

## English Brutal Colonisation of the Seven Islands: The Poems of Ossian by James Macpherson

By Kathleen Ann O'Donnell\*

*After the failure of the first strike of the 1821 Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire, which began in Moldavia in February, it continued in the Peloponnese one month later. The uprising resulted in victory with the formation of the Modern Greek state; its President was Jiannis Capodistria, a Corfiot. Greece was a state born mutilated in 1828 as it excluded: Epiros, Thessalia, Chios Mytilene, Samos, Crete and the Dodecanese Islands under Ottoman rule. The Ionian Islands were under English control, ostensibly known as the 'British Protectorate'. The second expansion of the Greek state in the nineteenth century was engendered by Radical Ionian Greeks who rebelled against the English who had tyrannised the Seven Islands for almost fifty years until 1864 when they united with Greece. The influence of Celtic literature through the works of The Poems of Ossian by the Scottish antiquarian James Macpherson and Irish Melodies and 'Imitation of Ossian' by the Irish scholar Thomas Moore inspired the works of Seven Islands radical intellectuals, which provide a hidden code that coincided with political events at the time to unite the oppressed. The main translator of The Poems of Ossian was Panayiotis Panas, a Kephalonian scholar. He was the successor to Rhigas Velestinlis, the protomartyr of the Greek Revolution and follower of the national poet, the Zakynthian Dionysius Solomos. Panas aimed to unite and spiritually uplift the people by conveying the hope of living under freedom, equality, and fraternity; to live under democracy, without a monarchy. Neglected by the Greek Academy in the twentieth century do these translations of this Celtic literature and its influence remain in obscurity in this century? To what extent did the English have the right legally to gift the Seven Islands to Modern Greece in 1864? Has the sacrifice and patriotism of those who fought for the union of the Seven Islands with Greece been included in the school curriculum.*

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### Introduction

The Greek independence revolt against Ottoman rule erupted in February 1821 in Moldavia, where it would fail, but spread a month later to the Peloponnese and central Greece, leading ultimately to the formation of the modern Greek state in 1828. The new state (under President Ioannis Capodistira, from Corfu) was born in mutilated form, as still excluded were Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace, Crete and other Aegean islands – under Ottoman rule – the Ionian Islands 'a British Protectorate' since 1815. Phase two of the Greek state's genesis occurred in

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\*Researcher, British School at Athens, Greece.

midC19 when pressure from radical Ionian Greeks led to British withdrawal and incorporation of the Seven Islands in 1864. Throughout half a century of British rule, an enduring inspiration to the independence intellectuals in the Ionian Islands were the works of Scottish antiquarian James Macpherson (notably his *Poems of Ossian*) and Irish scholar and poet Thomas Moore (his *Irish Melodie and 'Imitation of Ossian'*). The literature of the subject Celtic peoples served as a code for those chaffing under British tyranny elsewhere. Principal translator of Macpherson into Greek was Panayiotis Panas, a scholar from Kephalonian. He was following in the footsteps of Rigas Velestinlis (Pheraios) protomartyr of the Greek Revolution and himself a successor to the national poet, Zakynthian Dionysius Scoloms. Panas's purpose in translating Ossian was to further pro-freedom, anti-monarchical sentiment in line with French Revolution ideals.

Seemingly neglected by the Greek academy, what is the standing of these historic Ionian translations today? Do they, and the story of those who successfully pursued the independence of the Ionian Islands, feature in the school curricula? And what is the background story to Britain's 'gift' of the Ionian Islands to the nascent Greek state?

To understand how *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson appealed to networks of people desiring to live under liberty, fraternity and equality, without monarchy, which was instigated by the French Revolution in 1789, a brief description is given of uprisings in Scotland, Ireland and the Seven Islands to show their similarities.

## Revolution

The Scottish Highlanders were crushed by the English monarchy at the Battle of Culloden in 1745. To preserve the Celtic legacy to those Highlander Scots who had been deposed and exiled, James Macpherson gathered oral material as well as manuscripts and wrote *The Poems of Ossian* in English to retain their spirit after having suffered such atrocious outrages (O'Donnell 2019a). Written in poetic prose, the tales contain Celtic values in the art of unity and defensive combat against tyranny. *The Poems of Ossian* are anticlerical; they are not commercial (De Lucia 2008). They draw on the universal love of Nature instead of specific religious tenets. There is no class distinction. The Warriors are just and magnanimous. They show respect to women and heed their words. Ossian was a warrior and bard, son of Fionn or Fingal, the leader of a famous group of Celtic warriors known as the Fianna (Fenians). *The Poems of Ossian* projected an appeal to socialist movements in the nineteenth century; the work was translated into Italian, German, Russian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Greek among other languages.

In 1797, the Irish lyricist and scholar Thomas Moore, influenced by Macpherson's Ossian wrote 'Imitation of Ossian;' as an attack on English suppression after almost half a millennium, imploring the inhabitants to rise, break their chains and sing the bravery of their ancestors. It was published just before the Irish revolution in 1798. Moore changes the name of Macpherson's 'Evirallina,' Ossian's wife and mother of Oscar, to that of 'Elvira' (O'Donnell 2020):

‘Tyranny strides o’er our land dreadful as the gloom on his brow; ...’tis therefore that I am driven from thy side, O! Elvira, of love; and ‘tis therefore I wander the midnight snows and sigh forth my woes to the wind! Thy beams, O, moon! Fall in vain on my frame; they illumine not the breast of the wretched! ... Oh! That *Ossian* now flourished and was here; he would tell us the deeds of our Sires, and swell up our souls to be brave! – for his Harp flow’d a torrent around, and incitement enforc’d as the stream!’ (Clifford 1984).

‘Imitation of Ossian’ first appeared in the ‘Northern Star’, Belfast, a United Irish paper, edited by the scholar Thomas Addis Emmet. After this press was blown up by English soldiers this article was then published in ‘The Press’ in Dublin in October 1797, also edited by Thomas Emmet (O’Donnell 2017). It was republished in ‘The Celt’ in Dublin in 1857 sent by a Mr Tone (O’Donnell 2020). A friend of Thomas Emmet’s was Wolf Tone.

At this time, the revolutionary leader of the Society of the Irish Brotherhood was Wolfe Tone, a Protestant, who detested tyranny. The United Irishmen included people of all religious persuasion. For example, the Scottish Presbyterians in Northern Ireland favoured French Republican principles. Tone served for a time as a chef de brigade under Napoleon in the French Republic. He planned to bring the support of French soldiers to aid the Irish Uprising but foul weather prevented this from occurring. He was captured by the English and was either executed or committed suicide in 1798, which is open to dispute (Tone 2009). Thomas Emmet, who was also captured, went into exile in the United States (Emmet 2009b). After the revolution, under the 1801 Act of Union ‘dissolved the Irish legislature in Dublin and failed to emancipate Catholics who had been systematically disenfranchised for centuries...; ‘the experience of British oppression served as the impetus of Moore’s work’ (O’Donnell 2020).

Robert Emmet, brother of Thomas Emmet, attempted another uprising. In 1802 he met Napoleon who promised to liberate the Irish and make Ireland independent. While both studying law at Trinity College, Dublin, Robert Emmet and Thomas Moore became close friends. Emmet was expelled for expressing the ideas of Wolfe Tone, leader of the United Irishmen. In 1803, the rebellion, led by Robert Emmet, failed. He was caught trying to bid farewell to his fiancée Sarah Curran. Emmet was hanged, drawn and quartered and beheaded by the English in 1803, aged twenty-four. Thomas Moore memorialises Emmet and Curran in his *Irish Melodies* entitled ‘Breathe not his Name’ and ‘She is Far From the land’. *Irish Melodies* was translated into Hungarian, Polish, Russian and Rumanian, countries that all underwent revolution (Emmet 2009a). Moore’s *Irish Melodies* were greatly inspired by Macpherson’s *Ossian* and it was Moore’s *Imitation* that promoted the propagation of *Ossian* (O’Donnell 2020).

Similarly, Rigas Velestinlis (Pheraios) the first Greek-Wallachian protomartyr of the Greek Revolution also detested tyranny. A scholar and lyricist, he wrote the Constitution and Declaration of Rights (O’Donnell 2016). In article 22, he stressed the need for co-education; he recommended that education comprised of the teaching of Italian and French (Clogg 1976). By 1790 a tri-lingual dictionary – French–Italian–Greek – was published in Bucharest (Lascu-Pop 1994). Rigas believed in the unity of people, no matter what religion, who must live under democracy in

a republican confederation, without a monarchy. He urged people to break their chains and fight against the tyranny of the Sultan, including both Egyptians and the Ottomans themselves. He set up an Anatolian Confederation in Bucharest in 1780 (O'Donnell 2019b). His famous 'Battle Cry' was sung all over the Greek-speaking world:

'Sons of Greeks, arise! The glorious hour's gone forth, and worthy of such ties,  
Display who gave us birth...' (O'Donnell 2020)

And:

'Bulgarians, Albanians, Armenians, Romaics, Arabs, Africans and white people...  
Montenegrins... With one united leap, Gird your sword for Freedom against the  
tyranny of the Ottomans.' (O'Donnell 2017)

Rigas Velestinlis was also one of the first scholars to write a novel in the vernacular which is a translation from the works of the French author Restif de la Bretonne. One of his works comprises translations from *The Poems of Ossian* (O'Donnell 2020).

In the Danube principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) there was a class division among the Phanariots, educated Greeks, claiming Byzantine aristocracy, who worked as interpreters for the Ottomans and the poor who lived under feudalism, subject to the Sultan. The Byzantines were hostile towards Hellenism scorning their philosophical, religious and moral teachings. Their education establishments were closed by Emperor Justinian in the sixth century (Campbell and Sherrard 1969). It was only when the contact of students with the work of Rigas as well as the introduction of French democracy in Corfu did they contribute to the creation of a movement aspiring to re-establish enslaved Hellenism with a socially restructuring which sprung from the spirit of the 1789 French Revolution (Hitiri 1961). The news that the Ionian Island citizens had the same rights as the French relit enthusiasm in the Greek world of Bucharest (Pompiliu 1809). Students from all over the Balkans and Anatolia attended Bucharest Academy (Camariano-Cioran 1974).

Anyone reading Rigas Velestinlis' works risked being excommunicated. On December 1, 1798, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory, rigorously opposed the Political Statute, which included the Declaration of Rights and the Constitution as well as the proclamation, described it as:

'full of rot because of its fraudulent ideas and is opposed to the dogma of our orthodox spirit.' (Stavrianos 2000)

Rigas was to have met Napoleon in Preveza in the Seven Islands in 1797 to be assured of the support of French troops. He was, however, betrayed, captured in Trieste and handed over to the Ottomans who transported him to Belgrade where he was tortured, half-drawn and quartered and his body dumped in the Danube (Legrand 1892) in the same year as Wolfe Tone.

In 1797, Napoleon liberated the Seven Islands, (Septinsular Islands or the Ionian Islands), under the Treaty of Campo Formio. He united them horizontally

into three cantons known as ‘Corfu’ (Corfu, Paxos, Antipaxos, Othonos (an islet), Vouthrotos and Parga on the mainland in Epirus); ‘Ithaca’ (Lefkada, Kephallonia, Little Kephallonia (Ithaca), and Preveza in Epirus and Vonitsa in Akarnanika on the mainland in Epirus) and the Aegean Peninsula’ (Zakinthos, the Strophades (Plotas Island in Ancient Greek), Kythera and Dragameston (Astakos) on the mainland in the Peloponnese) to remind the French of Homer. His aide was the playwright A. V. Arnault (Mavroyiannis 1889). Arnault wrote ‘Oscar, fils d’Ossian’ which was performed by Talma, a leading actor of the day, at the Theatre de la Republic in Paris in 1796. The music was composed by Etienne Mehul (Van Tieghem 2017). Arnault writes in his preface:

‘Son and father of heroes, a hero himself, Ossian, celebrated the exploits of Fingal, Oscar and his family members. It is to Malvina, Oscar’s widow, that the old and blind Ossian, the prince of poets, this other Homer, addresses his plaintive songs and gratefulness.’ (Arnault 1796)

Arnault was the favourite poet of the Rumania-Greek revolutionary leader Alexander Ipsilantis, who translated Arnault’s poem ‘The Leaf’ into Modern Greek (Kordatos 1983b). Napoleon ordered Arnault to instal a printing press on Corfu immediately so that revolutionary material would be made available. ‘The Songs of Rigas’, the second edition was published (Alison 1897). When Napoleon sailed for Egypt he read ‘Temora’ aloud to Arnault (Van Tieghem 1917).

The Ionian Islands had been subjugated by the Venetian Republic for more than four hundred years. The lower-class Greek-speaking inhabitants had no rights and were ruled by Italian-speaking nobles. There were no schools. Tertiary education only existed in Italy. Napoleon replaced the official Italian language with Modern Greek and democrats took control from aristocratic leaders. Rigas’ ‘Battle Cry’ was sung on Zakynthos, the then capital of the Seven Islands to celebrate Napoleon’s victory (O’Donnell 2019a); Corfu became the capital under Napoleon (Coutelle 1977). Napoleon freed all marginalised people of different religious persuasion enabling them to celebrate in public. Adonis Martelaos and his nephew Dimitris Gouzelis, both scholars, helped burn the Librod’oro, a book listing names of nobles and planted the tree of liberty in the main square of Zakinthos. The tree was also planted in squares on other islands. Martelaos, a spiritual adherent of Rigas, taught Greek to the poor. He translated *The Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis*, published in 1798, into Greek (De Viazis 1886). Written by his pupil Nicolas Hugo Foscolo, who wrote in Italian, it contains excerpts from the translation of *The Poems of Ossian*, by the abbot Melchior Cesarotti, professor of Ancient Greek and Hebrew at Padua University. Similar to Capodistria, Foscolo also studied under Cesarotti. Foscolo, praising Cesarotti, stated: ‘To the man of genius, to the poet of the nation, finally the translator of Ossian, I set about paying a tribute that my heart made from the first instant that I started to read your verses’ (Foscolo n.d.). In his dissertation on Ossian, Cesarotti observes, after quoting the merits of Fingal in Blair’s dissertation:

Valour reigns; but it is a generous valour, void of cruelty, actuated by honour, not by hatred. We behold no debasing passions among Fingal’s warriors; no spirit of avarice

or insult; but a perpetual contention for fame; a desire of being distinguished and remembered for gallant actions; a love of justice; and a zealous attachment to their friends and their country. Such is the strain of sentiment in the works of Ossian (St. Clair 1805).

As Seven Islander scholars studied in Italy the influence of his works, particularly, *The Poems of Ossiawas* enormous and infiltrated the islands by 1800. In 1800, a Russo-Ottoman alliance took over the Seven Islands under the Treaty of Constantinople, transforming them into the United States of the Ionian Islands, the first free Greek state in 1803. Italian was again the official language and aristocrats were returned to power. Martelaos and Gouzelis were arrested and, in chains, they were imprisoned in Bagnia jail in Constantinople but freed a year later; they were then persecuted by the Zakynthian aristocracy (De Viazis 1886). In 1808, under the Treaty of Tilsit, the Ionian Islands became part of the French Empire and Modern Greek was official once again. After centuries of no schools under Venetian Rule, the French opened demotic schools and education was expanded (Prifti 1961). They also inaugurated what would later be known as the Ionian Academy (Mylonas 1961). Napoleon wrote that all the communes of the Seven Islands and its people, with the protection of the great nation, will recover the science, art and commerce that they have lost under the tyranny of the oligarchs (Pauthier 1863).

### **The Congress of Vienna**

In the dividing of the spoils after the Battle of Waterloo, England claimed its desire to annex the Seven Islands as a colony of its powerful empire. But the diplomatic mastery and the Greek spirit of Corfiot Jiannis Capodistria, the Russian Foreign Minister, a member of one of the four powers including Prussia, Austria and England, known as the Holy Alliance, thwarted the English intention of colonisation of the Seven Islands (Vounas 1966). Capodistria affirmed that the Treaty of Vienna provided 'political independence' to the Ionian Islands (Monck and Miles 2004). In the end, it was decided that the Ionian Islands and the adjoining towns, since Venetian times, on the mainland would constitute a united free and independent state under its name the United States of the Ionian Islands, of which the guarding and protection, the above powers allocated to England (Vounas 1966).

The first High Commissioner was Thomas Maitland. In 1817 Maitland changed many articles in the Constitution. One of these that Maitland quashed was related to certain privileges that supported the elevation of the ordinary people which, instead, expended the omnipotence of the long-standing gentry (Romas 1983). Article 4 of the Treaty deemed that the Modern Greek demotic language should be the only language and must be introduced as soon as possible to be used in all government transactions, ministries and the judiciary in the islands (Mylonas 1961). There was no press except that censored by Maitland. How Maitland interpreted the Treaty revealed the dictatorial nature of English reign and 'constituted an abuse of the Treaty' (Monck and Miles 2004).

## The Greek Revolution

The Greek uprising began on 24 February 1821 at Dragatsani in the principality of Moldavia. It was led by Alexander Ipsilantis, a Greek-Romanian Revolutionary and a supporter of Rigas Velestinlis. He was head of the Philiki Etairia (the Friendly Society) which was a secret organisation in which Greeks enrolled under oath all over the Greek-speaking world, including the Seven Islands. He was also head of the Sacred Band, which fought with three hundred volunteers, some from Kephallonia and Zakynthos, at Dragatsani in the principality of Moldavia, now present-day Romania. On March 25<sup>th</sup> his brother, Dimitris Ipsilantis led his army to fight in the Peloponnese. By June the Sacred Band was almost routed and Ipsilantis was captured and imprisoned under the Austrian-Hungarian dynasty for six years. Similar to Napoleon, Alexander Ipsilantis always retained a copy of *The Poems of Ossian* nearby and he requested a copy of this poetry while in prison (Enepekidis 1965).

## Tyranny in the Seven Islands

Thomas Maitland sold Parga to the tyrant Ali Pasha of Epiros for 150 thousand gold sovereigns, which provoked worldwide revulsion and indignation in 1819. This crime forced the inhabitants of that small paradise to abandon forever their patriotic land, bringing with them the bones of their ancestors, to avoid their desecration by the Ottomans. Many fled to Lefkada (Valaoritis 1981).

By the measures taken by the English immediately in 1817, the first uprising resulted in Lefkada two years later. The villagers refused to pay the exorbitant taxes imposed by the English and revolted (Maxaira 1940). The English sent troops in a frigate with cannons (Mylonas 1961) ordered by Adam, the High Commissioner's deputy. The ringleaders were hanged, then tarred, feathered and put in cages shaking in the wind; others suffered whippings; homes were burnt to the ground (Valaoritis 1981).

More tyranny was imposed by the regime. In June 1821, Maitland made it official that the Seven Islands would remain neutral in the Greek War of Independence (Pagratis 2007) When five Zakynthians attacked a Turkish vessel on the coast on 30 September 1821, they were hanged, tarred and feathered then put in cages up on a hill for the birds to feed on, as a lesson to anyone that did not adhere to English policy (Mylona 1963). One of the captured was a young boy who was similarly executed and his body hanged outside his home, an atrocity that resulted in his mother turning insane (O'Donnell 2020). Gouzelis was exiled and his property confiscated when he joined the Revolution (Gouzelis 1997). The liberation of Greece with the help of France and the re-organisation of a new Greece according to the slogan 'liberty, equality and fraternity' was an ideal which had lit up around Rigas and the secret society, the Philiki Etairia (Lascu-Pop 1997), which many Seven Islanders had joined (Vounas 1966). For example, Calvo (Gouzelis 1997) and Gouzelis (Gouzelis 1997) were members. In 1827, Gouzelis wrote 'The Trumpet of War', a battle cry and in the preface mentions Rigas,

founder of the Secret Society, who urged Greeks to fight and died working for the love of his people (Kordatos 1983a). Gouzelis donated his sword to Sir Richard Church, an Irish philhellene who fought in the War of Independence. In 1824, after the death of Byron, Gouzelis delivered a funeral oration to him in St. Dimitris Church in Tripoli, in the Peloponnese on 5 May 1824, which was translated and in 1973 became part of the archives of the Philhellene Committee, London (Gouzelis 1997).

The Zakynthian poet, Dionysius Solomos, would compose one of his most famous poems dedicated to Lord Byron. Solomos was born when Napoleon conquered the Seven Islands in 1798. His mother was a fourteen-year-old servant while his father, who was already married and had two offspring aged twenty-seven and thirty, was a sixty-two-year-old Count. His parents married when Solomos was about eight or nine, one day before his father's demise (Coutelle 1977). Solomos studied under Martelaos, a spiritual adherent of Rigas. Other students included Martelaos' nephew Dimitris Gouzelis, playwright, scholar and revolutionary soldier, the scholars: Andrea Calvo; Adonis Matesi and his cousin George Tertsetis and sometimes the Souliot Revolutionary soldier Kolokotroni would attend (De Viazis 1886). Many times Martelaos, the scholar, would visit Kolokotroni in his home. The latter greeted him thus: 'I bow to Greece; I kiss the hand of her Freedom' (Vlakoyianni 2022). Children sang Martelaos' translation of the Greek Marseillaise, including his pupils Matesi and Calvo (Luntzis 1856).

Interestingly, at the bicentenary Congress celebrating two hundred years since the death of Rigas, held in Athens in 1998, organised by the National and Capodistria University, in a session devoted to music entitled 'The Passion of Freedom in the songs and articles about Rigas', the name of Martelaos is omitted from his translation of the Greek Marseillaise, presented in the list on the programme which is referred to in 'J. C. Hobhouse: A journey through Albania and other provinces, London 1812'. Marteleos' contribution to Rigas is excluded altogether (Veletinlis 1998). This diverts any connection of the effect that the poetry of Marteleos, influenced by Rigas, had on Solomos and his followers (Mylonas 1961). Aged ten, Solomos went to study in Italy until his return to Zakynthos in 1818.

In 1773, Dimitris Gouzelis was born. Similar to Irish rebels, he had fought as a captain in the French army under Napoleon in Europe. He was one of the first Greeks to write a satiric play in demotic entitled *O Chasis* in 1795. It describes the Zakynthian aristocracy and is written in rhyming couplets. He exploited the Zakynthian idiom abundantly. Its caustic spirit sought democracy and freedom. Extracts of it were performed in squares and at carnival time. Recuperating after being injured in battle, he wrote *Judgment of Paris*:

'Trying to make my melancholic clouds have fun I created a poetic composition written by me, a new Iliad ... *Judgment of Paris*.' (Gouzelis 1997)

At one point in this work, Gouzelis feels inadequate to describe Aphrodite's beauty and so refers the reader to the works of famous poets including Ossian. In a footnote he states:



‘Ossian, a great old Celtic poet: His poems were discovered a short time ago and translated into English prose by James Macpherson and then into wonderful Italian verse by the Abbot Melchior Cesarotti, the superb translator of Homer. Long live The Poems of Ossian.’ (Vagenas 1966)

A thousand copies of this work were published in Trieste and circulated in the Greek-speaking world including Constantinople and Odessa. A copy was sent to Anthony Matesi, a fellow playwright and scholar (Gouzelis 1817).

Anthony Matesi spent his whole life translating, writing a play, poems and articles in prose to enrich the demotic language, absorbing the Greek he heard around him. His translations included Ossian (Matesi n.d.a) and ‘The Sepulchres’ by Foscolo, which is influenced by Cesarotti’s Ossian (Mattioda 2004). It was published in 1872 (De Viazis 1881). Similar to Solomos, he ideologically abandoned his aristocratic class and moved with the progressive ideas of the time (Matesi n.d.a).

The first ten years of Solomos on Zakynthos were important ones for the political and social situation of the Ionian Islands. Writing to his Italian friend, Giuseppe Montani, who he had met as a student in Italy, and who, similarly, like Solomos, was living in Italy under Austrian despotism, Solomos revealed to him in 1818 on his return to Zakynthos: ‘How can a country be a real country when it is under foreign protection which is tantamount to nothing less than a cover for slavery?’ (Solomos 1991). In 1822, Matesi wrote ‘Ode to a Friend’ inviting Solomos to sing about the war of liberation. Influenced by Moore, Matesi wrote: ‘Until when, friend, will your lyre remain silent? Listen, the noise of war challenges it.’ This fragment of twenty-one verses comprises images and impressions which Solomos uses in turn in his poems ‘Ode to Byron’ and ‘Hymn to Liberty’, the first two verses of which are the national anthem. In verse XVIII, Solomos includes the name of Rigas:

‘Seen thee rise, than brighter gleams  
Made our sunny plains rejoice –  
Only heard before in dreams,  
Came, like Rhigas’s hymns, thy voice.’ (Sheridan 1825)

Several verses by Matesi are patriotic in style drawn from ‘Fingal’:

‘Liberty in this sacred voice In all of Greece poured out A roar.  
Like when the winds Strike the waves whichFoaming with mists fight the rocks.!( De Viazis 1881)

And

‘As waves white-bubbling over the deep come swelling roaring on: as rocks of ooze meet roaring waves.’ (Macpherson 1996)  
‘The shadows of the heroes on land and seawalking in the air increasing the ardour.’ (De Viazis 1881)

And:

[Peace said Cuchullin] to the souls of the heroes: their deeds were great in danger.  
Let them ride around me on clouds, and show their features of war. (Macpherson  
1996)

And in the last verse:

'I cannot see anything anywhere, I do not hear anything Except the noise of arms of  
War unsung.' (De Viazis 1881)

In 1822 Solomos published thirty odes in Italian entitled 'Rime Improvvisate'  
(Solomos 1979). Matesi translated eight of these including Ode XXX, entitled 'The  
Moon', which is influenced by the Italian translation of 'Dar-thula' by Cesarotti  
(Vagenas 1966). Matesi changes the meaning somewhat in his translation of the  
first verse:

XXX La Luna by Solomos  
'Ecco pei regni candidi sidere Incoronata il crin di bianche rose  
Appar la luna, e per quei spazi aerei Le stele inanzi a lei restano ascose.' (Solomos  
1979)

'See how through brilliant, starry realms – her tresses with white roses strewn – the  
moon ascends, and there on high constellations vanish where she goes.'  
(Translate by Donal Gordon)

'Να η Σελήη του ουρανού εις πλατία προβαινει με  
Λευκά ρόδα τα μαλλιά σεμνά στεφανομέ όλα  
τ'[α] άστρα λυμπυρά τραβιούνται εις άλλο μέρος και  
μόνη βασιλεύει αυτή του έρημου αιθέρος'. (DeViazis 1881)

'There the Moon of the Heavens in the squares proceeds, and her hair crowned in  
white roses and all sorrowful the stars withdraw to another place and only she rules  
over the celestial sky.' (My translation)  
(All translations are by the author unless otherwise stated.)

This is the first example of the encoding of Ossian that relates to the  
contemporary political situation under English tyranny. Matesi influences Solomos  
and his followers when using apostrophes from *The Poems of Ossian* to expose  
injustice. A plea to the moon, shining her sad beams on the squares is to remind  
people of the tree of freedom. It acts as a witness. The word 'squares' is to remind  
people of the Tree of Liberty planted in public squares all over the Seven Islands  
which the aristocrats had tried to uproot (Mylonas 1961); the sorrow of the stars  
connotes the lack of democracy, introduced by the French, that was non-existent  
under English despotism. Influenced by Matesi, Solomos instigated clandestinely,  
an apostrophe to the Moon for political reasons which his followers will use. The  
moon is a witness to tyranny; Ossian represents Justice

Anyone who went against the tyrannous regime of the English was in Danger;  
so Solomos had to find a way to inspire the people with the hope to break free,  
which he did through concealment citing Ossian. In his 'Ode to the Moon', written  
at the time of the atrocities on Zakynthos, the illiterate inhabitants sang this song to

a guitar (Koulouphakos 1984) as they gazed upon the corpses hanging in cages in full view on Mount Skopos:

‘Ode to the Moon’

Sweetest song brought forth by the guitar and to this ineffable harmony of my heart  
Responds yearning.

Sweet friend, it is you with your divine Ecstasy of Ossian, on the seashore of the night  
who inspires tranquillity.

Pray stay that we may sing the beauty of the moon.  
Of her often sang the blind poet.

It seems I see him leaning on a willow while the moon shimmered in his sacred beard.

From Mount Skopos you proceed  
O how you delightfully console in the night!  
O Goddess to you this languorous hymn I raise.

Languorous as you when you shine round at your zenith and you lull to sleep your  
light on white tombstones.’ (Vagenas 1966).

This song no doubt gave consolation and hope during oppressive rule under the English. The moon rises above Mount Skopos, which is 483 meters high; it does not quite qualify as a mountain (Konstantinidos 1994). Acting like a balm the moon instils the feeling of injustice. Solomos also wrote ‘The Mad Mother’ as a tribute to the atrocious death of Jiannis Klodianos; the manuscript was together with ‘Ode to the Moon’ (O’Donnell 2020).

The poem ‘Ode to the Moon’ by Solomos was only published in Athens one hundred and thirty years later when it appeared in the school syllabus (O’Donnell 2020). Another reference to the influence of Ossian on Solomos is found in ‘The Woman of Zakynthos’ which is written in demotic prose. It will be remembered that Solomos only wrote in demotic. Zakynthos received many refugees from the Siege of Misolonghi who needed help and support from the people. In contrast, however, the feudalistic thinking of the Zakynthian aristocratic women despised the women and children of the revolution. The line ‘and a certain murmuring which appeared in a breath of wind through the reeds’ relates to ‘Dar-thula’ (Vagenas 1966). The noxious odours of Lake Lano in Scandinavia and that of disease in Lake Lego in Connaught were equated with tyrants in *The Poems of Ossian* ‘... the sable fleet of Swaran [Danish foe]. His masts are as numerous on our coast as reeds in the lake of Lego.’ (Macpherson 1996). The ‘Woman of Zakynthos’ expresses this disdain and hatred of the aristocracy against the revolution and its refugees (Mylonas 1963).

In 1821, George de Rossi, a judge and close friend of Solomos, as a result of efforts of Capodistria in England, and his friend Foscolo and the Public Prosecutor, Anastasio Flampourari, sent a petition to King George IV of England requesting a re-examination of the 1817 Constitution to introduce liberal reforms. The petition was signed by Solomos who had added the last paragraph. On learning this fact,

the police arrested de Rossi and tied him up, where he was detained. Fortunately, he managed to escape to England so that he could protest against the High Commissioner to the English government (Solomos 1991). Solomos wrote a poem entitled 'To George de Rossi Located in England' (on the death of his father) (Solomos 1979) in which the first line is 'When you return you will only see your father in his grave.' After the demise of Maitland three years later, de Rossi returned to the Seven Islands (Solomos 1979).

Tertiary education was available at the Ionian Academy on Corfu, which officially opened in 1824. It was headed by Lord Guilford. When Solomos published his 'Hymn to Liberty' Lord Guilford forced Solomos to excise three verses that show his displeasure at being subjected to a foreign power:

'To the starry heavens above, Islands of the Ionian main,  
Raise their song of joy and love (i.e. to Liberty).  
Raise their hands. Alas in vain!

They are bound in fetters now  
Branded every servile brow with the words  
'False Liberty'...

And towards the Aegean sea  
The Lion rolls his fiery eye,  
Spreads his talons hugely  
Menacing his hapless prey.' (Jenkins 1981)

A century after the death of Solomos, the bard of Freedom, the British lion squirmed convulsively against the national freedom movement of the people (Mylonas 1961). Cyprus was to have been a part of the Democratic Eastern Federation (Stavropoulou 1987).

In 1828, Solomos moved permanently to Corfu. He befriended revolutionaries. In his eulogy on Foscolo in the same year, he refers to Thomas Moore. Both Moore and Foscolo, exiles in England, were participants in gatherings under Lord Holland, head of the Whig Party where they shared their beliefs in their 'liberal ideology and political Privations' (Hamilton 2019). Both *The Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis* and *Irish Melodies* are patriotic in spirit (Hamilton 2019). Solomos was also a friend of Pavlos Costis who had studied under Cesarotti. He moved in exile to Corfu in 1831 as Costis was involved with an Italian revolutionary movement which inspired a love of freedom. He not only taught literature but also political and social virtues at the Ionian Academy (Solomos 1991). Solomos let his house, now the Solomos Museum, to the Italian Revolutionary scholar Flaminio Lolli whose brothers had been hanged under the Ducal State (O'Donnell 2019a). Solomos collaborated with Lolli in the writing of his famous poem 'On the Death of Emelia Rodostamo' (Solomos 1991). Lolli translated and published 'Paradise and the Peri' from *Lalla Rookh* by Thomas Moore. *Lalla Rookh* was written to cryptically expose the English cruel despotism of the Irish. It is regarded as 'a dramatization of Irish patriotism in an Eastern parable.' It was published in Corfu in Italian in 1843 (O'Donnell 2019). Similarly, Matesi wrote the play 'The Basil

Plant'. In this play, set in a previous century, Matesi refers to the mental despair of the Jews, alluding to the treatment by the English, unlike the French, who banned all their public ceremonies and even dismissed them from public service, which was a pretext as they were the most economically progressive elements of the islands (Kaloudis 1961). It was performed on Zakynthos in 1832. Napoleon had given the freedom to all marginalised Seven Islanders of different religious persuasion (De Viazis 1881).

In 1953, 'The Basil Plant' by Matesi was prefaced in a publication in Athens with 'Ode XXX' by Matesi (Matesi 1953), translated from Solomos (see above), which is influenced by Ossian. The reference to the omission of Matesi's translation of Ossian by De Viazis, referred to in 'Ossian in Greece' (Vagenas 1967), proves gross neglect by the Greek Academy: it is as follows:

Tears and pleas do not arouse destiny,  
Be silent and sing to my old age.  
There where you see the stream  
till the flowers gathering dew,  
There till my repose let the stone be raised (...)  
I wander with my harp to create secret havens.  
Oh! When the day becomes dark  
In the black heavens,  
Then you dressed  
In your white robe  
Come my dearest Elvira,  
Come to that recollection  
and lean your soft bosom on the harp. (...)  
(1820)  
(Matesi n.d.b)

The name 'Elvira' reveals that Matesi must have been aware of 'Imitation of Ossian' by Thomas Moore, published in 1797, the title of which was prefaced in one of his many editions of *Irish Melodies*, a best seller (O'Donnell 2020).

Solomos donated money to the 'cat', which his editor, Lino Politis, is unable to identify (Solomos 1991). This was a pseudonym for Dimitris Panagis Davis-Lourentsatos, Doctor of Philosophy, a Kephalonian radical (Vounas 1965) known as 'the cunning cat'. Davis fled to Bucharest with Panayiotis Panas in 1857. Before being exiled by the English, Panas had been imprisoned, tortured and maimed in the hand.

Another revolutionary who Solomos met was the Polish scholar, Juliusz Slowacki (1809-1849). Slowacki translated *Irish Melodies* which he wrote in Paris in 1832. He met Solomos on a boat trip from Corfu to Zakynthos in September 1836. Slowacki translated 'Hymn to Liberty' by Solomos; the first two verses are the Greek National Anthem. One of the passengers on the boat was Andreas Moustoxidis, a Corfiot scholar (O'Donnell 2019b).

It is noteworthy that in my research on Thomas Moore in the Greek-speaking world in the nineteenth century, there is no translation available in Athens, although *Irish Melodies* is listed as being translated in 1835 there are no details (O'Donnell 2020). Had I done further research on the Seven Islands, I might have

been more successful, though I did search and inquire via the Internet to no avail. Solomos was living in Italy, obtaining an education there at the height of the influence of *The Poems of Ossian* on Italian poets through the renowned Italian translation by Cesarotti. Yet few Modern Greek critics make any connection of this work with that of Solomos or that of Thomas Moore, which he would have learnt about through his contacts with exiled European revolutionary scholars and his close friend Matesi. In his book on Solomos, a certain British scholar celebrated for his Modern Greek scholarship sees it as an unkind suggestion by a French literary critic that Solomos was referring to Ossian (Mackridge 1989) in his poem 'In the Shade of Homer' (Vagenas 1966); the title was added posthumously although both poems were found in the same manuscript. Another Seven Islander writer that has been given scant attention if any, and who may have shown interest in Ossian, is Andreas Moustoxidis (Dimaras 1994).

The Greek scholar, historian, philologist, archaeologist and politician, Andreas Moustoxidis, was born on Corfu in 1785. He studied at Padua University where he completed his doctorate in law. He met Capodistria in Switzerland, where they became close friends. On returning to the Seven Islands when Maitland discovered that Moustoxidis had published 'Essays on the facts which led up to and followed the cession of Parga,' anonymously in Paris, Maitland forced him into exile. Moustoxidis founded a Greek school in Ancona, Italy, and when Capodistria became President of Greece in 1828, he invited Moustoxidis to be the Minister of Education. The English High Commissioner Adam was incensed to discover that Capodistria had twenty-four Seven Islanders working in his government (Pratt 1978). After Capodistria's murder in 1831, Moustoxidis returned to the Seven Islands to work for the union of the islands with Greece. In 1832, he was elected into the Ionian Senate. He published many erudite works on Greek history, Hellenism, translations of foreign historians, and poetical works. It would be interesting to learn about the poetical works that interested him.

Moustoxidis, founder of the Reformist Party and in opposition to the Diabolical Party, who were the Italian-speaking supporters of the English (see below), and against union with Greece, went to visit the Colonial Office in London in 1839 to complain about the irregularities of the articles of the Constitution under British rule (Konidari 1964).

The Minister for the Colonies was the Earl of Mulgrave, Constantine Henry Phipps. He had been governor of Ireland and would become Ambassador to Paris during the 1848 Revolution. In 1834, he delivered a speech at the Freemason's Hall in celebration of anti-slavery. He spoke of his visit to Jamaica and of how he took complaints from Negroes. He asked them if they thought thirty-nine lashes were too many (Mulgrave 1834)! One might ask if this was the standard number of lashes distributed to anyone who opposed English policy under British Colonial rule and if this number of lashes was given to the Seven Islanders.

Moustoxidis complained about 206 articles. He stated that it was not allowed for anyone to discuss the interpretation of the Constitution as it would offend Great Britain and the agreement of the Powers despite the expectations and provisions. He spoke of how the intentions of the politicians were calumniated futilely. No foreign boost was employed. The sufferings of the inhabitants were the only

reason for the grievances (Konidari 1964). A Seven Islands advocate, Lord Charles Fitzroy, gave Moustoxidis great support expressed in an article that was printed in the English press entitled ‘Letters and documents showing the anomalous political and financial position of the Ionian Islands’. The radical highly educated Kephalonian, Gerassimos Livathas, together with S. S. Pylarinos, succeeded in gathering five thousand signatures which they petitioned, written in French, and sent to the English government directly rather than to the High Commissioner (Livathas and Pylarinos 1851). During this period (1841) the first movement of the people began to emerge for constitutional liberty (Giannopoulou 1950).

An example of how the English treated the land is in the following poem by Matesi entitled ‘The Departure of Lord Douglas’:

‘Like insatiable profiteers because of his loss and they desire hunger in their country to sell those many kinds of which they have gathered and they gain a hundred more in each and they see with fair wind boats to set sail in the direction of their port and their sterns to reverse and they are afraid lest anything happens to the load...’ (De Viazis 1881).

As the land was used to grow crops to export to the English while the inhabitants were almost starving, another poem is ascribed to Andrea Calvo entitled ‘Ode to the Olive Tree’, although its author is disputed:

The following is the third verse of this poem, which was published in Athens in 1938:

‘You are the wealth of the Corfiots Even though the madness of the times Barbarically forgives your destruction I have hope in you.’ (Calvo 1997)

Following the introduction of a law under the English Protectorate, which began in 1825 and lasted until 1833, all olive trees were cut down to plant a more lucrative product (Valetta 1962).

Similar to the Irish, the people of the Seven Islands underwent a shortage of food, while their crops were exported for profit under English colonialism leaving the indigenous inhabitants on the verge of starvation.

At this time, Calvo, after having obtained his Doctorate at the Ionian Academy in 1826, taught the philosophy of Thomas Reid, the Scottish philosopher in 1841. For more than a decade he instilled into his students at the Ionian Academy the teaching of Reid’s works including that of ‘An Inquiry into the Human Mind to the Principles of Common Sense’. Through the manner in which Ossian manipulates, causes the act of memorising and associating to accord with the tenets of literature. At the same time, it concurs with the precepts of the ‘commonsense philosophy’ which Thomas Reid hoped to highlight in the importance of connecting memory to the joining of ideas and for ethical judgement. Remembering not only contributes to ‘knowledge’ but it also internalises ethical values (Dwyer 1990). Calvo wrote two books of poetry which are influenced by *The Poems of Ossian*, published in Paris during the Greek Revolution (Vagenas 1966). One of the poems ‘Ode to the Sacred Band’ is reminiscent of Armin in the ‘The Songs of Selma’ when all of his offspring died in battle. Calvo implores the wind and the rain not to ‘profane the

happy tomb of heroes who died for their country' (Andreiomenos 1992). One hundred Kephalonians and fifty Zakynthinians volunteered to fight in Ipsilantis's Sacred Band (Vounas 1962), which fell to the Ottomans in June 1821:

'Greeks, worthy of your country and your ancestors  
 You Greeks, would you rather want a tomb without glory?' (Calvo 1997)  
 'Pursue the glory of our fathers, and be what they have been:'  
 (Fingal III)  
 'No bard shall be wanting at thy tomb, when thou art lowly laid. The sons of song  
 love the valiant.' (Temora Book IV).

The Cretan-Romanian revolutionary Constantine Kyriakos-Aristeas was an actor with the Philiki Etairia. He studied under Talma in Paris. After surviving in the Sacred Band, Aristeas studied at the Corfu Academy where he performed in Alfieri's plays including 'Saul' and 'Orestes' (Zoithis 1964). He translated Calvo's 'Ode to the Sacred Band' into Romanian in 1840. At this time, Aristeas resided in Athens producing patriotic plays. As an example, one play that displayed patriotic precepts was the tragedy 'Rigas the Thessalian', written by the Seven Islander Spiros Zambellios and first published in Corfu in 1833. Zambellios wrote an apostrophe to the moon entitled 'The Last Morning':

'The day is coming. The star of the dawn signalsthe sun rising. It is doubtful that it  
 will rise for usto find the two of us united. The beautiful moongoes pale where  
 yourpure face, one night and your tear...'

Many of Zambellios's plays were performed in Bucharest and Odessa, which were inspired by Alfieri, and greatly influenced by Ossian (Van Tiegem 1917), including 'Rigas Pheraios', which has an apostrophe to the moon (Zoras 1953).

The play was banned on 25 March, the National day, 1842, in Athens, as the impact of its ideas was considered menacing to the Bavarian regime. In 1833, the Klepht Kolokotronis was accused of inciting civil war. The Zakynthian George Tertsetis was the defence lawyer on the case who refused to sign the paper sentencing him to death. He in turn was also tried. Alexander Mavrokordatos, a Phanariot Greek, and his government did the utmost to sentence Tertsetis. In this way, the Prime Minister believed he would hold greater power and would suppress the voice of bondsmen and veterans (Mylonas 1963). Tertsetis wrote the following apostrophe in 1833 entitled 'The Kiss':

How many times, wretched moon in the night you beseech the clouds to come to veil  
 youso that you do not see the open mouthsof men and their deep wounds in their  
 bosom? (Valetta 1966)

Kolokotronis was found guilty through false witnesses. When defending himself Tertsetis uttered:

'With my body do what you will but my thought, my conscience never can you  
 violate them.'



His stance challenged the obsequious of the Regent under political corruption. As a result, Kolokotronis was saved from execution (Melas 1969). In his letter from Solomosto Tertetsis, written in 1842, Solomos states:

‘What can I say of the present state of Greece? Corruption is so universal; its roots go so deep, that one can feel nothing but amazement at it. Only when those responsible are deracinated, can a moral renaissance ensue. Only then can our future be great, when everything is founded on morality, where justice is triumphant, when literature is cultivated not for idle display but for the benefit of the people, which requires nurture and education divorced from pedantry.’ (Solomos 1991)

*The Poems of Ossian*, through translations, depicting the magnanimity of the heroes who fight against usurpation and tyranny were selected by Solomos and his followers to further the ‘moral renaissance’ outlined in the above letter. The main translator of Ossian, Panas followed Solomos’ belief in that he believed that translated works could contribute to the edification of society, not for profit but for the ethical rejuvenation of spiritual life (Stavropoulou 1987).

In Athens, there was a coup d’état. The leaders of the revolution demanded that the King formed a ‘Greek Ministry’ and ‘to grant the people a Constitution’ (Tskokopoulos 2002). Also in 1843, Tertsetis published the newspaper ‘Rigas’ in the vernacular language in Athens (Bouboulidos 1950). When Aristeas returned to Bucharest he helped to organize the radical group ‘Fratre’ that included Romanian translators of *The Poems of Ossian* including Heliade Radulesco and Cezare Bolliac (O’Donnell 2013). This radical group collaborated with a similar one on Kefhalonia (Moscopoulou 1988).

There were three political groups on the Seven Islands. The first was the ‘Conservatives’ or ‘Diabolicals’ who believed that with cooperation and obedience to the English, they would be compelled to change tactics and in time they would implement the terms of the Treaty of Vienna. In this category of the ‘Diabolicals’ belonged the land-owning oligarchy, all the civil servants in their employment, and those who sought to profit from the English. The second group was made up of the so-called ‘Reformists’ who had a logical base seeing that Great Britain was then the most powerful on land and sea in the world they could not even speculate how it was possible to confront them. That is why they pursued gentle measures. They hoped to attain liberal reforms that would stop the current of cruel tyranny trying to ease the despotic measures of the British without excluding the union of the Seven Islands with Greece.

The third category comprised the Unyielding or the ‘Radicals’. A word which means how they aimed to cut down with their axes the tree of English tyranny from its root; for the Protector to leave the Seven Islands and its Greek majority to unite with the recently established Greek state. The radicals refused to acknowledge constitutional reforms which they regarded as illegal because British Protection had been approved without the people’s participation (Pagratis 2007). Kefhalonian radicals did not perceive Panhellenism as that restructured on the old Byzantine oligarchical Empire but as a political liberating and uniting of the Greek race into one great and powerful state. Its basis would be the right of self-determination of the people ‘in liberty, equality and fraternity’; with its regeneration politically and

culturally democratic. It differed from the philosophical ideology of the Great Idea expounded by King Othon.

To instil this quest these networks of democratic scholars use apostrophes to the moon and a star beautifully described in 'Dar-thula' and the 'The Songs of Selma'. A great deal of poems includes pleas to the moon, which symbolically veiled a political message in that they coincide with events that harm any unity and the aims of democratic equality.

Gerassimus Mavroyiannis, a Kephalonian scholar, lyricist and journalist, wrote the lyrics to the 'The Radical Enthusiast' with music composed by Nicolas Tzannis Metaxas. The latter was persecuted for his patriotic convictions by the Special Police (Tzouganatou 1961). This song was sung when the Seven Islands united with Greece and is still sung today (O'Donnell 2020). It was also chanted with a slight change to the lyrics when other parts of the Ottoman Empire united with Modern Greece (O'Donnell 2019a). In 1850, Mavroyiannis published the poem 'Stateless' in the Kephalonian newspaper 'Horikos' (Mavroyiannis 1850). As Mavroyiannis included part of Thomas Moore's history in his dissertation on Ossian, he was inspired by the power of song through Moore (Mavroyiannis 1863).

Mavroyiannis self-exiled himself to Athens after the revolt of supporters of the 1848 Paris Revolution in Kephallonia, the exile of radical leaders and the fraudulent ballot. The English hanged forty rebels and publicly whipped three hundred inhabitants; their relatives were forced to attend. Their property was confiscated, (Mylonas 1963). The Kephalonian radical leaders and editors of the media included Gerassimus Livathas, Ilias Iakovatos Zervas and Joseph Mompheratos, who after having been allowed the freedom of the press for a short time were then exiled and their newspapers closed down, leaving the majority leaderless. They were exiled to nearby barren islands for six years living in appalling conditions (Loukatos 1964a). Forced to live in a hovel without windows, one radical leader was promised freedom if he refrained from seeking union by the English High Commissioner but he refused (Melas 1964).

English tyranny did not respect even the religious feeling of the people. They hanged, tortured, tarred, feathered and imprisoned clergymen, including those who fought together with the people for national restoration and unity. The Kephalonian priest Gregory Nodarou was hanged in Lixouri together with one of the leaders of the Revolution Theodore Vlachos in 1849 (Loukatos 1964b).

In Mavroyiannis's poem 'Stateless' there is an Ossianic apostrophe to the moon with patriotic connotations, written in ten-syllable stanzas, in seven verses of 'Stateless':

'In a wood when the pale mysterious little moon sheds her light over it, someone sings a plaintive chant in time and the voice of his Country's pain shows.

'The pale star sheds her last glance  
On the mountain in vain ... And there she pauses!  
Will you still listen to her lament in secret?

In the woody forest with inarticulate lamentation  
Of her ode it is, my friend, the end!

Yes, the versifier sings the echo with this.  
 “Oh! But how much melody they sing.  
 And I myself want to have a Country”.’ (Mavroyiannis 1850)

Working as a journalist in Athens, Mavroyiannis would have to use Katharevousa as King Othon made Purist the official language in 1849. At this time, the demotic language became official in the Seven Islands.

The main translator of *The Poems of Ossian*, the successor to Rigas, follower of Solomos, mentor of Momperratos and the founder of the Democratic Eastern Federation is the Kephalonian scholar and journalist Panayiotis Panas. In 1855, he dedicated his first book of Ossianic-inspired poetry to Mavroyiannis. An excerpt, which shows the influence of Moore’s ‘Imitation’, from one of the poems is as follows:

‘From the rocks, where it rains the waves of the ocean, has come a nation in our land,  
 from frozen mountains.  
 They changed the lovely valleys into black ravines.  
 The land moans under their tyrannical stride.’ (De Viazis 1886)

Panas’s early works of Ossianic-inspired poetry written in the late 1850s are unavailable in public libraries (Stavropoulou 1987).

In 1856, the leading Kephalonian judge and poet Julius Typaldos published his book of poetry on Zakynthos dedicated to Dionysus Solomos. It includes translations from Ossian and begins with an epic Ossianic-inspired poem entitled ‘Rigas the Inspirer’. His song ‘Escape’ was sung all over the Greek-speaking world (O’Donnell 2019a):

Only the hazy moon, who like me is awake in the sky and wanders across the silent wilderness...  
 It looks at the earth as it leaves (9<sup>th</sup> verse) like a misty cloud: and bids farewell with a sigh. (Konomos 1953)

Typaldos had worked for the political freedom of the Seven Islands and the quashing of the restrictive measures of the constitution of Maitland. He published many legal documents in Italian. Unfortunately, Typaldos was forced to leave the Seven Islands because of false rumours, persistently spread by the English, stating that Typaldos was in favour of indefinitely ceding Corfu and Paxos to Britain which he vehemently denied (O’Donnell 2019a). This insidious machination by the English rid anyone in authority of questioning their legal right in gifting the Seven Islands to Modern Greece.

The poet Panayiotis Synodinos, whose father was a Kephalonian, was imprisoned by the English in 1857 and two years later, he was imprisoned in Athens for his antimonarchical views. He wrote this poem:

With my friend the Moon (from my prison – Evening 1859)  
 O my beautiful moon, tell me, do I not move you? Who because of a stupid king am  
 I awake in my jail?

You who enlivened the mind of Tasso and of Pellico secretly, let us say, behold,  
Messenger of the skies...

O Liberal Moon did you see in the skies people bowing their head to the mighty?

Whether the so-called ministers adore traitors like the earth adores the stars,  
And whether Ministers plunder nations?

First of all did you not tell me whether they work like us to nurture two vultures who  
are called kings? ... (Synodinos 1859)

Panas published his poem 'Daughter of Lykavitos' which comprises an apostrophe to the moon. Panas believed that *The Poems of Ossian* resembled demotic poetry while the influence of demotic poetry was introduced in his work it is indiscernibly linked to this Celtic literature. This long poem of 148 lines in blank verse was published several times, first in 'Alithinos' in Kephallonia in 1861 and in Egypt in 1865 (Stavropoulou 1987). The beginning resembles his translation of 'Dar-thula' in that he uses similar vocabulary and takes the moon and personifies it:

My moon, why do you tilt your sad face? Did the one you love forget you, and  
withered and deserted you as you turn in the sky: come and sit with  
Me and weep together so that the pain in our hearts might be relieved. Sadness is  
lightened when it feels another's grief.

And:

Pale face little moon then, like now, on high you shine your shimmering rays.  
Suddenly you shelter yourself with a discarded cover, so as not to see the ignoble  
crime...' (Panas 1865)

In 1862, Panas inspired by Moore (O'Donnell 2020), translated from the Italian version of *The Poems of Ossian*, published 'Dar-thula-Lathmon' in Kephallonia in 1862. This work was dedicated to three Republican heroes who were murdered in cold blood by Greek Royalists Catholic soldiers in the Cycladic Revolution on Kythnos, officially declared as a bloodless coup:

'To the sacred memory of the vile and craven murder of the Heroes, Leotsakos,  
Moraitinis and Skarvelis' (O'Donnell 2017).

They are compared to Ossianic Warriors (O'Donnell 2014). The Cycladic Revolution was named as leaders of this Revolution sailed to rescue Greeks including intellectuals who had been arrested and sent into exile on the Cycladic Islands for their antimonarchical beliefs. The revolution then continued on the mainland in the hope of forming a republic. It is described as 'the June events' (Mavroyiannis 1863). The connection of further translations of *The Poems of Ossian* with their political influence on the Democratic Eastern Federation (Rigas

Society) at moments of historical significance in the nineteenth-century Greek-speaking world can be found in my work at academia.edu and Researchgate.com.

King Othon had no heir and his next in line were Catholics. As demanded in the 1844 Constitution, the King was to have converted to the Orthodox religion (Jelovich 1961).

The English gifted the Seven Islands to Greece with yet another crowning of a foreign monarch - the Dane, George Gluxbourg - whose impending marriage to one of Queen Victoria's daughters would make a perfect choice from an English perspective. The proviso was that the Greek state would not seek to enlarge its territory (Korthatos 1973). The Kephalonian radical party had not sacrificed their lives to endure yet another foreign monarch when they were united in 1864, which is why they opted out of union at the last moment. Panas believed this tactic was sheer blasphemy when the people had undergone the sacrifice of so many exiles, imprisonment, whippings, the burning down of homes, the confiscation of inheritance and hangings in their struggle for freedom, led by the Radicals (Theodoratos 1964). He saw that it was merely a move of the High Commissioner from Corfu to Athens (Stavopoulou 1987). Indeed Athens was named a Protectorate (O'Donnell 2014). On May 21 1864 the Seven Islands officially united with Greece. The National Anthem became 'Hymn to Liberty' by Solomos who was chosen as the National Poet of Greece in 1864. His national anthem replaced 'God save the King' sung in Greek and German. The English closed the Ionian Academy in Corfu (O'Donnell 2019a).

How much did the Seven Islanders pay to keep themselves protected? They were obliged to pay heavy taxes for this protection. They paid 35 thousand pounds sterling every year. Twenty thousand pounds was paid to the High Commissioner for nearly twenty years and another thirteen thousand pounds for the remaining years. Calculations have been made that the 'Protection' amounted to two million, seven hundred and forty-five thousand, nine hundred and fifty-seven pounds sterling (Pagratis 2007).

## Conclusion

Through networks of like-minded scholars in downtrodden countries such as Ireland, Poland and Italy subject to foreign rule, anxious to instil freedom, unity and fraternity living under social democracy, without monarchy, Greek intellectuals used this Celtic literature to expose injustice and to inspire the people to rise and fight despotism. This is seen in Solomos's 'Ode to the Moon' and later poets who used Ossianic apostrophes to celestial beings. The Kephalonians, in particular, sacrificed a great deal in their struggle for freedom. 'Dar-thula' translated by Panas exposes the cowardly murder by Greek Catholics soldiers of their fellow Orthodox brethren. The availability of this literature is presented through research of a secondary source as Greek academia has neglected to include the contribution of *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson and *Irish Melodie* by Thomas Moore. There is an absence of any connection between the early educational influence that Martelaos had on his pupils who would become renowned scholars and

revolutionaries fighting for the tenets of the French Revolution that Napoleon had generated in the Seven Islands including the national poet of Greece, Solomos. Greek academics have ignored the fact that Celtic literature through the resurfacing of above Ossianic poetry shows how it cryptically encodes the patriotic endeavours of these scholars. Celtic literature was used to generate a 'moral renaissance' that Solomos engendered, together with his followers. From a legal standpoint, Seven Island scholars were well-educated in the law. They attempted to rectify the anomalous way in which the Treaty of Vienna was implemented by the English High Commissioners, which was, to say the least, most dubious, attempting to do so through direct contact with the government in London, but to little avail. Kephalonian radical scholars regarded the 'English Protectorate' as illegal as there was no representation of the Heptanesian people in the writing of the Treaty in Vienna. Considering the financial cost that the Seven Islanders had to pay in maintaining the 'English Protectorate' and the devastation of the land plus the barbaric cruelty to the inhabitants, England had no legal or moral right to 'gift' the Seven Islands to the Greek State, especially as it included the enthroning of yet another foreign monarch, which the majority of Seven Islanders were against. The sacrifice of the people in the 1821 War of Independence and their fight to free themselves from the yoke of English brutality sufficiently merited their right to the union. The history of the Seven Islands is not included in the Greek school curriculum so the Greek youth of today are unaware of the great sacrifice and patriotism that was demonstrated by Ionian Greeks in freeing the Seven Islands from the despotism of nearly fifty years under English rule to become part of Modern Greece.

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