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MDT2015-1416

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Democratic Eastern Federation
and the Demise of its supporters
1885-1896 and the Poems of Ossian**

Kathleen Ann O'Donnell

Independent Scholar

British School at Athens

Greece

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This paper should be cited as follows:

O'Donnell, K.A., (2015) "The Disintegration of the Democratic Eastern Federation and the Demise of its supporters 1885-1896 and the Poems of Ossian", Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: MDT2015-1416.

Athens Institute for Education and Research
8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece
Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209 Email: info@atiner.gr
URL: www.atiner.gr

URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm

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ISSN: **2241-2891**

15/05/2015

**The Disintegration of the Democratic Eastern Federation
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**Kathleen Ann O'Donnell
Independent Scholar
British School at Athens
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Abstract

This paper will discuss the disintegration of the Democratic Eastern Federation and the demise of its leaders and supporters. Its leader, Panayiotis Panas, the Kephalonian Scholar and main translator of *The Poems of Ossian* republished 'Darthula' in September 1885 and 'Lathmon' in 1890 as well as 'The Death of Cuchullin' in 1887 together with 'Minvane' in 1890. Are these poems relevant to historical events of the time and do they show similarities between the magnanimity of the Celtic heroes and those who tried to bring peace and harmony through the Democratic Eastern Federation? In 1885, 'Darthula' was published when disunity began in the Balkans and was a call for unity and a reminder of the sacrifice made by republicans in the Cycladic Revolution (1862), when the Bavarian king abdicated. Under the Treaty of Berlin (1878) offspring of the German, Russian and English monarchy ruled in a part of Bulgaria, Rumania and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Greece was governed by Anglo-Danish monarchy. War broke out when Serbs were offended by Bulgaria's attempt to enlarge its territory under command of its new monarch. Under threat of another blockade by England, Greece was warned not to assist the Serbs. The translation of the 'Death of Cuchullin' by Panas is prophetic. It represents both the death of any unity in the area and the demise of its supporters of the association. 'Lathmon' and 'Minvane' are laments for the suicide of its leaders in 1890 and of Panas himself in 1896. This paper will also discuss the repercussions in the Twentieth Century created by the failure of the DEF resulting in huge catastrophes in the Balkans, Western Europe and Anatolia which would certainly have been avoided had it come to fruition.

Keywords:

The Democratic Eastern Federation or the Rigas Association¹ was an organisation set up by scholars in South Eastern Europe: including Athens, Bucharest and Constantinople² in an attempt to forge a peaceful solution to the threat of Western imperialistic division of the Ottoman Empire. Its tenets were based on Ancient Greek democracy and those of the French Revolution (1793) which form the basis of the Constitution and Declaration of Human Rights written by the Greek-Rumanian scholar and first promartyr of the Greek Revolution, Rigas Velestinis. His intention had been to form an Anatolian Federation which would include people of all faiths to combat and overthrow the tyrannous rule of the Sultan and to form republics built on democratic principles of equality and justice. Rigas believed that bad government does not come from an ethnic, race or creed but from a lack of good laws. His future republic would be built on the principles of equality and justice.³

‘The law must be the first and only chief leader of the country.’⁴

The vision of a confederation by Rigas was not a question which could have been considered ‘Balkan’ since it was destined to stretch beyond the European continent into Anatolian territories the term ‘Balkan’ not being in use in the nineteenth century.⁵ For example, the exiled antimonarchist poet and democrat Alexander Soutsos carved the words ‘Long Live the Greek Constitution up to the Egyptian pyramids’ on a pyramid in Cairo in 1859.⁶ The confederation would embrace people in the Ottoman provinces of South East Europe, and Egypt.⁷ Hellenism excluded racial, ethnic or religious connotations, the only supremacy being recognised as a Greek entity was that of the language as Modern Greek was the most widely spoken language in the zone.⁸ Nationalism and monarchism was eschewed in preference to a confederation run on democratic lines. The DEF did not support Russian aggression in the Balkans. Members of the Rigas Association or the DEF were

¹Stavropoulou, E.L. (1987). *Panayiotis Panas: A Romantic Radical*. Athens: Epikairoitita. [in Greek]

²Hasiotis, L. (2001). *The Eastern Confederation: Two Greek Federalist Movements in the 19th Century*. Salonica: Vantias. [in Greek]

³Alexandre Cordahi, (2000). ‘Rhigas Vélestinlis et les Transformation Juridiques’ in *Rhigas Vélestinlis 1758-1798) Intellectuel and combattant de la liberté*, (Paris: Unesco/Demos).

⁴Korthatos, G. (1973). *The History of Our Language Question*. Athens: Boukoumanis. [in Greek]

⁵Svolopoulos, Constantin. (2000). ‘Le concept de ‘Nationa’ dans la pensé révolutionnaire de Rhigas Vélestinlis’. *Rhigas Vélestinlis. (1758-1798) Intellectuel and combattant de la liberté. Colloque international*. Paris: Unesco/Demos.

⁶Korthatos, G. (1983). *The History of Modern Greek Literature from 1453-1961*. Athens: Eipkairoitita. [in Greek]

⁷Velestinlis, Rigas (1994). *The Revolutionary Works: Revolutionary Proclamation: Rights of Man: The Constitution: The Battle Cry: The Patriotic Hymn*. Athens: Scientific Association. [in Greek]

⁸Mavroroustakou Ivi (1998) ‘La Constitution de Rhigas : mentions au XIX siècle hellénique’. *Rhigas Veletinilis. Colloque international*. Paris.

also supporters of the Paris Commune whose main adherents were Proudhonians. Heralds of socialism, they supported the working people.

The founder of the DEF in Athens was Panayiotis Panas, a scholar and journalist who had resided in Rumania and Alexandria. His colleague, a scholar, journalist and headmaster, Thomas Paschides, from Epiros, (an Ottoman province), was head of the organisation in Bucharest. In Constantinople, there was a Turkish part of this organisation headed by Midhat Pasha, the Grand Vizier. (1876)¹ His new reforms to bring equality to all subjects under Ottoman control were given support by Prince Halim Pasha, son of Muhamid Ali, first Khedive of Egypt.² A contender for the throne of Egypt, Prince Halim was aided by Panas's classmate and colleague, Ferdinand Oddi, in escaping from Alexandria to Istanbul after a coup d'état in 1866.³ Halim Pasha was also chosen as Khedive of Egypt after Ismail's dismissal by the Sultan, in 1879. Panas realised that the Great Powers were trying to preserve the dwindling Ottoman Empire to serve their own interests. He saw that the real threat to the DEF was the Europeans – the Great Powers.⁴

Western monarchy had imposed its kingdoms on former Ottoman territory twice in Greece in the 1830s and again in 1864, then in Rumania two years later. In 1879 the Russian Tsar placed Alexander of Battenberg as Prince of a small principality (Bulgaria) in Eastern Roumalia while the Hapsburgs occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878. Prince Charles (Hohenzollen) became King Carol I of Rumania in 1881. In Serbia Prince Milan Obrenovich became King of Serbia in 1882.⁵

To counter the takeover of Western powers under monarchy, journalists who believed in the aims of the DEF contributed to several periodicals in Greece and Rumania. These journals exposed injustices, which its contributors hoped to rectify. Many of these injustices coincided with the translations of 'The Poems of Ossian'. The Athenian 'Rambagas', (1878-89) a most fanatically democratic and literary forward-looking journal attempted to open the eyes of the people, both politically and socially, by exposing the dirty scandalous social life of the court and its minions while emphasising, at the same time, their indifference to serious problems that were being faced by the kingdom. It kept up its continual fight against the monarchy and the incompetent government. Other contributors included the M.P. for Attica and leading judge, Aristedes Oikonomos, Achilles Paraschos, the poet as well as the first socialist M.P. and Public Prosecutor, Rokkos Hoidas.⁶

¹See Hasiotis.

²Zurcher, Eric Jan (1984). *The Unionist Factor: Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*. Leiden: Brill ISBN 90-04-07262-4. 9.7.14

³Hadziphotis, I.M. (1999). *Alexandria: Two Centuries of Modern Hellenism (19th and 20th Century)*. Athens: Greek Letters. [in Greek].

⁴See Stavropoulou, *Panas*

⁵Stavrianos, L. S. (2000). *The Balkans Since 1453*. London: Hurst.

⁶Stamelos Dimitris (1982). *Pioneers and Heroes of Greek Journalism: Vlassis Gabriilidis Kleanthis Triantaphillos –Rambagas*. Athens: Glaros [in Greek]

Using the pseudonym ‘Aloupis’, Panas, whose early satire was greatly influenced by Alexander Soutsos published articles in ‘Rambagas’.¹ Its regular attacks, with its biting satire, on the Danish monarch and representatives of the Great Powers, resulted in its owners, the Cycladic poet Cleanthese Triantaphillos, also named Rigas, the second promartyr of democracy, and Vlassis Gavriialidis, a scholar from Constantinople, being imprisoned after its first publication. In 1881, Triantaphillos was imprisoned again, without trial, for writing the poem ‘King’. This poem describes how the monarch was enjoying entertainment of a foreign ballet company in the home of the illustrious banker E. Kahagias, a native of Amphissa, while indifferent to the importance of the Berlin Conference that was taking place. Triantaphillos wrote of his support for the country’s shoemakers’ strike in 1881 thus representing the first pro-labour workers’ movement.² In the same year an attempt on the life of Triantaphillos was made. Fortunately the shots fired by henchman of the palace (as witnesses verified) in central Athens missed.³

In 1880, after leaving this journal in order to publish his own equally satiric and democratic periodical ‘Mi Hanasi’, which later became the newspaper ‘Acropolis’, Gavriialidis was nearly assassinated but managed to ward off the killer, although he was injured and hospitalised, in 1882.⁴

A year later, Panas’s ‘Hours of Idleness’ was reviewed in ‘Mi Hanesi’ and further poetry of Panas was published under the non de plume ‘Stamatouli’.⁵ In 1884, Gavriialidis insisted on the necessity of Greek-Turkish friendship in his newspaper ‘Acropolis’.⁶ In July, Thomas Paschides, who was editor of various journals in Bucharest including both ‘Decebal, fraternisation of the Antolian people’, and ‘Iris, the paper of the people of the East’, both written in Greek and French, published an article in the ‘Acropolis’ describing his invitation by a Muslim friend to celebrate the Muslim religious festival of Ramadan in Constantinople. He describes how other religious denominations including Christians were invited to celebrate too. Musical concerts in the streets were given by Arabic, Jewish and Armenian musicians. Wandering the streets he heard poetry competitions taking place and he saw a Turkish play being directed by an Armenian.⁷ While cultural cohesion was apparent in Istanbul, Prince Alexander of Battenberg was responsible for the start of disunity among the indigenous people by invading Serbia, thus breaking the Treaty of Berlin (1881) in 1885.

Writing in ‘Rambagas’, Rokkos Hoidas protested against English interference in its country’s national sovereignty of its people who rallied in Athens against Prince Alexander’s coup d’état in an attempt to enlarge his

¹See Stavropoulou *Panas*.

²See Stamelos.

³See Korthatos, *History of Modern Greek Literature*.

⁴See Stamelos.

⁵See Stavropoulou.

⁶See Stamelos

⁷Hadziphotis, I.M. (1974). *T. A. Paschides (1836-1890) Scholar – Teacher – Fighter – Journalist – Greek – Martyr: His Life and His Work: Symbol of the History of Hellenism in the Rumanian and Greek Press*. Athens: Critical Leaves. [in Greek]

territory in Eastern Roumelia, a Turkish province, in 1885. Hoidas pointed out the violence of the English by bringing its fleet into Greek waters. The fleet was led by Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh. It will be remembered that many Greeks had voted in favour of his becoming king of Greece in 1863 when Othon of Bavaria abdicated after the Cycladic Revolution.

At this time Hoidas, who became M.P. for Attica,¹ joined forces with other M.Ps. including A. Oikonomos and Andreas Ringopoulos to form a Democratic Party in support of the working people.² In the same year, Hoidas was injured when an attempt was made on his life.³

Announcing Prince Alexander's bellicose stance, the newspaper 'Evdomas', edited by Dimitris Kambouroglou, began its first instalment of the republication of 'Dar-thula' in September, 1885, from 'The Poems of Ossian'. This poetry served as a moral precept for the Rigas Association in the face of corruption and Western diplomatic machinations which it exposed through its choice of poem. On the front page of 'Evdomas', dated 15 September, is an article stressing the necessity of the Greek people to unite according to its great tradition of heroism and altruism. The next column is 'Work and Days',⁴ which had originated in 'Everterpe', edited by Kambouroglou's father. In 'Everterpe', January 1850, readers had been exposed to the poetry as shown in the following extract:

'The blond virgin warriors of Morven lamenting
hold the sweet lyre of Homer and Sappho and in the place
of Greek heroes the melancholy shadows of the heroes of
the Bard of Arturus, Fingal and Oscar wander.'⁵

In 'Evdomas's' next instalment, the paper included a translation by Christos A. Parmenides of 'Lascaris' by Abel-Francois Villemain. Parmenides had translated 'Hymn to the Sun by Ossian' from 'Carthon', published in Athens in 1847 in his anthology 'Lascaris and Various Poems'.⁶ Parmenides's extract describes how Orthodox Christians were enemies of both Muslims and Catholics in the fifteenth century, which resulted in the war that was still ongoing. For example, in the Cycladic Revolution (1862), the Greek Catholic community fought Greeks of the Orthodox religion in support of the Catholic King Othon.

The message of the members of the DEF/Rigas Association was to unite all religions and be self-governed throughout Anatolia. Therefore, the

¹Loukatos, S. L. (1984). *Rokkos Hoidas, the Advocate of Greek Socialism*. Athens: The Kephalonian and Ithacan Guild. [in Greek]

²Bakounakis, Nikos (2008). *A European moment in 19th century Greece: Speech, Picture and Myth of Andreas Ringopoulos*. Athens: Polis.[in Greek]

³See Loukatos.

⁴Panas, Panayiotis (1885) 'Ossian: Dar-thula'. *Evdomas*, Athens: 15th September.

⁵Pop, Constantine [Gorgias] (1850). 'Work and Days': *Eutterpe*: Athens: Issue 57, 1 January, 790

⁶Parmenides, Christo. (1847). *Lascaris: or the Greeks in the 15th Century* by Villemain and Various Poems. Trans. Athens: Antoniadou.

importance of the translation of ‘Dar-thula’, which directly follows the extract from ‘Lascaris’, is indicated by the changes that Panas makes at the end of the poem, set in italics. They are reminiscent of lines in the dedicatory poem of the three heroes, at the beginning of the 1862 version¹ so as not to forget those men who sacrificed their lives in the Cycladic Revolution for Greece to become a republic.² Interestingly, in an article, published in ‘Rambagas’, Triantaphillos wrote that the king was not to blame but the people were, as they had not taken advantage of the opportunity of the Cycladic Revolution when they should have removed the rule of a foreign dynasty and established only Greeks with a Greek Constitution.³ So the republication of ‘Dar-thula’ was to remind Modern Greeks of the importance of valour and sacrifice in the quest for unity, while at the same time demonstrating the machinations of Western diplomacy, which was a mask for tyranny. Another translator of ‘The Poems of Ossian’ was the Cycladic writer Dimitris Vikelas.

In the archives of Vikelas is his translation of ‘The Songs of Selma’.⁴ In 1885, Vikelas gave a talk at the Saint Simon Circle in Paris entitled ‘The Role and Aspirations of Greece on the Eastern Question’. He reminded the audience of Rigas Velestinlis requesting help from Napoleon in support of a movement he was preparing. Vikelas admitted that the Greek Revolution was a revival of Hellenism and not a resurrection of the Byzantine idea. He believed that if there was a true confederation of independent states, united with each other in South Eastern Europe, then the Eastern question would be solved and Europe would no longer have to be concerned. He also stated that Greeks had witnessed a fratricidal war between Serbs and Bulgarians.⁵

Another translator of ‘The Songs of Selma’ was Achilles Parashos. His epic poem entitled ‘The Dervishes’ more than supports Vikelas’s viewpoint:

‘The Turkish dervish and Greek worker I reconcile
And I hoist with equal devoutness to the unknown Tombs.’

Paraschos wrote ‘The Dervishes’ while living in Taganrog (Tanais in the Hellenistic period) in 1883.⁶

In November, 1886, the English imposed a blockade. Whenever a blockade occurred, the power of the Greek Parliament was handed over to the king.⁷ Byron had translated Rigas’s two first verses of his ‘Battle Cry’.¹ Panas

¹See *Evdomas* 22 September.

²O’Donnell, Kathleen Ann (2014). ‘Nineteenth Century Cycladic Warriors: Celtic Heroes’. *Studies on Mediterranean Culture and History: From the Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period*. edited by Steven M. Oberhelman. Athens: Athens Institute for Education and Research.

³See Stamelos.

⁴Vikelas, Dimitris (?) *Ossian*: File 785: DB-Album 1-90. Athens: National Library, 149.

⁵Vikelas, Dimitris (1885). *Le Role et les Aspirations de la Grèce dans la Question d’Orient*. Paris: n.p.

⁶Paraschos, Achilles (1904). *Unpublished Works*: 2 vols. Athens: Leoni.[in Greek]

⁷Philaretos, George N. (1887). *Foreign Government and Monarchy in Greece (1821-1897)*. Athens: S. Kousoulinos. [in Greek]

Panas who had translated Angelos Brofferio's 'Greek Scenes' published in the newspaper 'Telegraph', included four verses from 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage', which specifically reminds enslaved Greeks under Turkish rule to reawaken their spirit of freedom from their shame of bondage.²

'Greece! Change thy lords, thy state is still the same;
Thy glorious day is o'er, but not thine years of shame.'³

In order to free themselves they must not rely on foreign help, which will probably re-enslave them but must rise up and conquer the enemy alone. Panas perpetuated the dream. His first translation of 'Dar-thula-Lathmon' in 1862 demonstrates the treachery through slaughter of the 'sons of Usnoth' as they attempted to continue the feats of their cousin, Cuchullin. In 'Temora' Book I (1875) Oscar is also determined to fight Cairbar in revenge for his having murdered his friend, Cathol. He is tricked into a combat and dies. He, however, succeeds in killing Cairbar. Cuchullin fought to protect the rightful heir of the land, Cormac II, and dies in battle after being wounded by an arrow. Nathos continues to support Cormac II. Cairbar slaughtered both Nathos and Cormac in different battles.⁴

After a Bulgarian victory when the principality of Bulgaria was united with Eastern Roumelia, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, replacing Prince Alexander who abdicated, was crowned King of Bulgaria in August 1887.⁵

In December, Panas published 'The Death of Cuchullin' in 'Evdomas',⁶ which is prophetic in that it represents both the stranglehold of any unity in the area and the death of its supporters of this organisation, whose moral calibre is equated with the heroes in 'The Poems of Ossian' through translation. It is related to the translation of the very first Ossianic poem of an imitation by Byron, through the lament of Calmar, published in 'Evterpe in 1850'⁷ when the English imposed its first blockade on Greece.⁸ The 'Death of Cuchullan' represents the suppression of the dream – Rigas's dream.

The enemy of the nineteenth century in South Easter Europe and Anatolia were the Cairbars of foreign monarchy. They were determined to take over the land of the Ottoman Empire, a dwindling power. The heroes – scholars who fought with the pen – are members of the Rigas Association (DEF), representatives of the indigenous people seeking peace and unity, who

¹Byron, Lord. (1919). *The Works of Lord Byron* : Volume II, 2nd edition. Paris: Gaulon.

²See Stavropoulou.

³Byron, Lord (n.d.) *The Works of Byron with a life and illustrations by William Anderson*. Vol. II. Edinburgh: Fullarton.

⁴Macpherson, James. (1996). *The Poems of Ossian and Related Work: with an Introduction by Fiona Stafford* ed. by Howard Gaskill. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

⁵See 'The Balkans'.

⁶Panas, Panayiotis. (1887). 'Ossian: The Death of Cuchullin'. Athens: *Evdomas*.

⁷Georgantopoulos, Ioannis, (1850). 'Ossian: *The Death of Calmar and Orla by Lord Byron*'. Athens: *Evterpe*.

⁸Korthatos, G. (1973). *The Intervention of Greece by the English*. Athens: Epikairoitita. [in Greek]

attempted to combat the enemy. They are compared to Nathos directly, Oscar, Calmar and Cuchullin. They also seek to emulate Fingal. What is again noticeable in the translation is the use of the word 'East', which starts with the capital letter thus implying the people or countries east of Europe. For example, Macpherson's line:

'That the sound of the battle may arise with the grey beam
Of the east.'

becomes:

'Countries east of Europe like a great malaise,
Let the echo of my battle be heard.' (My translation)¹

Panas explained that 'Anatolia', includes Greeks as they are the most diffused of all people in Asia Minor and are thus obliged to commit themselves to the work of joint salvation.²

The translation of 'The Death of Cuchullin' is reminiscent of Rigas's contribution to the implementation of liberty, fraternity and justice:

'Glory will be in my name and my fame will spread
into songs. Youth: Let us die, they will say that they have died
like the child of Semo [Cuchullin] where glory covers him
and his fame will shine for centuries.'³ (My translation)

Rigas, the bard whose 'Battle Song' was known throughout the zone can be compared to Ossian as he sings about his compatriots who suffered under despotism and usurpation of the land by the enemy. The unity that Rigas endeavoured to instil was similar to that of Fingal: both sought to combat tyranny and invasion while uniting former foes to overthrow the enemy.

Those members who strove for unity in the zone continued in their quest including Paschides, who had travelled around Anatolia visiting Egypt, publishing his experience in his newspaper 'Decebal' and in the Rumanian press. Then in Palestine he remarked on the proselytizing by Catholics and Protestants as well as the setting up of a Jewish town in Jerusalem in 1860 by Moses Montefiori and the Allatini brothers of Salonica in the Ottoman Empire.⁴ Using their own shipping company, the Allatini brothers supplied the British army with goods including wood. As they had purchased forestland on Mount Olympus from the Ottoman government they felled trees for firewood to aid the English army when it invaded Egypt in order to restore the 'rightful'

¹See Panas 'Death of Cuchullin'.

²See Stavropoulou.

³See Panas 'The Death of Cuchullin'.

⁴See Hadziphotis. *Paschides*.

Khedive in 1882.¹ The Sultan, therefore, had to bow to the desires of Western Powers who insisted on Tewick, the inexperienced son of Ismail, rather than Halim Pasha, taking the throne.² Paschides encouraged the establishing of Greek schools in the area to promote Hellenism.

In 1886, Paschides wrote an article, written in French, entitled ‘The Turkish-Greek Question’. It urged the Turks to: reform and unite with the Greek nation; to unite the crescent and the cross; to have done with fanaticism; to adopt Hellenism with the philosophy of Plato and educate the people; to follow Aristotle which Arab scholars had translated in the past as they had also translated the old and new Testament of the Holy Bible from which they had assembled the Koran³. It is noteworthy that the Ottoman conquest of Arab lands, under the Muslim religion, took away a great deal of what the Arabs had contributed to civilisation and left the land neglected as well as helping to destroy the ‘free, liberal character of Mohammedianism of the Arabic civilisation’.⁴ Paschides exhorted that the hatred and repugnance among Greeks, Muslim and Jews must cease and be replaced by extending a brotherly hand and that all past grievances of yesteryear must be buried.

In June, 1888, Paschides, who had been residing in Constantinople, was arrested for slander and was imprisoned there. He was later exiled to Fezan in Libya in chains, where he was tortured and then murdered in the desert in May, 1890. Six years earlier, Midhat Pasha had been strangled by ‘Ottoman government agents’ in exile in Ta’if in Arabia in 1884.⁵

Having resigned from politics, Hoidas became joint editor of ‘Rambagas’.⁶ ‘Rambagas’.⁶ In 1888, Hoidas wrote an article in ‘Rambagas’ reporting on the reunion of the Rigas Association, claiming that the father of these socialist ideas had proclaimed that Greece would be large and was the sister of all people in the Orient who were suffering unjustly and with whom Hoidas hoped would unite to Greece to form a democratic federation.⁷ This indicates that the Rigas Association had not disintegrated, as assumed in historical tomes.

Hoidas also wrote articles instilling brotherhood among the people. In October, 1888 he published a letter in ‘Rambagas’, which was considered slanderous. Addressed to the king, the letter read:

‘Great Spirit of Byron, who sang and died for Greece O Byron, Byron!
Rise from your martyred grave this moment. Come to Athens and
Observe the High Commissioner under the ironic name of George
Christian, first king of the Greeks! You came from Corfu under the
unjust profiteering of your country. You came to the town of Goddess

¹[www.academia.edu/?...?The immortal Allatini Ancestors and Relatives of Noemie Allatini Bloch 1860-1928](http://www.academia.edu/?...?The%20immortal%20Allatini%20Ancestors%20and%20Relatives%20of%20Noemie%20Allatini%20Bloch%201860-1928). 12.3.14.

²Baring, Evelyn. (1908). *Modern Egypt*. www.ebooksread.com/.../evelynbaring.../...20.8.13

³ See Hadziphotis. *Paschides*

⁴ Thatcher, Oliver and Schwill, Ferdinand (1919). *Europe in the Middle Age*. London: Murray

⁵Zurcher, Eric Jan. (1984). *The Unionist Factor: Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926*. Leiden: Brill. ISBN 90-04-07262-4. 6.7.14.

⁶See Loukatos.

⁷See Mavromoustakou ‘La Constitution de Rhigas’

Athina on the revolting and accursed day of 18 October, 1863 transfer.¹

To avoid their case being taken up by the Supreme Court and gallantly defended by their colleague, Oikonomos, suddenly the Public Prosecutor assigned the case of ‘Rambagas’ to the Criminal Court in Amphissa in Lamia at the beginning of 1889, which was about two hundred miles away from Athens. The jury was made up of Albanian cattle-breeders, shepherds and farmhands who clearly did not understand Greek. How could they possibly judge a poet and politician on trial for an ideological offence? As a result the verdict imposed the punishment of seven years imprisonment.²

In the meantime, in January, 1889, Ringopoulos committed suicide. He fell into the sea from a ferry boat. His body was found at Porto Helli.³

In May, 1889, Triantaphillos, a living corpse after bad prison conditions, committed suicide. Gavriilidis wrote no obituary for his former colleague Cleanthes Triantophillos.⁴

Both Gavriilidis and C. Paparringopoulos, the historian, showed cold indifference towards the Serbian founder of the Radical Party and president of the Saint Savvas Association, Svetomir Nikolajevic, when asked for details regarding biographical information about Rigas Velestinilis in order to strengthen Serbo-Greek relations. He planned on erecting a statue of Rigas Velestinilis in Belgrade near the castle where he was murdered, which was completed in the same year in 1889.⁵ From their comportment towards Nikolajevic, it can thus be concluded that Western monarchical rule was in complete control in Greece.

In May, 1890, Rokkos Hoidas, who had been suffering from an injury to the lung caused by a duel fought against the government’s tampering with the constitution in favour of monarchy in 1875 and wounded in an attempt on his life ten years later, refusing to sign a grant of official pardon, chose to die in prison in Halkida.⁶

In May, 1890, Panas republished ‘Lathmon’ in ‘Evdomas’ as the first lament dedicated to the deaths of his colleagues. Lathmon was an enemy, a foreigner who saw the worthlessness of fighting such valiant and magnanimous fighters – Ossian and Gaul – and Fingal recognises this and rewards him by letting him go free. The reverse happened in Modern Greece where patriots were doomed at the hands of the monarchy and religious differences. For example, Hoidas died in prison in his struggle to support the lower echelons of Greeks and encourage them to become self-governing. The difference in the 1890 translation is the use of the word ‘Brother’ and ‘Brotherly’. Again not

¹See Loukatos.

²Prokos, Aristeides (1934). ‘The Trial of Rambagas.’ Athens: *New Estia*, Issue 185.786-90. [in Greek]

³See Bakoukais.

⁴See Stamelos.

⁵See Hasiotis.

⁶See Loukatos.

only is it a message of learning how to forget the past and to make former foes friends but to instil in the next generation the importance of living in unity. In the same work Panas translates:

If our ancestors were once enemies and they fought
with fury later their children bonded in close friendship and
offered each other brotherly dinner.¹ (My translation)

Macpherson:

‘Our fathers contended in battle: but we meet together at the
Feast.’²

It is reminiscent of Paschides wishing to extend a ‘brotherly’ hand to the Ottomans to bring peace and unity. The word ‘brother’ (‘friend’ in Machperson) is also similar to that used by Julius Typaldos in his 1856 translation of ‘Two Nights’ from ‘Croma’,³ during a second blockade.⁴

Other examples of injustices included a third blockade imposed by the British after the Cretan uprising in 1869⁵ when the complete ‘Fingal’ was translated into Greek for the first time.⁶ Part of ‘Fingal’ had been translated in 1863 during the intermonarchical year after the abdication of Othon,⁷ when certain Greeks desired a republic instead of another dynasty. This is apparent in the poem ‘The Vision of Prince Alfred’ by C. Parmenides written in 1864, attached to his translation of ‘Sardanapalos’ by Byron. In a note he refers to the arrogance of the British.⁸

In June, 1890, Panas translated ‘Minvane’, the second lament, from the last poem ‘Berrathon’ in ‘Evdomas’. Minvane, Gaul’s sister and daughter of Fingal’s former enemy, Morni, and now a friend, laments Ryno, her lover and the son of Fingal, who died in battle against the Danish foe, Swaran. There are several differences in this translation: the first is that blood covering Ryno’s armour lying at his feet is described as ‘covered in blood, loving blood’. Macpherson has ‘The bloody spear of Ryno!’ Another word is that of ‘barbaric’ instead of ‘mossy’ to describe where Ryno died. Panas lamenting Paschides’s murder, which is emphasised in his translation in a footnote stating that Ryno was murdered, (Macpherson: ‘died in battle’) implicitly refers to

¹Panas, Panayiotis (1890). ‘Ossian: Lathmon’. Athens: *Evdomas*.

²See Machperson, *The Poems of Ossian*

³Typaldos, Julian (1915). ‘Croma: first and fourth Bard.’ Athens: *Noumas*. 412.

⁴See Korthatos *Intervention of the English*.

⁵Markopoulos, George J. (1968). ‘King George I and the Expansion of Greece 1875-1881.’ Salonica: *Balkan Studies*, Vol. 9.

⁶Voltairos, Gerassimos (1869). *Ossian: Fingal an epic poem*. Athens: Moraitini.

⁷Mavroyiannis, Gerassimos (1863). ‘*Ossian and the Poems Attributed to Him*’. Athens: Chryalis.

⁸Parmenides, C. (1865). *Sardanapalos: Tragedy by Lord Byron trans. from English*. Athens: Ermou. [in Greek]

Paschides as a son of Fingal (Rigas), who was killed in ‘barbaric’ Ullin¹ i.e. Fez Barbary.²

The DEF or the Rigas Association disintegrated with the deaths, either by suicide or murder, of its leaders. Both ‘The Poems of Ossian’ and the writings and legacy of Rigas Velesinlis were almost ignored during the twentieth century.³

During the latter part of the nineteenth century there was disunity not only among Muslims but also between Catholics as well as Orthodox peoples in the area. There was also disunity among the people of the Orthodox Christian faith themselves, especially after the Bulgarian Schism in 1870.⁴ When friends participate in a meal altogether this action of sharing the simple joys of life leads to greater unity. To cement this unity among the different peoples of the area, ‘The Poems of Ossian’, that contain no religion, carry no example of exploitation, retaining a love of Nature, demonstrate the meaning of leadership which sought to defend their land and make friends with their enemies to instil unity. The choice of poem with its chivalric demeanor of its heroes and the timing in connection with historical events demonstrated to the nineteenth century reader an axiomatic truth, which until now, negligence of ‘The Poems of Ossian’ has concealed. Concealment was strengthened when the Turkish language changed from Arabic to Latin script in 1928 and Modern Greek switched from Purist to demotic Greek in 1936. Those certain scholars that attempted to sow the seeds of unity and harmony under the banner of the DEF (Rigas Association) in South Eastern Europe and Anatolia were mourned through both ‘Lathmon (republished) and ‘Minvane’, the last translations by Panas.

After translating and publishing ‘Pope Joan’ by E. Mezzabotta (716 pages) in 1895, Panas committed suicide in the Foreigners’ Hotel in Pireas in September, 1896.⁵ It could be argued, in view of extreme hostility shown to the the supporters of the DEA, whether they did, in fact, ‘commit suicide’.

Should the DEF have succeeded the people of South Eastern Europe and Asia Minor would have been self-sufficient. They would have enjoyed greater autonomy and participation in the organisation of their assets. They would have been highly educated through absorbing Hellenic culture as well as inculcating the magnanimity of ‘The Poems of Ossian’. Instead its people, having lived for centuries in harmony, were left to Western powers which instigated disunity through gruesome wars resulting in the deracination of its people, which still persist.

¹Panas, Panayiotis. (1890). ‘Ossian: Minvane’. Athens: *Evdomas*.6.

²See Hadziphotis, Thomas Paschides.

³O’Donnell, Kathleen Ann (2014). ‘How Twentieth Century Greek Scholars Influenced the Works of Nineteenth Century Greek Translators of ‘The Poems of Ossian’ by James Macpherson.’ Athens Journal of Philology, an ebook. Athens: Atiner.

⁴See Hasiotis.

⁵See Stavropoulou. Panayiotis Panas.