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. 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. 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”.

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 χάσιμος των νυκτών (The Descent of the Nine, 1963) and Ορθοκοστά (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, 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. 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). 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 into 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 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.

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”. 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. 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 “Εμφυλίο” 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 “Συμμορίες” (Gangsters or Banditti) in the 40s and 50s were to be granted war pensions by parliamentary decree (passed in 1982)16 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 Αγί the now deceased historian Philippos liiou, the son of Ilias liiou, former leader of EDA (United Democratic Left, 1951-1985), wrote the following comment:

“Ο στοχασμός και η έρευνα για τον εμφυλιό πόλεμο στη χώρα μας ... σημαδεύτηκε, κυρίως, όχι τόσο από τη διερεύνηση των πραγματικών καταστάσεων, όσο από την προσπάθεια να δικαιοδοτήσει, ή να δικαιολογήσει, παλαιότερους και μεταγενέστερους πολιτικούς προσωνυμοσύνου. Άνθισαν, έτσι, και ανθίζουν αυτών οι πολιτής και ιδεολογικές ‘ερμηνείες’ που αντιμετωπίσαν με αρκετή ακριβία 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 μάρκα των ηττημένων του Εμφυλίου ... διευκάμπθη από πολύ νωρίς τη φορατοποιική ανασκέψη του παρελθόντος από την Αριστερά. ... Ανοίξαν έτσι διάπλατα οι πόρτες για μια ‘μετά’ των ηττημένων στο πεδίο της συλλογικής μνήμης που επιλήθηκε και επίσημα μετά το 1981.”18

The Eleni-case, Mavrogordatos’ and liiou’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, preeminent 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.\textsuperscript{19} It is perhaps not surprising that in the year 2000 Thanasis Valtinos\textquoteright s 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 \textquoteleft fin de siècle\textquoteright the author was accused of promoting a retrogressive reinstatement of the monarchy in Greece, of \textquoteleft turkophilia\textquoteright for extending a gratuitous hand of friendship to Greece\textquotesingle 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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\textquotesingle s \textit{Orthokostá} in 1994 (see part 2 herein), an anonymous commentator of the extreme leftist newspaper \textit{Rizospastis} criticized Pandelis Voulgaris\textquotesingle controversial film on a reconciling view of the civil war (Εποχές Βαθύτερες, 2009) for distorting historical facts.\textsuperscript{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\textquoteright s \textit{Η κάθοδος των εννιά} [The Descent of the Nine], henceforth referred to as (the) \textit{Descent} was first-published in 1963 in the periodical \textit{Εποχές} and has enjoyed numerous reprints since.\textsuperscript{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 \textquoteleft postmodernist journal\textquoteright \textit{Boundary 2}.\textsuperscript{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 MΑΥ (Μονάδες Ασφαλείας Τοποθεσίας = Countryside Security Units). The \textit{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: \textquoteleft Πού να πιστεύει τώρα να γυρίσεις κοινάχθαι από την ψυχή σου\textquoteright (p. 19). At another: \textquoteleft Τόσο αίμα. Κι ύπαται να μην ξέρεις πού να φτάσεις\textquoteright (p. 61), and \textquoteleft να φτάσω στη θάλασσα... να πέσω μέσα και να τριφτώ μέχρι να αλλάξω πετσί\textquoteright (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 Nastos 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 \textit{Descent}. He also recalled that leftists praised the book but, in his retrospective assessment, it also appeared to be \textquoteleft exposing the movement\textquoteright. Peter Mackridge also reported to me (e-mail dated 1 December 2003) that in the late \textquotesingle 60s and early \textquotesingle 70s he had heard the novella being praised by both left-wing intellectuals and the politically conservative Pandelis Prevelakis, and described the work as \textquoteleft something of a \textquoteleft cult text\textquoteright among a certain group of people\textquoteright. 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 \textit{Descent} was submitted to \textit{Εποχές} by the literary critic George Savvidis against the author\textquotesingle s knowledge probably as an answer to Manolis Anagnostakis\textquotesingle s request for testimonies on the civil war in the previous issue.\textsuperscript{24} Savvidis had had the text in his possession for at least 3 years.\textsuperscript{25} He may have unearthed it in 1963 because in 1960 and 1962 two out of three novels in Stratis Tsirka\textquotesingle s trilogy \textit{Ακριβήρητες πολεμίες} had caused uproar in the Greek Left. The Communist Party asked \textit{Tsirka} to disown his work and, upon \textit{Tsirka}\textquotesingle s refusal, its branch in Alexandria banned the author from membership in 1961.\textsuperscript{26} Both \textit{Εποχές} and the leftist journal \textit{Επιθεώρηση}
Τήχνης, among other publications argued the relevant issues. 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 Διακυβέρνηση). 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. II Λέσχη, and Λογία, 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. 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. 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”. 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 Mavrorgorados’ 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. In 1995, one reader confessed to have laid the book on a comrade’s grave in place of the conventional carnation. It was not until 2001 that Kostas Voulgaris questioned the value of the Descent for the Left on the dubious grounds of historical inaccuracy. 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 (υπερυπογείωση) Unsurprisingly, both Kostas Voulgaris and Giorgos Margaritis were his confessed disciples, but others followed suit along similar lines. 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. Indeed, in 1962 Raftopoulos had also commented on Tsirkas’ II Λέσχη, claiming that it revealed the “breach of revolutionary legality” by people who were responsible “for the repeated failures of the [communist] movement” in Greece. 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”.[48] Valtinos himself participated in the debates stating in an interview: “Όμως παρ’ όλα αυτά, ιδρύματα μου λέτε,” alluding to both Elefantis’ critique and Gage’s Eleni. 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.\(^43\) 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”.\(^41\)

After 1994 the Orthokóstá 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.\(^46\) 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, Orthokóstá 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 historiography\(^48\) and in February of 2005 Valtinos was described as a re-formed “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 occupation\(^50\) 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 Orthokóstá 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, totalitarians, 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


7 See, e.g. “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.


22 Βαλτινός refereed to me in a personal interview (23.06.2003) that he had anticipated adverse reaction to Orthokostas from the left 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 Ερ. Βεργοπούλου, “Ορθοκωστά: Ο πολιτικός στην ιστορία”, Ε Ελεφάντης (22 May 1994) and the somewhat provocative pre-publication of part of chapter 41 of the novel in A. Λαμπρία, Αναστασία και Ο. Μπάτη, Όλγα Καραβάνη (ed.), Εμφύλιος Πόλεμος – Εποχές, 4 (August 1963), p. 73. See also Ε. Μυχυρίδης, “Ανοιχτόφυτο κείμενο το Ορθοκωστά” του Θ. Βαλτινού”, Καθημερινή (Τρίτο, 9 December 1994) p. 4. Also 11 years later, Γ. Μουτζιού, “Απάντηση σε βιβλίο παραπομπής της Ιστορίας”, Εθνική Αντίσταση 128 (October-November 2005) pp. 80-5.
Abstract

Text and Image: M. Karagatsis's Televised

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first part I deal with the relations between literature and television, a new expressive and representative media of modern art which combines various forms of art and expression with technology and technique, by connecting text with image and by posing the question of faithful or non-faithful mimesis or representation. The adaptation of literary works into cinematography, written by classic but also contemporary writers, has been a creative conversion of written text into images which revealed the dynamic relation between text and image, but also the value of the seventh art. The same is true about television, which constitutes in our times an important form of expression, communicative but at the same time representative, relating directly to the representative power of cinematography and, from a theoretical point of view, with interpretation which refers to value-judgments exegeses. At any rate, the televised adaptation of a literary work constitutes a creative representation and expression of the script-writer's and the director's imagination, since the literary work is usually the first material of a cinematographic or televised production that creates a new form of art and reveals the relations amongst the arts, but also those of the creative contributors involved in it.

In the second part of my paper, I explore the televised Karagatsis (1908-1960), whose several works have been rendered into successful