

From Reconciliation to Vengeance: The Greek Civil War on Screen in Pantelis Voulgaris's *A Soul so Deep* and Kostas Charalambous's *Tied Red Thread*

Kostis Kornetis

New York University

ABSTRACT

From Theo Angelopoulos's emblematic O Thiasos/The Traveling Players (1974) to Nikos Tzimas's O Anthropos me to Garyfalo/The Man with the Carnation (1980) and up to Alexis Damianos's Iniohos/The Charioteer (1995), the genealogy of films regarding the Greek civil conflict fulfilled to a great extent the function of substituting the very absence of historical work on a very contentious issue. From the 2000s onwards, however, a reversal of this trend seems to have taken place: the boom of historical studies on the Civil War had no parallel in terms of cinema. Interestingly, it was only after the unprecedented riots of 2008 and the onset of the economic crisis in 2009 that the civil conflict started attracting cinematographers again. This article deals with two such recent representations of the civil conflict. Pantelis Voulgaris's Psyhi Vathia/A Soul so Deep (2009) is a large production aiming to provide the new national narrative, while, Kostas Charalambous's Demeni Kokkini Klosti/Tied Red Thread (2011), an independent and controversial production trying to undermine it. The paper aims to trace the aforementioned relationship between film and historiographic production, and the way in which the theme of the Civil War and violence taps in – through cinema – to the general political reconfiguration of Greece in times of crisis.

KEYWORDS

A Soul so Deep
Civil War films
crisis

genealogy reconciliation
Tied Red Thread
ultra violence

INTRODUCTION

Civil Wars are by nature a privileged site in terms of memory production. They are phenomena that overthrow the existing order, create new conditions, often conflicting and rival ones, and tend to transform the meaning of what is legitimate and what is not in a society. What comes after the war is perhaps of even greater importance, as dominant myths are forged in order to justify *ex post facto* the winners and ostracize the defeated. In Greece, the post-Civil War status quo of curtailed democratic rights and limited social expression extended from the Communist defeat at the end of the three-year conflict of 1946-1949 up to 1974 with the collapse of the Colonels' regime (1967-74).¹ It was only after 1974 and the restoration of democracy that the long-lasting post-Civil War era came to a close, at least on an institutional level, with the decriminalization of communism and the rehabilitation of the exiled and imprisoned left-wingers. The importance of the conflict for the country's political culture was manifested in various ways, ranging from its imprint in the official discourse of parties and politicians, to its impact on social actors and movements, and up to cultural manifestations. Artistic depictions of this conflict, especially in film and literature, became major vehicles of collective memory, at the same time that the particular context in which they were crafted left a clear mark on the artifacts themselves.

This article aims to catalogue the changes in the filmic responses to the Greek Civil War over time, focusing on the relationship between cinematic and historiographic production. After providing a genealogy of films on the conflict, I concentrate on two films indicative of what I call the revival of the Greek Civil War in film in times of crisis: Pantelis Voulgaris's *Psyhi Vathia/A Soul so Deep* (2009) and Kostas Charalambous's *Demeni Kokkini Klosti/Tied Red Thread* (2012). I argue that these two films symbolize the transition from a cinema of reconciliation that was being promoted around 2008 to the cinema of vengeance and ultra violence that became inextricably linked to the general political reconfiguration of the country since the

¹ The Communist defeat in the Greek Civil War (ca. 1944–1949) by the National Army, with the initial aid of Great Britain and the subsequent decisive intervention of the United States, produced a deeply divided society in its wake. Even though schisms were not something new for Greek society and politics – ever since World War I a major cleavage existed between royalists and republicans – this time, the armed nature of the civil conflict and the high toll of casualties was a decisive factor that differentiated this experience from previous ones. Apart from the 50,000 victims on both sides, 100,000 members of the Democratic Army of Greece had to leave the country for the Eastern Bloc. See Mazower (ed.) (2000); Carabott & Sfikas (eds.) (2004); Fleischer (ed.) (1984). For a solid bibliography and a statistical evaluation of the changing trends in Civil War historiography up to 2002, see the review bibliography article by Marantzidis & Antoniou (2004).

civil unrest of 2008 and the onset of the current economic crisis. The article provides not so much a filmic but rather a meta-filmic analysis, as it attempts not to lose sight of how fictional depictions relate to a very tangible and traumatic historical reality. In this respect, it focuses on the diegetic and intra-diegetic tropes of the filmic texts in question, their non-cinematographic aspects, as well as their critical reception.

A GENEALOGY OF CIVIL WAR IN FILM

The genealogy of films regarding the Civil War that this paper proposes begins in 1974, right after the collapse of the Colonels' regime; that is, the end of the "thirty years war" as novelist Alexandros Kotzias aptly put it (Kotzias 1979).² Rather than siding with the victors' interpretation, the hegemonic memory that was promoted by cinema was, until then, one of silence about the actual event. An antagonistic memory of the conflict was not put forward by left-wing filmmakers – with few exceptions – as was the case with other artistic realms, predominantly literature.³ During the first months of the *Metapolitefsi*, namely the democratic transition, political cinema was primarily responsible for disseminating a militant version of the recent past. In particular, cinema collectives, amongst which the *Omada ton Tessaron/Group of Four*, *Omada ton Exi/Group of Six* and *KINO*, engaged directly with issues such as the experience of persecution, police collaboration and torture in the Civil War and post-Civil War years.⁴ Focusing mainly on the trauma of the civil

² "The Greek Thirty Years War", coined to describe this entire period of extreme polarizations, is quite accurate in this respect.

³ Historian Antonis Liakos challenged the idea that until 1974 the winners of the Civil War imposed their own version of events on collective memory. See his introduction in Fleischer (2003). For a comprehensive analysis of the avalanche of literature on the civil conflict that was published in the post 1949 era see Apostolidou (1999; 2003) and Nikolopoulou (2008). A complete genealogy of the depictions of the conflict in cinema would start with the emblematic *I Germanoi Xanarhontai/The Germans Strike Again* (Sakellarios, 1948), shot as the actual events were unfolding, and would include the very few exceptions that broke the long silence of the 1950s, such as *I Paranomoi/The Outlaws* (Koundouros, 1958), *To Bloko/The Roundup* (Kyrou, 1965), and even *To Homa Vaftike Kokkino/Blood on the Land* (Georgiadis, 1966), which albeit on a different historical episode – the 1910 bloody peasant uprising of Kileler – was a direct reference to the civil war. Even though during the Colonels' dictatorship filmic references to the 1940s became a primary tool of propaganda, representations of the Civil War did, nevertheless, emerge. See, for instance, *Doste ta Heria/Shake Hands* (Andreou, 1971), *Grammos* (Machairas, 1971) and many others. For a comprehensive analysis and a full list on films on the 1940s see Andritsos (2005), and Flitouris (2008).

⁴ See, in this respect, Kornetis (forthcoming).

conflict, Greek cinematography after 1974 went along with the popular demand for transparency regarding the past – and in particular the 1940s – revealing the impact of the Civil War on the ‘victims’ of the conflict. Despite occasional relapses of censorship, cinema was seen as a vehicle that would facilitate radical depictions of the past and an ‘alternative’ historiography.⁵

Theo Angelopoulos’s so-called *Trilogy of History*, consisting of *Meres tou '36/Days of '36* (1972), *O Thiasos/The Traveling Players* (1974-5) and *Oi Kynigoi/The Hunters* (1977), is a typical exponent of such a tendency, whereby filmic images entailed an embedded analysis and interpretation of dramatic political events such as the Metaxas dictatorship, the German occupation and the Greek Civil War. This depiction, always with a Brechtian distancing, was exclusively from a left-wing standpoint, undermining the hegemonic anti-Communist narrative/chronology, which was standard at the time. Despite his clear political stance, Angelopoulos’s style typically blends elite and popular culture, ancient Greek mythology and bucolic drama, turning the local story of civil conflict universal. In Japanese director Nagisha Oshima’s words Angelopoulos’s films have a capacity to “capture” history (Oshima 2000: 242). Pantelis Voulgaris’s similarly political treatment of the Makronisos prison camp in *Happy Day* (1977) recreates a microcosm of disunity and ferocity on this island of torture, based on the novel *Loimos/Pestilence* by Andreas Frangias. In contrast to the metanarratives that Angelopoulos adopts and to his treatment of individual protagonists as either subsumed in the collective, the mythological, or the historical grand scheme, in Voulgaris’s cinema, History is presented through emotions. In relation to *Happy Day*, Voulgaris was praised but also criticized for his cryptic style and his allusions, which to a large extent were due to the style he had crafted during the military dictatorship, as a means to deal with censorship – just like the entire New Greek Cinema.

This trend of providing an ‘alternative’ historiography was a prelude to a boom of fictional representations, with literature following suit, with Alki Zei, Thanassis Valtinos, Alexandros Kotzias and Aris Alexandrou, amongst others. All this was happening at the time when anti-Communism was still present in Greek society and politics. The Armed Forces Day continued to be celebrated in Greece on the anniversary of the battle of Grammos – the final battle of the Greek Civil War – and Minister of Defense Evangelos Averoff insisted on linking the victory of the national

⁵ The notion of cinema as historiography was not new. For the use of film as anti-Communist historiography during the Junta years see Theodoridis (2006: 113).

army in 1949 to the post-1974 democratic transition.⁶ Needless to say that this was reflected in official narratives, but also educational texts of the time. Film and literature were thus providing ‘alternative knowledge’ regarding historical experience – different from the one put forward by standard channels of learning.⁷ They, thus, attempted to substitute the very absence of historical work on the contentious issue of the Greek civil strife. Cinema and literature facilitated this way the “return of the repressed”, to use Stuart Hall’s term (1982: 88): that is, a way of fighting against the passive, defeatist and painful past. In film theorist Maria Komninos’s (2001) evaluation, this was the cinematographic revenge of the defeated.

The ‘demystification’ of the taboo issue of the Civil War crescendoed in the 1980s. PASOK’s⁸ rise to power in 1981 had helped rehabilitate left-wingers as equal, and not lower-class, citizens and professed the path to a fairer society, based on social justice. Years of silence regarding the Civil War drama were superseded not only by a boom in historical fiction films on that very subject-matter, but also by an official version of history, articulated around the so-called National Resistance. The Left, that had been given a voice through cinema and literature, could now be represented through historiography, with a new generation of mainly Paris-trained historians challenging the monopoly of right-wing interpretations of the recent past. PASOK in particular, was promoting its own version of history, which was self-justifying, highly selective, and to a large extent Manichean. As left-wing critic Angelos Elefantis has argued, the party mythicized the People that resist and stressed the idea of the so-called foreign factor as instigating and being responsible for all that was ill (Elefantis 1999: 313-314; also see Voglis 2006: 114).

In terms of films, an entire canon was now built around the motifs of the defeated, the persecuted and martyred but heroic Left, focusing on imprisonments and executions, the *certificats du civisme* (Panourgia 2009), the statements of repentance. Emblematic in this respect was Nikos Tzimas’s *O Anthropos me to Garyfalo/Man with the Carnation* (1980), an absolute box office hit (Andritsos 2001: 1191).⁹ This tendency reached a climax with *Ta Petrina Hronia/Stone Years* (1985) by Pantelis Voulgaris, the true story of a couple of militants, displaced in different camps throughout the post-Civil War years. An endless round of imprisonments

⁶ Averoff continued to refer to “the war against the bandits” – instead of “Civil War” – up until the early 1980s. See Paschaloudi (2013: 121).

⁷ See on this issue Foucault (1969). On post-Civil War prose see Anastasiadis (2011; 2012).

⁸ The Panhellenic Socialist Movement.

⁹ The film sold 618,533 tickets in the season 1980-81.

finally brought the two inmates to the same jail where one of the most poignant moments in Greek cinema was shot: the two characters communicate with each other from their cell windows – a melodramatic trope that alongside signature music, managed to move large audiences. This was the triumph of the Left on the realm of memory, and cinema proved to be a consistently privileged site thereof.¹⁰ In film historian Vrasidas Karalis's view (2012: 211), the film's political bluntness gave a final *coup de grace* to New Greek Cinema and Voulgaris's own filmmaking of political understatements and ambiguities.

Looking back at the traumatic past has not been a uniform process, however. *Man with the Carnation* showed that this entire trend was not only about a 'left versus right' interpretation of history, but also about an internal battle within the Left in terms of hegemonic interpretations, as the film was appropriated by both the Eurocommunist, as well as the "orthodox" side (Andritsos 2005). Similarly, Tzimas's own *Ta Hronia tis Thyellas/Against the Storm* (1984) is a condemnation of the official Left and a justification of Communist resistance leader Aris Velouchiotis's renegade stance after December 1944 – thus promoting the latter as the Left's chance that was lost (Voglis 2006: 113). A great part of the films on the civil conflict in the second half of the 1980s deals with its consequences after the war is over, rather than with the bloodshed itself.¹¹ Critics, such as Giorgos Andritsos, spoke, in fact, of a "Civil War without a Civil War" in terms of representation, whereby the trauma seemed to be resurfacing rather than healed. After all, this was a period in which the whole idea of the National Resistance against the Germans was exalted as a bright moment, as opposed to the obscurity of the Civil War (Liakos 2003: 25-36). Finally, the saturation with films dealing with some aspect of the civil conflict led to an attempt to satirize them, with pioneering, in this respect, *Arpa Colla* (Perakis, 1982) and *O Drakoulas ton Exarheion/The Dracula of Exarcheia* (Zervos, 1983), whereby the trope of the fratricidal struggle, put together especially by Angelopoulos, and its poetics, are ridiculed.

¹⁰ Among the few exceptions of a right-wing filmic narrative were *17 Sfaires Gia Enan Angelo/17 Bullets for an Angel* (Foskolos/Vougiouklakis, 1981) and to some extent *I Kathodos ton Ennia/The Descent of the Nine* (Siopachas, 1984), based on the eponymous novel by Thanassis Valtinos, and above all *Eleni* (Yates and Gage, 1985). Even though the latter was U.S. produced and casted, the film stirred further public debate over the civil conflict at a time in which political polarization in the country was extreme. On this issue and the Greek government's refusal to grant Gage authorization to film in Greece – the film was subsequently shot in Spain – see Karalis (2012: 208).

¹¹ See in this respect *Taxidi sta Kythira/Voyage to Cythera* (Angelopoulos, 1984), *To Tragoudi tis Epistrofis/Homecoming Song* (Smaragdis, 1983), *Ta Paidia tis Helidonas/The Children of the Swallow* (Vrettakos, 1987).

Populism and corruption, disillusionment with PASOK's promises for social change, a certain saturation with the heroic-epic genre, and above all the cataclysmic events that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, put an abrupt end to this entire trope. A process of reconciliation took place, including an 'ecumenical' government and a coalition government between the Right and the Left which made a spectacular move to mark the 40th anniversary of the battle of Grammos: it embarked on the incineration in industrial furnaces of some 17,500,000 files on left-wingers formerly suspected by the police (Close 2004: 275). This state-sponsored act of vandalism was an attempt for "reconciliation by fire" (Davies & Katsikas 2009: 570-571). In this climate, and with the notable exception of *Iniohos/Charioteer* (Damianos, 1995) and *Vassiliki* (Serdaris, 1997), the 1990s were a decade in which the tendency of privileging political film-making, especially regarding the past, was reversed. The Civil War was no longer an attractive topic for either cinematographers or writers. In a 1994 survey, the person in charge of a big publishing house in Athens argued that "if a writer comes to us with a passé subject matter, like, for example, the Civil War, which is a subject that has been talked about over and over again and on which a lot has been written, we would be extremely cautious" (Terzis 2011: 1210-1221). In cinema too, the allure of the Civil War was losing ground. In the post-1989 period of the alleged 'end of history', the polarization and hyper-politicization of the past started giving way to other trends – predominantly nationalism, due to the Macedonian dispute in the early 1990s. A new mode of representing the past emerged, including a de-politicized, de-historicized nostalgia. Cinematographers thus turned to bittersweet, nostalgic reminiscences of the Junta to depict the past.

CINEMA OF RECONCILIATION: A SOUL SO DEEP

From the 2000s onwards, however, yet another reversal took place. In part generated by a school of thought that was code-named the 'New Wave' in historiography (Kalyvas 2004), stormy exchanges took place amongst historians on the nature of the civil conflict and its duration as well as on the intentionality of its actors. The emerging debate focused on the neglected issue of leftist violence and led to an explosion of publications on this very period (ibid.: 142-184). The aforementioned trend of cinema and literature substituting the discipline of history came to a halt, as the boom of historical studies concerning the Civil War acquired unparalleled momentum, with no equivalent in terms of cinematographic representation. Notable exceptions of the paucity in filmic production about the period, those of Tassos Psarras with *I Skoni pou Peftei/Dust* (2004) and Theo Angelopoulos with *To Livadi pou Dakryzei/The Weeping Meadow* (2004) – the first part of an unfinished trilogy on the fate of Hellenism through references to the Theban cycle. It was only after 2008 that the civil conflict and its repercussions in

terms of Greek political culture started attracting cinematographers once again.¹² The urban riots and the onset of the economic crisis in 2010 were only contributing factors, which, either intentionally or unintentionally, informed the new revival.



Fig 1: The Fratricides: Two brothers in opposing camps

Pantelis Voulgaris released *A Soul so Deep* in 2009, 32 years after *Happy Day* and 24 after *Stone Years*. Voulgaris is a director who made a name for himself for a cinema that focuses on microhistories, which are usually set against the large canvas of History.¹³ In *A Soul so Deep*, the fourteen-year old Vlassis and the seventeen-year old Anestis are recruited by the National Republican Army and the Democratic Army, respectively, as guides to the rough paths and passages of the Grammos mountain, without renouncing their ties of blood (**Fig 1**). Voulgaris here borrows the classic trope of the fratricidal struggle told through the parable of two brothers who find themselves in opposing camps – which was used by earlier films such as Ilias Machairas’s *Grammos* (1971), *The Weeping Meadow*, but also by directors dealing with other contexts, such as Ken Loach’s *The Wind that Shakes the Barley* (2006) in Ireland. The two siblings continue to meet in secret, defying the strict non-communication line between the two rival camps, until the younger one is captured with the rest of the guerillas, court-martialed and executed.

¹² See in this respect the documentaries *Kapetan Kemal, o Syntrofos/Captain Kemal: A Comrade* (Lambrinos, 2008) and *Makronisos/Exile Island* (Giannakakis, 2008).

¹³ A notable exception of a grand narrative was his film *Eleftherios Venizelos: 1910-1927* (1980).



Fig 2: Love Thy Enemy: Anestis and Foula

It is precisely this 'contact zone', established by the two brothers, that further symbolizes the essential fraternity between the two opposing armies. The verbal exchange of news or insults between the two camps in-between battles and the shared code of honor between the respective officers demonstrate a certain familiarity, which is not unusual in civil conflict contexts. Most importantly, there are two key scenes in the film that underscore this feeling: in the first one, Anestis falls in love with Foula, a 14-year old female fighter of the Democratic Army, with whom they invent a certain code, and who he miraculously encounters and rescues in bad shape in the aftermath of the napalm bombing of Grammos by the Americans at the end of the film (**Fig 2**). In the second scene, during a night of a terrible snowstorm the lost guerillas find shelter in a tent full of National Army soldiers, before departing the next morning to go back to fighting each other. This very scene, based on exiled novelist Dimitris Hatzis's work *Anyperaspistoi/Defenceless* (1966), is also included in Roviros Manthoulis *Lilly's Story* (2002). For Voulgaris, these vignettes capture the essential humanity of the two sides – despite their differences and the ongoing violence – and their shared 'Greekness'. At a crucial moment of the film, the grandfather of a killed soldier, played by Thanassis Vengos, who goes to recover his corps, utters a memorable phrase: "How is it possible that Greeks kill Greeks?"

What is striking in this depiction is the de-ideologized and sentimentalized version of the events. As the two young boys symbolize innocence,¹⁴ they also denote an

¹⁴ This device created an entire trope in Spanish cinema and its depiction of the 1936-39 Civil War as well, starting with the early *Long Live Death* (Arrabal, 1971), and *The Spirit of*

accidental involvement in the opposing camps without any real political engagement or understanding of the stakes. Their involvement in the war is entirely contingent. Voulgaris himself stated that his intention was to talk about “the fate of simple people, history from below, the history of the forgotten victims” (Mikelidis 2009). Much of the script, in Voulgaris’s own words, is based on stories of ordinary people and local history accounts of the Civil War. In doing that, however, Voulgaris portrays Greeks (“all Greeks”, as film critic Ninos Fenek-Mikelidis bitterly notes) as victims, de-ideologizing people’s conduct, thus stripping them off the very agency he professes to be ascribing them. Voulgaris does that not in an Angelopoulean way – where the characters would be pawns trapped within wider, timeless structures – but rather in an old-fashioned portrayal, centered around the ‘foreign factor’: the Americans (and by extension the Soviets) are seen as primarily responsible, while the Greeks are presented as the unwilling proxies. In Voulgaris’s view the entire conflict is ascribed to ‘foreigners’ and the criminal conduct of their governments (**Fig 3**), whereas the Greek Military Staff only reluctantly accept the shelling of rebel positions with napalm bombs, and the rebels heroically reject a truce despite the looming defeat. Similarly, the rebels do not seem to know or understand the decisions of Moscow, looking naively idealistic and out of place, which is quite fitting to their anachronistically countercultural outfit and demeanor (above all Captain Doulas, played by Vangelis Mourikis).

Contrary to directors’ standard attitude on historical details, which tends to stress their non-academic profile, Voulgaris pitted himself as a filmmaker-historian. The press release of the film included a detailed bibliography, while in numerous interviews the director hinted at the fact that he read widely in order to make this film and that he was interested in historical veracity and accuracy – claims not often voiced by his colleagues. To quote film critic Kostas Terzis (2011: 1215), “the fact that a fiction movie seems to be demanding a legitimization in the realm of historiography is awkward”. Several reviews of the film scrutinized its lack of historical accuracy in terms of its basic tenets, its overall narrative or the general explanations that it put forward. Even the association of old combatants protested against Voulgaris’s artistic license, for example, concerning his choice of title – a battle cry of Greek partisans during the German occupation and not the 1946-49 Civil War (Avgi 2009).

the Beehive (Erice, 1973) and up to the more recent *Butterfly* (Cuerda, 1999) and *Pan’s Labyrinth* (Del Toro, 2006), all focused on the issue of the civil conflict through the eyes of minors. For a comparative perspective between the filmic depictions of the civil conflicts in Greece, Spain, Ireland, and Yugoslavia see the newly published book by Kosmidou (2013).



Fig 3: The ‘foreign factor’ at work: US General Van Fleet decides to use napalm bombs



Fig 4: Steven Spielberg or James Paris? A battle scene

Voulgaris’s film attracted wide audiences but its reception was mixed. Some talked of a masterpiece, while others criticized it ferociously (Danikas 2009).¹⁵ One critic, Ninos Fenek Mikelidis, talked of an “engagement” (“προξενιό”) between Left and

¹⁵ Dimitris Danikas starts his piece with the words – and the intended pan – “Deep Historical Ignorance”.

Right, ironically alluding to Voulgaris's first major success, *To Proksenio tis Annas/The Engagement of Anna*, from the distant 1972 (Mikelidis 2009). The semantic distance between the two is indeed great, not least because that film was not about past events, but synchronic ones, and in particular the bleak atmosphere of Athens in the years of the Colonels' dictatorship through the seemingly banal story of a maid. By 2009, Voulgaris's cinema had departed significantly, not only in terms of expressive means and cinematic language, but also as far as production values are concerned. The filming of some battle scenes, in particular, resembled Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), even if the shadow of the legacy of the war epics by James Paris during the dictatorship period was heavy (**Fig 4**).

Even more interesting than the portrayal of the civil conflict was the film's timing. Indeed, the film's attempt to promote the idea of 'reconciliation' took place during the second term in office of the center-right New Democracy party under Kostas Karamanlis. The latter had already made some moves towards the issue of accommodating the Civil War history within the national narrative, as the PM personally attended a much publicized concert on the island of Makronisos in 2003, which was a typical place of torture of left-wingers during the conflict, but also Ai Stratis, an island with a less savage, but equally notorious internment record in the post-Civil War era. As Mikelidis somehow prophetically concluded in his article on the treatment of the Civil War by Voulgaris, however, "unfortunately, you cannot bring about reconciliation in this way".¹⁶ And especially not in that particular historical conjuncture, one might add. For, while the production and filming of Voulgaris's film clearly ascribed to this climate of rapprochement, its release and reception came at a clear moment of rupture that revealed the explosive sociopolitical context that was lurking. It came out only months after the December 2008 riots in Athens, which witnessed a plethora of references to the Civil War events by protagonists and onlookers alike – the omnipresence of the graffiti "Varkiza is Over"¹⁷ is indicative.¹⁸

¹⁶ ["Δυστυχώς, η συμφιλίωση δεν γίνεται με τέτοιο τρόπο"] (ibid.). The fact that Voulgaris's film came out almost at the same time as Yorgos Lanthimos's art-house hit *Kynodontas/Dogtooth*, yet another film involving adolescents in a distinct repressive context, attracted all kinds of juxtapositions and comparisons. Some alluded to the fact that *Dogtooth* – "a parable of totalitarianism", according to the film journal *Positif* –, was truer to the ferociousness and violence that characterizes Greek society than Voulgaris's melodramatic epos. See *Positif* 2009.

¹⁷ The Varkiza agreement in January 1945 put an end to the notorious thirty-three-day-long fighting between the Communist-led resistance group EAM/ELAS (Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo/National Liberation Front), known as the 'Dekemvriana'. The fact that this agreement called for the complete demobilization of ELAS and that it was succeeded by the

CINEMA OF VENGEANCE (OR LAMBROS UNCHAINED): *TIED RED THREAD*

Tied Red Thread is an independent and controversial – one could even call it splatter – production. The title of the film is a reference to Greek fairytales, which, in a comparative sense, creates unfulfilled expectations for a *Pan's Labyrinth*-esque treatment of the dark fairytale kind. The film further refers intertextually to Georges Sari's almost identically titled *Kokkini Klosti Demeni/Red Thread Tied*, a children's book with stories from the time of the German occupation. In reality, the film is a reference to the testimonies of villagers who experienced the Civil War, and in particular the period of White Terror, meaning the interregnum between liberation and Civil War in the Greek countryside in 1945-46. The disarmament of former EAM rebels by former collaborators of the Germans and armed gangs ravaging the countryside, created stifling conditions for anyone not actively declaring their allegiance to power. Blood was the connecting line between the village people of North West Macedonia, immediately following the Varkiza Agreement in 1945. Simple peasants paid a high price for having sided with EAM or its youth section EPON¹⁹: the Gendarmerie and parastatal actors under the guise of justice turned people's lives into hell. In the film, therefore, the main villain is Michas – played by Tassos Nousias – and his gang, who blackmail, arrest, harass and murder people for

so-called period of 'White Terror' in which left-wingers were indiscriminately harassed throughout the country by former collaborationists, was seen as the prelude to the Civil War of 1946–1949. See, in this respect, Mazower (1993). In reality, the Civil War itself practically annulled the Varkiza agreement. See Liakos (2014: 15).

¹⁸ In an interview some months after the events on the occasion of the film's release, the then leader of the left-wing party coalition SY.RIZ.A. Alekos Alavanos reflected on Voulgaris's choice to use young protagonists in *A Soul so Deep*, which he considered to be a crucial – albeit unintended – allusion to the riots. Alavanos underlined the fact that the young actors were the same age with the majority of the student protesters and, above all, with 15-year old Alexandros Grigoropoulos, who had been shot by a policeman, giving rise to the events. Alavanos further wondered whether or not it was a coincidence that young activists used violence at present in order to bring about political ends, in the same manner that their 'grandfathers' tried to settle their scores with the Greek state in the late 1940s when they were about the same age. Maria Choukli, the journalist who conducted the interview, agreed that this was probably part of an ongoing "inter-generational trauma", implicitly asserting that trauma is inevitably inherited by successive generations. See 'O Alekos Alavanos apo to Alfa os to Omega'/'Alekos Alavanos from A to Z', *Protagon* online. Available at <http://www.protagon.gr/Default.aspx?tabid=444&VideoId=1875>. Accessed 10 April 2014. Also see Kornetis (2010). The crucial question that arises, whether cinema can deal with historical trauma and in which ways it could be healing, remained unanswered.

¹⁹ Eniea Paneladiki Organosi Neon/United Panhellenic Organization of Youth.

the alleged crimes they had committed during the occupation period. The oppressed do not respond initially, but they do eventually react.

The main character, a young peasant called Lambros, played by Thanos Samaras, is forced to leave his wife and child and flee to the mountains together with his friend Ilias. On the way there, they fall into a police ambush, which is in turn ambushed by leftist guerrillas, with whom Lambros fraternizes. He survives a number of massacres only to return secretly to his village and hide in his home, where he kills a former EPON-member and current torturer, while the latter tries to rape his wife. In the chase that follows both Lambros's wife and son are brutally killed, but he miraculously survives with the help of some local shepherds.

The rest of the film is a massacre, an endless chain of killings and torture so appalling that it becomes progressively difficult to watch. Lambros mercilessly avenges everyone who has caused him and his family harm: he kills Ilias, his former companion who betrayed him, in the presence of his entire family; he enters Michas's house and ceremoniously avenges him in a particularly sadistic manner (**Fig 5**). Lambros orders Michas's wife to nail the latter's hands on the ground before slaughtering her in front of the latter's eyes; he subsequently takes his young son out of the house, apparently to kill him, forcing Michas to tear his own hands apart in his attempt to free himself and help his offspring (**Fig 6**). Violence in these final scenes does not have any cathartic effect on the viewer and that was clearly the director's intention.



Fig 5: Ultra violence I: Lambros avenges Michas in his house



Fig 6: Ultra violence II: Michas is forced to tear his hand apart

Both *A Soul so Deep* and *Tied Red Thread* refer indirectly to Terrence Malick's seminal anti-war film *The Thin Red Line* (1998): the former through the depiction of the mountainous landscapes around Kastoria, the breathtaking beauty of which is very much contrasted to the gruesome nature of war, which resembles Malick's representation of the Pacific theater of operations as man's violation of nature; the latter through its thinly disguised reference to the same bloodline. Moreover, both films muse on the nature of the human condition, whereby Voulgaris demonstrates the metaphysical connection that exists between siblings and co-nationals and Charalambous ventures on how corrupting the spiral of violence can be. While *A Soul so Deep* did manage to retain both the small and the big picture of the civil conflict in sight, regardless how awkwardly, in Charalambous's film the latter is entirely lost. The grand narrative, History with a capital H, is bulldozed under incredible levels of violence, harshness, fear and terror, rendering the ultimate reckoning inevitable. Charalambous sheds light on this closed world, exposing the thoughts and actions of some of its inhabitants. Just like in Voulgaris's film, however, ideology is relegated to the backdrop; even though agency is consigned to the local actors – apart from a passing, but crucial, reference to UNRRA²⁰, there is no mentioning of foreign players – intentionality is presented as disconnected from ideology. *Tied Red Thread* rather describes the terror webs and circuits that tore remote villages apart by focusing with excruciating detail on the use and management of deadly violence, stripped of any political subtext.

²⁰ United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.



Fig 7: Settling of scores: Michas cuts a villager's ear off

The film demonstrates how the reflexes of ultra-violence are born, not through adherence to political metanarratives, but by focusing instead on local feuds and the settling of scores. In the opening scene, Michas sadistically cuts a villager's ear off (**Fig 7**), not because the latter is a 'red', but mostly because he supposedly humiliated Michas's own sister during the occupation. Throughout the film, retribution is the sole and most powerful mobilizing force of violence, up to the sickening holocaust that comes in the end. In some respects, this constitutes an application of the aforementioned 'New Wave' in historiography – that typically focused on local feuds – only in a reversed manner: here, it is not the right-wingers that get radicalized due to left-wing terror (as the theory on this issue goes), but vice versa. The avengers are the repressed, humiliated lefties. Cinema proves to be a peculiar interlocutor of historiography, not only applying but also subverting and inverting its trends.

Even though *Tied Red Thread* looks like a truthful depiction of the period of 'White Terror', in the end, and due to the plot's climax, violence is attributed equally to all sides. On both camps people declare that they "execute orders" to shake off responsibility, overlooking ties of kinship or friendship with their enemies. Whereas in the entire film the violence on the part of the paramilitaries appears much more sadistic, irrational and blind, the aforementioned final revenge scene differs from similar scenes in American blockbusters that adopt the trope of the avenger. Instead, it resembles Quentin Tarantino's posterior *Django Unchained* (2013),

without its racial component and caricaturesque quality, and above all Sam Peckinpah's *Straw Dogs* (1971). In the latter, a shy professor of Mathematics, played by Dustin Hoffman, is constantly harassed by the local villagers in the English Midlands, and ends up killing everyone in particularly vicious ways after his wife is raped. Despite the chronotopical differences and the absence of a political subject matter in *Straw Dogs*, the films are similar in that they contain an escalation of violence in isolated countryside communities and a radicalization of a seemingly peace-loving character. Peckinpah's graphic violence, the aggressive masculinities that come into conflict, and a certain cardboard flair of the villains are very similar to the one encountered in the Greek film too, despite the absence of a political subject matter in *Straw Dogs*.

While *A Soul so Deep* had very high production values, aiming to provide the new national narrative of reconciliation, *Tied Red Thread* challenged that narrative to its foundations. The two films were not promoted on the same level, nor were they screened in the same number of cinemas. As a result, a serious discrepancy in terms of the number of viewers was produced, with the first one becoming a box-office hit while the latter being seriously snubbed by critics. Despite its notoriety, therefore, *Tied Red Thread* did not achieve half of the attention of *A Soul so Deep*; Charalambous's work did turn into a cult film for some, however.²¹ In spite of the film's innovative elements, very few reviews dwelled on its features, with the notable exception of the film critic of *Rizospastis*, who saw in it a reflection of the so-called theory of the extremes (*Rizospastis* 2012) – a recent political and journalistic construct that uses the Weimar trope to explain and contextualize the explosive Greek political conditions.²²

Rather than employing such theories, *Tied Red Thread* indeed belongs to a series of films that were made almost immediately after the onset of the economic crisis, changing the paradigm of the ways in which the past was being framed. The film's semantics were very much conditioned by the time when it was being filmed and later released. *Tied Red Thread* came out in 2011, offering a reflection of sorts of the current crisis. The film appeared at a time in which there was a sense of immediacy regarding the past. The slogan in the squares by the Greek *indignados* was "The Junta did not end in 1973", while articles containing details of the German

²¹ I am basing this conclusion on the film's frequent appearance in social media discussions that I followed, where I noticed the enthusiasm of some aficionados for cinema, history, or both.

²² 'Demmeni Kokkini Klosti' (*Rizospastis* 15 March 2012).

reparations and the loan of the occupation were becoming increasingly popular.²³ At the same time, the emblematic site of Meligalas, in which one of the bloodiest battles between Communist partisans and collaborationists took place in the spring of 1944, was gradually becoming, once again, an issue of contention, after decades of relative oblivion. More than simply being considered as the shrine of peripheral and picturesque extremist groupings, it became a central *lieu de memoire* for the fast-growing, at the time, Neo-Nazi party, Golden Dawn. Meanwhile, anarchist graffiti referred to Golden Dawn members as the descendants of the paramilitaries of the occupation period. In this context, brutality became the dominant trope in filmic depictions of Greek society.²⁴ Growing polarization and an attempt to underline the continuities between past and present also became prevailing tendencies.²⁵ This recurrence of violence has been accompanied by an outpouring in terms of literature/fiction on the civil conflict, with young writers expressing the need to revisit and renegotiate the past.²⁶ The heroic trope of depicting the past in the 1970s and 1980s turned into violent one at present, as the Civil War is once again resurfacing as the matrix of current ills.

CONCLUSION

This article dealt with the genealogy of the representations of the civil conflict in Greece, including the contested relationship between cinematic and historical memory. It catalogued the changes in the depiction of the past over time, and the way in which the theme of the Civil War and violence tap in to the general political reconfiguration of Greece in recent times. The dialectic relationship between past

²³ See, for instance, ‘Ta germanika chrei’/‘The German dept’, interview of Hagen Fleischer to Dimitris Angelidis, *Epsilon*, 26 June 2011. Also see the four televised episodes on ‘War Reparations’ by reporter Kostas Vaxevanis, *To Kouti tis Pandoras* (2011) NET. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pkfMAVkgPiA>.

²⁴ A typical example of this mind-frame was also Syllas Tzoumerkas’s *Hora Proelefsis/Homeland* (2010) – a critique of the repressive Greek society that has not healed its post-civil conflict authoritarian residues, again with the actor Thanos Samaras as its disturbed protagonist. Tzoumerkas’s film is peppered with occasional glimpses of repression from the immediate post-Civil War period and up to the *Metapolitefsi*. Alinda Dimitriou’s powerful but equally stirring documentary trilogy regarding women in the 1940s and ultimately in the 1950s and 1960s is also telling of this tendency, which focuses on crudeness regarding the difficult political past (and present). See *Poulia sto Valto/Birds in the Mire* (2008), *I Zoi stous Vrahous/Among the Rocks* (2009) and *Ta Koritsia tis Vrohis/The Girls of the Rain* (2012).

²⁵ See in this respect Dimitris Papanikolaou’s (2010) relevant points..

²⁶ Davvetas (2009), Chouzouri (2009), Politopoulou (2009), Maglinis (2008), Nikolaidou (2011) are representative of this tendency in literature.

and present, cinema and history, film-making and historiography were analyzed, in an attempt to account for the revival of the 1940s to the visual paradigm after a period of indifference. Here I followed historians Vangelis Kechriotis and Yannis Papatheodorou's rule of thumb according to which when the limits of representation of the extreme experiences of the 20th century (genocides, internments, exiles, dictatorships) are explored it is not only the poetics of artistic representations that should be cared for, but also the political ethics thereof (Kechriotis & Papatheodorou 1998: 179-191).

As the article has demonstrated, there exists a direct relationship between the two case studies – *A Soul so Deep* and *Tied Red Thread* – and recent socio-political events: while cinema was initially used as a means of fostering reconciliation, this changed dramatically following the onset of the crisis to the adoption of the trope of ultra violence in depicting the conflict as both savage, but also somehow unresolved. The article further tried to trace the divergences between filmic and academic genealogies and how these interacted, concluding that, in certain cases, film not only adopted, but also inverted and subverted the conclusions of academic debates in a compelling and intriguing way.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Contemporary Greek Film Cultures 2013 conference committee and editors of the current special issue, Mikela Fotiou, Tonia Kazakopoulou and Philip Phillis for all their help. Thanks also go to the two anonymous reviewers for providing me with some very valuable feedback. I am grateful to Margarita Markoviti for her help with the overall editing of the article.

REFERENCES

- Anastasiadis, A. (2011), 'Trauma-Memory-Narration: Greek Civil War Novels of the 1980s and 1990s', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 35:1
- _____(2012), 'Transgenerational Communication of Traumatic Experiences. Narrating the Past from a Postmemorial Position', *Journal of Literary Theory*, 6: 1, Special Issue: Trauma and Literature.
- Andritsos, G. (2001), 'I Katochi kai i Antistasi stis ellinikes tainies mythoplasias megalou mikous apo to 1974 eos to 1981'/'Occupation and Resistance in Greek fiction movies from 1974 to 1981', *Nea Estia*, 1845, p. 1191.

_____ (2005), *I Katochi kai I Antistasi ston Elliniko Kinimatografo/Occupation and Resistance in Greek Cinema*, Athens: Aigokeros.

Angelidis, D., 'Ta germanika chrei' / 'The German Dept', interview of Hagen Fleischer *Epsilon*, 26 June 2011

'Antidraseis antistasiakon gia ton titlo tis tainias tou P. Voulgari'/'Reactions of Resistance members to the title of P.Voulgaris's film', *I Avgi* [online], 1 November. Available at <http://archive.avgi.gr/ArticleActionshow.action?articleID=501552>. Accessed 9 June 2014.

Apostolidou, V. (1999), 'Pos I Logotechnia diesose tin istoriki Mnimi'/'How literature saved historical Memory', in To Vima – Nees Epoches, *Peninta chronia meta ton Emfylio/Fifty years after the Civil War*, Athens: Ermis, pp. 63-67.

_____ (2003), *Logotechnia kai Istorika sti Metapolemiki Aristera. I Parembasi tou Dimitri Hatzis/Literature and History in Post-War Left. The Intervention of Dimitris Hatzis 1974-1981*, Athens: Polis.

Carabott P. & Sfikas T. D. (eds.) (2004), *The Greek Civil War: A Conflict of Exceptionalism and Silences*, London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Chouzouri, E. (2009), *Patrida apo Vamvaki/Cotton Homelands*, Athens: Kedros.

Close, D. (2004), 'The Road to Reconciliation? The Greek Civil War and the Politics of Memory in the 1980s', in Carabott P. and Sfikas T. D. (eds.), *The Greek Civil War. Essays on a conflict of exceptionalism and silences*, London: Ashgate.

Danikas, D. (2009), 'Elliniki Protoporia', in *Ta Nea* [online], 22 October. Available at <http://www.tanea.gr/news/culture/article/4542444/?iid=2>. Accessed 9 June 2014.

Davvetas, N. (2009), *Evraia Nyfi/Jewish Bride*, Athens: Kedros.

'Demmeni Kokkini Klosti'/'Tied Red Thread' (2012), *Rizospastis* 15 March. Available at <http://www.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=6746755&publDate=15/3/2012>. Accessed 9 June 2014.

- Elefantis, A. (1999), *Ston Asterismo tou Laikismou/In the Constellation of Populism*. Athens: Politis.
- Fleischer, H. (ed.) (1984), *I Ellada sti Dekaeitia 1940-1950/Greece in the Decade of 1940-1950*, Athens: Themelio.
- _____ (2011) 'Ta germanika chrei'/'The German Dept', interview by Dimitris Angelidis, *Epsilon*, 26 June.
- Flitouris, L. (2008), 'O emfylios sto 'seliloid': mnimes nikiton kai ittimenon ston elliniko kinematografo'/'Civil war on 'celluloid': memories of victors and defeated in Greek cinema' in Van Boeschoten R. et al (eds), *Mnimes kai Lithi tou Ellinikou Emfyliou/Memories and Oblivion of the Greek Civil War*, Thessaloniki: Epikentro, pp. 387-404.
- Foucault, M. (1969), *L'Archeologie du Savoir*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Ginzburg, C. (1998), 'I foni tou istorikou kai ton allon. Synentefxi tou Carlo Ginzburg ston Vaggeli Kechrioti kai ton Yianni Papatheodrou'/'The voice of the historian and the others, interview by Kechriotis V. & Y. Papatheodorou, *Mnimon*, 20, pp. 179-191.
- Hall, S. (1982), 'The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies' in Gurevitch M., Bennett T., Curran J. & Woollacott J. (eds.), *Culture, Society and the Media*, New York: Routledge.
- Kalyvas, S. (2000), 'Red Terror: Leftist Violence during the Occupation' in Mark Mazower (ed.), *After the War Was Over*, pp. 142-184.
- Karalis, V. (2012), *A History of Greek Cinema*, New York: Continuum.
- Komninos, M. (2001), *Apo tin Agora sto Theama. Meleti gia ti Sygkrotisi tis Dimosias Sfairas kai tou Kinimatografou sti Sygxroni Ellada, 1950-2000/From the Market to the Spectacle. Study on the Construction of Public Sphere and of Cinema in Modern Greece*, Athens: Papazisis.
- Kornetis, K. (2010), 'No More Heroes? Rejection and Reverberation of the Past in the 2008 Events in Greece', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 28:2, pp. 173-197.

_____ 'From politics to nostalgia -- and back to politics: Tracing the shifts in the filmic depiction of the Greek 'Long 1960s' over time', *Historein* (forthcoming).

Kosmidou, E. R. (2013), *European Civil War Films: Memory, Conflict, and Nostalgia*, London: Routledge.

Kotzias, A. (1979), *Antipoiisi Archis/Usurpation of Authority*, Athens: Kedros.

Liakos, A., (2003) 'Antartes kai symmorites sta akadimaika amfitheatra'/'Guerillas and bandits in academic auditoria' in Fleischer H. (ed.), *I Ellada '36-'49. Apo ti Diktatoria ston Emfylio. Tomes kai Synecheies/Greece '36-'49. From the Dictatorship to the Civil War. Ruptures and Continuities*, Athens: Kastaniotis.

_____ (2014), *I Epistrofi tis Kokkinoskoufitsas/The Return of Little Red Riding Hood*, Athens: Nefeli, p. 15.

Maglinis, E. (2008), *Anakrisi/Interrogation*, Athens: Kedros.

Marantzidis, N. & G. Antoniou, (2004), 'The Axis Occupation and Civil War Bibliography: Changing Trends in Greek Historiography: 1941-2002', *Journal of Peace Research*, 41: 2, pp. 223-23.

Mazower, M. (1993), *Inside Hitler's Greece. The Experience of Occupation, 1941-44*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

_____ (ed.) (2000), *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation and State in Greece, 1943-1960*, Princeton, N.J.: PUP, 142-184.

Mikelidis, N. F. (2009), 'To proxenio Aristeras-Dexias'/The Engagement of Left-Right. *Eleftherotypia* [online], 22 October. Available at <http://www.enet.gr/?i=news.el.article&id=94509>. Accessed 9 June 2014.

Nikolaidou S. (2011), *Apopse Den Echoume Filous/Tonight We Don't Have Guests*, Athens: Metaichmio.

Nikolopoulou M. (2008), 'O triakontaetis polemos': I pezografia me thema ton Emfylio kai i diacheirisi tis mnimis sto pedio tis afigisis (1946-1974)/'The 'Thirty Year War'. Literature on the Greek Civil War and the gestation of memory through narrative (1946-1974)', in Antoniou G. & Marantzidis N. (eds.), *I Epochi tis Sygxisis. I Dekaeitia tou '40 kai I Istorigrafia/The Time of Confusion. The Decade of 1940 and Historiography*, Athens: Estia, pp. 419-493.

- 'O Alekos Alavanos apo to Alfa os to Omega'/'Alekos Alavanos from A to Z', *Protagon* online. Available at <http://www.protagon.gr/Default.aspx?tabid=444&VideoId=1875>. Accessed 10 April 2014.
- Oshima N. (2000), 'I kinimatografisi tis elpidas'/'Filming hope', in Stathi E. (ed.), *Thodoros Angelopoulos*, Thessaloniki: Festival Kinimatografou Thessalonikis, p. 242.
- Panourgia N. (2009), *Dangerous Citizens. The Greek Left and the Terror of the State*, New York: Fordham University Press.
- Papanikolaou D. (2010), 'Kati trehi me tin oikogenia'/'Greek Family, Representation and the New Crisis Archive', in *The Book's Journal*, no. 1, November 2010, pp. 96-98. Available at <http://www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/files/docs/greek/BJ-Xora.pdf>. Accessed 10 July 2014.
- Paschaloudi E. (2013), 'I dekaetia tou '40 ston politico logo'/'The 1940s in political discourse', in Dermetzis N., Paschaloudi E., Antoniou G. (eds.), *Emfylios. Politismiko Trayma/Civil War. Cultural Trauma*, Athens: Alexandria, p.121.
- Politopoulou M. (2009), *I Mnimi tis Polaroid/Polaroid Memory*, Athens: Metaichmio.
- Siani-Davies P. & Katsikas S. (2009), 'National Reconciliation After Civil War: The Case of Greece', *Journal of Peace Research*, 46, pp. 559-575.
- Terzis K. (2011), 'Apo to vioma stin kinimatografiki mythoplasia. Apoklinoyseis kinimatografikes proseggiseis sti dekaetia toy '40, me aformi tin tainia Psychi Vathia toy P. Voulgari'/'From the experience to the cinematic fictionalization. Divergent Cinematic Approaches to the decade of the 1940s', *Nea Estia*, 1845, pp. 1210-1221.
- Theodoridis G. (2006), 'O kinimatografos os 'istoriografia gia tin antimetopisi ton echthron tou Ethnous': oi tainies gia ti 'slavokommounistiki epivouli' kata tin periodo tis diktatorias ton syntagmatarchon (1967-1974)'/'Cinema as 'historiography for the treatment of the enemies of the Nation': the films on the 'Slavic communist' threat' during the period of the Colonels' dictatorship (1967-1974)', in Tomai F. (ed.), *Anaparastaseis tou Polemou/Representations of War*, Athens: Papazisis.

To Kouti tis Pandoras: Polemikes Apozimiosis/Pandora's Box: War Reparations.
Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pkfMAVkGPiA>. Accessed 10 April 2014.

Voglis P. (2006), 'Apo tis kannes stis kameres: O emfylios ston elliniko kinimatografo'/'From Guns to Cameras: The Civil War in Greek Cinema', in Tomai F. (ed.), *Anaparastaseis tou Polemou/Representations of War*, Athens: Papazisis.