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Democratic Eastern Federation  
(1870-84)**

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## **The Scottish Poems of Ossian and the Democratic Eastern Federation (1870-84)**

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### **Abstract**

This paper will demonstrate why translations into Greek from the Scottish literary work of 'The Poems of Ossian' by James Macpherson were selected as an ethical precept of the Democratic Eastern Federation.

By the nineteenth century, 'The Poems of Ossian' had been translated into twenty-seven languages. The main Greek translators of this Celtic work were Kephalonians who had suffered for half a century under English occupation, especially during 1848.

The Democratic Eastern Federation was set up by Panayiotis Panas, the Kephalonian radical scholar, itinerant journalist and main translator of 'The Poems of Ossian' in 1868. Panas endeavoured to fulfil the dream of Rigas Velesinlis, the eighteenth century Greek-Wallachian scholar and revolutionary whose aim it was to create a Balkan-Anatolian Confederation in the face of further enslavement by encroaching Western monarchy.

Panas was a supporter of French Utopian socialists, including Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a philosopher who was one of the main instigators of the 1848 Revolution: Proudhonians also took part in the 1871 Commune.

Did Greek translations of this Celtic work contain cryptic content regarding this movement, which strove to bring peace and harmony among these diffuse people? The relevant texts of this influential but neglected Scottish masterpiece, from 1870 to 1884 will be discussed.

**Key Words:** The poems of Ossian, Cultural history, Nineteenth Century

**Contact Information of Corresponding author:**

This paper will demonstrate why Modern Greek scholars translated certain heroic deeds of Celtic warriors from ‘The Poems of Ossian’ by James Macpherson. The main translator was Panayiotis Panas, the Kephalonian scholar and itinerant journalist who plied the Mediterranean in his quest to bring peace and unity to the zone. He set up the Democratic Eastern Federation, a secret organisation based in Athens in 1868.<sup>1</sup> Were certain poems from this secular work in which Ossianic warriors fight for justice and unity but never to conquer or plunder, used to provide an ethical precept for this organisation?

The DEF based its principles on the dream of Rhigas Velestinlis, the eighteenth century Balkan scholar and revolutionary against tyranny. As Rhigas foresaw the threat of western monarchy he set up a Balkan-Anatolian Confederation in Bucharest in 1780. He was captured in Trieste in 1797 on his way to meet Napoleon in the Seven Islands and executed by the Ottomans in Belgrade in 1798.<sup>2</sup>

Panas, his successor, sought to implement the ideas of Rhigas, which were written in his ‘Declaration of Human Rights’ and ‘Constitution’ based on the French Revolution and ancient Greek democracy.<sup>3</sup> They were presumed lost.<sup>4</sup> Panas was also a supporter of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the French Socialist philosopher.<sup>5</sup> Proudhon was an adversary of Marx regarding his ideas as ‘the tapeworm of socialism’.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, he also rivalled Marx for ‘the allegiance of the French working class’.<sup>7</sup> Proudhon’s theories were more dominant in the 1848 Revolution,<sup>8</sup> which was supported by Balkan radicals in Bucharest, Transylvania<sup>9</sup> and Kephallonia.<sup>10</sup> Other radicals in Europe also rose in support.<sup>11</sup> While Rumanian radical leaders escaped to Paris<sup>12</sup>, their counterparts in Kephallonia were exiled to nearby islets for about ten years. Under the rule of

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<sup>1</sup>Hasiotis, L. (2001). *The Eastern Confederation: Two Greek Federalist Movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*. Salonica: Vanias. [In Greek]

<sup>2</sup>Korthatos, G. (1983). *Rhigas Pheraios and the Balkan Federation*. Athens: Epikairoitita. [in Greek]

<sup>3</sup>Mavromoustakou, I. (2002). ‘La Constitution de Rhigas: Mentions, au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle hellénique’ in Colloque International, *Rhigas Vélestinlis (1757-1978) Intellectuel et combattant de la Liberté*. Paris : UNESCO/Desmos.

<sup>4</sup>Woodhouse, C.M. (1995). *Rhigas Velestinlis, the Pro-Martyr of the Greek Revolution*. Limni, Evia: Denise Harvey.

<sup>5</sup>See *The Eastern Federation*

<sup>6</sup>Proudhon, P.J. (1929). *Lettres* edited by Daniel Halevy et Louis Guilloux. Paris: Grasset.

<sup>7</sup>Noland, Aaron. (1987). ‘Orwell, Proudhon, and the Moral Order’, *George Orwell*, edited by Courtney T. Wemyss and Alexej Ugrinsky prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University. New York: Greenwood Press

<sup>8</sup>Remond, R. (1969). *La vie politique en France 1884-1879*. Paris : Armand Colin.

<sup>9</sup>Oteta, Andrea (1970). *The History of the Rumanian People*, translated by Eugenia Farca. Bucharest: Scientific Publishing House.

<sup>10</sup>Moschopoulos, George, (1988). *N. The History of Kephallonia (1797-1940) Vol.2*. Athens: Kephalos. [in Greek]

<sup>11</sup>Todorov, Varban N. ((1995). *Greek Federalism during the Nineteenth Century (Ideas and Projects)*. East European Quarterly, Boulder Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.

<sup>12</sup>See Oteta, *History of the Rumanian People*.

the British Protectorate several radicals were hanged and three hundred Kephalonians were publicly whipped.<sup>1</sup> Panas, a radical, believed in Proudhon's Proudhon's theories of Federalism, which were based on the principles of equality and justice under mutualism<sup>2</sup>.

In 1862, Panas translated 'Dar-thula-Lathmon', from 'The Poems of Ossian' by James Macpherson, into fifteen syllabic demotic poetry. The translation of 'Dar-thula' directly refers to three Modern Greek heroes seeking a republic under democracy, who were slaughtered in the Cycladic Revolution by Greek Royalist soldiers in March, 1862. They were compared to three Ossianic warriors, sons of Usnoth, who, together with the heroine Darthula, were also slain in cold blood by the tyrant and usurper Cairbar. 'Lathmon' was dedicated to the youth of Athens. Panas states in a note that bravery in the language of Ossian includes justice, philanthropy and magnanimity. It is not courageous, according to Ossian, to dishonour valour with oppression, pride or cruelty. It was a reminder that when Catholic soldiers under command of the monarchy were fighting Orthodox patriots seeking unity among the indigenou, irrespective of faith, here is an example of what should have taken place in the Cyclades to bring about unity in the Balkans.<sup>3</sup>

In 1865, Panas went to Alexandria, which was part of the Ottoman Empire. Panas's next translation of an extract entitled 'The Dream of Cathmor and Sulmala' from the epic, Temora, Book IV was translated into Purist poetry, which was included in his book of poetry entitled 'Memnon'; with an epigraph by Byron. It was published by Nile Press owned by fellow-Kephalonian, Ferdinand Oddi, in Alexandria in 1865, and circulated in nine towns in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> Cathmor is the brother of Cairbar, the tyrant who had usurped the Irish throne murdering Cormac, the ruler.<sup>5</sup> This poem is an implicit reference to Ismail (Cairbar) and Halim Pasha (Cathmor). Ismail had bought his kingship from the Sultan by lavishing him with opulent gifts paid for at the expense of his people<sup>6</sup> although Halim Pasha, son of Muhammid Ali, the first Khedive of Egypt, was the rightful heir under Muhammadan law. After instigating a coup d'état, Halim Pasha had to flee to Istanbul<sup>7</sup> and was aided by Oddi, Panas's friend. Another resident of Alexandria was the Kephalonian, A. S. Livathinopoulos.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Loukatos, Spiro I. (1964) 'A form of patriotic reaction under the persecution of Ward during English rule' 214-216. *Ionian Echo*. Athens: Nikolaidi. [in Greek]

<sup>2</sup>See *The Eastern Federation*.

<sup>3</sup>Panas, P. (1862). *Dar-thula-Lathmon Poems of Ossian*, Kephalonian, British Protectorate: Kephalinia [in Greek]

<sup>4</sup>Stavropoulou, E. L. (1987). *Panayiotis Panas: A Romantic Radical*. Athens: Epikairota. [In Greek].

<sup>5</sup>Macpherson, James. (1996). *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, H. Gaskill (ed.): With an introduction by Fiona Stafford. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>6</sup>Rappoport, S.(1904). *History of Egypt from 330 BC to the Present Time* Vol. XII Part A. London: The Grober Society. [www.gutenberg.org/files/17332/.../17332-h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17332/.../17332-h.htm) [4.8.13]

<sup>7</sup>[http://MasonicHighCouncilofEgyptwww.rglofor'e\].or](http://MasonicHighCouncilofEgyptwww.rglofor'e].or) [4.8.13]

<sup>8</sup>Hadjiphotis, I.M. (1999). *Alexandria: Two Centuries of Modern Hellenism (19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century)*. Athens: Greek Letters. [in Greek]

In 1871, A. S. Livathinopoulos published an extract from ‘The Songs of Selma’ in a women’s progressive periodical ‘Euridice’ in Athens. It was translated into Purist prose.<sup>1</sup> This poem was made popular by Goethe who included it in his ‘The Sorrows of Young Werther’<sup>2</sup>, which had, in fact, been translated into Greek from French by I. G. Semtellos, and published in Athens in 1843. Another translation of ‘Werther’ by N. Saltelis, was printed in Smyrna, in the Ottoman Empire, in 1848.<sup>3</sup> The extract selected by Livathinopoulos depicts the death of Colma’s brother and her lover Salgar who are both induced to do battle against each other through family enmity. After killing each other Colma is overwhelmed with grief.<sup>4</sup> The poem conveys the underlying message that Eastern unity is a better option than war. Two weeks after this translation was published the missing documents of Rhigas Velestinlis were found on Zakynthos by the historian Panayiotis

Chiotis, and published in the periodical ‘Parthenon’.<sup>5</sup>

The folklorist Nicholas Politis, became editor of ‘Parthenon’ later on. He would also join the Rhigas Association.<sup>6</sup> In 1870, he published an article entitled ‘On the Superstitions of Ghosts according to the people of Greece’, selecting several short passages from ‘The Poems of Ossian’ including ‘Darthula’ in which he refers to Panas’s 1862 translation.<sup>7</sup> In his title, Politis uses the Slavic word ‘Vrikolako’ rather than ‘Phantasma’.<sup>8</sup> At this time there was a threat of disunity among the Slavs and the Greeks. Politis chooses a folk song entitled ‘The Dead Brother’ which was composed and sung throughout Anatolia. In Serbian it is known as ‘Giovan and Gelitsa’. There are four different versions in Bulgarian and its title is ‘Constantis and Garendina’ in Albanian. The song showed the connections with the East when daughters were matched in marriage to families as far afield as Babylon, in an area also under Ottoman rule.<sup>9</sup> His comparison of this song with extracts taken from ‘The Poems of Ossian’ was an appropriate vehicle in showing the similarities of a shared song among the Balkan people as it symbolised the metaphorical message of unity through marriage in the zone. This unity had been greatly harmed through the machinations of the Orthodox Church which led to the Bulgarian schism on 28 February, 1870, when Modern Greek and Bulgarian relations weakened through the Bulgarian Church breaking away from the

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<sup>1</sup>Livathinopoulos, A. S. (1871). ‘Fragment from the Songs of Selma by the Englishman Ossian’ *Eurydice*, Athens 126-27, June. [In Greek].

<sup>2</sup>Voltaire, Gerassimus, (1869). *Ossian, Fingal an epic poem*. Athens: Moriitini. [In Greek].

<sup>3</sup>Denisi, Sophia. (1995). *Translations of Novels and Short Stories (1830-1880). Introductory Study and Listing*. Athens: Periplous. [in Greek]

<sup>4</sup>See *The Poems of Ossian*.

<sup>5</sup>See ‘La Constitution de Rhigas:’

<sup>6</sup>See *Panayiotis Panas*.

<sup>7</sup>Politis, N. G. (1870). ‘Superstitions about Ghosts by the people of Greece’. Athens: *Ilyssos*, Vol II, 453. [In Greek].

<sup>8</sup>Tegopoulos-Phytrakis. (1991). *Greek Dictionary of Spelling, Interpretation, Etymology, Synonyms, Antonyms and Proper Nouns*, Athens: Harmony.

<sup>9</sup>Koulouphakos, Kostas. (1984). *Articles Analysis Poetry and Prose*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Athens: Diogenis. [In Greek].



Patriarchate in Constantinople in that year. Modern Greek pro-British policy encouraged this rift thus presenting obstacles to the DEF which sought Balkan unity.<sup>1</sup>

In 1873, Panas countered this discord by publishing a translation of an article entitled 'On Hellenism' by Gustave Flourens in the Bucharest newspaper 'Iris'<sup>2</sup> whose editor, Thomas Paschides, an Epirot, was head of the DEA in Rumania.<sup>3</sup> Paschides had donated all his inheritance to the Cretan uprising (1866-69).<sup>4</sup> Flourens, a scholar and revolutionary, had fought in this insurrection, after the massacre which occurred at Arcardi in 1866. In 1869, Flourens was elected representative of the Cretan people. When he attempted to make a speech on Hellenism in Athens he was deported by the Greek government.<sup>5</sup> Flourens who was made General in the Paris Commune was captured, disarmed and murdered by a monarchist officer in April, 1871. Twenty thousand communards were massacred by the monarchist opposition.<sup>6</sup>

It is noteworthy that Marx's theories were overshadowed by those of Proudhon, as witnessed by Proudhonian supporters who participated in the Commune of 1871<sup>7</sup> (Rémond,1969). "Marx had no part in preparing for this rising and its leaders were not communists" (Rosenburg, Arthur,1967).<sup>8</sup> Marx, who had coined the pejorative term 'Utopian' in describing socialists of the time<sup>9</sup>, "had adopted the Commune for his own purposes. Therefore, historically, this unique action, known as the Commune, was neither politically nor theoretically the work of Marx"<sup>10</sup>. It was, in fact, the pioneer of government under socialism<sup>11</sup>.

The DEF circulated a proclamation in support of the Commune under the title 'To the people of the East'. It declared that 'Never has there been a greater revolution than that of the Paris Commune'. This was published in Bucharest in the newspaper 'Iris' in June 1871. Through his contact with Florens, Panas was the only journalist in Athens to report on the Communes giving an elucidated account of the facts of the uprising, which was serialized in the newspaper 'Mellon' in Athens in August and September, 1871<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Todorov V. N. (1995). *Greek Federalism during the Nineteenth Century: Ideas and Projects*. New York: East European Quarterly, Boulder, Distributed by Columbia University Press.

<sup>2</sup>See *Panayiotis Panas*.

<sup>3</sup>See *The Eastern Confederation*.

<sup>4</sup>Hatziphotis, I.M. (1974). *T. A. Paschides (1836-1890) Scholar – Teacher – Fighter – Journalist – Greek Martyr*. Athens: Contribution to the History of Hellenism in Rumania and the Greek Press). [in Greek]

<sup>5</sup>Pandélodimos, D. (2002). *Victor Hugo et la Grèce*. Athens : Librairie Kauffmann.

<sup>6</sup>Lissagaray P.O. (1976). *Histoire de la Commune de 1871*. Paris : Maspero.

<sup>7</sup>Rémond, R. (1969) *La Vie Politique en France 1848-1879 Tome second*, Armand Colin-collection, Paris

<sup>8</sup> Rosenburg, Arthur. (1967). *A History of Bolshevism from Marx to the First Five Years' Plan*, translated by Ian F. D. Morrow. New York: Anchor Books

<sup>9</sup> <http://240movements.wikispaces.com/Utopian+Socialism> 29.4.14

<sup>10</sup>Rosenburg, Arthur. (1967). *A History of Bolshevism from Marx to the First Five Years' Plan*, translated by Ian F. D. Morrow. New York: Anchor Books.

<sup>11</sup>[http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What is the Paris Commune](http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_the_Paris_Commune) (27.4.2014)

<sup>12</sup>See *Panayiotis Panas*.

In Panas's translation on Hellenism, mentioned above, Florens proclaimed that Greeks have, through their inheritance, the democratic genius of their ancestors and retain a profound horror of despotism. In the confederation each language and distinct race would have its country, its national independence and would be governed by laws. There would be no more insurrections in the Orient or antipathy among the races. Extolling Athenian democracy, Florens projected the superiority of the federal system, which in his view united the ancient city states, political freedom and liberation from its religious precepts.

In October, 1873, an agreement was signed to retain peace in the Balkans known as the Emperors' Alliance. This did not prevent Francis Joseph, an Austrian catholic monarch from deliberately spreading turmoil in Herzegovina in the spring of 1875, with the promise of support for a catholic minority. The majority were forty-two per cent Orthodox and forty per cent Moslem. His troops were on standby ready to occupy both Bosnia and Herzegovina after his visit.<sup>1</sup>

In March 1875, Greece's monarchist government's attempted to tamper with the constitution. The scholar Rokkos Hoidas, was the first Socialist M.P. for Kephallonia. As a member of the Rhigas Association and anti-monarchist, he protested against this action. Challenged to a duel, Hoidas was badly wounded believed to be fatal. Hoidas, like Proudhon, would also suffer imprisonment in 1888 for criticising monarchy;<sup>2</sup> Proudhon had been jailed for insulting the Prince-President Louis Napoleon in 1846.<sup>3</sup> Hoidas contributed to Panas's newspaper, *Uprising*, whose columns were filled with the idea of instilling unity and brotherhood among the people of Anatolia.<sup>4</sup> Panas's translation of an extract from the epic 'Temora', translated into Purist blank verse, was published in this newspaper in March, 1875.<sup>5</sup>

The translation of this extract entitled 'The Death of Oscar' from 'Temora' Book 1 is connected to Panas' 'Darthula-Lathmon' of 1862, through Usnoth, the father of the three Ossianic heroes who were slain by Cairbar in 'Darthula'. Usnoth offers to fight under Fingal, father of Ossian, to avenge his sons' death. Panas also connects this to his 1865 translation by naming Cathmor in italics, which refers to Halim Pasha indirectly, a possible member of the DEF, as a Turkish branch existed in Istanbul.<sup>6</sup>

'Brave Cathmor, we said, friends of foreigners, the great  
brother of gloomy Cairbar.

Cairbar murders Cathol, Oscar's friend who had accompanied him in the 'War of Inis-thona'. Oscar then sought to challenge Cairbar in single combat. Having refused to participate, Cairbar plots to kill him as Oscar dines as his

<sup>1</sup>Stavrianos, L. S. (2000). *The Balkans since 1453*. London: Hurst.

<sup>2</sup>Loukatos S. L. (1984). *Rokkos Hoidas, the Advocate of Greek Socialism*. Athens: The Kephallonian and Ithacan Guild. [In Greek].

<sup>3</sup>Proudhon, P.J. (1970). *What is Property An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government* translated by B. R. Tucker with a new Introduction by George Woodcock. New York: Dover

<sup>4</sup>See Loukatos, *Rokkos Hoidas*.

<sup>5</sup>Panas, P. (1875). 'The Death of Oscar, Temora I'. *Uprising*, Athens: March.[in Greek]

<sup>6</sup>See Todorov, *Greek Federalism*.

guest.<sup>1</sup> The ‘Death of Oscar’ symbolises the treachery of foreign monarchy as it tried to divide the Balkan people. It was also a reminder of how Gustave Flourens had been cowardly assassinated by French monarchical militia four years previously, thus connecting the aspirations of the Paris Commune to those of the DEF. It also coincided with the commemoration of the national day when Greeks paid tribute to Rhigas Velestinlis.

At the same time as the DEF was set up in 1868, the Byron journal was published in Athens. Lord Byron had translated Rhigas’s ‘Battle Hymn’ into English in 1811.<sup>2</sup> Byron’s imitation of Ossian ‘Calmar and Orla’<sup>3</sup> was translated and widely distributed in *Evterpe* in 1850, in which the name ‘Oithona’ is mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

In January, 1876, a one act Italian opera ‘Oitona’, from ‘The Poems of Ossian’, with music composed by the Corfiot composer Dionysius Rodotheatos, was performed in Corfu<sup>5</sup>. The chorus sing of their support for Gaul in his endeavour to rescue Oitona who has been raped and abducted by the tyrant, Dunrommath<sup>6</sup>. When Gaul kills Dunrommath he then searches for Oithona and comes across a wounded young helmeted warrior. It is Oithona who tells Gaul that death is preferable to seeing her father ashamed of her as she was raped. In Panas’s previous translation of ‘Lathmon’ published in 1862, we see an example of an enemy becoming a friend by Fingal making Gaul, son of Morni, Fingal’s former enemy, the leader of the expedition and not Ossian, his son. To further cement the friendship, Gaul then becomes engaged to Oithona, Lathmon’s sister.<sup>7</sup> The performance of this opera coincided with the DEF coming under the umbrella of the Rhigas Association, which published its own newspaper *Rhigas* the newspaper of the principles of the Eastern Federation in December, 1875, to which the main contributor was Panas, thus symbolising the uniting of different federalist states.<sup>8</sup> The chanting of support of the chorus demonstrates the Rhigas Association’s intention to offer their aid to the Herzegovinians, threatened by Austro-Hungarian monarchy<sup>9</sup>.

In February, 1876, Panas published his poem ‘Oina-morul’ into demotic poetry, in ‘Byron’,<sup>10</sup> which is used to symbolise unity among enemies. In this poem there is a magnificent example of sacrifice to bring about reconciliation among former enemies. Instead of taking Oina-moral as his booty as a reward

<sup>1</sup>See *The Poems of Ossian*.

<sup>2</sup>Lord Byron. (1919). *The Works of Byron*. Vol. II Paris: Tauchnitz (1876) 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Gaulon.

<sup>3</sup>See *The Works of Byron*. Vol. IV.

<sup>4</sup>Georgantopoulos, Ioannis. (1850). ‘The Death of Calmar and Orla’ by Ossian. Byron’, *Evterpe*, Athens, 127.

<sup>5</sup>Kardamis, K. (2012) ‘A Scot Bard in European South: Dionisios Rodotheato’s oper ‘Oitona’(1876)’ <http://ionio.academia.edu/Konstantino> 3.12.14.

<sup>6</sup>Macpherson, James (1876). *Oitona*, Melodramatic opera, music by D. Rodotheato. Corfu: Nacamulli, [in Italian]

<sup>7</sup>See *The Poems of Ossian*.

<sup>8</sup>See *Eastern Confederation*.

<sup>9</sup>See Hasiotis. *The Eastern Federation*.

<sup>10</sup>Panas, P. (1876). ‘Oina-morul: Ossian’. Athens: *Byron* February 14<sup>th</sup>. [in Greek]

for helping her father capture the enemy in battle, when Ossian hears that Oina-morul is in love with the enemy leader, he forfeits his prize and persuades her father to allow Oina-morul to marry the enemy and thus bring unity. Unlike the original, Panas states that the race of Trenmor is not unreceptive to political organisations, which symbolises the DEF and its members. It will be remembered that Trenmor, great-grandfather of Fingal, brought stability to the area after crushing the corrupt Druids.<sup>1</sup>

The translation of 'Oina-morul' not only concurred with an Assembly in Istanbul made up of representatives of different faiths under Midhat Pasha, the right-hand man of the Sultan but also with the Andrassy Note, named after the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, to implement reforms of February, 1876, as well.<sup>2</sup> Here everyone was in agreement to forge a peaceful alliance, which was implicit in Panas's poem. By May it became the Berlin Memorandum whereby agreement on unity was reached by all powers, except the British, who having refused to participate in talks of peaceful unity among the different peoples being discussed in Istanbul, declared war under the Prime Minister Disraeli by sending their Imperial fleet to Constantinople. They dropped anchor in the Sea of Marmora across from the European side where the Russian army were stationed at San Stefano twelve kilometres from Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> This bellicose action resulted in the massacre of thousands of Bulgarians. The Russian Imperial force declared war on the Ottoman Empire which ended with the Treaty of San Stefano in March, 1878. This treaty was annulled and became the Treaty of Berlin in June, 1878.<sup>4</sup> For the next three years decisions on what was to happen to the captured Ottoman territory and its people were in the hands of the Congress of Powers.<sup>5</sup>

There are numerous translations of 'The Poems of Ossian' that occur at this time including an extended four act Italian opera (composed by Rothotheatos) of 'Oithona', of which the first two acts were performed in Corfu in 1880-1881, with great success. The Corfiot S. Chrisomallis, a political activist, who translated 'Hymn to the Sun' from 'Carthon' into Greek demotic poetry, collaborated with the Corfiot scholar and translator of Sanscrit, A. N. Kephallinos, on the libretto.<sup>6</sup> Kephallinos translated 'Oithona, Oina-Morul',<sup>7</sup> and 'The War of Inisthona' into demotic prose in 1880.<sup>8</sup> Livathinopoulos translated 'Oscar and Dermid' using Purist blank verse, and published it in Byron in 1878.<sup>9</sup> 'Werther' was translated by P. S. Pamboukis in 1879.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See *The Poems of Ossian*.

<sup>2</sup>See *The Balkans*.

<sup>3</sup>Trevelyan, G. M. (1944). *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782-1919)*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

<sup>4</sup>See *The Balkans*.

<sup>5</sup>See *British History*.

<sup>6</sup>See 'A Scot Bard in European South': the libretto is missing.

<sup>7</sup>Kephallinos A. N. (1880) *Ossian: Oina-morul, Oithona*. Italy: Turin. [in Greek]

<sup>8</sup>Kephallinos A.N. (1880) 'Ossian: The War of Inis-thona.' *Corfu Anthology*. Corfu: Corfu (1916). 98-102.[in Greek]

<sup>9</sup>Livathinopoulos, A. S. (1878) 'Oscar and Dermid (Poem of Ossian, subject of the Poem)', Athens: *Byron* 354-357. [in Greek]

The poem ‘The War of Inisthona’ is linked to Panas’s ‘Temora’ Book I (1875) where the tyrant Cairbar slays Cathol, Oscar’s friend who had come to his aid in this war. Oscar resolves the dispute, bringing peace and harmony to Inis-thona, by preventing a war, through slaying the rapacious leader. Annir, the distraught king of Inis-thona and former friend of Fingal, asks Oscar to defend his people from Cormalo, his daughter’s husband. Desiring the death of her father, she is unaware that Cormalo has secretly killed her two brothers Argon and Ruro.<sup>2</sup> These brothers symbolise part of the zone which is ruled by Western monarchy – Rumania and Greece. Cormalo was about to attack and conquer Inis-thona when Oscar defeats him and unites the leader of Inis-thona with his daughter, whom he has rescued. Inis-thona symbolises the parts of the Ottoman Empire that Greece had hoped to obtain under the Treaty of Berlin. For example, Thomas Paschides was the official negotiator for the transfer of Epirus to Greece.<sup>3</sup> In the text, Kephallinos uses the upper case for the word ‘east’ which translates into Greek as ‘the people of the East’. The lower carriage is used in Macpherson’s 1773 version from which Kephallinos states he is using.<sup>4</sup> Thus, in this poem, the message that is carried to the people of the East is that in order for the DEF to succeed there must be unity.

In 1883, Panas published a volume of poetry entitled ‘Hours of Idleness’. The first part opens with ‘Disraeli Efendi’, first published in Braili in Rumania in 1876. It is an eighty two line satire criticising English policy which resulted in the slaughter of thousands of Bulgarians. Panas dedicated the second part to Gustave Flourens, which contains patriotic poems inspired by the Cretan Revolution of 1866.<sup>5</sup>

In 1884, Panas published ‘Oithona’ in the periodical *Evdomas*<sup>6</sup>. This periodical was distributed throughout the Greek-speaking world in the Ottoman Empire including Baghdad, Egypt, Bulgaria; Rumania, the Ukraine, the Crimea, Hungary, and Greece. Its editor, D. I. Kambouroglou, whose father had been editor of *Evterpe*, in which the translation of Byron’s adaptation of *Ossian* was published in 1850, was a member of the Rhigas Association.<sup>7</sup> In ‘Oithona’, Panas refers to his 1862 translation of ‘Lathmon’ in the preface and once again he selects the word ‘East’ in the upper case:

‘Gaul arose, seized his spear. In his heart he clenched  
his rage. His glance turned towards the people of the East.’

By using the capital letter for ‘East’, which translates into Greek as ‘the people of the East’ in their translations of selected poems from ‘The Poems of

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<sup>1</sup>See Denisi. *Translation of Novels and Short Stores (1830-1880)*.

<sup>2</sup>Macpherson, James (1825) *The Poems of Ossian* translated by London: Rivington, Nunn, Cadell, Longman Hurst etc.

<sup>3</sup>Manthos, Alkis. (1970). *Epirot Journalists in Rumania: Thomas Paschides*. Athens: Library of the Epirot Society. [in Greek]

<sup>4</sup>Macpherson, James (1847). *The Poems of Ossian* translated by. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz.

<sup>5</sup>See *Panayiotis Panas*.

<sup>6</sup>Panas, Panayiotis. (1884). ‘Oithona: Ossian’. *Byron*. Athens: 253-255. [in Greek]

<sup>7</sup>See *Panayiotis Panas*.

Ossian', both Kephallinos and Panas directly connect this poetry with that of the 1871 proclamation of the DEF.

The following is completely different from the original:

'I have come, said the hero, I have come to free you from the hands of the ignoble who keep you as a slave.'

And 'I came to meet thy foes, daughter of car-borne Nuath!'<sup>1</sup>

When Oithona dies it symbolises that unity between certain territories in which it was hoped to join to DEF had been crushed. The Great Powers refused to unite Crete, the whole of Epirus and a region of Macedonia to Modern Greece and Transylvania to Rumania under Dacia.<sup>2</sup> The Austro-Hungarian Empire took control of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Transylvania. Part of what is now Bulgaria was governed by Prince Alexander of Battenberg under the rule of Russian monarchy. In 1879, the Sultan deposed Ismail, choosing Halim Pasha as the new Khedive of Egypt, the news of which even reached as far away as Australia,<sup>3</sup> but Western powers insisted on the inexperienced Tewik becoming the next ruler.<sup>4</sup> After obtaining Cyprus, the British monarchy then bombed Alexandria in 1882.<sup>5</sup> Kephallinos published his translation of 'The Songs of Selma' at this time.<sup>6</sup>

In conclusion, these selected translations from 'The Poems of Ossian', not only by Panas, the founder of the DEF, but by other Greek translators as well, were used as a literary weapon against Western monarchy. They symbolically exposed the diplomatic machinations of Western monarchy through the depiction of tyrants to historical events such as the 1862 Cycladic Revolution, the 1866 coup d'état in Egypt, the 1870 Bulgarian Schism, the 1871 Paris Commune, the 1875 uprising in Herzegovina, the 1876 peace agreement in Istanbul, the outcome of the Treaty of Berlin in 1881 and the 1882 bombing of Alexandria. At the same time, the poems were used to provide an ethical precept in the art of uniting former enemies to defensively join forces under magnanimous harmonious leadership. To prevent further subjugation of its lands, the Democratic Eastern Federation would provide a political solution, under mutualism rather than competition, whereby federalist states would enjoy autonomy, adhering to just laws, equality and freedom for the ordinary people of different faiths, who had lived for centuries under various empires.

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<sup>1</sup>See *The Poems of Ossian* (1996)

<sup>2</sup>See *The Balkans*.

<sup>3</sup>Bendigo Advertiser, (Vic...1855-1918) Thursday 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1879. p.2. <http://trove.nla.gov.au/dnp/del/page/9032242> 20.8.13

<sup>4</sup>Baring, Evelyn. (1908). *Modern Egypt*.  
[www.ebooksread.com/.../evelynbaring.../...](http://www.ebooksread.com/.../evelynbaring.../...) 20.8.13

<sup>5</sup>See *The Balkans*.

<sup>6</sup>Kephallinos, A. N. (1882). *Ossian: The Songs of Selma*. Translated by: Corfu: Ionia. [in Greek]

