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Theophilos*

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Un-framing the Greek Civil War

Commenting on the Greek civil war has been beset with perils since the unceremonious end of the conflict on 9 October 1949. The internecine hostilities have been generating divergent opinions and animated discussions in Greece among scholars, intellectuals and ordinary citizens for longer than might have been expected. A debate on the topic in the Greek daily and monthly press at the last turn of the century was described as a “second civil war” and lasted almost as long as the conflict itself.¹ More recently, on 1 July 2014, Nikos Marantzidis a political scientist at the University of Macedonia in Northern Greece was assaulted by a pair of black-clothed men for his published views on the civil war. Having recovered in hospital a fortnight later, he declared in an interview that his cousins, party cadres of the KKE (Greek Communist Party), believe he is betraying the entire family.² A quarter of a century after the fall of the Berlin Wall what is now commonly described as the ‘first hot incident of the Cold War’ can still lead to anything between dissension, intellectual skirmish, and bodily harm. Indeed, recent researchers have frequently referred to the memory of the Greek civil war as “cultural trauma”.³

What does it mean, then, to “un-frame” a complex set of historical circumstances such as the Greek civil war? I will attempt to answer this question by means of a selective retrospective to relevant cultural practices from the 60s to recent times, as, indeed, the introductory comments and

hitherto annotations already suggest. The first part of the article, comments on enduring ideological divisions in Greek society highlighted by Cold-War antinomies and intensified by political expediency after the demise of the Colonels' military dictatorship (1967-74). In the second part, vicissitudes in the reception of two works of fiction by Thanasis Valtinos [*Η κάθοδος των εννιά* (*The Descent of the Nine*, 1963) and *Ορθοκωστά* (*Orthokostá*, 1994), both fictional narratives on the theme of the civil war] will broaden the scope and lead to tentative conclusions.

1. Ideological Residues of the Cold-War: a Nation in Prolonged Crisis

Nikos Marantzidis along with Stathis Kalyvas, a political scientist at Yale University, are the authors of numerous scientific publications on the civil war. Since the year 2000, when Kalyvas' work on "Red Terror" in the region of Argolis was first published,⁴ they have questioned the left's sanctified contribution to the resistance and its conduct during the civil conflict, occasionally in co-written articles and books. Indeed one of their more recent co-written publications entitled *Internecine Passions* has allegedly made it to the best-seller list.⁵ They were not the first ones to challenge the Left's narrative on the internecine bellicosity, but they were heard broadly in the latter part of the prolonged period that followed the demise of the Colonels' dictatorship, known as *Metapolitefsi* (literally, "change of government", 1974-2008).⁶ They have been labeled as "revisionists" (αναθεωρητές) of a popular historical discourse that began evolving in the Left's propaganda during the 40s, was revived after, and in reaction to, the Colonels' regime, and was authorized as state-endorsed official history in the 80s under the auspices of PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement) which was first voted in power in 1981.

Evidence of the climate spawned by PASOK's cultural policies during the period 1981-1989 may have been witnessed at the inaugural launch of Nicholas Gage's *Eleni* in 1983 when Athens demonstrators protested its Greek publication.⁷ Two years later, audiences of *Eleni* the movie were met disapprovingly by menacing leftist sympathizers who heckled prospective viewers at the front of the theatre. The film was withdrawn after a few screenings in Athens. *Eleni* was filmed in Spain because PASOK policy makers forbade its filming in Greece.⁸ As far as I'm aware, the film has never

been shown on Greek television. I attended the second launching of the book in early 2004 at the centre of Athens in the lavish surroundings of a venue on the ground floor of the hotel "Grande Bretagne". On the evening, a strategically chosen heterogeneous troika comprising Theodoros Pangalos (PASOK politician), Dora Bakogianni (New Democracy politician) and Thanasis Valtinos (author) presented and praised the work for its matter-of-fact treatment of a personal issue. *Eleni* is a report-like, semi-novelistic biography of the author's mother, killed by communists in Epirus during the Civil War. She had arranged her children's escape from forced conscription by what was the Greek Democratic Army at the time. When everyone left the venue in 2004, armoured police buses barricaded the surrounding area and shield-bearing MAT (Urban Crowd-Control Units) patrolled the nearby streets as precautionary measures. There were no incidents in the unusually calm avenues of Vasileos Georgiou, Amalias, and Vasilissis Sofias. The cultural ambiance germinated by the new Athens Metro (2000), Greece's accession into the Eurozone (2001), and hosting the 2004 Olympics while boarding PASOK's "train of modernization" under the leadership of Costas Simitis was perhaps incongruous with a vocal revival of divisive issues.⁹

It took less than a quinquennium for this apparent civic euphoria to change. Latent animosities seemingly unrelated to civil-war memories were vented at the Athens December riots in 2008 when the ill-situated 15-year old Alexandros Grigoropoulos was shot by police. Since 2012, however, public screenings of *Eleni* have been announced periodically by local branches of the right-wing organization "Golden Dawn" (Χρυσή Αυγή), currently represented as the third-strongest party in the Greek parliament. Indeed, its Southern Athens branch invites its website visitors to online viewings of *Eleni* with the ill-conceived announcement of "a cinematic work 'banned' by PASOK".¹⁰ One may reasonably assume that such viewings were arranged for reasons of political propaganda in a fronting climate and aimed at debunking the sanctified image of the Left's conduct during the civil war.

The halo-bearing image of the "andartis" (guerilla / rebel) was not new in the 80s. It was cultivated by EAM (National Liberation Front) during the latter part of the German Occupation most notably in propaganda posters and in heroic representations of male and female guerillas in photographs such as those of Spyros Meletzis among others.¹¹ Photographic portraiture of the period features Greek male guerillas framed by women in traditional

folk costume, accompanied by stern female fighters sporting rifles and bandoliers or similarly attired cross-bearing priests who were occasionally paralleled with pious warriors in the 1821-War of Independence against the Ottomans.¹² Historical researchers have been exploring less aggrandizing aspects of the period questioning both implicitly and explicitly enduring myths of the resistance and the internecine conflict.¹³ Their counterparts from the so-called “revisionist” political sciences also document with overt didacticism at times that these noble guerilla-icons were at a considerable remove from historical truth.¹⁴ As one of a series of stamps released in 1982 illustrates, it was that very image which was reinforced in the collective memory during the 80s. The stamp portrays a linocut sketch of two collaged photographs by Spyros Meletzis. One is of a female guerilla brandishing a rifle and looking alertly in the opposite direction of its barrel, and one of a bearded ELAS warrior (National Popular Liberation Army, the military arm of EAM) also in military attire. In the source-photograph, the male figure is perched on a Greek mountaintop, straddling with rifle in hand, one foot fixed firmly on a rock, and staring calmly in the distance against the background of a semi-nebulous sky.¹⁵ The figure is glorified largely due to its stance and the low angle from which it was photographed, a favourite technique in several of Meletzis’ portraits.

As the 1982 stamp suggests, in the period immediately after the 1973 Polytechnic events and the demise of the Colonels’ dictatorship in 1974, such imagery and its corresponding narrative acquired new political significance. The resistance and civil war became known as “Αντίσταση” or “Αντάρτικο” with a pronounced inclination to merge the two unqualifiedly and without chronological or geographical distinctions. As soon as PASOK came in power participants who were collectively known as “Συμμορίτες” (Gangsters or Banditti) in the 40s and 50s were to be granted war pensions by parliamentary decree (passed in 1982¹⁶) for taking part in the resistance against the forces of the triple occupation. The left-swing policy aimed at a reconciliation that unified the nation under a new *soi-disant* “socialist” government, but the undeclared reason was PASOK’s appropriation of the Left’s vote in the 1981 and 1984 elections. As the cited examples and the ensuing incidents attest, the glorification of the Left’s contribution to the resistance was cultivated in the electorate coupled with a wholesale repugnance for the conservative Right which was identified with the

authoritarianism of the Colonels and U.S. interventionism. In the long term, PASOK’s political expediency germinated a newly polarized community.

In an article published in 1979 in the leftist newspaper *Avgi* the now deceased historian Philippos Iliou, the son of Ilias Iliou, former leader of EDA (United Democratic Left, 1951-1985), wrote the following comment:

*“Ο στοχασμός και η έρευνα για τον εμφύλιο πόλεμο στη χώρα μας ... σηματοδεύτηκαν, κυρίως, όχι τόσο από τη διερεύνηση των πραγματικών καταστάσεων, όσο από την προσπάθεια να δικαιωθούν, ή να δικαιολογηθούν, παλαιότεροι και μεταγενέστεροι πολιτικοί προσανατολισμοί. Άνθισαν, έτσι, και ανθίζουν ακόμη, πολιτικές και ιδεολογικές ‘ερμηνείες’ που αντιμετώπισαν με αρκετή αδιαφορία τα πραγματικά περιστατικά.”*¹⁷

Such views faded into inaudibility in the cultural ambience of the *Metapolitefsi* even among leftist sympathizers. The memories of oppression and censorship during the Colonels’ dictatorship, the student uprising at the Polytechnic events and the image-building heroics of the Left’s conduct during the civil war gave new purpose to progressive political forces and helped forge the political and cultural identities of many throughout the period. It would appear that in the late 70s and throughout the 80s the civil war was mounted in a crimson vignette for public consumption and for the purposes of PASOK’s political benefit. For the 50-year commemoration of the end of the internecine conflict, the Athens University historian George Mavrogordatos described this cultural turn as “The ‘revanche’ of the defeated”:

*“... το καθεστώς διακρίσεων ... σε βάρος των ηττημένων του Εμφυλίου ... διεννόληνε από πολύ νωρίς τη ρομαντική ανασκευή του παρελθόντος από την Αριστερά. ... Άνοιξαν έτσι διάπλατα οι πόρτες για μια ‘ρεβάνς’ των ηττημένων στο πεδίο της συλλογικής μνήμης που επιβλήθηκε και επίσημα μετά το 1981.”*¹⁸

The Eleni-case, Mavrogordatos’ and Iliou’s comments, and the assault on Professor Matantzidis illustrate that the Greek civil war is a kind of Lazarus subjected to periodic resuscitations that expose political antinomies and revive enduring dormant divisions in Greek society. Indeed, preminent scholars such as Thanos Veremis and George Mavrogordatos have suggested that fratricidal clashes have been a feature of the Greek nation’s development since its inception with implications for the stability of the

national institution in Greece as the first sovereign nation in Europe.¹⁹ It is perhaps not surprising that in the year 2000 Thanasis Valtinos' published a novel that commented on the National Schism (Εθνικός διχασμός, 1916) between Royalists and Venizelists, before, during, and after the Asia Minor Debacle in 1922. At the "*fin de siècle*" the author was accused of promoting a retrogressive reinstatement of the monarchy in Greece, of "turkophilia" for extending a gratuitous hand of friendship to Greece's eastern neighbours, in a work of fiction whose generic impurity failed to transform the concomitant historical events into a national narrative of epic proportion or tragic poignancy.²⁰

It would appear, therefore, that – short of attributing such national inclinations to historical continuity since the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC)– Cold-War antinomies gave different guise and a renewed *raison d'être* to age-long socio-political divisions deeply embedded in Greek society after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In such an polarized climate, cultural products such as films, histories, and novels, lend themselves to partisan readings of the past with little regard for historical verity. In 2009, for instance, and echoing similar accusations cast at Valtinos' *Orthokostá* in 1994 (see part 2 herein), an anonymous commentator of the extreme leftist newspaper *Rizospastis* criticized Pandelis Voulgaris' controversial film on a reconciling view of the civil war (*Ψυχή Βαθιά*, 2009) for distorting historical facts.²¹ Since the 80s, throughout the 90s and intermittently until nowadays, a widespread preoccupation with the internecine bellicosity continues to yield a daunting amount of diverse material on the topic: personal memoirs, biographies, histories, films, literary output, journalistic commentary, conference proceedings, and an abundance of scientific articles and books. To a lesser extent, however, this was also the case in the early 60s and 70s.

2. Literary vs. Historical Discourse

Thanasis Valtinos' *Η κάθοδος των εννιά* [*The Descent of the Nine*, henceforth referred to as (the) *Descent*] was first-published in 1963 in the periodical *Εποχές* and has enjoyed numerous reprints since.²² It first appeared in book form in German (1976) then in Greek (1978) after it had been published in English translation (1973) in the self-proclaimed "postmodernist journal" *Boundary 2*.²³ It is a quasi-testimonial narrative about the gradual demise of nine guerillas of the Greek Democratic Army (Δημοκρατικός

Στρατός Ελλάδος) in the Peloponnese, in the inclement heat of August 1949 and at the hands of hostile locals as well as indeterminate numbers of the National Army (Εθνικός Στρατός) and MAY (Μονάδες Ασφαλείας Υπαιθρου = Countryside Security Units). The *Descent* illustrates what the guerillas suffered in the final year of the civil war but also alludes to Red violence and the ideological disappointment of some of those who employed it. The leader of the group, the ironically named Nikitas (Victor) commits suicide. He states at one point: "Πού να πιαστείς τώρα να γυρέψεις κουράγιο από την ψυχή σου" (p. 19). At another: "Τόσο αίμα. Κι ύστερα να μην ξέρεις πού να φτάσεις" (p. 61), and "να φτάσω στη θάλασσα... να πέσω μέσα και να τριφτώ μέχρι ν' αλλάξω πετσί" (p. 62), just three examples of such allusions among others in the plot involving disgruntled locals and mindless or unrestrained guerilla violence, occasionally exercised in desperation due to impasse (e.g. p. 25, 29, 42-3 and 55).

In 1963 the Athens University philologist Nasos Vagenas, then first-year representative for the student-youth of EDA, reminisced in a personal interview (18 March 2004) that a non-leftist colleague encouraged him to read the *Descent*. He also recalled that leftists praised the book but, in his retrospective assessment, it also appeared to be 'exposing the movement'. Peter Mackridge also reported to me (e-mail dated 1 December 2003) that in the late '60s and early '70s he had heard the novella being praised by both left-wing intellectuals and the politically conservative Pandelis Prevelakis, and described the work as "something of a 'cult text' among a certain group of people". These mixed responses suggest that in the 60s and early 70s the text drew sympathy for the nine guerillas without crowning them in halos. It narrated their plight but did not transform it into an ideological triumph.

The *Descent* was submitted to *Εποχές* by the literary critic George Savvidis against the author's knowledge probably as an answer to Manolis Anagnostakis' request for testimonies on the civil war in the previous issue.²⁴ Savvidis had had the text in his possession for at least 3 years.²⁵ He may have unearthed it in 1963 because in 1960 and 1962 two out of three novels in Stratis Tsirkas' trilogy *Ακυβέρνητες πολιτείες* had caused uproar in the Greek Left. The Communist Party asked Tsirkas to disown his work and, upon Tsirkas' refusal, its branch in Alexandria banned the author from membership in 1961.²⁶ Both *Εποχές* and the leftist journal *Επιθεώρηση*

Τέχνης, among other publications argued the relevant issues.²⁷ The *Descent* appears to have become involved in these debates on disenchantment with the Communist Party, the political patronage of artistic expression and critical thought and the conduct of the Left during the civil war. Party-bound leftist critics did not respond to the lack of vision for the proletariat in the *Descent* but nor did those from the so-called ‘renewing’ or ‘renewed’ left’ (Ανανεωτική Δριστερά).²⁸

A similar issue was raised again in 1974, six years after the split of the KKE in 1968. Aris Alexandrou’s novel *Το κιβώτιο* (*The Crate*) commented allegorically on the ideological void carried by the communists during the civil war in the form of an empty crate.²⁹ *Η Δέσχη*, and *Αριάννη*, the *Descent* and *Το κιβώτιο* among other works of fiction are examples of how literature has repeatedly challenged the fixations of popular history and biases of officially endorsed history in Greek culture. This trend was reversed, somewhat belatedly, in the year 2000. The historian Giorgos Margaritis, currently in the department of Political Sciences at the University of Salonica, presented his history of the civil war in the introduction as an attempt to “correct a historical misunderstanding” attributed explicitly to Alexandrou’s *Το κιβώτιο*.³⁰ This is one of the more striking examples of historiography and literature as contesting or mutually supplementing discourses in Greek culture.

The *Descent* seems to have been written in a climate of intellectual skepticism about the divisive effects of the civil war on Greek society in the 50s.³¹ This skepticism seems to have been marginalized after 1974. In the leftist euphoria of post-dictatorship Greece, Spyros Tsaknias glossed the novella as a “tragedy of the popular movement”.³² The *Descent* was henceforth hailed as one of the grand narratives of the Left where a tragic defeat transformed itself into an epic triumph through artistic expression, thus echoing Mavrogordatos’ assessment quoted at the end of the previous section. The *Descent* was scripted for the silver screen by Valtinos himself in the early 80s and released in 1985 under the direction of Christos Siopachas. Contrary to the book’s mid-term reception, responses to Siopachas’ filmic rendition were unfavourable due to an alleged distortion of the book’s ideological splendor.³³ In 1995, one reader confessed to have laid the book on a comrade’s grave in place of the conventional carnation.³⁴ It was not until 2001 that Kostas Voulgaris questioned the value of the *Descent* for the Left

on the dubious grounds of historical inaccuracy.³⁵ So, the pendulum of the reception of Valtinos’ story swung from a balanced or ambivalent appraisal before the Colonels’ junta to leftist apotheosis after it and, for some leftist readers, all the way to deposition almost overnight in the mid-90s. Voulgaris’ wishful dethronement of the *Descent* from its painstakingly constructed ideological pedestal was written against the background of PASOK’s populist rhetoric and cultural policies and in the aftermath of the “*Orthokostá* controversy”.

Orthokostá, often described as the twin brother of the *Descent*, was first published in 1994 and divided the critical community instantly. The leftist intellectual and editor of the acclaimed journal *Ο Πολίτης*, the late Angelos Elefantis, criticized the novel for excessive demystifying and on the grounds of ignoring the ideological stakes (ιδεολογικά διακυβεύματα).³⁶ Unsurprisingly, both Kostas Voulgaris and Giorgos Margaritis were his confessed disciples, but others followed suit along similar lines.³⁷ Some of the defending critics were well known leftists themselves: Dimitris Raftopoulos, Titos Patrikios and the late Philippos Iliou, all spoke in the work’s favour at the inaugural launch.³⁸ Indeed, in 1962 Raftopoulos, had also commented on Tsirkas’ *Η Δέσχη*, claiming that it revealed the “breach of revolutionary legality” by people who were responsible “for the repeated failures of the [communist] movement” in Greece.³⁹ *Orthokostá* was doing the same but disrobed the violence off any ideological motives or embellishments. Indeed, leftist ideologues in the novel are consistently ostracized by their more bellicose comrades or abandon the cause on personal principle. In 1995, Tzina Politi defended the novel arguing that it “exposed the dominant discourse of official Historiography [sic]”.⁴⁰ Valtinos himself participated in the debates stating in an interview: “Σου σκοτώνουν τη μάνα! Ποια ‘διακυβεύματα’ μου λένε;” alluding to both Elefantis’ critique and Gage’s *Eleni*.⁴¹

The novel comprises 47 testimonial narratives recounting the brutality used as early as 1943 by both factions and the retreating Germans in the Peloponnese. It also refers to the use of different venues by ELAS as camps for detaining, torturing and eliminating non-sympathizers. The Monastery of *Orthokostá* (Eortakoustí or Artokostá) was one of several such venues throughout the Peloponnese. Such conduct provoked brutal reprisals from the Security Battalions among other organizations until 1945 at least.

A number of commentators claimed that the novel was exonerating the latter and, to the author's dismay, that the voice of their thitherto consecrated opponents was being silenced.⁴² The novel, therefore, could be treated as both a reaction to the post-1979 leftist gloss of the *Descent* and to a new falsification of the civil conflict in the official discourse of the 80s. In the so called "dirty 1989" (το βρώμικο 89), Valtinos was one of 120 writers and artists who expressed their discontent with PASOK's cultural policies. The relevant document was composed by Dimitris Raftopoulos and proofed by Valtinos. It protested against the "violation of the rules of pluralism ... the misinformation and biased control of the Media... and the frivolous and manipulating use of History ..." All of these, amounted to a "symptom of totalitarianism that was unacceptable in a democratic government".⁴³

After 1994 the *Orthokostá* controversy expanded in big-bang fashion for over a decade, putting the veracity of PASOK's discourse on the resistance and the civil war in question and shaking a great part of the Greek leftist intelligentsia out of its ideological complacency. The skirmishes were described in the daily press as a "second civil war" or "almost civil-war-like debate".⁴⁴ Occasionally commentators who actually participated in the events objected to the novel for posing a threat to their social integrity.⁴⁵ Identities had been formed, and the ideological foundations of this formation were being shaken. As late as 2003, Valtinos was being characterized, as a "neoconservative" who had recoiled to the "hard-core reactionary nationalism [*ethnikofrosyni*] of the German Occupation".⁴⁶ Even in the celebratory cultural ambiance of 2004, *Orthokostá* was criticized for confusing the reader by abstracting a personal view to the status of historical truth and for defying research on the agreed chronological beginnings of the conflict.⁴⁷ In the same year the novel was proclaimed as a "symbol of a revisionism" in historiography⁴⁸ and in February of 2005 Valtinos was described as a reformed "rhetorician of the new Right".⁴⁹ The pendulum of critical reception had swung all the way for Valtinos. Indeed the novel has been referred to by both Kalyvas and Maratzidis to lend argument to their theses about the Left's brutality against civilians during the occupation⁵⁰ and has therefore been credited for the "revisionist" turn in historical studies and the political sciences. The intensity of the controversy sobered down after 2005, particularly after 2008 when Valtinos' was accepted as a regular member of the Athens Academy or, rather, it was transposed to blogs in cyberspace.⁵¹

In summary, and to conclude, it appears that after 1974 the issue of the Left's violent conduct during the occupation and civil war was thought of as best forgotten, while the exaltation of ELAS, EAM and the KKE in the people's struggles against fascism was exploited to PASOK's political advantage throughout the 80s. It also formed the basis for the construction of political and cultural identities and served members of the intelligentsia who sought to construct a new role for the erstwhile marginalized Left in post-dictatorship Greece. At the same time it spawned a new clandestine censorship that polarized the entire community. Today's climate is to some extent the result of this cultural *about-face* after the Colonels. Un-framing the civil war may well mean that the intellectual community needs to retell its story without treating the combatants as saints or demons. Literature has been trying to point in that direction since the 60s at least. To rethink the generic status of the civil war as an historical narrative may well signal a cessation of sentimentalizing the period in either epic or unfairly tragic terms. The latter has led almost inevitably to a grand narrative of one faction or another. A more hybrid, even vertiginous narrative like some readers have found *Orthokostá* to be,⁵² might better capture the complexity of the conflict. I'm not arguing for a removal of the ideological issues from the historical canvas, nor on focusing on the local alone, but for an acceptance of ideology not as an exclusive motive behind the brutality and the involvement of civilians in reprisals. If the Modernist period was an age of extremes, grand narratives, totalitarianisms, and absolutisms, it might be that a post-modernist period will signal a decisive shift away from such polarities. If it does, in the Greek cultural context it will certainly have been aided by literature.

Notes

- 1 See, e.g.: A. Λιάκος, "Ο φόρος του αίματος", *Πενήντα χρόνια μετά τον Εμφύλιο*, Ermis, Athens 1999, p. 21-25. "Εκσυγχρονίζεται η Ιστορία;" *Το βήμα* (4 February 2001). "Μεταμοντερνισμός, Ιστοριογραφία και αριστερά", *Ο Πολίτης* 107 (January 2003) p. 12-17, and "Ένας πόλεμος που ξεκίνησε... μετά τον πόλεμο", *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμο* (28-9 August 2004) p. 12-3. Ν. Μπαστέα, "Προσωπικά πάθη. Πολιτικά εγκλήματα. Μια ιστορία εκδίκησης", *Τα Νέα - Πρόσωπα 21ος αιώνας* 140 (10 November 2001) p. 15-7. Χρ. Ξανθάκης, "Ο ΕΛΑΣ κάνει την πιο καλή δουλειά", *Ελευθεροτυπία* (12 August 2001) p. 14-5. Φ. Φιλίππου, "Αίμα χαμένο και κερδισμένο. Το μαρτυρολόγιο των ηττημένων του Εμφυλίου και οι αιματηρές συγκρούσεις στους κόλπους της ελληνικής Αριστεράς", *Το βήμα* (4 November 2001) p. 24 and "Όταν οι σύντροφοι σκοτώνουν", *Το βήμα-Βιβλία* (16 March 2003) p. 5. X. Φλάσερ, "Η πολιτική αλλοιώνει την ιστορική μνήμη", *Η Καθημερινή*

- (3 February 2002) p. 32. Γ. Μαργαρίτης, “Η δεκαετία του 1940-1950: Μια ιστοριογραφική πρόκληση”, *Ο Πολίτης* 104 (October 2002) p. 28-34. “Για την αναπαλαίωση παλαιών μύθων”, *Το βήμα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* 104 (9-11 April 2004) p. 6-7 and “Όταν η μελέτη της Ιστορίας γίνεται... κουτσομπολιό”, *Το βήμα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (5-6 June 2004) p. 10-11. Α. Ελεφάντης, “Μετανοείτε!”, *Ο Πολίτης* 103 (September 2002) p. 14-7. Β. Κρεμμυδάς, “Διαμεσολαβημένα κείμενα”, *Η Αυγή* (8 December 2002). Χ. Εξερτζόγλου, “Ιστορία και Ιστοριογραφία: ένα σχόλιο”, *Η κυριακάτικη Αυγή* (1 December 2002). Ε. Γαζή, “Περί μεταμοντερνισμού και ιστοριογραφίας”, *Ο Πολίτης* 107 (January 2003), p. 18-21. Θ. Μποχώτης, “Η πρόσφατη διαμάχη για την ελληνική ιστοριογραφία”, *Ο Πολίτης* 109 (March 2003) p. 32-35. Φ. Ηλιού, “Οι βιωμένες ιστορίες και η ιστοριογραφική προσέγγιση”, *Η Αυγή* (7 September 2003). Σ. Καλύβας και Ν. Μαραντζίδης, “Νέες τάσεις στη μελέτη του Εμφυλίου πολέμου”, *Το βήμα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (16-7 October 2004) p. 14-5 and “Δεν θα επιστρέψουμε στα πέτρινα χρόνια”, *Το βήμα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (20-1 March 2004) p. 10-11. Η. Νικολακόπουλος, “Η ‘κόκκινη βία’ και ο εξαγνισμός των δωσίλογων”, *Το βήμα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (22-3 May 2004) p. 10-11. Τ. Καμπύλης, “Δωσιλογισμός, ακτινογραφία ενός ταμπού”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (26 June 2004) p. 12. Ν. Πανουργιά, “Η στριωγμένη αντίληψη του Στάθη Καλύβα για την Ιστορία και τον Εμφύλιο. Ο ‘Άγιος Βελουχιώτης’ και οι... άμοιροι Ταγματασφαλίτες”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (2 October 2004) p. 22-3. Χ. Φλάισερ, “Για να εξοικονομηθεί πολύτιμο γερμανικό αίμα...”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (3-4 July 2004) p. 12-13. Μ. Μαΐλης, “Αντίσταση και Εμφύλιος (1941-1949)” *Ριζοσπάστης*, (12 September 2004) p. 11. Δ. Καϊρίδης, “Ποιοι φοβούνται την κριτική σκέψη;”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (21-2 August 2004) p. 11. Κ. Παπαϊωάννου, “Ο καβγάς για την αλήθεια”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (24-5 July 2004) p. 8-9 and “Η απομυθοποίηση της Ιστορίας ως μυθοποίηση του παρόντος”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (25 September 2004) p. 12. Θ. Αλεξίου, “Ένσταση στον αναθεωρητισμό”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (31 July 2004) p. 14. Ε. Μαχαίρας, “Μια νέα (και σοβαρότερη) προσπάθεια για την παραποίηση της Ιστορίας”, *Ριζοσπάστης* (25 December 2004) p. 11. Γ. Μωραΐτης, “Ο δοσιλογισμός της Κατοχής. Με φόντο το σήμερα (β’ μέρος)”, *Ριζοσπάστης* (25 December 2004) p. 11. Η. F. Meyer, “Πόσοι ήταν οι νεκροί στα Καλάβρυτα;”, *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (27-8 November 2004) p. 10. Ν. Μπακουνάκης, “Ο Τράουντλ και ο αναθεωρητισμός”, *Το βήμα - Βιβλία* (26 September 2004) p. 43/1, and Γ. Μαντάς, “Απάντηση σε βιβλίο παραποίησης της Ιστορίας”, *Εθνική Αντίσταση* 128 (October-November 2005), σ. 80-5.
- 2 Κατερίνα Μπακογιάννη, “Νίκος Μαραντζίδης: Αν. καθηγητής στο Πανεπιστήμιο Μακεδονίας – Έχω ξαδέρφια στελέχη του ΚΚΕ. Θερμούν ότι προδίδω την οικογένεια”, *K 580* (13 July 2014) p. 8-10.
- 3 See e.g., Ath. Anastasiadis “Trauma – memory – narration: Greek Civil War novels of the 1980s and 1990s”, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2011), p. 92–108. See also, Γ. Βούλγαρης “Τρεις φορές Έλληνας ή η απώθηση του εμφυλιακού τραύματος”, *Τα Νέα* (3 November 2001) p. 8, Βεν. Αποστολίδου, *Τραύμα και μνήμη. Η πεζογραφία των πολιτικών προσφύγων*, Polis, Athens 2010, and Ν. Δεμερτζής, Ε. Πασχαλούδη and Γ. Αντωνίου (eds), *Εφύλιος: Πολιτισμικό τραύμα*, Alexandria, Athens 2012.
- 4 S. Kalyvas “Red Terror: Leftist Violence during the Occupation” in Mark Mazower (ed.) *After the War was Over, Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943-1960*, Princeton University Press, 2000. Kalyvas draws parallels between the experiences of the inhabitants in a village of Argolis with those of fictional characters in Valtinos’ *Orthokostá* (p. 170, ftnt. 105). Kalyvas has also written a Forward for the novel’s recently published English translation (Th. Valtinos *Orthokostá*, translated by Jane Assimakopoulos and Stavros Deligiorgis – Foreward by Stathis N. Kalyvas, Yale University Press, n.p., 2016, p. vii-xxi).
- 5 Σ. Ν. Καλύβας and Ν. Μαραντζίδης, *Εμφύλια πάθη – 23 ερωτήσεις και απαντήσεις για τον εμφύλιο*, 2nd ed., Metaichmio, Athens 2015. Cf. *Το βήμα*, “Ευπώλητα” (22 May 2016) at <http://www.epbooks.gr/datafiles/Untitled-1.pdf> [accessed 10 October 2016].
- 6 In 1978, Constantinos Tsoukalas had argued optimistically that the civil war had ended in 1974 vis-à-vis its ideological and cultural implications (see, his “Η ιδεολογική επίδραση του εμφυλίου πολέμου”, *Η Ελλάδα στη δεκαετία 1940-1950: Ένα έθνος σε κρίση*, Themelio, Athens, p. 561-90). With equal historical irony, in 1994 (the year of publication of *Orthokostá*), Katia Lebesi of Kedros publishers had claimed that the theme of the civil war was “a bit passé” (quoted in Γ. Χουλιάρας “Πολιτισμός και πολιτική Εμφύλιος πόλεμος και ‘πολιτιστική ανασυγκρότηση’ στην Ελλάδα” in Χ. Φλάισερ (ed.), *Η Ελλάδα ‘36-‘49. Από τη Δικτατορία στον Εμφύλιο. Τομές και συνέχειες*, Castaniotis, Athens, p. 428, n. 2).
- 7 Ν. Γκατζογιάννης, *Ελένη* (trans. Al. Kotzias), Elliniki Envroekdotiki, Athens 1983.
- 8 See Vrasidas Karalis, *A History of the Greek Cinema*, Continuum, New York 2012, p. 208-9; Martha Klironomos “The Topos of Home in New Greek-American Writing” in D. Tziouvas (ed. & intro.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700*, p. 246, and footnote 7 thereon; and Eleftheria Arapoglou “Identity Configuration and Ideological Manipulation in Nicholas Gage’s A Place for Us”, *MBLUS* vol. 30, nr. 3 (Fall 2005), p. 71.
- 9 See footnotes 45-49 in Section 2 below.
- 10 See, e.g. <http://www.xryshaygh.com/enimerosi/view/drastrhiohtes-topikwn-organwsewn-kai-purhnwn-megara-serres-kalamata>, <http://www.xryshaygh.com/imerologio/view/t.o.-a.-lioswn-acharnwn-kamaterou-binteoprobolh-ths-istorikhs-tainias-elen> and http://xryshayghnp.blogspot.gr/2012/10/blog-post_2396.html [accessed 26 October 2014].
- 11 See Σπ. Μελετζής, *Με τους αντάρτες στα βουνά*, Athens 1996. Also www.lifo.gr [accessed 26 October 2014]. Meletzis took several of these photographs but also seemingly less idealizing ones. Overall, the photographs of Costas Balafas from the civil war in Epirus tend to be more ironic and documentary in style.
- 12 See, e.g. Γ. Παπαθεοδώρου (ed., introd. and photo legends), *Εμφύλιος 1946-1949. Οι εικόνες μιας τραγωδίας*, Ιστορικό λεύκωμα 6, Metron Editions, Athens 2006, p. 17; also the self-proclaimed “collector’s edition” of Peter McGee (ed.) “Δεκεμβριανά” *Εμφύλιος Τύπος*, Issue 1, Albertas Ltd, London, p. 3-7. A propaganda lithographic poster featuring the guerilla Παπα-Χολέβας claims “1941-1944 Νέοι Παπαφλέσσηδες. Διάκοι ρίχτηκαν στους αγώνες του Έθνους” at <http://papaholevas.blogspot.gr/> [accessed 26 October 2014].
- 13 See, e.g. L. Baerentzen, “Η απελευθέρωση της Πελοποννήσου - Σεπτέμβριος 1944” in Τζ. Ο. Ιατρίδης (ed.), *Η Ελλάδα στη δεκαετία 1940-1950. Ένα έθνος σε κρίση*, Θεμέλιο, Athens 1984, p. 225-43 and Ch. R. Shrader, *The Withered Vine – Logistics and the Communist Insurgency in Greece, 1945-1949*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut and London, 1999. Also, R. Clogg’s exposure of inaccuracies in the documentary *The Hidden War* in his “A Case Study in Bias and Distortion. Channel Four’s Film on Greece’s Civil War” *Encounter* (February 1987) p. 70-7.
- 14 See, e.g. on the term “resistance” Σ. Ν. Καλύβας and Ν. Μαραντζίδης, *Εμφύλια πάθη*, op.cit. p. 107-8. Also on the anti-communist sentiments spawned by activities of the OPLA organization, in a historiographical work, Σ. Μουμτζής, *Η κόκκινη βία 1943-1946 – Η μνήμη και η λήθη της Αριστεράς*, Επίκεντρο, Athens 2013, p. 202-204.
- 15 It is a photograph dated 1944 and signed by Spyros Meletzis. See, e.g. https://pontosandaristera.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/30_1.jpg, [http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-WY6P5J9o8Fk/U1GOoMACckI/AAAAAAAAAv6Y/fUK2v_307ZM/s1600/1982+%CE%95%CE%B8%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE+%CE%91%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%AF%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%B7+1940-1944+\(8\).jpg](http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-WY6P5J9o8Fk/U1GOoMACckI/AAAAAAAAAv6Y/fUK2v_307ZM/s1600/1982+%CE%95%CE%B8%CE%BD%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE+%CE%91%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%AF%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%B7+1940-1944+(8).jpg) [accessed 26 October 2014]. On 23 February 2016 a new stamp series was released featuring 5 members of the organization of EAM for the 75th anniversary of its foundation.
- 16 See ΦΕΚ 1982/115 here <http://www.et.gr/index.php/2013-01-28-14-06-23/2013-01-29-08-13-13>, and D. Close “The road to reconciliation? The Greek civil war and the politics of memory in the 1980s” in P. Carabott and Th. Sfikas (eds), *The Greek Civil War. Essays on a*

- conflict of exceptionalism and silences*, Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College, Ashgate, London 2004, pp. 257-78.
- 17 Φ. Ηλιού, “Το σήμα του Εμφυλίου Πολέμου”, republished in his *Ο ελληνικός Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος – Η εμπλοκή του ΚΚΕ*, Themelio, Istoriki Vivliothiki, ASKI, Athens, 2004, p. 21 (my italics).
- 18 Γ. Μαυρογορδάτος, “Η ‘ρεβάνς’ των ηττημένων”, *Πενήντα χρόνια μετά τον Εμφύλιο*, Ermis, Athens 1999, pp. 38-40. See also Γ. Βούλγαρης, *Η Ελλάδα της Μεταπολίτευσης 1974-1990. Σταθερή δημοκρατία σημαδεμένη από τη μεταπολεμική ιστορία*, Themelio, Athens 2002, pp. 29-31 and Ν. Μαραντζίδης, *Δημοκρατικός Στρατός Ελλάδας (ΔΣΕ) 1946-1949*, Θέματα Ιστορίας 2, Alexandria, Athens 2010, pp. 15-28.
- 19 See e.g., Θάνος Βερέμης, “Κατακερματισμένη ή ενιαία κοινωνία”, *Η Καθημερινή* (2 August 2009) p. 18 and Γ. Θ. Μαυρογορδάτος, *1915 Ο Εθνικός Διχασμός*, Patakis, 7th ed., Athens 2015.
- 20 Γ. Γεράσης, “Παρουσίαση Βιβλίου. Από την ‘Ζωή εν τάφω’ στην ταφόπετρα της ιστορίας (και της λογοτεχνίας). Θανάσης Βαλτινός: ‘Συναξάρι Κορδοπάτη Βιβλίο Β’ Βαλκανικοί - ‘22’”, *Μονόκερως* 8 (Summer-Autumn 2000) pp. 99-113, and Δημ. Κούρτοβικ, “Ιστορία, ιστορίες, ιστ... ιι...”, *Τα Νέα - Πρόσωπα* (7 July 2001) p. 34.
- 21 Anonymous, “‘Ψυχή βαθιά’ και παραποίηση της ιστορίας – Με αφορμή την ταινία του Π. Βούλγαρη”, *Ριζοσπάστης* (13 October 2009) at <http://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=5302600>. See also Τζία Γιοβάννη, “‘Ψυχή βαθιά’ και η... αλήθεια πέρα”, *Ριζοσπάστης* (8 October 2009) <http://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=5295902> [both accessed 26 October 2014] and Kostis Kornetis, “From Reconciliation to Vengeance: The Greek Civil War on Screen in Pantelis Voulgaris’s [sic] *A Soul so Deep* and Kostas Charalambous’s [sic] *Tied Red Thread*” *FILMICON: Journal of Greek Film Studies*, Issue 2 (September 2014), pp. 93-116.
- 22 Θανάσης Βαλτινός, “Η κάθοδος των εννιά” *Εποχές* 5, (September 1963), pp. 32–45. All references to the text are to Θ. Βαλτινός, *Η κάθοδος των εννιά*, Agra, Athens 1984.
- 23 In German (tr. Johannes Weissert), LCB-Editionen, West Berlin 1976 and in English as “The Descent of the Nine”, *Boundary* 2 (1, 1973) Nr. 2, pp. 321–47.
- 24 Μ. Αναγνωστάκης, “Ο θρύλος και το ιστορικό τοπίο”, *Εποχές* 4 (August 1963), p. 73.
- 25 Valtinos had handed him a typescript in 1960 on the occasion of his being awarded a prize for one of his early short stories (“Αύγουστος ‘48”) published in the magazine *Ταχυδρόμος*.
- 26 Χρ. Προκοπάκη (timeline draft), *Στα ίχνη του Στρατή Τσίρκα*, Kedros, Athens 1985, p. 22.
- 27 See Χρ. Προκοπάκη (ed.), *Οι ‘Ακυβέρνητες πολιτείες’ του Στρατή Τσίρκα και η Κριτική 1960-1966*, Kedros, Athens 1980, pp. 48-9.
- 28 The narrative mode that the party-bound critics appear to have favoured was that of ‘socialist realism’ (see V. Apostolidou, *Λογοτεχνία και ιστορία στη μεταπολεμική αριστερά. Η παρέμβαση του Δημήτρη Χατζή 1947-1981*, Polis, Athens, pp. 132-3). Perhaps not surprisingly, Tsirkas’ trilogy *Ακυβέρνητες πολιτείες* was banned from circulation in 1967 by the Colonels’ regime.
- 29 For commentary on *Alexandrou’s Το κιβώτιο*, see, e.g., Δ. Ραυτόπουλος, *Άρης Αλεξάνδρου, ο εξόριστος*, Sokolis, Athens 2004, pp. 285-338 and 348-69.
- 30 Γ. Μαργαρίτης, *Ιστορία του εμφυλίου πολέμου 1946-1949*, Vol. 1, Vivliorama, Athens 2001, p. 31, note 4.
- 31 In his tripartite work *Three Greek One-Act Plays* (1978), described by Valtinos as a sequel to the *Descent*, the author offered a poignant parody on the same issue during the 50s, 60s and 70s. For a detailed commentary, see D. Paivanas, “Parody and National Crisis: Thanasis Valtinos’ *Three Greek One-Act Plays* and its critical reception”, *A Journal for Greek Letters: Modern Greek Studies Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 16-17 B, (2013-2014), pp. 545-562, in particular, pp. 548-9 and 551-8.
- 32 Σπ. Τσακνιάς, “Ένα τέλειο έργο”, *Η Καθημερινή* (19 Απριλ 1979). Republished as “Θανάσης Βαλτινός Η κάθοδος των εννιά”, in Σπ. Τσακνιάς *Δακτυλικά αποτυπώματα*, Castaniotis, Athens 1983, p. 17-23 and in Θ. Πυλαρινός (ed.), *Για τον Βαλτινό. Κριτικά κείμενα*, Aegeon, Nicosia 2003, p. 73-8. See also Βασ. Ραφαηλίδης, “Ελληνική αισιόδοξη τραγωδία σε τέσσερα μέρη”, *Διαβάζω* 22 (July 1979), pp. 67-70.
- 33 See, Π. Κάγιος, “Το «οδοιπορικό της ήττας»” (interview with Ch. Siopachas), *Τα Νέα* (13 Dec. 1984), p. 6. In Christos Siopachas’ filmic rendition, the director decided to give the story an alternative ending to the one originally planned (personal interview with Valtinos, 23 June 2001). The film ends circularly with a reading of the novella’s first paragraph.
- 34 Κ. Σταυρόπουλος, “Οι αφύλακτες διαβάσεις της ιστορίας”, *Η Αυγή* (29 January 1995), p. 34. Contrarily, Stavropoulos also confessed in the same article to have been unable to complete his reading of *Orthokostá*.
- 35 See, e.g., Κ. Βούλγαρης, “*Remington και Ορθοκωστά*”, *Νέα Εστία* 1733 (April 2001) pp. 695-6. Valtinos claims that the *Descent* is historically accurate to the last iota (personal interview 23 June 2003).
- 36 Α. Ελεφάντης, “*Ορθοκωστά* του Θανάση Βαλτινού”, *Ο Πολίτης* 126 (June-July 1994) pp. 61-6.
- 37 E.g., Κ. Βουκελάτος, “*Η Ορθοκωστά* του Θανάση Βαλτινού και το ιδεολόγημα: τι ελασίτης τι ταγματασφαλίτης”, *Ιχνητής* 10 (2nd period, August-October 1994) p. 26. Κ. Σταυρόπουλος, “Οι αφύλακτες διαβάσεις της ιστορίας”, *Η Αυγή* (29 January) p. 34. Γ. Μωραΐτης, “Δικαίωση των Ταγμάτων Ασφαλείας”, *Ριζοσπάστης* (4 September 1994) p. 16, and Ε. Μαχαίρας, “Αναξιοπίστο κείμενο η ‘Ορθοκωστά’ του Θ. Βαλτινού”, *Καθημερινά Νέα* (Tripolis, 9 December 1994) p. 4. Also 11 years later, Γ. Μαντάς, “Απάντηση σε βιβλίο παραποίησης της Ιστορίας”, *Εθνική Αντίσταση* 128 (October-November 2005) pp. 80-5.
- 38 Valtinos confessed to me in a personal interview (23.06.2001) that he had anticipated adverse reaction to *Orthokostá* from the leftist sector. The troika of the presentation panel appears to have been strategically chosen by the author to mitigate possible negative responses from members of the intellectual population. See Ειρ. Βεργοπούλου, “*Ορθοκωστά*: Ο παραλογισμός στην ιστορία”, *Η Εποχή* (22 May 1994) and the somewhat provocative pre-publication of part of chapter 41 of the novel in Α. Λαμπρία, Αναστασία και Ο. Μπάτη, Όλγα (eds), “Προδημοσίευση. Γυμνή, μυθιστορηματική αλήθεια”, *Μεσημβρινή* (21 April 1994), p. 16.
- 39 See, Χρ. Προκοπάκη (ed.), *Οι ‘Ακυβέρνητες πολιτείες’ του Στρατή Τσίρκα και η Κριτική 1960-1966*, op. cit., p. 65.
- 40 Τζ. Πολίτη, “Το βουβό πρόσωπο της ιστορίας” in *Ιστορική πραγματικότητα και νεοελληνική πεζογραφία (1945-1995)*, Επιστημονικό συμπόσιο (7-8 April 1995), Etaireia Sroudon Neollinikou Politismou kai Genikis Paideias, Kamatero 2007, pp. 229-45.
- 41 Μ. Πιμπλής, “Σου σκοτώνουν τη μάνα. Ποια ‘διακυβεύματα’ μου λέτε;” (interview with Thanasis Valtinos), *Τα Νέα - Βιβλιοδρόμιο* (14-15 August 2004) p. P12.
- 42 Valtinos disagreed strongly with V. Apostolidou in regard to whether the voice and the trauma of the Other are evident in the novel. See, Β. Αποστολίδου, et al. “Στρογγυλό τραπέζι: Αφήγηση, αναπαράσταση, λογοτεχνία”, *Η Κατοχή και ο Εμφύλιος στην τέχνη, Νέα Εστία* 1845 (June 2011), pp. 1019-20.
- 43 Cited in Th. Valtinos, “Ένα κείμενο”, *Μανδραγόρας* 30 (September 2003), p. 79 and republished in Th. Valtinos, *Κρασί και νύμφες*, Hestia, Athens 2009, pp. 206-9.
- 44 Α. Βασιλάκου, “Ο συγγραφέας έχει τις πληγές του...”, *Πανόραμα* (1 November 1994) pp. 76-8 and Έλ. Χουζούρη, “Ο ίδιος δεν σκότωσα, αλλά θα μπορούσα”, *Κράμα* 21 (December 2004) pp. 66-7.
- 45 Γ. Καπράλος, “Οι ιστοριογράφοι της Αντίστασης”, *Τα Νέα* (29-30 May 2004) p. 67 and Α. Βενέτης, “Η κριτική της ‘Ελένης’”, *Τα Νέα* (9-11 April 2004) p. 44.
- 46 Τ. Κωστόπουλος κ.λ., “Οι ταγματασφαλίτες δικαιώνονται”, *Ο ίσος της Κυριακής, Κυριακάτικη Ελευθεροτυπία* (26 October 2003), pp. 43-52.

- 47 Ο. Σελλά, “Η λογοτεχνία, η ιστορία και η άποψη”, *Ο Πολίτης* 122 (May 2004) p. 47.
- 48 Κ. Βούλγαρης, *Η Παρτίδα*, Vivliorama, Athens 2004, pp. 19-20.
- 49 Λ. Καζαντζάκη, “Η πτώση των τειχών και των προσχημάτων. Η πώς ένας πρώην συγγραφέας της Αριστεράς μεταλλάσσεται σε ρήτορα της Νέας Δεξιάς”, *Η Αυγή* (21 November 2004) p. 30.
- 50 See footnote 4 herein and Ν. Μαραντζίδης, “Εμφύλιος και εξορία εμπνέουν τη λογοτεχνία. Πώς η πεζογραφία άνοιξε τον δρόμο στην Ιστορία για να ασχοληθεί με τα θέματα ταμπού”, *Το βήμα* (27 June 2010) <http://www.tovima.gr/books-ideas/article/?aid=340224> [accessed 30 June 2010].
- 51 Salient examples are: Ηριδανός, «*Ορθοκωστά*- Αναζήτηση τέλος για τον Εμφύλιο», Κ. Κουρεμένος “Ορθοκωστά” *Το διαδικτυακό τεφτέρι μου*, and Πάνος “Η καλύβα ψηλά στο βουνό” [all accessed 21 November 2014]. For a more comprehensive discussion of *Orthokosta* and its reception, see Δ. Παϊβανάς, *Βία και αφήγηση: Ιστορία, ιδεολογία και εθνικός πολιτισμός στην πεζογραφία του Θανάση Βαλτινού*, Hestia, Athens 2012, pp. 179-211, or D. Paivanas, “Cold Wars after 1989: Thanasis Valtinos’ *Orthokosta* [sic] and its Reception”, *Etudes Helleniques/Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (Spring / Printemps) 2010, pp. 21-53.
- 52 See, e.g. the recent reviews of the novel’s English translation at <http://www.asymptotejournal.com/blog/2016/08/04/whats-new-in-translation-august-2016/>, <http://www.wordswithoutborders.org/book-review/orthokosta-by-thanassis-valtinis> and <http://www.full-stop.net/2016/06/28/reviews/tomleclair/orthokosta-thanassis-valtinis/> [all accessed 7 September 2016].