# Celtic Resistance Literature: The Quest for Peaceful Coexistence in the Balkans and Anatolia in Nineteenth-Century Greek-Speaking World

*This paper will explore the formation of Celtic resistance poetry against English oppression in both the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland, leading to revolution. It will then demonstrate how some of this Celtic Poetry was used at moments of historical importance as it entered the Greek-speaking world in the Balkans and Anatolia. The third part will discuss how it was used not only to combat Western Imperialistic usurpation, under the name of 'The Eastern Question,' which related to its role towards the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, but also the bellicose 'Great Idea', which sought the re-establishment of an oligarchic Byzantine empire headed by a foreign king in Constantinople. Celtic resistance poetry was published in the media to cement peaceful unity under the Democratic Eastern Federation, to unite the newly liberated people of various creeds, living in the dwindling Ottoman Empire, to form federalist states (O'Donnell 2013). Did this peaceful organisation succeed in its endeavours through the influence of Celtic literature?*

## English Occupation of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands

The Romans never conquered Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. Instead of living under feudalism, they lived in clans. Their chiefs instilled the Brehon laws and the Gaelic language and lore. By the seventeenth century, Ireland came under English rule, while Scotland underwent several English invasions. These Gaelic-speaking inhabitants celebrated their secular tales and songs of the Fianna, whose leader, Fionn Mac Cumhaill, was extremely popular in both countries from the fifteenth century and was used as a political tool. In the Scottish version, the Irish Fionn Mac Cumhaill was known in Scotland as Fingal, father of Ossian (Oisin) and grandfather of Oscar (Oscur).

## The beginnings of Celtic Resistance Poetry in the Scottish Highlands and Ireland leading to Revolution

Writing in the Gaelic language in the sixteenth century, in his poem 'Oisin you sleep too long', an anonymous Irish poet describes Oisin, who converses with St. Patrick, whom he chides:

My strength and health are gone because Fionn's troops are dead. No music but theirs, I love. I have no care for priests… The sweet-voiced thrush of Glean an Scail, the rumble of boats reaching the shore – hounds I prefer to your squalling pious priest (O Tuama & Kinsella 1990).

The seventeenth-century Scottish Gaelic poet Iain Lom (Macdonald) refers to Ossian in a lament:

ONLY FOR REVIEW

> 'I'm a goose that is plucked without feather or brood, or like Ossian condemned by Saint Patrick.'

Another anonymous Scottish Gaelic poet wrote in 1513, after the Battle of Flodden; the following extract shows the Highlanders' support of the Irish Gael:

> 'Against Saxons, I say to you lest they rule our country too; fight roughly, like the Irish Gael, we will have no English Pale.
> 'Send you summons east and west, let Ireland come at your behest; drive Saxons back across the sea, let Scotland not be divided.'
> (The English Pale was a strip of land stretching from Dublin to Drogheda in the mid-16th century, in which English culture and laws were imposed. (Kee 1982))

After the siege of the Gaelic language in the seventeenth century, Bards who had entertained the Celtic chiefs either chose to live on the continent or became secret hedge school teachers who taught the Brehon Laws, the Gaelic language, the classics, literature and history to the dispossessed Catholics and non-denominational Protestants, who were denied economic and political rights under English law (Dowling 1926).

When the Scottish Crown introduced the Statutes of Iona, the offspring of the Highland Clans were forced to learn English at Lowland Protestant schools. In Ireland, Cromwell exiled the dispossessed Irish in winter to the less arable land in the West. The Irish poet Fear Dorch O Meallain (1625-1698), in his poem 'Exodus of Connacht', depicts the horror:

> 'God who is generous, O Prince of Blessings, behold the Gael, stripped of authority. Now as we journey westward into Connacht, old friends we'll leave behind us in their grief.'

Similar to the Irish, many Highlanders suffered under Cromwell in the Battle of Inverkeithing in 1651, described thus in 1651 by the Scottish Gaelic poem by Eachann Bach:

> 'Cromwell came against you, your heart swelled with rage, you leapt into the fight with sword shining.'

Disapproval of the 1707 Union of Scotland and England under William of Orange is depicted in Sileas na Ceapich's extract of her poem written in 1714:

> 'Scotland, arise in concern before the English cut your throats, since they took your credit from you, and your goods too for gold though your pocket's empty now.' (Thomson, 1990)

Forty-one years later, the decimation of Scottish Gaelic culture through the Clearings and exile followed the Battle of Culloden in 1745, which James Macpherson, a Scottish antiquarian, witnessed as a child; this inspired him to publish *The Poems of Ossian,* written in English poetic prose, translated from oral Gaelic poetry and Gaelic manuscripts, in the 1760s in response, to be used as a political weapon to rekindle Gaelic culture destroyed by the English. By

ONLY FOR REVIEW

1800, translations of this work followed in Italian, German, French and Russian (O'Donnell 2023). After the 1798 United Irishmen's revolution defeat, under the 1801 Act of Union, which 'dissolved the Irish legislature', the Irish Parliament was transferred to Westminster, London (O'Donnell 2022). Irishmen had supported the Scots in battles against the English during the 17th and 18th centuries (Pittock, 1995).

**United Irishmen united with United Scotsmen to gain freedom from the English**

This neglected movement, known as the United Irishmen, was founded in 1791 in Belfast by Irish radical Presbyterians, including Wolfe Tone (Tone 2009) and Samuel Neilson (Neilson 2009). Tone endeavoured to unite Protestants, Dissenters and Catholics with the word 'Irishmen', replacing the nomenclature of the sectarian division of the inhabitants to create a democratic Irish republic. One year later, the United Scotsmen was formed in Edinburgh. A mission from the United Irishmen in Belfast had visited the Scottish radicals in Edinburgh. Its aspirations were similar to those of the United Irishmen (Watson 2026). They would both unite to overthrow English rule. Interestingly, the United Irishmen influenced the United Englishmen in the Northwest of England; their influence spread to Stockport, Bolton, Warrington and Birmingham in the Midlands. Father Coigly, a United Irishman who sought to unite Catholics and dissenters, went to Manchester, together with James Dixon, a cotton spinner from Belfast, in an attempt to unite United Englishmen with United Irishmen. He was arrested in England and executed in June 1798 (Davis 2008). Another supporter, Arthur O'Connor, whom Moore knew from Trinity College, Dublin, was also arrested and imprisoned. O'Connor had encouraged the setting up of *The Press* in Dublin after English soldiers burnt down the premises of the *Northern Star* in Belfast, in May 1797 (O'Connor 2009). The positive influence of Paine, whose 'Rights of Man' enjoyed the highest readership in Ireland, compared with the rest of the world and was the most popular political work read (Whelan 2026). His influence through his articles, published in the *Northern Star,* whose logo was taken from Paine's writings, and other media, leaves no doubt that his influence was felt in both London and Manchester (Murtagh 2016).

The children of dispossessed Irish people were steeped in knowledge provided by hedge school teachers, who taught them clandestinely history, the classics, geography, maths, meteorology and Gaelic to the children of both genders. The peasantry could communicate in Latin with foreigners. The level of education of the local Irish pupils was higher than that in Europe (Dowling 1926). The manner of teaching surpassed the Bell and Lancaster systems of education (Manson 2009). The hedge school teacher and scholar, Brian Merriman, wrote of the advantage of all classes intermarrying to rekindle warriors like Gaul, a member of the Fianna, to make Ireland powerful again, in his poem comprising one thousand lines entitled 'The Midnight Court' (Power 1971). The work was influenced by the Brehon Laws (O'Connell 2016).

ONLY FOR REVIEW

The Irish peasantry and their children were politically awakened when Tom Dunn from County Down, a hedge school teacher, would gather the suppressed inhabitants around him in his barn in the evenings and, reading aloud, translate 'Rights of Man' by Thomas Paine into Irish while the local blacksmith forged weapons from the wood of local trees (Farrell 2019). Paine's 'Rights of Man' sold forty thousand copies in Belfast (Donnelly 1980). Paine became an honorary member of the United Irishmen in July 1792. Paine's work gained such popularity that Wolfe Tone stated that it had become the 'Koran' of the town of Belfast. (Liddle 1998). Paine kept in touch with the United Irishmen when in Paris, including Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Wolfe Tone and James Napper Tandy (Thomson 1991). Influenced by Paine's lucid and forceful style, Tone's article on "Argument on behalf of the Catholics" appealed to his readers (Keogh 1998).

The leader of the United Scotsmen, Thomas Muir, a Scottish lawyer keen on reforming society, distributed the work of Thomas Paine. After fleeing England, having been accused of sedition, Muir became a member of the United Irishmen after arriving in Belfast, having escaped to France, where he was feted. On returning to Scotland, against his father's wishes, he was arrested. On the day of the verdict, Robert Burns (Carruthers 2010), whose work has been compared to Merriman (Pittock 2008), completed his poem 'Scotland Wha Hae', which symbolically equates Wallace (Braveheart) with Muir (Carruthers 2021). His poem 'The Tree of Liberty' is again a secret reference to Wolfe Tone in the verse:

> 'We labour soon, we labour late, To feed the titled knave, man, And a' the comfort we're to get, Is that ayont the grave, man.' (Burns F 2008)

Muir was a guest of Samuel Neilson, editor of the *Northern Star.* Neilson was the backbone of this journal, whose publication began in January 1792. Its logo was based on Thomas Paine's work: 'The Public will our guide, the public good our end'. When Paine visited Ireland in 1791, his 'Address to the Volunteers of Ireland, an appeal to arms to establish freedom and equality in Ireland', appeared in the *Northern Star* (Thomson 1991). In 1795, the *Northern Star* published anonymously 'A Man's a Man for A' That' under the heading 'A Song. A tune for a 'That and a' That) by Robert Burns (Erskine 1998). Interestingly, Dr Hugh Blair, who included his critical essay on the 1765 edition of *The Poems of Ossian*, supported Burns in promoting his literary works (Burns 1787). Similar to Brian Merriman, Burns's poem 'A Man's a Man for A' That' shows his disfavour for the privileged aristocracy. (Averill 2026): The following is the beginning of the penultimate verse and the last verse translated into English:

> "A prince can make a belted knight, A marquess, duke and all that! But an honest man is above all that…
> Then let us pray that come it may (As come it will for a' that) That sense and worth over all the earth shall take the prize and all that! For all that, and all that, it is coming yet for all that, That man to man the world over Shall brothers be for all that!" (A Man's a Man for A' That' (Wikipedia)

ONLY FOR REVIEW

One of the contributors to the mouthpiece of the United Irishmen, the *Northern Star,* was the United Irish radical poet, the Rev. James Glass (a possible *nom de plume* of the Rev. James Porter). His poem 'An Address to Mr Paine', published in February, 1792, was followed by another entitled 'Address to the Patriots of Belfast' on 14 March. On 19 May, Glass wrote the revolutionary poem 'The Irish Bard', published in the *Northern Star* (Sharon, n.d.). The line 'glow with Ossian's living fire' inspired the United Irishmen with Ossian's mighty achievements. This was followed by 'Imitation of Ossian' by Thomas Moore, who, when a Trinity College student, was influenced in the tenets of freedom through liberty, equality and fraternity contained in Paine's 'The Rights of Man' (Russell 2015). 'Imitation' urges Irishmen to 'strike off their chains; and 'rebel'. (Pittock 2008). Ossian was introduced as an example of a revolutionary Celtic leader who would rouse the radical United Irishmen to bring the equality, liberty and fraternity envisioned by Thomas Paine. While Paine's writings were subversive, Ossian secretly promoted his ideals.

Thomas Moore's 'Imitation of Ossian' is based on the epic 'Fingal' from *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson, to awaken Irish national pride and incite resistance. It was an attack on despotism that suppressed Ireland:

> '… for Usurpers prevail, and partial are thy courts, O! Erin; and corruption is the order of the day! That Freedom, O! Brethren of Woe, which once was yours, is now driven from your isle, and now cheereth some nations abroad – but Britannia commands and Oppression is joined to your fate!... No so was the court of Fingal… for just was the soul of Fingal, and noble were the heroes of Morven…'

Paine had written how to invade England and overthrow the government, claiming that it was the fundamental right of the people to overthrow the king (Paine 1792). He had an aversion to the rule of monarchy: 'Monarchy and succession have laid… the world in blood and ashes…'[1] The secular and classless Ossianic warriors described in *The Poems of Ossian* complemented the ideals contained in Paine's writings. Paine regarded ecclesiastical establishments of different religions as the cause of war. He also believed that the church and state should be separate. Paine also promoted rebel songs to urge people to fight for democracy. Ossianic heroes turn foes into brothers to fight the tyranny of division and usurpation aligning themselves with Paine's abhorrence of religion and monarchical wars.

The *Northern Star* emphasised the 'civic humanism' which propagated the shape of Irish Republicanism (Curtain 1998). This cultural network supported French socialism. It would endeavour to bring unity and equity to the impoverished living under English despotism.

Although the United Scotsmen leaders had been betrayed and executed before the 1798 Irish Revolution, their support is indicated by the way in which Moore, using Celtic cultural affinity, selects the Scottish names of Ossian and

[1](Russell, 1957) 'The Fate of Thomas Paine', *Why I am not a Christian, The Thomas Paine Historical Association*, London,

ONLY FOR REVIEW

their related heroes instead of the Irish ones, to emphasise the joint support and participation of the United Scotsmen in their aim to overthrow English rule. An example of this unity is evident in the song written by the United Irishman Henry Joy McCracken, who co-wrote 'The Social Thistle and the Shamrock' (sung to the tune of 'Charley is My Darling') (Pittock 2008).

Here are the first lines to two verses:

> 'The Scotch and Irish are friendly, their wishes are the same, The English nation envy us, and over us would reign…'
> 'Our historians and our poets, they always did maintain That the origin of Scottishmen and Irish were the same…' (R.R. Madden, l887).

Moore's other works include *Irish Melodies*, secretly depicting literary rebellion to mourn the loss of Irish liberty and those who brutally died for the cause in 1798. is work *Lalla Rookh* is an allegorical work describing the 'plight' of oppressed Irish Catholics.

When English soldiers smashed the United Irishmen's printing machines and burnt down the *Northern Star* premises in May 1797, its removal encouraged Dublin radicalists to launch their own journal, *The Press*, when Moore's 'Imitation' was republished in October 1797. Its editor was Thomas Emmet, brother of Robert Emmet, leader of the 1803 Irish Revolution. After the defeat of the 1798 Irish Revolution, the English showed merciless brutality. An example is that of the United Irishman, Tom Dunn (whose name is omitted from the Dictionary of Irish Biography), who received 280 lashes, resulting in his death. Had he agreed to betray his collaborators, he would have been freed and rewarded. Wolfe Tone was either murdered or committed suicide. Others were hanged, drawn, and quartered. When Muir returned to Scotland in 1793, he was arrested for seditious writings, including those of *The Rights of Man* by Thomas Paine and for joining the United Scotsmen with the United Irishmen, which went against the union with England. After fleeing to Paris, where he met notable Irish radicals and Thomas Paine, he then went to Belfast, where he joined the United Irishmen in 1792. On returning to Scotland, he was arrested and sentenced for sedition to fourteen years' exile to Tasmania. The judge castigated Muir for his friendship with Hamilton Rowan, whom he had stayed with in Dublin and with whom he corresponded. Rowan left four pistols after visiting Muir in prison in Scotland to no avail. He was badly injured in battle at sea during his escape, and wore a face cover (Watson 2025). Muir died in Paris in 1799. His words 'I have devoted myself to the cause of the People; it is a good cause; it shall finally triumph,' are engraved on a 27-meter-high monument in Edinburgh, built in 1844. His Irish friend, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, a founder of the United Irishmen, was imprisoned and later exiled to England for sedition. He had urged Catholics, Protestants and Mohammedans to unite and fight against the English. His son Gawan fought in the 1821 Greek War of Independence, first led by Alexander Ypsilantis, who kept a copy of Ossian on campaign.

UNDER REVIEW

**Ossian's entry into the Greek-speaking world**

The grandfather of the first leader of the 1821 Greek Revolution was Alexander Ypsilantis, who was a prince of the Greek-speaking principality of Wallachia in the 1780s. The vast library of Bucharest Academy included works of French Republican authors, including Rousseau, Letourneur and Claud Joseph Dorat. In an article written in 1784, Dorat described the virtues of Ossian, who dedicates his valour to the defence of the weak and the oppressed. In another article written in 1777, Dorat describes Letourneur's translation of *The Poems of Ossian* as being full of energetic movements of the soul which elevate the prose to the height of the most beautiful poetry(Van Tiegem, 1917)

The two grandsons of Alexander Ypsilantis became leaders of the Greek Revolution. Alexander and Dimitris, whose mother, Elisabeth Saphtan, was Moldavian, led the Greek Revolution in February in Dragatsina, in what is now Romania and in the Peloponnese in February and March 1821, respectively. Their father, Constantine, imbibed the seeds of revolution, having been tutored by Rigas Velestinis, the first Greek-Romanian protomartyr of the Greek Revolution.

Influenced by the French Revolution, Rigas founded the antimonarchical Anatolian Confederation in secret in Bucharest in 1780 to unite people of different creeds, to fight the Sultan's despotism, without foreign aid, and to live in freedom, equality and fraternity without monarchy.

Almost simultaneously with Thomas Dunn, after procuring a copy of Thomas Paine's 'The Rights of Man'[2] in French, Velestinlis penned his political works, including *A Constitution* and *A Declaration of Human Rights*. Both Velestinlis and Tone fought for liberation from a Mohammedan and Christian despot, respectively, and were both brutally executed in 1798.

It is noteworthy that the French translator of 'Les Droits de l'homme' by Thomas Paine was Antoine Gilbert Griffet de Labaume, whose translation appeared in 1791. A member of the Celtic Academy, he translated Ossian, including 'La Chasse de Fingal', which includes the dispute between Ossian and Saint Patrick referred to above in Irish and Scottish Gaelic poetry (Van Tieghem P, 1917). Rigas, in contact with Napoleon, undoubtedly knew of his enthusiasm for Paine; Napoleon kept a copy of Paine's 'Les Droits de l'Homme' under his pillow (Hoffman 2006): he declared that the erection of gold statues of Thomas Paine must exist in every city all over the world (O'Neill 2009).

Unlike the failure of French support for the Irish, in December 1797, when a French fleet under Napoleon promised to help both Scotland and Ireland overthrow English rule, bad weather led to its retreat (Jenson, 2003); in October 1797, Napoleon succeeded in liberating the Seven Islands from Venetian rule, under the Treaty of Campo-Formio. The Ionian Islands had been under Venetian control since 1386. The unschooled Greek-speaking lower classes were ruled by the Greek-Italian-speaking oligarchy. With the introduction of democracy, replacing the aristocratic oligarchy and the Greek language through the immediate installation of a Greek printing press, the inhabitants absorbed

[2]Nassika, Zoe J (201) 'A New Approach to T. Paine's ideology', *Parnassos* literary periodical: Athens, Volume NG/2011

ONLY FOR REVIEW

Rigas's work, which spread throughout the Ionian Islands (O'Donnell 2022). On his way to meet Napoleon in the Seven Islands, Rigas was captured in Trieste and executed in Belgrade in 1798. (Bees, Nicos 1949). Similar to the United Irishmen, the power of lyrical radical songs helped to spread their cause. His 'Battle Cry'- 'Sons of Greeks Arise '- was omnipresent. Rigas's literary work 'School of Young Lovers' was based on a work by the French republican writer Restif de la Bretonne: Restif had included translations of Ossian in another of his works (O'Donnell, 2022).

Previously, when Napoleon liberated Venice from the Austrians in 1796, he designated Melchior Cesarotti, the Italian translator of *The Poems of Ossian,* as part of his government (Chiancone, Claudio 2009)[3]. It is noteworthy that Paine's 'Rights of Man' was translated into Italian in the early 1790s. (Mucignat Rosa and Parovic Sanjoy, 2023).

The Heptanesians lived under Napoleon's rule from 1797-1800, followed by that of the Russo-Ottomans from 1800-1807, under the Treaty of Constantinople. They then became part of the French Empire from 1807-1814 under the Treaty of Tilsit, and were governed by a British Protectorate in 1815. In contrast, their brethren on the mainland lived under Ottoman rule, which employed Phanariot Greeks, who believed they were descendants of Byzantine nobility. Adept at languages, they were employed in high positions with the Ottoman government. (Campbell and Sherrard 1969).

**British Protectorate in the Seven Islands 1815-1864 and Radical fratrotism**

In 1817, the first English High Commissioner, Thomas Maitland, changed the official constitution of 1815 under the Treaty of Paris (O'Donnell 2023). The Commissioner of Kephalonia and Irishman, Charles James Napier, regarded it as nothing less than despotic (Cosmatotos 1995). Another example of fratrotism is depicted in remarks by Napier, who had been raised in Ireland and was a cousin of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a leader of the United Irishmen. Napier regarded English colonialism thus: 'the usual Anglo-Saxon process of planting civilisation by robbery, oppression and murder (Pittock, 2008). Byron befriended Napier when on Kephalonia (McCleave 2020). Byron was a close friend of Thomas Moore. Moore wrote the biography of Lord Fitzgerald. Byron was undoubtedly inspired by Moore's 'Imitation', and wrote an adaptation based on 'Fingal', entitled 'The Death of Calma and Orla', published in 1811. At the same time, he published his translation of Rigas's 'Sons of Greeks arise'. In a letter to Moore, written in January 1820, Byron refers to Paine in the following two lines of a short poem: 'In digging up your bones Tom Paine, Will Cobbett has done well:…[4]'

[3]Chiancone, Claudion (2009) 'Melchior Cesarotti, The Enligtenment and the French Revolution': Italian Writers of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. https://doi.org/10.4000)italianlaboratory545

[4]Byron, Lord (1820) Letter to Thomas Moore. https://lordbyron.or/monograph.php?doc=ThMoore.1820*select=AD1820.1

ONLY FOR REVIEW

A believer in human rights, Victor Hugo names Byron the second Rigas. Byron spent several months on Kephalonia, in the latter part of 1823, before he died of a fever in Messolonghi in April 1824, four years before the end of the Greek Revolution.

The Heptanesians were forced to remain neutral in the War of Independence under Maitland's rule. The Zakynthian playwright, Dimitris Gouzelis, corresponded with Byron and also fought under Napoleon, similar to exiled United Irishmen who served in Napoleon's 'Irish Brigade'. He published his play 'Judgement of Paris' in the same year in which he included 'Long live the poet Ossian', brought to Greece by Cesarotti (O'Donnell 2022). Ignoring the law of neutrality, Gouzelis, after fighting bravely in the War of Independence, was forced to abandon his Zakynthian home and resided in Greece as the English had confiscated his property (Triantaphyllos 1968).

In his poem 'Ode to the Moon', the posthumous Zakynthian national poet of Greece, Dionyssius Solomos, cites Ossian. It was sung by the illiterate Greek-speaking inhabitants as a lament for the five Zakynthians who, after attacking a Turkish ship, were executed by the English and hanged in cages for ten years on a hillside (O'Donnell 2022). The Moon witnesses the event: 'Sweet friend it is you with your divine ecstasy of Ossian… From Mount Scopos you proceed O how delightfully you console the night.' (O'Donnell 2020). It was a warning to those who did not obey the then English policy of neutrality, forbidding Heptanesians to join the war of Greek Independence.

This combative writing in contradiction of imperialism is known as 'fratrotism' (Pittock, 2008). To combat this barbaric act in which the said bodies of Zakynthians were tarred and feathered in cages, Solomos became the initiator of 'fratrotism', similar to Moore's 'Imitation', which is referred to in the fourth edition of *Irish Melodies* (McCleave 2020*)*. At least four radical Kephalonians and two radical Corfiots scholars who translated Ossian were followers of Solomos and supporters of Rigas. These radical scholars used Ossian as a means of cultural and political empowerment in opposing British imperialism and uniting their unredeemed brethren with Free Greece.

**Inspired Greek Songs of Resistance inspired by Celtic resistance literature**

At this time, a professor of the Ionian Academy wrote to Thomas Moore stating, 'As lyric monarch you have a right to such jetsam and flotsam and they must be worthless if you cannot ennoble them in your 'National Melodies'[5]. Moore used the professor's Greek lyrics and entitled his rendition of them as 'They are gone' in his book "Evenings in Greece", published in 1823. he following is an extract:

[5]O'Donnell (2020) 'The Influence of Thomas Moore in the Nineteenth-Century Greek-Speaking World, *Poetry and Song in the Age of Revolution. The Reputations of Thomas Moore, Poetry Music and Politics*, edited by Saarah McCleave and Triona O'Hanlon, London and New York: Routledge.

ONLY FOR REVIEW

> 'Ah! Where are they, who heard in former hours, The voice of song in these neglected bowers? They are gone – all gone!
> The Youth who told him pain in such sweet tone That all who heard him wisht his pain his own – He is gone – he is gone![6] Moore wrote to the professor saying that 'They are gone' was 'the prettiest thing I have done for some time'.

In 1852, the Hellenist Scottish scholar, Edward Masson, who had been the Attorney General when the Greek state was first formed in 1828 under Jiannis Capodistria, published his book Φιλελληνικα (Philhellenism), which includes his Greek translations of both Byron and Moore. He also included a letter written in 1819 by Capodistria, who wrote: 'It is moral education and the literature of Greece that the Greeks must occupy themselves with uniquely and exclusively; every other object is vain, all other work is dangerous.'[7]

A resident of Athens, Masson translated and published 'The Isles of Greece' by Byron and Thomas Moore's 'Breathe not his name' in Greek in his newspaper *The Greek Flag* in 1865. He was a close associate of Andreas Ringopoulos, a member of the Democratic Eastern Federation[8].

Several of these translators of Celtic literature, like the Irish radicals, wrote resistance lyrics set to music. In 1844, the exiled Italian revolutionary F. Lolli, whose brothers had been executed by the Papal Government, was a close friend of Solomos. Lolli published his translation in the media on Corfu of 'The Princess and the Peri' from *Lallah Rooke* by Thomas Moore (O'Donnell 2019). In 1843, Robert Schumann composed a secular oratorio entitled *Das Paradies und die Peri*, which became renowned. Schumann wrote: 'The libretto is based on Thomas Moore's "Paradise and Peri", and it is an oratorio, but not for the church, but for cheerful people… I could hear a little voice whispering that what I do is not done in vain.' (Bunzel 2020). Similar to the Irish, the English language was taught in state schools in the Ionian Islands. A song was composed in Greek dedicated to Queen Victoria, sung on her birthday (1910 Legrand). In defiance, in 1849, the Kephalonian judge and scholar, Julius Typaldos, wrote a song against the English imposing their language on the Protectorate. It was set to music by the Corfiot composer, N. Manzaros, who composed the music to the National Anthem, written by Solomos (O'Donnell 2019). Typaldos's Ossianic ballads, sung all over Greece, 'Escape' and 'Two Flowers', were set to music by the Zakynthian radical composer, P. Carrer. This revealed how well the demotic language of the Seven Islands was understood throughout Greece. These songs were published in the journal *Byron* in 1874 (O'Donnell 2014). This journal was first published in 1868 when the Democratic Eastern Federation was founded by Panayiotis Panas in Athens and Bucharest. In 1849, another Kephalonian scholar, Gerassimus Mavroyiannis, wrote the lyrics to the hymn of the Radicals

[6]Moore, Thomas *Evenings in Greece, Ballads, Songs, Miscelleaneious Poems, the poetry by Thomas Moore, the music composed and selected by Henry Bishop and Mr Moore,* 1823, London: Longman, Brown, Green & Roberts. [coply in the Gennadius Library, Athens.]
[7]O'Donnell, Kathleen Ann (2023) 'The Impact of Scottish Literature on the Greek-speaking World', *Decouvir et comprendre les Ecossais et Ecossaises d'hier ' aujourd'hui*, Editors Marion Amblard & Sabrina Juillet Garzon. Bensancon, Presse universitatires de Franche-Comte.
[8]Masson, Edward (1865) *The Greek Flag*, Athens.

ONLY FOR REVIEW

entitled ‘The Radical Enthusiast’, set to music by Nikolao Metaxa Tzani (Stavropoulou, E L, 1986); Tzani was hounded by the English special forces (O’Donnell 2022). It is still sung on May 21, when the Seven Islands united with Greece in 1864. Mavroyiannis also wrote other ballads, including ‘The Ionian Sailor’. In 1864, the scholar P. Mataranghas, whose parents were from Zakynthos, translated ‘Come o’er the Sea’ from *Irish Melodies* by Thomas Moore (O’Donnell 2020). In 1876, the Corfiots Chrisomallis and Andreas Kephalinos wrote the lyrics in Italian of the opera ‘Oithona’ from *The Poems of Ossian*, set to the music of Dionysius Rothotheato. His brothers had protested against the English Protectorate, which closed the Ionian Academy when they gifted the Seven Islands to Greece in 1864. ‘Oithona’ was performed on Corfu and again in 1880. The opera was written to retain unity and to combat division created not only through Jesuit interference on the island but also monarchical provocation through religion in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnians and Herzegovinians had suffered great bloodshed in war at the hands of the machinations of British Imperialism and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (O’Donnell 2019). From these musical islands came the first president of Greece.

**Modern Greece. Celtic Literature and Revolution**

On 20 January, 1828, one day after the death of Alexander Ypsilantis in Vienna, the Corfiot Jiannis Capodistria arrived in Modern Greece as President of a very small area whose capital was Nafpoli. The territory comprised land just above the Gulf of Corinth, the Peloponnese and the Cycladic Islands. It excluded Epiros, Thessaly, Thrace, Chios, Mytilene, Samos, and Crete under Ottoman rule, whose inhabitants had fought in the Greek Revolution. The Ionian Islands were under English control from 1815 until 1864 (2022 O’Donnell). Only two provinces and a tiny part of another became united with Modern Greece in the nineteenth century after uprisings against Western Imperialism in 1848 and 1856, respectively. When the Cretan Revolution, fought to unite it with Free Greece from 1866-69, only the English disagreed to unite it with Greece and imposed another blockade.

Capodistria was extremely unpopular with Frederick Adam, the High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, who was incensed upon learning that Capodistria’s new government included twenty-four Ionians, including the Kephalonian, Dimitris Hoidas, a veteran of the Sacred Band (Pratt, 1978). Interestingly, while the Ionian Island Greeks had absorbed French democracy and the tenets of Rigas Velestinlis for almost a decade, their unredeemed brethren on the mainland were under Ottoman rule. They, in turn, designated the Phanariots and Greek Orthodox religious leaders in Constantinople to implement their policies, who also sought to free Greece. However, these wealthy aristocratic Greeks had only experienced the rule of Ottoman despotism, which brought its connivance and indolence (Gregory 1984). Capodistria regarded Phanariots as ‘oppressors of the people’ (Petropoulos 1968).

ONLY FOR REVIEW

In 1831, Capodistria was assassinated. Othon, the Bavarian Catholic monarch, was enthroned. He replaced veterans with Bavarian militia at court. 'God Save the King' was sung in German and Greek, replacing the national anthem of Rigas's 'Battle Cry'. There was no constitution (O'Donnell 2024). The majority of Greeks, including the renowned Kolokotronis, fought for Rigas's constitution.

Even though quite a few Heptanesians had sacrificed their lives in the 1821 Greek Revolution, despite the English policy of neutrality in their support of Ottoman integrity, Seven Island intellectuals endeavoured to unite the Ionian Islands to Greece in vain.

Solomos wrote of the corruption in Athens. Lolli's translation of part of *Lallah Rookh* by Thomas Moore implicitly supported the coup d'état in Athens, to urge the implementation of Rigas's constitution and encourage sovereignty. It was published in the Corfiot press in Italian, the official language, imposed by Maitland. The original constitution of 1815 demanded that the Greek demotic language become official as soon as possible. Solomos only wrote in the vernacular (O'Donnell 2019).

**Coup d'etat 1843 and 'Rigas' and 'The Songs of Selma'**

In 1843, there was a coup d'état in Athens, influenced by Zakynthian George Tertsetti, a wounded veteran of 1821. He successfully defended Kolokotronis, falsely accused of treason by the king; he later wrote Kolokotronis's biography. He was an Athenian lawyer to whom Solomos had written a letter criticising the corrupt governance of Athens (O'Donnell 2019). The leaders of the revolution demanded that the King form a 'Greek Ministry' and 'grant a constitution' (Gould 1948). In the same year, Tertsetti published the newspaper *Rigas* in the demotic language in Athens, which demanded Rigas's constitution (O'Donnell 2024).

The first entry of Ossian into Modern Greece coincided with the publication of the journal *Rigas* in 1843*,* when translations of *The Sorrows of Young Werther* by J. W. Goethe were published in Athens[9]. Using a French translation, the Greek translator reveals Goethe's inclusion of his superb rendition of 'The Songs of Selma' from *The Poems of Ossian.* 'Werther' depicts how the stranglehold of the privileged and aristocracy precluded the advance of meritocracy and equity (DeGuire Mary A 2011)[10]. Many translations of 'The Songs of Selma' by supporters of Rigas appeared in the media. For example, the Romanian scholar, Gregori H. Grandea, a colleague of Thomas Paschides, the leader of the Democratic Eastern Federation in Bucharest, published 'The Songs of Selma' and 'Battle Cry' by Rigas in 1868, when this organisation was founded.

[9] O'Dochartaigh, Caitriona (2005), 'Goethe's Translation from the Gaelic Ossian', *The Reception of Ossian in Europe, edited by Howard Gaskill,* London: Thoemmes Continuum

[10]DeGuire, Mary A (2011) *Intertextuality in Goethe's The Sorrows of Young Werther,* Illinois: University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

ONLY FOR REVIEW

The powerful plea to the Northern Star conveyed hope and peace in encouraging the uniting of different people of various creeds, as outlined in Rigas's 1780 Anatolian Confederation, demonstrating evidence that there was a definite connection between the vision of Rigas and 'The Songs of Selma'. (O'Donnell 2024).

After the Paris Uprising of 1848, Kephalonian radicals, together with Wallachian radicals, rose up in support. This resulted in the barbarity of English colonialism, which ordered the hangings of its leaders, including a priest, and the public whipping of three hundred citizens, forcing friends and relations to watch. Unlike the Wallachian radicals who escaped to Paris, the Kephalonian radical scholars and newspaper editors of the anti-colonial press, including Joseph Mompheratos, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos and Gerassimos Livadas, were exiled to nearby islets in harsh conditions for nearly six years (O'Donnell 2022). They were supporters of French Socialist Philosophers, including P. J. Proudhon, one of the advocates of the 1848 Paris Revolution and an adversary of Marx (O'Donnell 2019). Their release coincided with Moore's 'Imitation of Ossian' being republished in *The Celt* in both Dublin and New York in 1857. The United Irishmen were replaced by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (Watson, 2021).

## English blockade and Byron's Adaptation of Ossian

In 1850, when England imposed a blockade on Greece, several months later, the first direct translation of Ossian was published; it was an adaptation based on 'Fingal'. Published in the journal '*Evterpe*', with the name of Byron clearly marked as the source, 'The Death of Calmar and Orla' provides an example of 'fratrotism' introduced into Athens after 'The Songs of Selma', through Goethe's 'Werther'. It was used as a counterattack on British imperialism. Greeks who suffered under the cruel action of a blockade of British imperialism were celebrated through the sacrifice of Calmar and Orla. 'Four grey stones mark the dwelling of Orla and Calmar... thy fame will not perish'. Byron was an anti-imperialist and supported the Balkan people in their quest for independence and their fight against the encroachment of imperialism. Greek supporters of Republicanism were also encouraged by the fact that Victor Hugo named Byron as a second Rigas. (O'Donnell 2020).

The reincarnation of Rigas, a follower of Solomos and supporter of Mompheratos, was the Kephalonian scholar, journalist and main translator of *The Poems of Ossian*, Panayiotis Panas, founder of the Democratic Eastern Federation in Bucharest and Athens in 1868. Following in Rigas's footsteps, Panas aimed to unite all people, including the Ottomans themselves, in the name of peace, and replace the Ottoman Empire with Federalist states of all creeds of the region, founded on full equality (O'Donnell 2019). Its goal was an attempt to provide a peaceful solution to the threat of Western imperialist division of the Ottoman Empire – known as the 'Eastern Question'. (Lykiardopoulos G., 2001). It was also a counterweight to the bellicose monarchical support in the formation

UNDER PEER REVIEW

of the resurrection of an oligarchic Phanariot Byzantine Empire known as 'the Great Idea' (O'Donnell 2013).

## Blockade 1854-57 and Uprisings in Thessaly, Epirus and Crete

Modern Greece experienced its second blockade from 1854-57, ostensibly because of the Crimean War (1855-56). But in 1854, there were uprisings in Thessaly, Epirus and Crete, in their endeavour to unite with Modern Greece, which went against English policy of Ottoman integrity. Three supporters of Rigas who fought in Thessaly were Panayiotis Panas, Thomas Paschidis, an Epirot and the future leader of the Democratic Eastern Federation in Bucharest and Dionyssius Economopoulos, father of the Greek-Egyptian Press in Alexander. They fought under Nicholas Leotsakos, from the Mani, a famed revolutionary leader. The Crimean War, in which the Ottoman Empire and Western Imperialists sided against Russia, ended in 1856. This alliance crushed the uprising in Thessaly (O'Donnell 2017).

The Kephalonian judge and poet, Julius Typaldos, dedicated his *Various Poems* to Solomos in 1856. His first poem, an epic entitled 'Rigas the Inspirer', written in Ossianic style, exhorts the people of the East to unite. In his translation of two Bards from *The Poems of Ossian*, Typaldos enhances the word 'friend' to that of 'brother' to stress unity under the threat of further Western encroachment. Typaldos also worked for the political liberation of the Ionian Islands. He endeavoured to quash the restrictive laws in the 1817 constitution (Auer 2023).

At this time, Panas, in his first book of poetry, included 'Europeans in Greece', in which he borrows the line 'The land moans under their tyrannical strike' from Thomas Moore's 'Imitation of Ossian'. Panas regarded the English rather than the Ottomans as the real enemy (O'Donnell 2019). Panas was imprisoned, tortured, maimed in the hand and then exiled.

In 1858, a visiting English politician, William E. Gladstone, declared that the union of the Seven Islands with Greece represented a threat to peace in Europe (Woodhouse, 1968). Othon began exiling Republican supporters to the Cyclades.

## The Cycladic Revolution

After the failed uprising in Thessaly, Leotsakos was exiled to Nafplion, where he established a revolutionary group whereby he hoped to overthrow the foreign monarchy with a greater Greek republic. He was appointed Lieutenant Commanding Officer of a small military command on Syros. After obtaining the 'Karteria' donated by George Averof, a Wallachian, he sailed to the Cyclades to rescue the exiled Republicans in March 1862 (O'Donnell 2019). When he reached Kythnos, Leotsakos declared to the public that Greece must remove the foreign monarchy and install Rigas's Constitution. Unfortunately, Greek Royalist Catholic Soldiers aboard the frigate 'Amalia' disembarked at Kythnos.

ON FOR REVIEW

Only Leotsakos and two supporters, Second Lieutenant and son of the President of the Supreme Court, Periclese Moraitinis and Skarvelis, second lieutenant, remained. Outnumbered, they raised the white flag, urging the monarch's soldiers with the words *'Don't shoot. We are brothers. Come and fight with us for a better Greece'*. They were mown down in cold blood, dumped in a boat and left unburied (O'Donnell 2014).

**Comparing Greek Revolutionaries to Ossianic Heroes in Dar-thula-Lathmon**

In September 1862, Panas translated *Dar-thula-Lathmon* in book form, published in Kephalonia, a British Protectorate. (All his subsequent translations were published in well-circulated Greek media.) In his preface to *Dar-thula-Lathmon*, he translated part of Blair's dissertation from Cesarotti's translation.

'Almost all the tender images that can touch the human heart are assembled in 'Dar-thula': friendship, love, patriotism and affection of parents, sons and brothers; the distress of the aged and the unavailing bravery of the young. The beautiful address to the moon, with which the poem opens, and the translation thence to the object most happily prepare the mind for the train of affecting events that are to follow…… Lathmon in particular is compared to high magnanimity, which reaches a level – certainly the refusing of Gaul to attack the Sleeping enemy, and that of Lathmon to strike the two youths with all his armed forces…' [My translation] (Panas1862)

The above extract prepares the reader for the intention with which these republican intellectuals will use this Celtic literature to instil fraternity under the banner of greater moral rectitude in the name of peace and unity under Republicanism. It is noteworthy that Proudhon prophesied that if the lower classes were to succeed in uniting people through mutualism that used cooperation rather than competition, thereby leading to neutralisation of privilege, the values portrayed in Homer's 'Iliad and 'Odyssey', which glorified 'The right of force and the right of artifice', were clearly unsuited to the cause. For example, Achilles, 'a glorified heroic character of a robber', claimed 'My right is my lance, and my buckler.' Proudhon saw 'monarchy as the last form of feudal property'. He wondered what had happened to Ossian, so popular under Napoleon (O'Donnell 2014).

**Dar-thula 1862**

Following the preface, Panas includes a dedicatory poem entitled 'To the sacred memory of the vile and craven murder of the heroes Leotsakos, Moraitinis and Skarvelis' (O'Donnell 2013) in dedication to the three murdered Republicans in the Cycladic Revolution, an extract of which follows:

ONLY FOR REVIEW

'While our blood boils on the coast,
Our assassin still remains in Athens.
They cover their faces and enter the grave …
Like the sons of Usnoth who were also sacrificed by
A cowardly assassin!' (O'Donnell 2014)

The three sons of Usnoth are Ossianic heroes. Usnoth was Lord of Etha in Argyleshire, married to Cuchullin's sister Slis-sama. His sons Nathos, Althos and Ardan were slain trying to defend themselves in battle against the tyrant Cairbar. Cairbar had usurped the throne of Ulster by slaying King Cormac. After having killed Dar-thula's father and brother, he abducted her. Dar-thula then eloped with Nathos. Cairbar shot down the three sons, Nathos, Althos and Ardan, with arrows, having arrogantly refused to fight Nathos in single combat because of his inferior status (Gaskill, 1996). Cairbar symbolises the tyrannical monarchy of the Bavarian King Othon, whose Royalist troops committed a similar act to that of Cairbar and his men on the three Greek Republicans. Panas indeed places a note after Cairbar, posing the question as to how many Cairbars are alive today (O'Donnell 2014).

These three Ossianic heroes are also included in *Irish Melodies* by Thomas Moore in his lyric 'Avenging and Bright', which becomes 'La Vengeance des fils d'Usna' in Louise Swanton-Belloc's French translation. In a note, Moore explains how Macpherson changed the demise of Deirdre, an ancient Irish legend, in his 'Dar-thula' (O'Donnell 2020). Moore recognises the power with which Macpherson has reinterpreted this Ossianic poetry, absorbed in both Scotland and Ireland. It also shows his support through using Macpherson's version of Ossian in his 'Imitation' in 1797. By Cairbar murdering a woman, Panas conveys the horror with which Greek Republicans fighting for unity against usurpation of their land under a foreign monarchy were slaughtered in March 1862 during the Cycladic Revolution.

**Lathmon 1862**

In Panas's translation of 'Lathmon', there is a note referring to 'Shall the son of Fingal rush on a sleeping foe?' To attack a sleeping enemy would be alien to the ethical code of Ossianic heroes. So unlike Homer's warriors, Fingal does not slay warriors in slumber. To cement unity, Fingal has chosen Gaul, son of a former enemy, to lead the battle, which will be his first, instead of his own son, Ossian. This is an example of how to forge unity among former foes.

Lathmon, a leader of the Picts in Eastern Scotland, is preparing to do battle with Fingal, who is in Ireland. When Lathmon confronts Ossian in single combat, as the latter is close to death, Gaul intervenes and saves him. Impressed with Gaul's bravery, Lathmon throws down his weapon and refuses to fight with such brave warriors. Fingal allows Lathmon to go free (Gaskill, 1996). The clemency by both Fingal and Lathmon demonstrates why Panas dedicated 'Lathmon' to the patriotic youth of Athens: to portray how Royalist Greeks should have acted to cement unity.

ONLY FOR REVIEW

## Intermonarchical Civil War

During the intermonarchical period, civil war broke out in Athens. Gerassimus Mavroyiannis translated 'On Ossian', which included a translation from Moore and a long extract from 'Fingal'. This extract is a call for peace. Fingal's enemy is Swaran, a Dane, whom he will defeat and show great clemency. Swaran implicitly refers to the second monarch.

When the English had realised that they could not keep the Seven Islands, they summoned the Greek Ambassador Spiro Trikoupi in London and told him that the Seven Islands would be ceded to Greece under the proviso that they accept another foreign king and that it would not expand its territory into Epirus, Thessaly and Crete (Korthatos, Giannis 1956). After Othon's abdication, a Danish monarch was enthroned.

In November 1864, Moore's poem 'Come o'er the Sea' by Mataranghas was published in the same journal as 'On Ossian', indicating that Greeks were not liberated under monarchy but could feel a sense of freedom on the sea; their merchant navy was a great commercial threat to the English[11].

## Cretan Revolution

Two years after the Seven Islands united with Greece, a revolution broke out in Crete (1866-69). Great sufferings were captured through the Celtic combative literature by the Kephalonian scholars, Typaldos[12], Panas, and Mavroyiannis, among other members of the Rigas Association[13]. Unity was agreed by all powers in 1869 except Britain, which imposed yet another blockade.

## Oina-morul 1876 and a Peace Agreement

At the beginning of 1876, a peaceful agreement was attained under the leadership of the Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha in Constantinople. The Andrassy Note, named after the Habsburg Minister of Foreign Affairs, together with others present, introduced an agreement whereby the indigenous people of different religions would live in harmonious equality. Disraeli, the British Foreign Minister, refused to sign the agreement (O'Donnell, 2017).

Panas published 'Oina-morul' on the same day as the agreement in 1876 in the journal 'Byron', founded at the same time as the Democratic Eastern Federation in 1868. This poem had already been translated into Cyrillic in 1847 by Cesar Bolliac, a Romanian radical scholar, just before a commercial

[11]O'Donnell,Kathleen Ann (2020) 'The Influence of Thomas Moore in the Nineteenth Century Greek-Speaking World', *Poetry and Song in the Age of Revolution. The Reputations of Thomas Moore Poetry, Music and Politic*s, edited by Sarah McCleave and Triona O'Hanlon, New York & London: Routledge.

[12]Athanasaopoulou, Aphrodite (2001)' Απόηχος του Κρητικού Αγώνα στην ποίηση των Ελλήνων ρομαντικών' *Romanticism in Greece*, Athens: Moraitis School.

[13]Sakellariadis, H G (1950) 'To Arkadi in our poetry', *Elliniki Dimiourgia*, Athens.

ONLY FOR REVIEW

agreement between the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia; they would unite twelve years later to become known as Romania (O'Donnell 2023).

Mal-orchal, father of Oina-moral, who is threatened by his aggressor, Ton Thormod, sends for Ossian to capture him. In return, he will give his daughter's hand to Ossian. After Ossian defeats Ton Thormod, on hearing Oina-morul sing of her love for Ton Thormod, he urges Mal-orchal to forget past grievances and permit the marriage between his enemy and Oina-morul to forge peace (Gaskill, 1996). Panas ends the poem similarly to that of Bolliac's translation; this is different from that of Macpherson's rendition. Bolliac translates that both foes have wasted time, but now battles with hatred and hopeless killing will be no more; instead, there will be delight in their airy clouds in harmony and happiness. There is a footnote which does not appear in either Macpherson's original work or Cesarotti's translation:

(1) 'Alleviate your sadness; the race of Trenmor* does not have a black soul.'(a)
(a) 'They are not cruel and are not indifferent to political organisations. (Auer 2023)

*Trenmor, an ancestor of Fingal. He brought stability to the area after defeating the corrupt Druids.

**Dar-thula 1885**

'Dar-thula'was serialised and republished in *Evdomas*, the daughter newspaper *Evterpe,* in 1885 in protest against another blockade by the English fleet under Prince Alfred. It was also published as a reminder of the sacrifices made by the three Greek Republicans in the Cycladic Revolution.

After the Russians defeated the Ottomans in a battle ending in 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was signed, under which the Russians elected Prince Alexander Battenburg as ruler of what is now part of Bulgaria. (This treaty was superseded by the Treaty of Berlin under Disraeli. It then became the Berlin Memorandum)[14]

In 1881, the province of Thessaly became part of Greece together with a tiny part of Epirus. Under Article 15 in the Treaty of San Stefano, it had been agreed that all of Epirus would become part of Greece (Naltsa, Christoforos 1953).

Midhat Pasha, who was head of the Democratic Eastern Federation in Constantinople, was sent into exile to what is now Saudi Arabia by the Sultan at the time of the Russo-Ottoman War. In 1883, he was assassinated by the Sultan's henchmen (Midhat Bey A, 1903).

The first socialist M.P., Rokkas Hoidas, son of Dimitris, a veteran of the Sacred Band, and former M.P. under Capodistria, formed a Democratic Party, together with Andreas Rigopoulos, both members of the Rigas Association;

[14]O'Donnell, Kathleen Ann (2016) 'The Democratic Eastern Federation & The Poems of Ossian: Egypt', Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Athens: *ATINER*.

ONLY FOR REVIEW

Hoidas and Rigopoulos gave their support to the working people. When England sent its fleet and blockaded Greece to prevent it from supporting the Serbs in 1886, Hoidas, a lawyer, led a protest against English interference, pointing out the violence of the English, who brought their fleet, led by Prince Alfred, into Greek waters, which was against Greek sovereignty.

The Greeks had come out in support of the Serbs when Battenburg, desiring to enlarge his territory, broke the Berlin Memorandum, which resulted in a war between the Bulgarians and the Serbs. It was the first example of Western Imperialistic policy of'divide and rule' bringing division among the Balkan people (O'Donnell, 2016).

**Lathmon 1890**

In 1890, the first part of 'Lathmon' was published in the newspaper *Evdomas,* following an instalment referring to the harrowing role of Greece in the slaughter on Kythnos of 'the three thimblefuls of blood', i.e. Leotsakos, Moraitini and Skarvelis, which whipped up common indignation among the people.

Having resigned from politics after his life was threatened twice, Hoidas became a joint editor of *Rambagas,* a fanatically democratic and literary progressive journal, with Cleanthes Triantaphilos, a member of the Rigas Association. Triantophilos had previously escaped an attack by the monarch's henchmen. In 1888, Hoidas published his letter, considered slanderous, addressed to Prince Alfred in *Rambagas:*

'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, the first king of the Hellenes!... You Shylock-like English lend money to the state, but against the loan you demand and receive litres of human flesh.'

Rather than sign the king's pardon, Hoidas chose death in prison. Hoidas had struggled to support the lower classes of Greeks and encouraged them to be self-governing. He saw Greece as the sister of all recently freed countries in the Balkans who would bring peace and harmony in the region under the Democratic Eastern Federation (O'Donnell 2023). Lathmon was an enemy, a foreigner who saw the worthlessness of fighting such valiant, magnanimous Ossianic warriors, and Fingal recognises this and sets him free. The reverse happened in Modern Greece, where patriots were doomed at the hands of the monarchy and religious differences.

In Panas's first version of 'Lathmon', the word 'easten' is in lowercase:

«Ποιος οχ την ανατολική ράχι, μορμί πετιέτι;»
[Who pours from the eastern hill, like a stream of darkness?]
In the 1890 version, the uppercase word 'Eastern' has a different meaning.
«Ποιος καταιβαίνει τρέχοντας τς΄Ανατολής ταις ράχαις;»
[Who descends running to countries and people of Southeast Europe and Anatolia from the rear?] (Panas, 1890)

ONLY FOR REVIEW

This is a reference to how Hoidas saw Greece as the supporter of the uniting of Balkan countries to live in harmonious peace under freedom, liberty and equality, without foreign monarchy.

In the last part of 'Lathmon', Panas stresses the need for reconciliation of all Balkan people in a somewhat different ending to his first 1862 edition.

Unlike Macpherson's 'Our fathers contended in battle, but we met together at the feast', Panas translates this thus:

> 'Truly our parents fought as enemies; but their children, however, are bonded together in friendship and alternately dine cordially at feasts.'
>
> This implies that the new generation of Greeks, Ottomans and Slavs favoured unity rather than the then present threat of war and further exploitation by foreign oppression (O'Donnell 2023).
>
> 'Lathmon' is a lament and symbolically refers to the death of Hoidas, and his tremendous effort to bring peaceful unity and justice to the ordinary working people.
>
> 'Lathmon' provides a hallmark, once again, of magnanimity, certainly lacking under the king in 1890.

**MINVANE 1890**

Through false accusations, Paschides, leader of the Democratic Eastern Federation in Bucharest, was imprisoned in Constantinople. He was then manacled and sent to Fezan in Barbary. After being cruelly treated, he was brutally murdered. He is equated with Rigas Velestinlis in the line: 'The one is at the bottom of the Danube and the other in Fezan' in Christo Christovasilis's poem 'Two Birds' (Haztiphotis, 1974).

In June 1890, Panas translated and published 'Minvane' in *Evdomas*. It is the second lament from the last poem, 'Berrathon', in *The Poems of Ossian.* 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, living blood'. Mapherson 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 Paschides as a son of Fingal, who was killed in 'barbaric Ullin', i.e. Fez, Barbary. Unlike Fingal, the Danish king showed no clemency. (O'Donnell 2026).

Western monarchs were installed in Romania, Transylvania, Bosnia and Herzegovina; like Greece, Bulgaria was also ruled by a second foreign monarch. Egypt and Tunisia came under English and French rule. The Democratic Eastern

ONLY FOR REVIEW

Federation disintegrated, and its members either supposedly committed suicide or were murdered (O'Donnell 2023)[15].

## Conclusion

Translations of this Celtic resistance literature by Macpherson and Moore exposed the deliberate prevention of the expansion of Ottoman territory to create Modern Greece by British Imperialism. Its machinations included blockades and disapproval of peace agreements, and the enforcement of monarchical rule, followed by civil war, and attacks on Greek sovereignty. The Cycladic and Cretan Revolutions failed to implement unity through the Democratic Eastern Federation. Their endeavours were equated with Ossianic heroes, as they emulated their magnanimity. Radical scholars attempted to instil peaceful coexistence so there would be greater justice for the oppressed lower classes, who would live under a socialist democracy without monarchy in its fight against monarchy.

Foreign monarchies usurped former Ottoman territory and ruled the Southeastern Balkans and Anatolia from 1888. Leaders of the Democratic Eastern Federation met their deaths almost simultaneously, including Panayiotis Panas, the main translator of this Celtic resistance poetry and founder of the organisation. Yet this Celtic resistance literature and many of the above-mentioned historical events are almost effaced from eminent Greek historical and literary tomes.

## Bibliography

Averill, Thomas (2026) 'A Man's A Man for a' That Robert Burns 1795. https://oncaring.org/blog>a-man-a-man-for-a-thqat-ro.

Bunzel, Anja (2020) "Romantic Patriotism and the Building of Reputation: The Case of Robert Schumann's Das Paradies und die Peri' Poetry and Song in the Age of Revolution: The Reputations of Thomas Moore, Poetry, Music and Politics, edited by Sarah McCleave and Triona O'Hanlon, London and New York: Routledge.

Burns, Robert (1787) Letter from Robert Burns to the Rev. Dr Hugh Blair, 4 May, 1787. hhttps://www.nts.org.uk/gd-gb/collectioons/object/object-110004573?page=1

Campbell, John and Sherrard, Philip (1969) Modern Greece, second edition, New York: Praeger.

Carruthers, Gerard (2011) Thomas Muir, 'Uncompromising Hero or The Man Who had Poor Social Skills': Robert Burns Lives. Editor: Frank R. Shaw. https://electricscotland.com/familytree/frank/burns_lives 224.htm

- (2010) 'Robert Burns in Ireland' International Journal of Scottish Literature: Glasgow, Summer.

[15]O'Donnell, Kathleen Ann (2023) 'The Impact of Scottish Literature on the Greek-Speaking World in the Nineteenth Century. A Tribute to Christian Auer.' *DECOUVRIR ET COMPRENDRE LES ECOSSAIS ET ECOSSAISES D'HIER A AUJOURD'HUI. Hommage à Christian Auer*, editors: Marion Amblard & Sabrina Juillet Garzon. Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Compté.

ONLY FOR REVIEW

Chiancone, Claudio (2009) 'Melchior Cesarotti, The Enlightenment and the French Revolution': Italian Writers of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. https://doi.org/10.4000)italianlaboritory 545.
Cosmatotis, Helen (1995) The Roads of Cefalonia, Argostoli: Corgialenios Museum.
Curtain, Nancy J (1997) The United Irishmen on Popular Politics in Ulster and Dublin 1791-1798, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Davis, Michael (2008) United Englishmen, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Oxford.
DeGuire, Mary A (2011) 'Intertextuality in Goethe's The Sorrows of Young Werther', University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois: Illinois University Press.
Donnelly, James (1980) 'Propagation, the Cause of the United Irishmen Studies'. An Irish Quarterly Review, Dublin: Summer.
Dowling, P. J. (1926) The Hedge Schools of Ireland, With an Introduction by the Rev. T. Corcoran, S.J. Dublin & Belfast: The Phoenix Publishing Company
Erskine, John (1998) 'Collapsing the Distance: Aspects of Burns, Texts and Readers in Ulster', Belfast: The Linen Hall. https://linenhall.com/whats-on/online-exhibitions/fragments-of-scotch-poetry-the-infuences-of-robert-burns/collapsing-the-distance-aspects-of-bu...
Farrell D. R. (2019) 'Rostrevor History: Tom Dunn', The Heart of Rostrevor. https://heartofrostrevor.wordpress.com/2019/03/04/rostrevor-history-tom-dunn
Giannapoulos Pyrros, an Epirot (1929) The Phanariots: Athens: Tachidromos.
Gould, Arthur S (1948) The Royal House of Greece, London: Warlock.
Gregory, William (1894) Formerly Member of Parliament and Sometime Governor of Ceylon Parliament by Gregory, William Henry, Sir, 1817--1892 An Autobiography, edited by Lady Gregory: London: Murray.
Haztiphotis I. M. (1974) Thomas A. Paschides (1836-1890), Scholar – Teacher – Fighter - Journalist – Greek Martyr: His life and His Works: Symbol of the History of Hellenism in the Rumanian and Greek Press, Athens: Critical Leaves.
Hoffman, David C. (2006) 'Paine and Prejudice: Rhetorical Leadership through Perceptual Framing in 'Common Sense', Rhetoric and Public Affairs: Michigan State University Press, Fall, Vol. 2 Issue 3 pp 272-410.
Keogh, Daire (1998) 'An Unfortunate Man', History Ireland: https://historyireland.com.an-unfortunateman
Keogh, Daire & Furlong, Nicholas (1998) Wolfe Tone 'An Argument on behalf of Catholics in Ireland' editors: https://celt.ucc.ie.>
Kee, Robert (1982) Ireland: A History, Abacus: London.
Korthatos, Giannis (1956) History of Modern Greece, Volume XII 1862-1900: Athens: 20th Century.
Legrand, Emile (1910) Bibliographe Ionienne Description raisonée des ouvrages publies par les Grecs des Sept-Iles, ou conçernant ces iles du quinzième siècle a l'année 1900, œuvre posthume complétée et publiée par Hubert Pernot, Volume 1, Paris : Leroux.
Liddle, Thomas (1998) 'Thomas Paine, Wolfe Tone and Ireland', The Thomas Paine Historical Society, New York. https://thomaspaine.org.Thomas Paine Society UK
Lykiardopoulos, Gerassimus (2001) 'A Wanderer: Panayiotis Panas: METASOLIMIKA, Ideas and Projects in the Seven Islands toward the end of the 19th Century', Athens: Erasmus.
Macpherson, James (1996) The Poems of Ossian and Related Works, edited by Howard Gaskill, with an introduction by Fionna Stafford, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

UNDER PEER REVIEW

Madden, R. R. (1887) The Literary Remains of the United Irishmen, Dublin: James Duffy & Sons.
https://carlann.org/authors.henry-joy-mccracken/the-social-thistle-and-shamrock/
Merriman, Brian (1971) Cuirt an Mhean-Oich = The Midnight Court, Text and translation by Patrick C. Power, Cork: Mercier Press.
In my published article 'Hedge Schools and Revolution' (2026), translated into Greek, I used David Marcus's 1967 translation of 'Midnight Court' in which he names a Hebrew warrior to emulate. I obtained an Irish original and English translation from the Royal Irish Academy, which show that the original Irish text cites 'Gaul', the Ossianic hero.
Midhat Bey, Ali Aydar (1903) The Life of Midhat Pasha. A record of his Services, Political Reforms, Banishment and Judicial Murder derived from private documents and reminiscences by his son, with portraits, London: Murray.
Mucignat, Rosa and Parovic, Sanjjo (2025) (both at King's College, London) 'Serving other oppressed peoples': the Radical Translations project of the extension of liberty 1788-1815.
Murtagh, Timothy (2016) 'L'Irlande et la France a l'epoque de la Republique atlantique'. https:/journals.openedition.org.lrf
Muir, Thomas Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Muir_of_ Huntershill &oldid=1344345266
Muir, Thomas (1998) 'Father of Scottish Democracy', Faculty of Advocates. https://www.advocates.org.uk>history-of-faculty-tho
Naltsa Christophorus A (1952) The Treaty of Saint Stefano and Hellenism. Salonica: The Association of the Macedonian Society
Neilson, Samuel (2009) The Dictionary of Irish Biography, Dublin.
O'Brien, Gillian (1998) 'Spirit Impartiality and Independence: The Northern Star 1792-1797', Eighteenth Century Ireland, Dublin: Volume 13 No.1, https://doi.org/10.3828/eci
O'Connell, Ann-Maria (2016) 'The Subversion of marriage law in Brian Merriman's Cuirt an Mheain Oiche' Etudes irlandaises, Paris https://journals.openeditions.org/etudesirlandaises/4808?/lang=en
O'Connor, Arthur (2009) The Dictionary of Irish Biography, Dublin.
O'Dochartaigh, Caitriona (2005) The Reception of Ossian in Europe, edited by Howard Gaskill, London: Thoemmes Continum.
O'Donnell, Kathleen Ann (2013) 'Scottish Literature in the South Eastern Balkans and Alexandria 1863-69 & The Poems of Ossian', Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Athens: Athens Institute for Education & Research (ATINER).
- (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: ATINER.
- (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, Athens: ATINER.
- (2017) 'The Democratic Eastern Federation and the Poems of Ossian: Egypt', Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Athens: ATINER
- (2022) 'English Brutal Colonisation of the Seven Islands: The Poems of Ossian by James Macpherson', Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Athens: ATINER.
- (2023) 'The Impact of Scottish Literature on the Greek-Speaking World in the Nineteenth Century. A Tribute to Christian Auer.' DECOUVRIR ET COMPRENDRE LES ECOSSAIS ET ECOSSAISES D'HIER A AUJOURD'HUI. Hommages à

ON FOR REVIEW

Christain Auer, editors: Marion Amblard & Sabrina Juillet Garzon. Presses Universitaires de Franche-Compte, Besançon.
- (2024) 'Κέλτικη Λογοτεχνία: Κρυφά σχολεία και επανάσταση' ('Celtic Literature: Hedge Schools and Revolution'), Επιστημονικό Άρθρο, Athenian Academic Periodical, ATINER, Athens: Volume 6, Issue 2, October 2026 pp 1-26.
- (2026) 'The Cretan Uprising (1866-69): The Democratic Eastern Federation and The Poems of Ossian by James Macpherson', Proceedings of the thirteenth International Congress of Cretan Studies, Crete: Agia Nicolaou, 2023.
- O'Donnell (2026) Lecture on 'Gaelic Culture under Siege: Hedge Schools and Revolutionary Movements (delivered both in person and online), Caint agus Cultur (Speech and Culture), Irish Institute, Athens: 26 April 2026.
O'Neill, Brendan, (2009) 'Who was Thomas Paine' https://news.bbc.co.uk >new>magazine/magazine
Paine, Thomas (1792) The Writings of Thomas Paine 1772-1792), collected and edited by Moncure Daniel Conway (2012). Guttenberg Press.
Panas, Panayiotis (1862) Poems of Ossian, Darthula- Lathmon, Kephalonia: Kephallinia.
Panas, Panayiotis (1876) 'Oina-morul', Byron, Athens: February
Panas, (1885) 'Darthula' (from Ossian), Evdomas, Athens: 15 & 22 September.
Panas, Panayiotis (1890) Ossian, 'Latmos', Evdomas: Athens: 19 & 26 May.
Panas, Panayiotis (1890) 'Minvane' Evdomas, Athens: June.
Petropoulos, J. (1968) Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1822-43. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Pittock, Murray (1995) 1745 Charles Edward Stuart and the Jacobites, Edinburgh: HMSO.
- (2008) Scottish and Irish Romanticism, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Porter, James (2009) The Dictionary of Irish Biography, Dublin.
Pratt, Michael (1978) Britain's Greek Empire, London: Collins.
Russell, Arthur (2015) 'Thomas Moore – Ireland's Minstrel Boy', The English Historical Fiction Society, Blogger.Com https://enlihshistory quthors.hotspot.com Thomas Moore-Ireland's Minstrel Boy
Sharon, Ragaz (n.d.) James Glass, Biography, Toronto: University of Toronto Jackson Bibliography of Romantic Poetry Libraries.
Thomson, Derek (1990) An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.
Thomson A. (1991) 'Thomas Paine and The United Irishmen', Études Irlandaises, Paris: year 1991.
Tone Wolfe Theobald (2009) Dictionary of Irish Biography, Dublin.
Triantophyllos, C (1968) 'Two Libel Suits against Venizelos Rouphos', Nea Estia, Athens:
Watson, Jimmy (2026) 'Reflecting on Thomas Muir's legacy', The Irish Voice. Bringing you all the news from the Irish in Scotland https://www.the irishvoice.com/post /reflecting-on-thomas-muir-s-legacy
Watson, Luke William (2021) 'A Lieu Sur for the Fenians: France, the Fenians and the Irish Colony, 1848-1870', Etudes Irlandaises, Paris:
Watson, Jimmy (2021) 'Reflecting on Thomas Muir's legacy', The Irish Voice: Bringing you all the news from the Irish in Scotland, Edinburgh.
Van Tieghem, P 1917) Ossian en France Vol.1 &2, Paris: F. Reider & C.
Velestinlis, Rigas (2002) Revolutionary Scripts, Revolutionary Proclamation, Human Rights, The Constitution, Thourios, translated by Vassilis K. Zervoulakos, Editor Dimitrios Karaberopoulos. Velestino: Scientific Society of Studies Pheres – Velestinlo – Rigas.

UNDER PEER REVIEW

1 Whelan, Fergus (2026) ‘Thomas Paine, Ireland & the Irish Ghost’, History Ireland,
2 Dublin. https://historyireland.com
3 Woodhouse, C. M. (1968) Modern Greece, A Short History, London: Faber & Faber.

ONLY FOR REVIEW