The Lure of Greece
Irish Involvement in 
Greek Culture, Literature, 
History and Politics

A selection of papers presented at a Conference organised by the Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies at Athens, and held in the National University of Ireland, Galway
19–21 September 2003

Editors
John Victor Luce
Christine Morris
Christina Souyoudzoglou-Haywood

Hinds
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Illustrations ................................. vii
Preface *Christine Morris* ...................... ix
Introduction *John Dillon* ......................... xi
Contributors .......................................... xv

1 Sir Richard Church and the Irish Philhellenes in the Greek War of Independence *Patrick Comerford* .......................... 1

2 Rev. Basil Zula and the Thermopylae Garden at Kilwarlin, Co. Down *Jo Day* .......... 19

3 K. T. Frost and the Archaeological Museum at The Queen’s University of Belfast *William M. Dunlop* .................... 33

4 Aeschylus, the Blaskets and Marxism: interconnecting influences on the writings of George Thomson *Peter Gathercole* .......... 43

5 A Gentle Luxury *Aideen M. Ireland* ............ 55

6 Robert Wood and Homer *John V. Luce* .......... 71

7 Drawings of Rome and Tivoli in 1750 by Giovanni Battista Borra *Michael McCarthy* .............................. 89

8 How to become Higher Commander of the Order of the Phoenix: the academic career of W. B. Stanford, Philhellenic *Brian McGing* .......................... 101

9 An Ardent Lover of Cretan Freedom: J. D. Bourchier, 1850–1920 *Christine Morris* ............... 111

10 Oscar Wilde and Greece *Patrick Sammon* ........ 123

11 Two Dublin Classicists: Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–1889) and Henry Browne (1853–1941) *Andrew Smith* ............... 135
12 Henry Browne, Greek Archaeology and ‘The Museum of Ancient History’, University College Dublin
*Christina Souyoudzoglou-Haywood* 147

13 Abstracts of two papers presented at the Conference but published elsewhere 163

- Inscriptions do furnish a castle – Sir George Cockburn’s Collection
  *Raymond Astbury*

- Greek Revival Architecture in Dublin *J. A. Richmond*

Index 165
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Caption</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>The house at No. 5 Odos Scholeiou, Athens, in which Sir Richard Church lived as it was shortly before recent restoration work began.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>The house at No. 5 Odos Scholeiou, Athens, in which Sir Richard Church lived as it was shortly before recent restoration work began.</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>The overgrown gravestone of Sir Richard Church in the First Cemetery of Athens which displays his profile beneath a Greek cross and wreath.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>The interior of Saint Paul's Anglican Church, Athens, showing the two-light north (left) and south (right) windows commemorating Sir Richard Church.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>The north window in Saint Paul’s Anglican Church in Athens, dedicated by the British Government to the memory of Sir Richard Church, showing Joshua and Caleb.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>The south window in Saint Paul’s Anglican Church in Athens, presented by the Church family in memory of Sir Richard Church, showing Gideon and David.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>The Doric lighthouse at the northern tip of Kephalonia is part of Sir Charles Napier's lasting legacy on the island.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>A perspective on the Doric lighthouse at the northern tip of Kephalonia.</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Detail of the picture of Basil Zula in Greek dress, from the vestry at Kilwarlin.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>View of Kilwarlin church and manse from the top of the large mound.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Plan of the garden at Kilwarlin.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>The large mound at Kilwarlin in the background, behind the central bank; and in the foreground, a smaller mound with the flagpole on top.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>The grass-covered central bank at Kilwarlin from the northern end, with the large mound in the background.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>The sloping bank running up to the large mound at Kilwarlin, which has been suggested to represent the foothills and peak of Mt. Kallidromos.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>The room projecting from the rear of the manse at Kilwarlin, where an escape trapdoor was supposedly located.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 George Thomson at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party, London, in the late 1940s.

4.2 Gordon Childe in his study at the Institute of Archaeology, St John’s Lodge, Regent’s Park, London, in 1955 or 1956.

6.1 The building, until recently the Post Office, in Summerhill, Co. Meath, which was possibly the home of Richard Wood.

6.2 Painting of Robert Wood attributed to Gavin Hamilton, but of uncertain date.

7.1 G. B. Borra, View of the Palatine Hill to the South, watercolour, 1750.
7.2 G. B. Borra, View of the Palatine Hill to the East, watercolour, 1750.
7.3 G. B. Borra, View of the Palatine Hill in Rome, unfinished watercolour, 1750.
7.4 G. B. Borra, View of Hadrian’s Villa at Tivoli, watercolour, 1750.
7.5 G. B. Borra, View of Tivoli from the North-East, watercolour, 1750.
7.6 G. B. Borra, View of the Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli, watercolour, 1750.
7.7 G. B. Borra, Ruins of Baths at Hadrian’s Villa in Tivoli, watercolour, 1750.

9.1 Portrait of J. D. Bourchier.
9.2 Sketch of Cretan insurgents with their rifles.

12.1 Portrait of Henry Browne.
12.2 Evans’ ‘montage’ of the faience and flying fish from Knossos.
12.3 Letter from Browne to Hogarth upon the arrival of the Knossos alabastron (1912).
12.4 Part of the display of Minoan and Mycenaean replicas in the Museum of Ancient History, 1912.
The Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies at Athens held its first conference on the topic of ‘Irish Involvement in Greek Culture, Literature, History and Politics’ in the National University of Ireland, Galway, on 19–21 September 2003, and the papers in the present volume are drawn from some of the sessions at that meeting.

The organization of a conference and the subsequent preparation of papers for publication is always the work of many hands, and it is a great pleasure on behalf of the Institute to express thanks to the many individuals who helped to make both the conference and publication possible. The National University of Ireland, Galway, offered a most hospitable location for the conference, and a very appropriate one since the meeting also marked the centenary of George Thomson (Seoirse Mac Thomáis), Professor of Greek through Irish at Galway (1931–4), whose own researches spanned the key themes of the conference. We thank NUIG President Iognáid Ó Muircheartaigh for opening the conference, Professor Brian Arkins for a delightful keynote speech, and our colleagues from Galway’s Department of Classics for their help: Brian Arkins, Andrew Erskine,
Anne Neville, and, in particular, Edward Herring for his assistance with practical matters and for marshalling students to help. In the earlier stages Conn Murphy played a key role with ideas and practical help, Gay Conroy gave generously of her time in helping with bookings over the summer of 2003, and Peter Liddell and Jason O’Brien also provided support at key moments.

The sessions from which the papers presented here are drawn were organized by Christine Morris (on Travellers and Philhellenes), by Christina Souyoudzoglou-Haywood (on Antiquarians, Artists and Collectors), and by John Dillon and Christine Morris (on The Classical Tradition in Ireland). We express our thanks to all the speakers for their papers and to everyone who attended for making the conference such an enjoyable occasion.

John Luce, who also spoke at the conference, kindly offered his services to work with the Institute on preparing papers for publication. The Institute is deeply grateful to him for his belief in the importance of this project and for his devotion to the task. He has worked closely with our publisher, Ross Hinds, who has undertaken the production of the volume and given most generously of his time and expertise.

The starting point for exploring the links between Ireland and the Greek world is always W. B. Stanford’s masterly survey, Ireland and the Classical Tradition. The current volume explores a selection of relevant themes in greater detail, yet it is also clear that we have only scratched the surface of these intriguing connections. It is to be hoped that these studies will stimulate many more explorations of the myriad personal, political and scholarly threads and connections between these two cultures.

Dr Christine Morris
Chair
Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies at Athens
June 2006
The Lure of Greece is a fine theme with which to inaugurate what I hope will prove to be a prolific series of publications of the Irish Institute of Hellenic Studies in Athens. This volume, the product of a conference held in Galway in September 2003, brings together the papers delivered in one of the two sections into which the conference was divided, the other concerning Greek influences in Irish literature¹.

Under the able chief editorship of J. V. Luce, himself a major authority in the field, there has been assembled here an impressive panorama of case-studies of the interaction between Irishmen (including honorary Irishmen such as George Thomson, and the Rev. Basil Zula) and Greece over the last two centuries and more, which constitutes a study of a significant part of the Northern European love affair with Greece — or perhaps more accurately, the idea of Greece — during that period. This is not to say that the realities of the new Greece that

¹ This latter topic, fascinating and fruitful though it is, will probably not merit a distinct Institute volume arising out of the conference, since it has been, and is being, so well covered already in a series of publications by Prof. Brian Arkins of Galway, a valued member of our Managing Committee.
was emerging in the 1820s and 1830s were entirely neglected: Sir Richard Church, after all, on whom we have a fine study in this volume by Patrick Comerford, played a key (if slightly cantankerous) role in the establishment of the modern Greek state; but it is fair to say the main focus of interest of our philhellenes was the glories of *ancient* Greece.

John Luce himself has contributed a most enlightening study of that remarkable Meath man, Robert Wood, who made a significant contribution, prior to the more generally celebrated German scholar Friedrich August Wolf, to our understanding of how the Homeric poems were composed, as well as conducting extensive travels in Greek lands, and as far afield as Palmyra, wherein he was ably supported by the artistic genius of Giovanni Battista Borra, on other aspects of whose work Michael McCarthy has contributed a fine essay.

That other great traveller in Greek lands, James Caulfeild, Lord Charlemont is celebrated, amongst others, in Aideen Ireland's contribution on collectors and collecting in 18th and 19th century Ireland. While the removal of antiquities from the lands to which they belong is an activity now rightly frowned upon, it has to be recognised also that in earlier days many precious objects were rescued from a fate worse than removal, and an appreciation for the artistic glories of Greece and Rome was thus introduced among the publics of Northern European lands; so one must see the great collectors in their historical context.

Indeed, the story of Professor Henry Browne, and his role in the creation of the fine archaeological museum attached to the UCD School of Classics, told here by Christina Haywood, as well as William Dunlop's account of K.T. Frost's contribution to that in Queen's University, Belfast, are part of this story also. Both Browne and Frost were Englishmen, but the Fates contrived that they both contributed significantly to the Classical holdings of their adopted country. In connexion with Queen's, the more recent contribution of such a figure as Henry Campbell Mc Elderry, is also rightly emphasized by Dunlop.

To go back somewhat in time, we are indebted to Jo Day for a delightful account of that extraordinary figure, the Rev. Basil Patras Zula, Moravian pastor at Kilwarlin, Co. Down, and his creation of a ‘Thermopylae Garden’ in the

---

2 His house in the Plaka, currently being restored from a ruinous state, remains the object of a distant dream of the Institute, as an ideal base for its operations.
1830s, just as his homeland was attaining its freedom. From the latter part of the century, Patrick Sammon, himself a distinguished philhelle, brings us a study of what Greece meant to Oscar Wilde, while Andrew Smith dwells on the very different figure of Gerard Manley Hopkins, (another adopted Irishman, and not an entirely comfortable one), as well as giving us further insights into Fr. Henry Browne.

A contemporary of Hopkins and Browne, but very much of a hands-on philhelle, is rescued from obscurity in a fine study by Christine Morris. James David Bouchier, from Co. Limerick, became very much of a hero to the people of Crete in the 1890s and later by reason of his support for the cause of Cretan independence through his eloquent articles as correspondent of *The Times*. As a friend of both Sir Arthur Evans and Prince George of Crete, he was instrumental in obtaining permission from the latter to allow the former to dig at Knossos.

More recent figures, both remarkable in their way, are celebrated by Peter Gathercole and Brian McGing. George Thomson, alias Seoirse Mac Thomáis, discussed by Gathercole, was a romantic British Marxist Classical scholar, who came over to the West of Ireland in the 1920s in search of indigenous peasant culture, and found it triumphantly in the Blasket Islands, where he actually stimulated the publication of two of the classics of Modern Irish literature, while himself becoming lecturer in Classics in University College, Galway before going back to Britain to preside over a most innovative Classics programme in the University of Birmingham. Peter Gathercole actually concentrates mainly on an incident from Thomson's later career, but one that illustrates admirably what manner of man he was.

Lastly, Brian McGing contributes a portrait of a rather different figure, my distinguished predecessor William Bedell Stanford, Regius Professor of Greek at Trinity College from 1940 to 1980, who, besides contributing significantly to Greek studies in Ireland, fostered ties between Ireland and Greece to such an extent that he was in 1980 accorded the rare honour, for a foreigner, of being granted by the Greek Government the title of Higher Commander of the Order of the Phoenix. Brian McGing well brings out the ways in which Stanford, like Mahaffy before him, was innovative, while speculating illuminatingly on why he was not as effective as he might have been in other areas of scholarship. From
the philhellenic perspective, however, the most important feature of his life was probably his long-standing relationship with Swan’s Hellenic Cruises, in the course of which he introduced a generation of well-heeled visitors to the glories of Greece.

I have certainly found much enlightenment and entertainment in this series of studies, and I have no doubt that this will be the experience of every reader of them. Of course, this cannot aspire to being a complete survey of the relations between Ireland and Greece: two figures that spring to mind who figure only incidentally in this collection are Lord Charlemont and John Pentland Mahaffy, but they have both had biographies devoted to them. However, what we have here is a fine conspectus of the range of characters involved in the area of Irish philhellenism, and I am glad to welcome it on behalf of the Irish Institute at Athens.

John Dillon
Director
Irish Institute for Hellenic Studies at Athens

---

CONTRIBUTORS

The Revd Patrick Comerford, BD (Maynooth), Dip Ecum (TCD), FRSAI, is the Director of Spiritual Formation at the Church of Ireland Theological College, where he teaches church history and liturgy. A former Foreign Desk Editor of The Irish Times, he has travelled extensively throughout Greece.

75 Glenvara Park, Knocklyon, Dublin 16. theology@ireland.com

Jo Day is a temporary lecturer in Greek archaeology at Trinity College Dublin. Her research interests include the social roles of plants in prehistory, Aegean iconography, and gardens of the ancient world; she has published several articles on these topics. She is currently working on the excavation at Priniatikos Pyrgos in eastern Crete, where she studies the Early Minoan pottery.

Department of Classics, Trinity College, Dublin 2. dayjc@tcd.ie

John Dillon is Regius Professor of Greek (Emeritus) at Trinity College Dublin, and was educated at Oxford and the University of California at Berkeley. He has a special interest in Greek Philosophy, especially Plato and the Platonic Tradition. His works include The Middle Platonists (1977), Proclus, Commentary on Plato’s Parmenides (1987), Alcinous, The Handbook of Platonism (1993), The Heirs of Plato (2003), and two collections of articles, The Golden Chain (1990) and The Great Tradition (1997).

Department of Classics, Trinity College, Dublin 2. dillonj@tcd.ie

William Dunlop is a past President of the Ulster Archaeological Society (2000-2002) and is editor of the UAS newsletter (1987 to date). He has contributed a history of the Ulster Archaeological Society to The Modern Traveller to our Past: Festschrift in honour of Ann Hamlin (2006). Since 1980 he has worked as a volunteer on many excavations in Northern Ireland. He is a retired Post Office worker and has held senior trade union positions, including NI Regional Secretary of the Council of Post Office Unions. During service in the Royal Navy (1941–6) he served in the USA, North Africa and Ceylon, was involved in landings at Sicily, Salerno and Anzio, and was torpedoed in the Atlantic.

37 Geary Road, Gilnahirk, Belfast BT5 7QS. billdunlop7@hotmail.co.uk

Peter Gathercole studied history and archaeology at Cambridge and London Universities, subsequently holding appointments in museums and universities in New Zealand and England. He has published extensively on Pacific anthropology, the history of archaeology (especially on the life and work of V. Gordon Childe, of whom he was a student), museology and cultural politics. An Emeritus Fellow of Darwin College, Cambridge, of which he was for some years Dean, he now lives in Cornwall, and is a Past President of the Cornwall Archaeological Society.

Roseland Cottage, Veryan Green TR2 5QG, Cornwall, England. p.gathercole@virgin.net

Aideen Ireland is a Senior Archivist with the National Archives of Ireland. She is well known as a lecturer and author on nineteenth century antiquarianism and on the history of museums and of collections. She is currently President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and is also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Her publications include: ‘The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1849–1900’, Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 112, (1982), ‘The finding of the “Clonmacnoise” gold torcs’, vol. 92 (1992), Section C.

The National Archives, Bishop St., Dublin 8. aireland@nationalarchives.ie

Department of Classics, Trinity College, Dublin 2.  

**Michael McCarthy** is Professor Emeritus of the Department of the History of Art at University College Dublin. His principal publications concerned the Gothic Revival of the mid-eighteenth century. He has also published widely on grand tour matters and is specially interested in the contribution of travellers from Ireland to the recovery of Greek and Hellenistic architecture.

8 Arvon Court, Meath Rd, Bray, Co. Wicklow.  

**Brian McGing** is Regius Professor of Greek and a Fellow at Trinity College Dublin, and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy. His research interests focus mainly on Hellenistic Asia Minor, Judaea and Greco-Roman Egypt. He is co-director of Trinity College’s government-funded Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies research project, an investigation of east-west cultural encounter in the ancient world. His publications include *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* (1986) and *Greek Papyri from Dublin* (1995). He is currently writing a book on the 2nd century BC Greek historian Polybius.

Department of Classics, Trinity College, Dublin 2.  

**Christine Morris** is Leventis Senior Lecturer in Greek Archaeology and History, and Head of the Department of Classics, at Trinity College Dublin. Her main area of research is the archaeology of the Aegean Bronze Age. She has published widely on pottery, figurines and iconography. Her publications include: *Klados: Essay in honour of J. N. Coldstream* (ed. 1995), and *Ancient Goddesses* (ed. with Lucy Goodison 1998). She is currently working on the 19th and early 20th century historiography of ancient goddesses, and on material from Ayia Irini, Kea and the Cretan peak sanctuary of Atsipadhes.

Department of Classics, Trinity College, Dublin 2.  

**Patrick Sammon** was a Foundation Scholar in Classics at Trinity College Dublin and is Vice-President of the Irish Hellenic Society. His book *Greenspeak: Ireland in her own words*, a dictionary of English as spoken in Ireland, was published in 2002 (www.greenspeak.info). He is currently working on a dictionary of Dublin English.

22 York Rd, Dublin 6.  

**Christina Souyoudzoglou-Haywood** is lecturer in Greek Archaeology at University College Dublin, and Curator of the University’s Classical Museum. She was trained in the University’s Classical Museum, and Liverpool University (PhD). Her research interest is the Bronze and early Iron Age of Greece with a focus on the Ionian Islands, particularly Kephalonia, where she is conducting a multidisciplinary fieldwork project. She is also interested in the history of collections of classical antiquities in 18th and 19th century Ireland and co-ordinates a UCD project on the subject. She is author of *The Ionian Islands in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age* (1999) and *Cypro-Mycenaean Antiquities in Dublin* (2004).

School of Classics, University College Dublin, Dublin 4.  

**Andrew Smith** is Professor of Classics at University College Dublin and a member of the Royal Irish Academy. He has published widely on later Greek philosophy.

School of Classics, University College Dublin, Dublin 4.
The lure of quick money, together with the economic operators' need to continuously "produce" celebrity sportspersons may to some degree explain the growing precociousness of sports careers. Greek honey is known around the world for its quality and with over 12,000 tonnes of honey produced every year it's no surprise that Greece has a greater concentration of beehives than any other country in Europe. The island of Kefalonia in particular is renowned for its production and is often referred to as "the island of honey and wine." Thousands of years of years of honey. The link between Greece and honey production goes back as far as 8000 years. In its early days honey was prized more for its medicinal properties than as a sweet treat. Its place in Greek mythology is well known. Nectar consider