Nationalists: “Ο εθνικιστικός στρατός προχωρούσε κάθε

²⁰ Eleni N. Kazantzaki, *Ο Ασυμβίβαστος*, op. cit., p.408.

²¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Αλκάθαρ, το Μεσολόγγι της Ισπανίας”, *Ι Kathimerini*, 6 December 1936, p.1.

²² The word “τρομακτικά” could mean “a lot” or “terribly”. If interpreting it in its second sense, one could argue that Kazantzakis implies that a “Red” victory would change Spain for the worse. The use of the word “κουρέλι” for the “red” flag, which could have negative connotations, potentially reinforces this view.

μέρα οκτώ, δέκα, δεκαπέντε χιλιόμετρα προς τη Μαδρίτη. Θα την κυριέψη; Δε θα την κυριέψη; Από το ναι ή το όχι μπορούσε ν' αλλάξει το πρόσωπο της ιστορίας.”²³

Kazantzakis recognized that this war did not have the characteristics of an ordinary civil war; it was a war between two ideologies, Fascism and Communism, in which the whole world was taking part. Sometimes, he tended to equate the two enemies (something that emphasizes his impartiality) so that the reader acquires the impression that “Reds” and “Whites” are no different in his eyes: “Κι οι δυο ιδεολογίες με πλήθος στόματα γεμάτα οβίδες.”²⁴ Though for different reasons, they both want to burn Madrid: “Ο νασιοναλιστής Ισπανός λέει, και με το δίκιο του: – Εξαίσια, πλούσια, πολύτιμη είναι η Μαδρίτη. Μα πιο πολύτιμη είναι η Πατρίδα. Ας γίνη στάχτη για να σωθή η Ισπανία! Ο κόκκινος Ισπανός λέει: –Ας γίνη στάχτη η Μαδρίτη. Δε νοιάζομαι για ομορφιές και παλιές δόξες κ' αισθηματικότητες. Ας γίνη στάχτη, θα χτίσω καινούργια!”²⁵ Later, when he sees some “White” soldiers looking at some “Red” hostages as if they were strange creatures, he notes: “Κ' ήταν ίδιοι απαράλλαχτοι, σωματικά, κόκκινοι κ' άσπροι.”²⁶ Or elsewhere: “Κ' εγώ, στριμωγμένος στη γωνιά, τους καμάρωνα και δεν μπορούσα να ξεχωρίσω τον κόκκινο από τους άλλους, όλοι ήταν ένα, Ισπανοί με το ζεστό αφρικάνικο αίμα.”²⁷ When he meets a Nationalist soldier who expresses a desire to avenge his father's betrayal and murder by the leftists, he notes: “Πόσοι χιλιάδες τέτοιοι εκδικητές

²³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Προς την Μαδρίτην...”, *I Kathimerini*, 17 December 1936, p. 1.

²⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 μέρες, εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 26 November 1936, p. 1.

²⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 μέρες, εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 27 November 1936, p. 1. The fact that Kazantzakis adds the comment “και με το δίκιο του” in support of the Nationalist's view of the destruction of Madrid, could be seen as some sort of friendliness towards the “Whites” or even justification of them.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁷ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Αι θηριωδία του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου”, *I Kathimerini*, 27 December 1936, p. 1.

υπάρχουν σήμερα στην Ισπανία, στη δεξιά και στην αριστερή! συλλογίστηκα. Πότε θα τελέψουν οι βεντέτες; Θα περάσουν γενιές.”²⁸

Many times during his journey Kazantzakis remained silent, as he had nothing to say and truly believed that the words of others would speak for themselves. When he listened to Nationalist soldiers speaking of Republican atrocities, he noted: “Σώπαινα. Σε όλη αυτήν την τραγική διαμονή μου στην Ισπανία έμαθα να σωπαίνω.”²⁹ Kazantzakis quite often chose silence. The most representative example is when he meets one of those who had been besieged in the Alcázar, whom he interrupts only to ask a few questions. Kazantzakis dedicated seven of his reports to the siege of the Alcázar, something that reveals his great interest in it. He characterized the Alcázar as the “Messolonghi” of Spain and the besieged people as “the free besieged” drawing a parallel between them and the besieged of Messolonghi and alluding to the eponymous poem by Dionysios Solomos.³⁰ In Toledo, he found many people who claimed to have been in the Alcázar, but, as he says, the Alcázar had now become a legend and many myths were created around it. Kazantzakis recorded the testimony of Miguel Gómez Cascajares who had both experienced and noted in his diary the events that took place. Before starting to read his diary, Cascajares recalls the story of Colonel Moscardó (for whom he expresses great admiration presenting him as a real hero), who heard his son being shot by the “Reds”

²⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Προς το Εσκοριάλ...”, *I Kathimerini*, 28 December 1936, p. 1.

²⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Αι θηριωδία του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου”, *I Kathimerini*, 27 December 1936, p. 1.

³⁰ I tend to believe that the parallel is risky; the “free besieged” of Messolonghi were fighting against the Turks, in order to acquire their freedom after four hundred year of slavery. I will not go into the obvious differences between the two sieges; I will only dwell on the diametrically opposed ends of the two sieges: in Messolonghi, the Greeks ventured their well known heroic exodus with its tragic results, while in the Alcázar, Nationalist forces finally came and saved the besieged. Of course, I do not imply that his comparison of the besieged of the Alcázar with the besieged of Messolonghi is indicative of Kazantzakis’ favouring the Nationalists, as I believe that in this reference to the Alcázar he is expressing his sympathy for human strength and resistance in general.

over the telephone.³¹ The survivor of the siege admits the fear he and others felt and questions the reliability of the newspapers, which presented the besieged as deeply despondent. Their greatest joy was that they managed to get a radio working which enabled them to be informed about the events taking place outside and the advance of the Nationalist army which they were expecting to save them. He describes their difficulties, their agony, their exhausting attempts at resistance and the ending of the siege with the arrival of Varela's relief force.

Going to Spain “ολόγδυμος”, Kazantzakis did not express “ready made” views but reported the conclusions he had drawn after discussions with people he met on his journey. For example, in order to define the real causes of the war, he took into consideration three different views: the first came from a “Red” prisoner who had been a teacher in Asturia. The prisoner claimed that the war was the result of the Spaniards' passion which had its roots in their deep despair. When Kazantzakis heard this view he remembered Unamuno's words that had attributed the war to the same cause: “Όλα αυτά γίνονται γιατί οι Ισπανοί δεν πιστεύουν τίποτα! Τίποτα! Τίποτα! Είναι «Ντεσπεράδος»!”³² Though these two views were enough for Kazantzakis and enabled him to understand the situation, the view of an old woman he met afterwards, confirmed his in this understanding: “Καλή είναι και η ζωή, καλός είναι κι' ο θάνατος. Το ίδιο είναι. Να, τώρα αυτοί σκοτώνονται. Τους είδες. Γιατί; Οι μισοί, λέει, είναι άσπροι, οι άλλοι μισοί κόκκινοι. Μα μην ακούς. Όλοι είναι το ίδιο.

³¹ As Beevor argues, this was the most serious psychological mistake made by the Republican besiegers. On 23 July 1936 a local lawyer called Cándido Cabello rang the Alcázar, saying that they would shoot Moscardó's son, Luis, unless the defenders surrendered. Moscardó refused and, according to the Nationalist version, told his son, who was put on the telephone, to die bravely. In fact, Luis was not shot until a month later in reprisal for an air raid. The story's dramatic appeal was great and it was used as a moral lesson for everyone in Nationalist territory. (p.136) This is probably why Miguel Gómez Cascajares places it first in his narration.

³² Nikos Kazantzakis, “Συνέντευξις με τον Ουναμούνο”, *I Kathimerini*, 14 December 1936, p. 1.

Αφορμή ζητούν.”³³ The three views enable Kazantzakis to reach the conclusion that the main cause of the Spanish Civil War is the Spanish character. In another case, he wants to know how this “miracle”³⁴ happened, namely how the Nationalist movement broke out and managed to get so close to capturing Madrid. To this end, he had questioned many people, but nobody had given him a satisfactory or convincing answer. Only his old Spanish friend whom he met in Salamanca helps him to understand: “Συλλογίζομαι τα λόγια του φίλου μου, τα τόσο αποκαλυπτικά.”³⁵ And he goes on to state the conclusions he has drawn and the answer he finally gave to his own question. After taking into consideration different opinions, Kazantzakis concluded that the Nationalist movement had emerged after the failure of democracy to fulfill its promises; instead, it brought anarchy and disillusion. In his next to last report from Spain, entitled “Συμπεράσματα”, he recapitulates the conclusions he has drawn from his forty-day perambulation in war-torn Spain. In this way, he shows that he formed opinions, only after having experienced the war, talked to some of the protagonists and collected various testimonies.

However, there are some moments, when Kazantzakis seems to position himself more explicitly in favour of some representatives of the Nationalist side. First and foremost, he expresses some admiration for Franco. He characterizes him as “δυνατή ψυχή”, “άγιο Θηρέσιο του καιρού μας”,³⁶ “μυστηριώδη απλό άντρα που

³³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 μέρες, εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 29 November 1936, p. 1.

³⁴ The word “miracle”, mainly used for something positive but unexpected, is used by Kazantzakis for a military coup against a legally elected Republican government. This might be another implicitly partial comment on the Nationalist side.

³⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Η δημοκρατία δεν εκράτησε τον λόγον της...”, *I Kathimerini*, 3 December 1936, p. 1.

³⁶ Kazantzakis admired Saint Teresa, something that is more apparent in the first part of the book, in which he devoted the largest part of the section “Avila” to her. Surprisingly, he does not hesitate to compare the Fascist Franco with Saint Teresa, despite the fact that three years earlier, in his second journey to Spain, he had also compared Rosa Luxembourg with Saint Teresa! (“Αν ζούσε στην εποχή

ανέλαβε δυσκολώτατο άθλο”. He feels that Franco is a person who knows how to govern a country; he has an organizational mind and a strong will that knows how to punish and to assert itself; he is systematic and patient. Kazantzakis, who met Franco but never talked to him, felt happy to have had a chance just to see him because, as he said, he saw a person who was determined and calm, the perfect instrument of his times, an obedient worker and co-worker in the difficult times he lived in.³⁷ The characteristics Kazantzakis attributed to Franco, bring to mind the qualities he admired in Mussolini, whom he had also managed to meet in Rome ten years earlier (October 1926). Kazantzakis characterized Mussolini as a powerful man (“έννας άνθρωπος δυνατός”) and noted that “όλοι παρασύρονται από το στρόβιλο που δημιουργεί η ύπαρξη του ανθρώπου τούτου” and that “το κέντρο της δύναμής του δεν είναι η διαλεχτική λογική, μα η θέληση.”³⁸

Kazantzakis dedicates much of his time and his writings to the various groups that constitute the Nationalist side. He meets with representatives of “Renovación Espanõla” (the Alfonsine monarchists), the Albinianos (Catholic monarchists), the Requetés (the Carlist militia) and the Falangists. Of all of them the Falangists are the ones he seems to find most appealing. Apart from devoting four of his reports to the Falange and writing out its hymn, he finds the Falangist leader likeable and attributes qualities to him similar to those he had attributed to Mussolini and Franco, as seen above: “Ένοιωθες πως από το άφθονο αυτό γεμάτο κρέας σώμα θρέφουνταν μια

μας, [...], θα κινούσε άλλου είδους σταυροφορία και θα την έλεγαν Ρόζα Λούξεμπουργκ.”, Nikos Kazantzakis, “Άβιλα, η περιπέτεια μιας αγίας”, *I Kathimerini*, 26 May 1933, p. 1.)

³⁷ Kazantzakis refers to Franco in three subsequent reports: those of 21, 22 and 23 December 1936 (“Προς την Άβιλα”, “Συνέντευξις με τον Φράνκο” and “Τι θα γίνη μετά την νίκη;”). The title *I Kathimerini* had given to Kazantzakis’ report of 22 December 1936, “Συνέντευξις με τον Φράνκο”, is misleading, since the interview the newspaper advertised, never actually took place.

³⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας: Ιταλία-Αίγυπτος-Σινά-Ιερουσαλήμ-Κύπρος-Ο Μοριάς*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclos Stavrou) 2004, p. 20.

δυνατή αποφασισμένη θέληση.”³⁹ And, after listening to what the Falangist had to say, he was left with the following impression: “Εσφιξα το χέρι του δυνατού νέου που μου μιλούσε με τόση σαφήνεια και τόση θερμότητα.”⁴⁰ In other words, in contrast with the other representatives of the Nationalist groups he had met, this one made a good impression on him. In another report, Kazantzakis quotes part of the Falange’s regulations. He believed that the most leftist members of Nationalist Spain, who either could not or did not dare to join the Republican side, became Falangists. In the heart of the Falange Kazantzakis finally finds a plan for the future, something that was not given to him by the other Nationalist groups, and because he thinks it likely to influence the reorganization of Spain, he quotes part of it. He also seems to see Antonio Primo de Rivera, the leader of the Falange, as one of the “hopes” for the new Spain, i.e. the one that will emerge after the war: “Αν ο Αντόνιο Πρίμο ντε Ριβέρα πέθαινε, σίγουρα μια ελπίδα της νέας Ισπανίας θα χάνονταν.”⁴¹ And later, after listening to a Falangist theoretician talking to him about the events that had led to the current situation, he admitted: “Εφυγα βαθειά κρατώντας στον νου μου τα λόγια του νέου φαλαγγίτη. Και περισσότερο από τα λόγια την έκφραση του προσώπου, τον τόνο της φωνής, τη φλόγα του ματιού του. Ένοιωθα πως μιλούσαν με το στόμα του εκατομμύρια νέοι σε όλο τον κόσμο.”⁴²

In Kazantzakis’ reports of 1936-1937, there are no explicit comments about the other side, the “Reds”. He only notes the views of the “Whites” about the “Reds”, without saying whether he agrees with them or not. Furthermore, he explains how the

³⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Οι κυριώτεροι πολιτικοί παράγοντες της Ισπανίας”, *I Kathimerini*, 9 January 1937, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Οι κυριώτεροι πολιτικοί παράγοντες της Ισπανίας”, *I Kathimerini*, 10 January 1937, p. 1.

⁴² Nikos Kazantzakis, “Το Μίσος εναντίον της Δημοκρατίας”, *I Kathimerini*, 12 January 1937, p. 1.

Nationalists saw their enemies. As he says, for them the word “Red” had acquired the sense of “devil”. It evoked horror and fatal hatred and even more: “Μια μυστικόπαθη αποστροφή, όπως στους παλιούς χριστιανικούς χρόνους η επαφή του σατανά ή όπως στους άγριους η έννοια του ταμπού.”⁴³ A friend of his, a Spanish poet whom he does not name, talks to him about what the Republicans lack: “Όλα τα είχαν, οι άτιμοι, και μονάχα ένα τους έλειπε: αυτό το αόρατο, αστάθμητο, ακατάλυτο, πιο βαθύ κι απ’ όλες τις θεωρίες, πιο δυνατό κι’ απ’ όλες τις πράξεις των ανθρώπων. Αυτό που οι αντίπαλοί μας περιφρονούν και που εμείς το λέμε ψυχή. Ψυχή της Ισπανίας.”⁴⁴

However, in his next to last report, in which he assembles his own conclusions, there is an explicitly negative comment on the anarchists: “Ο καλοπροαίρετος Αθάνια παραμερίστηκε, γιουχαΐστηκε κ’ οι πιο άγριοι και πιο επικίνδυνοι σύμμαχοί του πήραν την εξουσία: οι Αναρχικοί. Άρχισαν οι απεργίες, οι δολοφονίες, οι πυρπολισμοί. Άρχισε η αποσύνθεση της Ισπανίας.”⁴⁵ And later: “Από τη μια μεριά οι αναρχικοί, κυρίαρχοι πια στην αριστερή παράταξη. Με όλες τις έμφυτες στην ιδεολογία τους αδυναμίες: χωρίς οργάνωση, χωρίς πειθαρχία, με οδηγό μονάχα τα άγρια αχαλίνωτα πια ένστικτα.”⁴⁶ In this case, Kazantzakis seems to express his view on a specific group on the Republican side more overtly.

As far as the themes developed in “Viva la Muerte!” are concerned, it can be understood that, unlike the first part of *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, in the second part the theme of art has been replaced by that of the Spanish Civil War. Nevertheless, references to art are not totally absent; even in such hard times Kazantzakis cannot rid

⁴³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα 40 μέρες εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 25 November 1936, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα, 40 μέρες, εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 3 December 1936, p. 1.

⁴⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Συμπεράσματα”, *I Kathimerini*, 16 January 1937, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

himself of his old predilections.⁴⁷ As in the first part of the book, landscapes function as background. The people are mainly soldiers of the Nationalist side, officers, “Red” captives and ordinary people.⁴⁸ Their role in this second part of the book is much more crucial, as they are the ones who inform Kazantzakis about the progress of the war and enable him to reach some conclusions and formulate his own opinions. Around the central theme, namely the war, various motifs are developed that appear and reappear throughout Kazantzakis’ texts on the Spanish Civil War: the extraordinary military abilities and callousness of the Moroccans, the images of destruction that every battle leaves behind, life that continues despite and during the war, the personification of Madrid, the role of the Catholic Church, the atrocious joy of the fighters at the destruction, the frequent references to graffiti that are so indicative of what is going on and the extremely negative comments on foreign journalists who have come to Spain to cover the war.

On his 1936 journey to Spain, Kazantzakis carried with him the experience of his two earlier visits to the country. He often refers to them and compares the past with the present. For example, he is glad to discover that Spanish people have finally woken from their inertia, which is a positive result of the war: “Πολιτείες που είχα γνωρίσει βυθισμένες σε επαρχιώτικη μακαριότητα και νάρκη, τώρα αντιδρούν σαν πολεμικά τούμπανα. Οι αγαθοί επαρχιώτες τινάχτηκαν από τους καφενέδες, τα πρόσωπά τους άναψαν, ντύθηκαν στρατιώτες, φορτώθηκαν τουφέκια, φυσέκια, χειροβομβίδες και βγήκαν κυνήγι.”⁴⁹ In his last report from war-torn Spain he also

⁴⁷ “Δυστυχώς δεν αναπνέω αποκλειστικά το σύγχρονον αντιαισθητικόν αγέρα, παλιές παλαικές αγάπες μ’ εμποδίζουν να ζήσω άρτια τον σημερινό σιδερένιο αιώνα όπου μπήκαμε.” (16 December 1936). For more information about the role of art, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁴⁸ Kazantzakis observes ordinary people of every category, namely men, women, elderly and children and tries to examine the impact the war has on them.

⁴⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τι είδα 40 μέρες εις την Ισπανίαν”, *I Kathimerini*, 24 November 1936, p. 1. What Kazantzakis had written six years earlier (23 May 1933) about the Spanish people who lived in

expresses his happiness at the change in the Spanish people, comparing them with how they used to be in the past: “Άλλοτε ο λαός τούτος διάβαζε με αδιαφορία τις φανφαρόνικες προκηρύξεις του Πρίμο ντε Ριβέρα.” [...] “Τώρα –ευλογημένος ας είναι ο αποτρόπαιος αυτός πόλεμος!– ο ισπανικός λαός πήρε ευγένεια, γιατί έγινε εργάτης και συνεργάτης του μελλομένου.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, when he visits Avila, Saint Teresa, who was born there and who was his main focus when he had visited the town again in 1933 is the last thing that comes to mind: “Όταν πρωτοήρθα στην Άβιλα, σε άλλους καιρούς, μονάχα αυτήν έβλεπα. Τώρα μονάχα μια στιγμή πέρασε από το νου μου και μονομιάζ έσβυσε.”⁵¹ The present is so intense, dramatic and dominant that: “Σήμερα ο νους δε μπορεί, δε θέλει να στραφή πίσω και να δη.”⁵²

In conclusion, though Kazantzakis seemed to identify with Unamuno’s words “Δεν είμαι μήτε φασιστής μήτε μπολσεβίκος. Είμαι μόνος”⁵³ and did not support any side in terms of active partisanship, it appears that he probably favoured the Nationalists. His aim of being impartial and telling the truth had been undermined both by his more or less explicitly positive comments on the Nationalists and by the total absence of positive comments on the Republicans. Kazantzakis could not be objective, as he only listened to the views of the Nationalists. Thus, while in the first part of the book it was he who believed in the usefulness of listening to two different points of view and trying to reach a conclusion, in the Spanish Civil War, Kazantzakis failed to listen to both sides. His personal testimony on the war was profoundly

the provinces is indicative: “Μεγάλη θλίψη να κοιτάξεις πώς περιμένουν το βράδυ, με τι λαχτάρα, στις πλατείες, τις πρωτευουσιάνικες εφημερίδες. Δεν τολμούν να σκεφτούν, να σχηματίσουν γνώμη, να διατυπώσουν επιθυμίες, πριν να διαβάσουν την εφημερίδα της πρωτεύουσας και να σουν τι λέει. Το αίμα έφυγε από το σώμα, τραβήχτηκε στο κεφάλι, η επαρχία και εδώ, όπως παντού μαράθηκε”.

⁵⁰ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Έπίλογος”, *I Kathimerini*, 17 January 1937, p. 1.

⁵¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Προς την Άβιλα”, *I Kathimerini*, 21 December 1936, p. 1.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵³ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Συνέντευξις με τον Ουναμούνο”, *I Kathimerini*, 14 December 1936, p. 1.

influenced by the side to which he was accredited as a journalist. Thus, his writings on wartime Spain shed more light on Kazantzakis' personality, thoughts and beliefs, because they spring from the things that attracted his attention and his reflections upon them, than they do on the struggle between the Republicans and the Nationalists.

Chapter 4

Comparing Kazantzakis: Ouranis and Papantoniou on Spain

Apart from Kazantzakis, two other Greek writers visited Spain at the same period, who also wrote down and published their impressions: Kostas Ouranis (1890-1953), who went to Spain in 1931, and Zacharias Papantoniou (1877-1940) who visited Spain in 1936, namely at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. Like Kazantzakis, both Ouranis and Papantoniou had been applauded for their travel-writing and were considered (together with Spyros Melas)¹ to have contributed to the establishment and development of modern Greek travel writing.² In this chapter, I will endeavour to demonstrate how these two writers saw Spain, draw parallels between them and Kazantzakis and highlight the differences in the way the three writers presented Spain. In the following paragraphs, by comparison with Ouranis and Papantoniou, I aim to shed more light on Kazantzakis' writings on Spain and contribute to a more comprehensive view of them.

Ouranis' writings on Spain are included in the book *Ισπανία* (1954). The first part of the book entitled "Sol y Sombra" draws on Ouranis' visit to the country in 1931. His impressions were first published in the newspaper *Eleftheron Vima* and afterwards in book form as *Sol y Sombra, Μορφές και Τοπεία της Ισπανίας* (Athens: Flamma, 1934). After his death, his wife Eleni Negreponi (better known under the

¹ Spyros Melas visited Spain immediately after the end of the Spanish Civil War, in 1939 as correspondent of *I Kathimerini*. On 5 May 1939, Melas interviewed Franco. In this chapter I will not examine his texts on Spain, as Melas visited Spain in a different period, namely after the end of the Spanish Civil War.

² Foteini Keramari, *Ο Ζαχαρίας Παπαντωνίου ως πεζογράφος*, Athens: Estia 2001, p. 96.

pen name Alkis Thrylos) collected all his newspaper articles on Spain and published them in a book entitled *Ταξίδια: Ισπανία* (1954). The second part of the book is based on Ouranis' writings on Spain after the overthrow of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the establishment of democracy in Spain.³ The third part of the book contains Ouranis' writings from other journeys to Spain and is entitled “Έντυπώσεις από άλλα ταξίδια στην Ισπανία”.⁴ The fourth part is dedicated to some intellectual figures and is entitled “Μορφές του πνευματικού κόσμου”.

Papantoniou's writings on Spain constitute the greater part of his book *Ταξίδια* (1955), which was published after his death and drew on scattered newspaper articles published throughout his life. The texts are divided into two parts: the first part, entitled “Ισπανία”, consists of reports that concern several issues relating to Spain. In the second part “Η Ισπανική ζωγραφική”, the writer focuses on Spanish painting and his capacity as an art critic is revealed.

In order to acquire a deeper understanding of how the three writers dealt with their travels to Spain, it may be useful to identify how each of them saw travel in general. Both Kazantzakis and Ouranis felt the need to declare in prefaces to their texts what had urged them to travel and what made them write down and publish what they saw. From the prologue of Kazantzakis' *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, it can be understood that the author used to travel for three main reasons: to enrich his spirit

³ Alkis Thrylos (a significant literary and theatrical critic) notes below the title of the second part of the book, “Μια ειρηνική επανάσταση στην Ισπανία”: “Από τις ανταποκρίσεις που γράφτηκαν άμα στην Ισπανία ανατράπηκε το καθεστώς και εγκαθιδρύθηκε η Δημοκρατία ξεχώρισα όσες δεν έχουν προ πάντων πληροφοριακό, επίκαιρο χαρακτήρα. Τον χαρακτήρα αυτόν δεν τον ήθελε ο Ουράνης να προβάλλει στα βιβλία του. Έλεγε: «Γράφω υποκειμενικά και όχι αντικειμενικά.» Οι ανταποκρίσεις που παράλειψα, επειδή ό τι προεξέχει σ' αυτές είναι τα γεγονότα κι όχι ο τρόπος με τον οποίο τα αντίκρυσε ο συγγραφέας, δημοσιεύθηκαν, όπως κι αυτές που περιλαμβάνονται σε τούτο το μέρος, στο «Ελεύθερον Βήμα» την άνοιξη και το καλοκαίρι του 1931.”

⁴ Alkis Thrylos notes below the title of the third part of the book: “Ξεχώρισα όσες εντυπώσεις προκάλεσαν άλλα θέματα και μοτίβα, από κείνα που έφθασαν σε αρτιότερη μορφή στο Sol y Sombra”.

through knowledge of the intellectual world of another country (“πνευματικές πειρατείες”);⁵ to react to a personal difficulty which was causing him pain (“ξεσπάσματα της καρδιάς που πονούσε”);⁶ and to satisfy his curiosity (“απληστία του ματιού που λαχτάριζε και βιάζονταν, προτού να σβήσει, να δει όσο μπορεί περισσότερο νερό και χώμα”).⁷ Travelling would enable him to overcome his proud ego and temper it “in the tormented itinerant army of Man”⁸. Each journey he made resulted from or resulted in an internal crisis. By writing down his impressions, he was not trying to create art; he was aiming to help other people on the same path to shorten their agony.⁹

On the other hand, Ouranis saw travel as a way to escape from the anxieties, the problems and the routine of modern, everyday life. He did not travel to satisfy his curiosity or to acquire knowledge of the conditions of life of another nation and its characteristics. He aimed to discover the poetic and the picturesque element in the places he visited and was not interested in the topicality of his writings. What he wished to provide his readers with was a means of escape from modern life and its difficulties.¹⁰

⁵ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, Athens: Kazantzakis Publications (Patroclos Stavrou) 2002, p. 7.

⁶ Ibid., p. 7. This brings to mind the long journey through Spain that Kazantzakis made by train at the end of December 1932, right after the death of his father and which filled him with sorrow.

⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Spain*, translated by Amy Mims, Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Company 1983, p. 11.

⁹ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

¹⁰ Ouranis' view of travel and the reason why he published his writings can be found in the brief prologue to his travel book *Γλαυκοί Δρόμοι-Βορινές Θάλασσες* (Athens: Estia 1955). A similar view has been expressed by Ouranis in the prologue of his book *Ταξίδια στην Ελλάδα* (Athens: Estia 1949): “Δεν έχουν τίποτα τα documentaire, δεν εικονίζουν την Ελλάδα της εποχής των δύο πολέμων. Είναι εντυπώσεις καθαρά υποκειμενικές και, τις περισσότερες φορές, συναισθηματικές. Ο τόνος σ’ αυτές δεν είχε σε ό,τι είδα, αλλά στο τι αιστάνθηκα μπροστά σε ό,τι έβλεπα. Εκφράζουν τα «κινήματα» της ψυχής και της φαντασίας που μου προκαλούσαν τα μέρη που επισκεπτόμουν.” (p.7)

If Kazantzakis was travelling mainly to satisfy his need for knowledge and Ouranis to escape from the difficulties of contemporary life, Papantoniou was more interested in discovering the distinct character of a civilization through the interpretation of its aesthetic forms. As director of the National Gallery of Greece from 1918, he had the chance to visit many European countries, either to buy pieces of art on the gallery's behalf, or for his own spiritual development and to learn about the plastic arts in general. His view on travelling can be summarized in the following statement: “Το ταξίδι εν γένει, είτε μικρό, είτε μεγάλο, είτε σαράντα ημερών, είτε μιας ώρας, είναι πάντοτε κατάκτησις νέων κόσμων. Τρεις πήχεις γης, που δεν την έβλεπες χθες και την βλέπεις σήμερα, σου αποκαλύπτουν τόσα νέα πράγματα! Το να πας μακριά εξαρτάται από την διάθεσιν που έχεις να ονειρεύεσαι. Είναι παλαιά αλήθεια ότι ο άνθρωπος έχει μέσα του το ταξίδι.”¹¹

If we start with the themes they develop in their travel books on Spain, it can be observed that, just like Kazantzakis, Papantoniou, as a distinguished art critic,¹² was mainly interested in the literature, music, architecture, painting and sculpture of Spain. There is not an article on Spain that does not have at least one reference to art.

¹¹ Zacharias Papantoniou, “Μικρά Ταξείδια”, *To Asty*, 28.8.1906. Another definition of travel had been given by Ouranis, in a lecture he gave in 1933, in which he emphasized the importance of the traveller's personality and cultivation: “Το ταξίδι, είναι περίπου σαν τα ισπανικά χάνια, στα οποία, όπως παρατήρησε κάποιος, δεν βρίσκει κανείς να φάει παρά ό,τι φέρνει μαζί του. Μπορεί ένας άνθρωπος να κάνει το πιο μακρινό, το πιο γραφικό, το πιο ωραίο ταξίδι, το ταξίδι που προσφέρει τις περισσότερες ευκαιρίες (γιατί απλώς και μόνο ευκαιρίες προσφέρει το ταξίδι) για το θάμβος, την έξαρση, τη χαρά, τη γοητεία και τη συγκίνηση. Η απήχησή του θα είναι μηδαμινή στην ψυχή του ανθρώπου αυτού αν ο ίδιος αυτός είναι ένας κοινός και ασήμαντος, ψυχικώς και πνευματικώς, άνθρωπος, -όπως μηδαμινή θάναη απόδοση και του πιο περίφημου Στραντιβάριους, αν εκείνος που κρατάει στο χέρι του το δοξάρι δεν έχει την ιδιοφυΐα, -και την καλλιέργεια,- ενός βιρτουόζου.” (Petros Charis, *Έλληνες Πεζογράφοι*, Estia: Athens 1979)

¹² Andreas Karantonis notes in 1966: “Ποιητής, διηγηματογράφος, αλλά κυρίως αισθητικός σχολιαστής των ωραίων έργων του λόγου, του χρωστήρα, της σμίλης, μελετητής των ρυθμών που σφράγισαν καλλιτεχνικά τις μεγάλες εποχές της ευρωπαϊκής τέχνης, στοχαστικός θαμών των Μουσείων της Ευρώπης, υπήρξε ένας από τους πρώτους λογίους μας, που, δουλεύοντας στο μεταίχμιο της ανυψωμένης δημοσιογραφίας και της εκλαϊκευμένης κάπως και «λείας λογοτεχνίας», προσκόμισαν στην περιοχή της Τέχνης, πολύ κοινό.” (“Ο Ζαχαρίας Παπαντωνίου σαν δοκιμογράφος” in *Κριτικά Μελετήματα* by Andreas Karantonis, Athens 1980)

For Papantoniou art is always a prominent theme of his travel writings on Spain, around which other themes are developed: Spanish people and their characteristics (external and internal), political and historical references, tourism and landscapes. Ouranis also makes many references to art; however, the reader will also find many historical references in Ouranis' book, which are limited both in Kazantzakis' and in Papantoniou's writings on Spain. Furthermore, Ouranis' lyricism is revealed in his descriptions of the various landscapes he sees and it seems that he notices them more than Kazantzakis or Papantoniou. Moreover a love of nature had always been one of the characteristics of the Symbolists and Ouranis was a Symbolist.

Unlike Kazantzakis, Papantoniou was not interested in discussions with ordinary people or writing down their views. He is a distant observer, who endeavours to reach his own conclusions through what he has read and what he sees in front of him. Thus, at various times, he endeavours to identify the characteristics and the personality of Spanish people: “Το εκρηκτικό ήταν πάντα χαρακτηριστικό της ψυχολογίας του Ισπανού. [...] Ο Ισπανός είναι άνθρωπος των ακρότατων άκρων.”¹³ Or elsewhere: “Η ροπή προς τις ακρότητες, η έλλειψις αποχρώσεων στα συναισθήματά του, ο εκρηκτικός του χαρακτήρας, φέρνουν τον Ισπανό προς το φανατισμό.”¹⁴ According to Foteini Keramari, Papantoniou was influenced by Hippolyte Taine in the way he described the psychology of the Spanish people in relation to geography and their political, social and historical conditions.¹⁵ The same

¹³ Zacharias Papantoniou, *Ταξίδια*, Athens: Estia 1955, pp. 79-80.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁵ Foteini Keramari, *Ο Ζαχαρίας Παπαντωνίου ως πεζογράφος*, op. cit., p. 122. Hippolyte Taine was the most important representative of French positivism in the 19th century. The three defining factors (la race = the race, le milieu = the place and le moment = the moment) that are delineated by Taine in his book *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863-1864) are employed by Papantoniou for the description of Spanish psychology in relation to geography and political, social and historical conditions. The influence of Hippolyte Taine in Papantoniou's travel writings was first observed by I.M. Panagiotopoulos, whose views were included in his preface to Papantoniou's *Ταξίδια*.

scholar has shown that both Kazantzakis and Papantoniou describe an image of a Spanish woman praying. However, they use it in different ways: Kazantzakis highlights the difference between the passion in the appearance of Spanish women and the passion they express when they pray. On the other hand, Papantoniou deals with the subject in a more aesthetic way; the image of the praying woman urges him to leave the world of realism and recall a character in a poem by Alfred de Musset, which is incarnated in front of his eyes in the form of the Spanish woman at prayer.

Though Papantoniou writes about Spain in 1936, when the country was at the start of a civil war, he only makes brief references to the war and often uses it as a means of discussing other issues. One example of this can be found at the beginning of his travel writings on Spain: “[...] Είναι όμως αδύνατο στην τραγωδία της Ισπανίας να μην αναγνωρίσωμεν ένα ισπανικό χαρακτήρα. Ο λαός αυτός ρίχτηκε στον εμφύλιο πόλεμο με τα φυλετικά του γνώρισμα, τον ηρωϊσμό και το φανατισμό μαζί, την αφοβία και την αγριότητα, έτσι ώστε ζωντανεύουν και παίζουν στο δράμα οι ψυχολογικές παρατηρήσεις περί των Ισπανών, που εδώ και λίγες ημέρες θα περνούσαν για ψυχρά κατασκευάσματα του σπουδαστηρίου.”¹⁶ Then he describes the characteristics of Spaniards. It is quite surprising, given the time at which he is writing that Papantoniou does not make any political comments on the war, does not express views in favour of one side or the other and seems to express anguish only in respect of the fate of the art works of Spain. The chapter “Βόμβες και προσευχές” is indicative of this tendency in Papantoniou. From the title the reader expects to learn some details about the events, the victims and the whole situation of the civil war. However, the bombardment of Barcelona functions as a pretext for the writer to speak about the town’s past beauty and its history. At the end of the chapter, he recapitulates

¹⁶ Zacharias Papantoniou, *Ταξίδια*, op. cit., p. 79.

Barcelona's most important monuments and expresses his anguish at their fate.¹⁷ At this point, Papantoniou resembles Kazantzakis, who, in the middle of the Spanish Civil War, was visiting the places where El Greco's paintings were located, to see if they had remained intact. Furthermore, it seems that, like Ouranis, Papantoniou was not interested in the topicality of his writings. He focused on the past and not on the present situation of the country he was visiting.

In Ouranis' Spain, although one can trace various contemporary comments and political references (especially in the second part of the book),¹⁸ there is a sense that the author was inviting the readers to explore Spain's past. Ouranis seems to be more interested in the country's past than in its present situation. As he mentions in the prologue of "Sol y Sombra", Spain is a country where the past survives in the present. Hence, it seems ideal for Ouranis, who was generally known to be a "lover of the past".¹⁹

It is also interesting to identify the methods and techniques the three writers use to present their material. Kazantzakis usually begins with an event or a fact, which prompts a train of thought and associations and makes him contemplate and try to find answers to the questions that emerge. He tends to present both the past and the present images of the places he visits. He makes brief or long interpolations in order to speak either about issues evoked by what he sees or about more general issues. Furthermore, he draws parallels between Spain, Spanish people and affairs and other countries he

¹⁷ At the beginning of the chapter "Βόμβες και προσευχές", Papantoniou refers to the wisdom of Homer who cursed civil war in the ninth rhapsody of the Iliad; hence, one could argue that Papantoniou condemns the Spanish Civil war, but without taking sides or commenting on the multitude of tragic events and their consequences.

¹⁸ An example of a political reference is the comment Ouranis makes about a positive consequence of Rivera's dictatorship: the development of tourism in Spain (p. 219)

¹⁹ He has been characterized as "παρελθοντολάτρης" by Annita Panaretou in the Introduction to her five-volume work *Ελληνική Ταξιδιωτική Λογοτεχνία*, op. cit., volume 1, p.98.

has visited (especially Russia). Ouranis' method, on the other hand, is a blend of description, narrative and comparison. He frequently uses comparisons in his book: he tends to compare what he sees in Spain with other countries (especially Italy and sometimes Greece). Moreover, he tends to compare every place he visits for the first time with the previous place he had been to. He draws parallels between artists, writers, works of art and religions. Sometimes he even compares his first impression of a place or a monument with a more recent one. Ouranis, who has been credited with being an ironist,²⁰ sometimes becomes ironic in his travel writing and even at his own expense. Finally, in various descriptions and incidents that occur during his travels, Ouranis reveals a sense of humour that entertains and somehow relaxes the reader. A very good example of this is the chapter “Δον Πάολο Κάνδαρα υ Παλιέρες Ισπανός Διερμηνεύς”, in which he makes fun of the incidents that take place and creates a really pleasant tone in his text.

Papantoniou too, using description and narrative, manages to make the presence of the subject come alive in a given place. Though he does not seem to invent imaginary events in his factual narrative like Kazantzakis, the element of imagination is not totally absent. For example, when he visits the house of El Greco in Toledo, as soon as he enters the building, he starts to imagine the painter in it and, in a way, he is transported back to El Greco's era: “Τυρίζομε, διάφοροι προσκυνηταί, στα δωμάτια, βγαίνομε στον κήπο, ανεβαίνομε τη σκάλα και κοιτάμε απ' τα παράθυρα και τα μπαλκόνια, εκείνα που θα κοίταζεν αυτός. Δε μιλεί κανένας στον άλλον. Περπατούμε σιγά, για να μην ταραξοῦμε τις συνομιλίες του με τον Παραβιτσίνο και τον Γκόγκορα. Σχεδόν ακούμε τις γκρίνιες του με τη γριά του υπηρέτρια και το γέρο

²⁰ See the chapter “Κώστας Ουράνης” in Petros Charis, *Έλληνες Πεζογράφοι*, vol. 1, Athens: Estia 1979, pp. 229-255.

του υπηρέτη Πρεβόστε...”²¹ In Papantoniou’s writings on Spain, description does not play a dominant role, as it is interwoven with judgments, contemplation and lyrical elements. Imagery and metaphors are significant, because they enable him to convey his impressions of his contact with the outside world. Papantoniou also uses the techniques of comparison and contrast, especially when he describes landscapes or the characteristics of Spanish people. Humour,²² irony, epigrammatic aphorisms and contemplative judgments make his texts more attractive to the reader and relieve the monotony that may be caused by the descriptive parts. Papantoniou is generally a restrained writer, as he expresses his admiration and emotion (especially for works of art) but in a measured tone.²³ Finally, as I. M. Panagiotopoulos has shown in the preface to Papantoniou’s book, another element that one can detect in Papantoniou’s texts on Spain is the unexpected. For example, when he refers to the (almost dry) river Manzanares in Madrid, to which both Kazantzakis and Ouranis refer, rather unexpectedly, Plato comes to his mind: “Ο Μανθανάρες μπορεί να παρηγορηθή ακούοντας πως υπάρχει σ’ ένα μέρος της γης ποταμός που λέγεται Ιλισός. Αυτός δεν είναι μόνο ξερός, μα γέλασε και τον Πλάτωνα!”²⁴

As far as their writing styles are concerned, it seems that each of the three travellers has his own unique way of presenting his material. Thus, Kazantzakis gives the impression of talking to himself rather than to the potential readers. His tone is that of confession and the reader sometimes has the feeling that s/he is following a

²¹ Zacharias Papantoniou, *Ταξίδια*, op. cit., p. 165.

²² Tellos Agras has also referred to Papantoniou’s humour as one of his basic characteristics, which is apparent especially in his pre-war texts: “Το χιούμορ του Παπαντωνίου είναι πρώτ’ απ’ όλα αστραπιαίο: όταν το παρατείνει, το καταντά μαθηματικό, καταφεύγει σε clichés κι’ ατυχεί. Έπειτα, δεν είναι συνεχές. Εναλλάσσεται με την άκρα σοβαρότητα, και, σε γραφική παράσταση, θάπρεπε ν’ απεικονισθή σε σύμπλεγμα μαζί της: γιατί μαζί της ανεβοκατεβαίνει.” (Tellos Agras, *Κριτικά*, Volume III, Stergiopoulos (ed.), Athens: Ermis 1981, pp. 162-3)

²³ Foteini Keramari, *Ο Ζαχαρίας Παπαντωνίου ως πεζογράφος*, op. cit., pp. 110-112.

²⁴ I. M. Panagiotopoulos, “Ο ταξιδιώτης”, in Zacharias Papantoniou, *Ταξίδια*, op. cit., p. 21.

stream of consciousness. On the other hand, Ouranis addresses the reader very frequently. The frequent use of the second person plural is evidence of this: Apostrophes like “Μην πείτε πως σας απασχολώ μ’ ένα θέμα χωρίς επικαιρότητα, μ’ ένα θέμα από καιρούς εξαντλημένο!”²⁵ and questions like “Τι σας λέει;”²⁶ are common in his book. Sometimes he also uses the expression “Ο αναγνώστης...”, something that also demonstrates his concern as to the people who were going to read the book. Papantoniou’s style of writing is also different from that of Kazantzakis. Like Ouranis, Papantoniou is interested in his future (mainly Greek) reader, something that he admits in one of his articles: “Γράφω για το κοινό –αυτό είναι το καθήκον μας– και όχι για τον εαυτό μου”.²⁷ Papantoniou also addresses the reader, though not as frequently as Ouranis. Furthermore, by using the first person plural, he invites the readers to share his own experience: “Ας φανταστούμε μπροστά στη γλυπτική αυτή του πάθους τον άνθρωπο του πάθους, τον Ισπανό, όχι το σημερινό, μα εκείνον του 16^{ου} αιώνα [...]” and “Ας τον συλλογιστούμε, μπροστά στις Παναγίες των σπαθιών και των αγωνιών [...]”²⁸. Using the second person, singular or plural, he advises: “Διώξε το λυρικό βόμβο των στίχων του Ουγκώ, τίναξε από πάνω σου ό,τι άκουσες, ό,τι διάβασες γι’ αυτή. Τίναξε τη σκόνη των οδηγών, την τέφρα των εντυπώσεων του άλλου, μείνε μπροστά της αγράμματος, χαζός και παρθένος –κοίταξέ την.”²⁹

²⁵ Kostas Ouranis, *Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 160.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 156.

²⁷ Zacharias Papantoniou, *Ταξίδια*, op. cit., p. 243. The sentence that follows justifies his interest in the Greek audience: “Στο ελληνικό κοινό, του οποίου η οξύτατη πνευματική περιέργεια και η διαίσθησις δεν υποθέτω ότι θ’ αμφισβητηθή σοβαρώς από κανένα, μπορούμε να εμπιστευθούμε το νέο πίνακα.”

²⁸ Ibid., p. 188.

²⁹ Ibid., p.120. In this part, it is possible that Papantoniou is above all addressing himself and then the reader. Moreover, later in the book, in the section “Ανδαλουσία” Papantoniou admits: “Αδύνατο να γλυτώσωμε από ένα καλό συγγραφέα. Θα δούμε την Ανδαλουσία που είδε και τη γυναίκα που είδε. Ο Πρόσπερος Μεριμέ εξουσιάζει τον Τουρισμό της Ισπανίας από το 1830.” (p. 126) As can be understood from Papantoniou’s travel writings, he was a writer who had read a lot about the place he

While reading the impressions of these three writers on Spain, one notices that all of them are based on other sources. Thus, Kazantzakis draws both on oral and on written accounts. As mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis, he appears to discuss things with ordinary people (especially peasants and soldiers) and write down their views. Moreover, he refers to many significant Spanish personalities and, sometimes, quotes their words. He mainly draws on: philosophers (Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Spinoza, Loyola), Spanish celebrities (Saint Teresa, Christopher Columbus and Don Juan) and Spanish intellectuals (Joaquin Costa, Ángel Ganivet García, Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo, José Ortega y Gasset, Antonio Machado, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán y de la Peña, Azorín, Pío Baroja y Nessi and Miró).

Ouranis also incorporates various written accounts in his narrative. He refers to foreign travellers (whether named, like Maurice Barrès, Théophile Gautier and Prosper Mérimée, or unnamed), historians, travel guides (he names only one of them, the “Ὁδηγός της Ισπανίας”), chronicles (the only one he names is the “chronicle of Seville”), poets (Rilke, Keats, Verlaine, Poe, Baudelaire, Cavafy), writers (Ponson du Terrail, Cervantes, Pirandello, Unamuno, Wasserman, Andersen, Molina, Irving [who wrote a book about the Alhambra]), Zorilla (to whose poem “Don Juan” he dedicates a whole chapter [“Ὁ «Δον Ζουάν»”] quoting part of his own translation), art critics (Antoine de Latour, Pacheco), philosophers (Ortega y Gasset), Spanish celebrities (Saint Teresa³⁰ and Christopher Columbus) and even a scientist (the Spanish ophthalmologist Beritens). He also quotes part of Columbus’ will. Ouranis often

was going to visit. His readings mainly included the literature of the country he would visit and other travellers’ accounts and it was absolutely normal that he should have been influenced by them.

³⁰ All three writers speak with admiration of Saint Teresa and stress her significance, dedicating an important part of their text to her. Ouranis places her among the greatest classic writers of Spain and draws parallels between her diary, which he characterizes as “a Bible of love”, the *Song of the Songs* and *Letters to a Portuguese nun*.

refers to “others” who had spoken or written about Spain, whom he does not name or characterize and whose opinions function as introductions to a subject on which he will then express his own view. In his book there are also some brief oral accounts from the ordinary people he met during his trips.

A similar pattern is followed by Papantoniou. Papantoniou’s Spain includes a vast range of written accounts, but oral accounts are almost absent. He draws on or simply refers to French travellers (Gautier,³¹ Hugo, Quinet, Dumas, Sand, Delacroix, Barrès), other unnamed travellers, contemporary Spanish intellectuals and poets (Ganivet, Unamuno, Barine³²), other important personalities (Saint Teresa, Napoleon, Cervantes, Columbus), foreign poets (Schiller, Baudelaire, Laborde, Mérimée), philosophers (Spenser, Weber, Bergson, Schopenhauer, Kierkegaard), earlier writers (Seneca, Suetonius), chroniclers, an academic (Madariaga³³) and a historian (De Avila). He even refers to a statistic about Spanish illiteracy to justify his arguments on the decline of Spain and to the proceedings of a trial of 1582 in order to shed light on some aspects of Theotokopoulos’ life. As can be understood, Papantoniou is well aware of the sources on Spain; he has studied them in depth and incorporated them smoothly into his text. They constitute irrefutable accounts that Papantoniou frequently uses as supporting evidence for his own opinions.

References to other travellers, loans and repetitions of the same information transferred from one traveller to another are an intrinsic part of travel writing.³⁴

³¹ Papantoniou quotes his translation of a whole poem by Théophile Gautier entitled “Monks of Zurbarán” as evidence of the impact that one art (painting) has on another (poetry).

³² Papantoniou writes: “Γνωστή εκλεκτή λογογράφος και παλιά συνεργάτις του Figaro”.

³³ Madariaga was a Spanish professor at the University of Oxford, a contemporary of Papantoniou.

³⁴ Ourania Polykandrioti, “Έλληνική ταξιδιωτική φιλολογία και νατουραλισμός: Το παράδειγμα του Ανδρέα Καρκαβίτσα” in *Ο Νατουραλισμός στην Ελλάδα, Διαστάσεις-Μετασηματισμοί-Όρια*, (ed. Eleni Politou-Marmarinou, Vicky Patsiou), Athens: Metaichmio 2008, p. 245. For more information see also: André Deisser, “Mystification, imitation et plagiat chez les voyageurs” in: *Vers l’ Orient par la Grèce*

Hence, I consider it important to make more detailed reference to the use of texts by other travellers. References to other travellers are very common in Ouranis' and Papantoniou's texts on Spain but are almost totally absent from Kazantzakis' writing.³⁵ Ouranis not only refers to other travellers (most of whom are not named) and quotes parts of their texts, but he also appears rather critical of them: “Διάφοροι βιαστικοί κ’ επιπόλαιοι ταξιδιώτες, διασχίζοντας τα πουέμπλος της Καστίλιας και βλέποντας άεργους ανθρώπους μπρος στα καλύβια τους ή κάτω απ’ τις καμάρες του «αγιουνταμέντο» –της Δημαρχίας–, τους χαρακτήρισαν, στις εντυπώσεις τους, τεμπέληδες. «Οι Ισπανικοί χωρικοί», γράφουν, «έχουν κληρονομήσει από τους Άραβες κατακτητές μια περηφάνεια και μια ραθυμία που τους κάνουν να νιώθουν απέχθεια για την εργασία. Τη θεωρούν πιο εξευτελιστική από τη ζητιανιά...»³⁶ And a little later on he comments: “Αλήθεια, μόνο όποιος δεν ξέρει τους όρους της ζωής τους μπορεί να πει πως είναι άεργοι από υπερηφάνεια και ζητιάνοι από προτίμηση.”³⁷ A technique that Ouranis often employs is to present what others have said and written on a specific town or Spanish subject and then to express his own views on it. The highpoint of his use of this technique is found in the chapter entitled “Το Τολέδο που δεν βλέπουν οι περιηγητές”. In this chapter, Ouranis highlights the two most common mistakes made by travellers: firstly to visit a place having already

avec Nerval et d’ autres voyageurs, textes recueillis par Loukia Droulia et Vasso Mentzou, Paris: Éditions Klincksieck 1993, p. 124 and Adrien Pasquali, “Écrire, lire, voyager” in *Le tour des horizons. Critique et récits de voyages*, Paris: Klincksieck 1994, pp. 51-59.

³⁵ In fact, Kazantzakis refers only once to Barrès (“Ο Μπαρρές ευρήκε, με ολίγην καλήν θέλησιν, την κοκαΐνην του στο Τολέδο· και μαζί του όλο το πλήθος των ωραιοπαθών, που ζητεί καταφύγιον εις τα περασμένα.” in Nikos Kazantzakis, “Τολέδο, η ξακουσμένη πατρίς του Γκρέκο”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 24 December 1926, p. 1) and to Gautier’s *Ταξίδι στην Ισπανία*, which he characterizes as “περίφημον” and from which he quotes one phrase that relates to El Greco (In Nikos Kazantzakis, “Ο Θρύλος και η Ζωή του Γκρέκο”, *Eleftheros Typos*, 25 December 1926, p. 1). Panagiotis Matalas has compared Kazantzakis’ and Barrès’ journeys to Sparta and Toledo in his “Ταξίδια ενάντια στην παρακμή: ο Μπαρρές και ο Καζαντζάκης στη Σπάρτη και το Τολέδο”, *Πρακτικά Νίκος Καζαντζάκης*, Χανιά 1998, pp. 61-81.

³⁶ Kostas Ouranis, *Ισπανία*, op. cit., p. 30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

formed a notion of it in their own mind and, secondly, to be in a hurry.³⁸ He gives advice as to how travellers should behave and suggests a different path that will reveal the real beauty of Toledo.³⁹ Elsewhere, Ouranis becomes even harder on other traveller-journalists: “ [...] κ’ είμαι ο πρώτος που βρίσκει κωμικούς τους δημοσιογράφους εκείνους, οι οποίοι –όπως είπε κάποιος–, με το να μιλήσουν με τον πρωθυπουργό μιας χώρας, μ’ έναν αμαξά και με τον ξενοδόχο τους, νομίζουν πως ξέρουν αρκετά για να διερμηνεύσουν το εθνικό αίσθημα της χώρας αυτής.”⁴⁰

As mentioned above, Papantoniou mainly refers to the French travellers Gautier and Barrès. However, he also quotes the words of other travellers, whom he does not name. Like Ouranis, he does not only refer to them or quote their writings, but he also assumes a critical stance towards them. For example, when he speaks about the “Court of the Lions”, “the masterpiece” of the Alhambra, before presenting his own view of it, he says: “Την έχουν περιγράψει όλοι, την έχουν διηγηθή όλοι και την έχουν καταστρέψει όλοι.”⁴¹

In conclusion, it has been argued that Kazantzakis is the traveller-thinker and Ouranis the traveller-poet while Papantoniou could be called the traveller-art critic.⁴² However oversimplified these characterizations might be, they give a notion of how

³⁸ This view is also expressed later in the book and more specifically in the chapter “Η ώρα των πάτιος στην Κόρδοβα”: “Στην Ισπανία δεν πρέπει να βιάζεται κανείς να σχηματίσει γνώμη.” (Ibid., p.123)

³⁹ At this point, it can be argued that Ouranis was implicitly referring to Kazantzakis, who expected to see Toledo the way El Greco had painted it. However, Ouranis also fell into the same trap; in the chapter “Σ’αναζήτηση της Δημοκρατίας” in the second part of his book, Ouranis wonders: “«Μα που, επί τέλους, είναι, διερωτώμαστε, η «φλογερή» Ισπανία που ονειρεύονται οι τουρίστες, και οι σκηνές της ζωής, οι τόσο γραφικές και πολύχρωμες, που ζωγράφισε ο Γκόγια και οι καστανιέτες και η Κάρμεν με τα στιλπνά μαύρα μαλλιά και το μεγάλο προκλητικό ρόδο στα δόντια;[...]” (Ibid., p.228)

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 279.

⁴¹ Zacharias Papantoniou, *Ταξίδια*, op. cit., p. 122.

⁴² The characterization of Kazantzakis and Ouranis comes from Sachinis, and more specifically from the section “Οι ταξιδιωτικές εντυπώσεις” of his book *Η σύγχρονη πεζογραφία μας* (1971). The characterization of Papantoniou is a conclusion I have drawn after consulting various studies on him and mainly the section “Ο Ζαχαρίας Παπαντωνίου ως ταξιδιώτης” in the book *Ο Ζαχαρίας Παπαντωνίου ως πεζογράφος* by Foteini Keramari (2001) and the prologue to Papantoniou’s *Ταξίδια* entitled “Ο ταξιδιώτης”, written by I.M. Panagiotopoulos.

each writer approaches the subject “Spain”. Thus, though all of them deal with the significant issues and personalities of Spain like bull-fighting, the Spanish personality/psychology, Spanish religion, the Arab past on the one hand and Saint Teresa, El Greco, Goya, Christopher Columbus and Don Juan on the other, they each seem to do it in their own, unique and distinctive way. Their personality influences the way they write, the way they deal with what they see and the way they present their material. Furthermore, the country itself has a different impact on each of them.

Finally, I tend to believe that though each of them had his own, divergent view of travel, they all premised Spanish literature and art as their main concern. The differences in their methods, their techniques and their style reveal three different authors, who managed to write literary texts about similar subjects while leaving their own, clear mark on them. The use of oral and written sources gave their texts credibility and revealed the fact that they all were well-informed and cultivated travellers who visited Spain with their own preconceptions but also with a desire to overcome them. Thus, Kazantzakis’, Ouranis’ and Papantoniou’s writings undoubtedly added to the depiction of Spain in the period between 1926 and 1936.

Conclusion

The contemporary resurgence of interest in travel writing on a worldwide scale and the simultaneous lack of scholarly research on travel writing in Greece offer a challenge to young researchers. In this context I have chosen Nikos Kazantzakis as my subject because, though best known for his novels, he was also a prominent figure in Greek travel writing. With an output of five travel books and numerous travel pieces published in various Athenian newspapers, Kazantzakis deserves to be noticed, not only as the author of the novels that established his world-wide fame, but as a significant travel writer as well.

A distinguished place in Kazantzakis' travel writings is reserved for his writings on Spain, a country to which he journeyed four times in the course of his life and about which he wrote eighty-seven travel pieces, parts of which were included in the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*. What differentiates Kazantzakis' texts on Spain from his writings on other countries is mainly the fact that in Spain the author had the chance to experience major historico-political changes, such as the transition from the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera to democracy under Azaña and then the collapse of that democratic state and the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. In addition, it seems that Kazantzakis felt some sort of brotherhood towards the Spaniards (something he based mainly on what he termed their common African background), something not observed in his attitude to other nations. Last but not least, Kazantzakis' third journey to Spain (1936) coincided with his entering a new state, which he called "freedom". And, bearing in mind the significance of the word "freedom" in Kazantzakis' life and

oeuvre, it can be understood just how crucial the Spanish experience had been and how distinctive his travels in Spain remain compared to his other journeys.

The aim of this thesis has been to make a close, critical and comparative reading of Kazantzakis' writings on Spain as a whole, namely both the newspaper material and the book. For this purpose, I have endeavoured to trace the differences that are detected between the texts on Spain published in the newspapers *Eleftheros Typos* and *I Kathimerini* and the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*. In this way, I have demonstrated how in some cases Kazantzakis changed his mind on certain issues or even preferred to “whitewash” his image of Spain. Furthermore, I aimed to explore what Kazantzakis was focusing on throughout his journeys and pinpoint the themes that occur and recur in his writings on Spain. Hence, it seems that art and people were his primary interests and that he was more reflective than descriptive in his narratives, especially as he moved from the newspaper articles to the book.

Kazantzakis' attitude towards the Spanish Civil War, which he covered as a war-correspondent for *I Kathimerini*, was another aspect of my critical reading of the author's writings on Spain. It is apparent in these texts that, though Kazantzakis aimed to remain impartial while covering the Spanish Civil War, he did express some sort of affinity for some representatives of the Nationalist side, like Franco and the Falangists.

Through Kazantzakis' writings on Spain the reader gets a notion of Spanish art and literature, Spanish characteristics and the historical and political conditions of a particular period. In the same vein, through Kazantzakis' writings on Spain not only is a country being revealed, but an author as well. His three journeys over a ten-year period (1926-1936) reveal, for instance, his attraction to everything new and his love

of constant change; his attraction to Franco's Fascism is an example of that. Furthermore, through his writings on Spain, Kazantzakis appears as an author to be full of contradictions. The most representative example of that is the fact that on his 1933 journey to Spain he compares Saint Teresa with Rosa Luxembourg, while on his 1936 journey to the country he characterizes Franco as “άγιο Θηρέσιο του καιρού μας”¹!

In addition, Kazantzakis' writings on Spain should not be viewed separately from the rest of his oeuvre, since they are closely related to it. Hence, it would be an omission not to note that Kazantzakis' writings on Spain echo to a great extent his *Ασκητική* and, at the same time, the journeys to Spain provide the author with images, ideas, symbols and experiences he will employ in his later works. Though Kazantzakis' Spanish experience did not generate the writing of another book (like his Russian journey that gave rise to *Τόντα Ράμπα*, the trip to Palestine which deeply influenced the creation of his novel *Ο Τελευταίος Πειρασμός* and the journey to China that generated the novel *Ο Βραχόκηπος*), it offered him two figures that would deeply stimulate him: Don Quixote and El Greco. The former is the “Καπετάν Ένας” of the twentieth rhapsody (Υ) of the Kazantzakean *Οδύσεια* (“La Ombra”, according to him) and one of the leaders of the souls. The latter is the one to whom Kazantzakis narrates his story in the account of his life: the well-known *Αναφορά στον Γκρέκο*.

Moreover, in his reflections on Spain one can find the author's views on several issues. Thus, in his writings on Spain Kazantzakis appears as an advocate of war; only through a conflict between the two opposing sides in Spain (the rebels and the reactionaries), he claims, can something new emerge. Furthermore, the reader is

¹ Nikos Kazantzakis, “Προς την Άβιλα”, *Ι Kathimerini*, 21 December 1936, p. 1.

informed about Kazantzakis' view on religion; as I have already demonstrated, while in Spain, Kazantzakis seems to condemn the Christian religion and admire Islam. In his writings on Spain, Kazantzakis expresses his view on art and on art's ultimate goal, which is the salvation that derives from achieving unity among people, animals, past, present, life and death.

In addition, by comparing Kazantzakis' work with that of Ouranis and Papantoniou, who also visited the country during the same period, I have attempted to illuminate other aspects of Kazantzakis' writings on Spain, such as the methods and techniques he employed, his style and the sources he drew on. After comparing the three authors' writings on Spain, I concluded that, though all deal with more or less similar themes, each of them presents his material in his own, unique way, which is related to his own distinct personality. This enables me to confirm what I. M. Panagiotopoulos has rightly said: “Η ταξιδιωτική εντύπωση δίνει τον άνθρωπο διαμέσου του τόπου και τον τόπο διαμέσου του ανθρώπου.”²

My close, critical and comparative reading of all Kazantzakis' writings on Spain, namely both the newspaper articles and the book *Ταξιδεύοντας-Ισπανία*, has prompted me to assert the need for a new and more comprehensive edition of the book, namely one that will include all Kazantzakis' texts from Spain. Furthermore, I believe that all Kazantzakis' travel pieces (journalistic accounts and books) deserve a closer reading that will go beyond stressing their literary value and highlight the usefulness of these texts as cultural, historical and political documents. Finally, a more comprehensive study of his travel pieces would spotlight another aspect of

² I. M. Panagiotopoulos, “Ο ταξιδιώτης” in Zacharias Papantoniou, *Ταξίδια*, Athens: Estia 1955, p. 11.

Kazantzakis (that of the travel writer) and would contribute to a more holistic view of this influential author.

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