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Hallvard R. Indgjerd

Byzantine Naxos – A Case Study for Insular Contact Networks

The role of the sea for islands has been described as ranging from insulator to hyper-conductor, leaving islands concurrently more isolated and more interconnected than comparable inland areas. At the same time as the sea marks a frontier, it also opens wide-reaching networks. In practical terms, the sea creates connectivity, where land – dominated by mountains, woodland and rugged terrain – inhibits contact, but in mental, and political, terms water often represent borders, while belonging to the same land mass gives a feeling of shared identity. The continuum includes also large temporal variations either due to natural factors, such as weather and sailing seasons, or due to changing political climates, but potentially equally large differences between groups or individuals within a society.

While Naxos is well-known for its density of Byzantine churches, less is known of the general settlement structure and political organisation. Several large-scale archaeological survey projects have recently been started, however, and the amount of data on the late antique periods from Naxos and the Lesser Cyclades is increasing radically. The poster aims at showing the potential for integrating the information from these new projects in creating a better understanding of daily life, economic activities and exchange networks, and, in turn, of concepts of insularity in the Byzantine world more broadly. Positioned centrally in the Cyclades, Naxos could prove a useful case study for local, regional and inter-regional interaction of island settlements in the Late Roman to Middle Byzantine Aegean.

The ambivalence of island connectivity entails that despite being a clearly demarcated entity on a modern map or satellite image, Naxos cannot *a priori* be assumed to be the most meaningful unit of study, and even if it turns out to make sense in some situations, it might not in others. Whereas coastal fishermen might feel closest to their colleagues across the strait to Paros, or exploit hunting and grazing resources on the Kouphonissia, inland farmers in Filoti might not extend their network beyond Sangri, and Chora might have been better connected with Thira than with Apeiranthos.

Understanding the variation in these social and economic networks and how they change over time can only be achieved by considering a broad set of data. The combination of excavation and survey from both urban and rural contexts, inland and coastal areas, as well as from nearby islands and islets provides an opportunity to gain a unique knowledge of internal organisation and settlement patterns on Naxos in late antiquity, and provide insights into the wider contact networks within and beyond the Cyclades.



Ljiljana Mandić – Miloje Mandić

Tombstone from Bela Crkva of Karan Port

(Text missing)



Mikhail Denisov

Византийская и славянская гимнография св. Трифона Апамейского (IX-XX вв.)

Византийская и славянская гимнография св. Трифона Апамейского представлена оригинальной греческой службой и ее славянским переводом, неопубликованными двумя греческими икосами и кондаком, русскими тропарем, седальном, тремя молитвами и четырьмя акафистами.

Служба. В славянской минее под 1/14 февраля находится шестеричная служба св. Трифону и предпразднству Сретения Господня, состоящая из вечерни и утрени. В ней мученику посвящены четыре стихиры на «Господи, воззвах», тропарь, канон (без 2-й песни), включающий 22 тропаря и 8 богородичных, кондак, седален, икос и светилен. Имя песнописца указано лишь у стихир-славника на «Господи, воззвах» - Киприан Студит (IX в.).

Известно также авторство мученического канона на утрени, которое принадлежит св. Феофану Начертанному (IX в.), т.к. его именем надписано краегранесие «Сладости причастится сподоби мя, Трифоне». Таким образом, мученические песнопения службы датируются, в основном, IX в., что, очевидно, связано с составлением Византийской Миней.

Св. Трифону не был составлен тропарь — в службу вошел общий тропарь «Мученик Твой, Господи...». Лишь в 1981 г. в русских «зеленых минеях» был помещен особый тропарь «Пищи Божественныя, троблаженне, наслаждаяся на Небесех неоскудно...», включающий прошение «отженить вредящих нивам животных» и заканчивающийся припевом «радуйся, Трифоне, мучеников укрепление», характерным для проимиев. Также в России был составлен седален св. Трифона «Воина Христова непобедимаго...», не получивший, однако, богослужебного употребления.

Расположенный после 6-й песни канона икос «Священная трапеза предлагается...» — единственное в службе песнопение, посвященное как предпразднству, так и св. Трифону, упоминающемуся в конце икоса: «...и честна страдальца память...». В греческом Кондакаре XII-XIII вв., есть два не вошедших в печатные минеи икоса, посвященных непосредственно св. Трифону: 1) «Как о цветении полевом помыслив о наслаждениях мира, славный Трифон...», 2) «Непостижимую десницею создавший всё творение...». Кроме того, Кондакарь содержит кондак мученику «С неба сегодня звездою просияв через знаменья лучами чудес», который, как и второй икос, завершается воззванием «Величайший Трифон, сохрани рабов твоих».

В славянской минее после 6-й песни канона отсутствует имеющееся в греческой минее двустишие Христофора Митиленского (XI в.), хотя оно было переведено с греческого языка и вошло в славянский пролог, в частности, в его древнерусский список 1469 г.

В песнопениях службы восемь раз «обыгрывается» имя св. Трифона: в акростихе и тропарях 1-й, 4-й, 8-й и 9-й песней канона, в стихире на «Господи, воззвах», в седалине и светильне. В греческом тексте здесь стоят однокоренные с именем св. Трифона слова.

Молитвы. Общераспространенная молитва «О, святой мучениче Христов Трифоне, скорый помощниче всем, к тебе прибегающим...» написана в России. Она известна с 1868 г., но, скорее всего, имеет древнее происхождение. В XIX — нач. XX вв. она читалась в церкви св. Трифона в Москве и регулярно печаталась на отдельных листах. Позже она вошла в акафист, составленный в 1891-1892 гг., вместе с которым была заимствована другими Поместными Церквями, в частности, Сербской Церковью.

Известна еще молитва «О святой мучениче и дивный чудотворче Трифоне!..», написанная неизвестным автором, и молитва «О, великий мучениче Божий и преславный чудотворец...», о которой будет сказано ниже.

Акафисты. Первый опыт акафиста св. Трифону относится к 1874 г., но его текст не был утвержден для общецерковного употребления.

Распространение получил акафист, написанный в 1891-1892 гг. преподавателем 1-го реального училища в Москве В.А. Богдановым, впоследствии принявшим сан священника и постриг, в связи с тем, что в его семье св. Трифона почитали особенно.

Свой акафист он представил в 1891 г. в Московский духовно-цензурный комитет, который сделал в нем исправления. В 1892 г. автор повторно представил акафист в комитет с новыми исправлениями. Комитет вновь нашел в нем недостатки, но, одобрив, отправил его на утверждение в Святейший Синод.

В Синоде акафист рассмотрел епископ Гермоген (Добронравин), внесший в него исправления. В 1893 г. акафист был одобрен. Первое его издание церковно-славянским шрифтом вышло в 1893 г., а гражданским шрифтом — в 1894 г. Этот текст получил распространение как в Русской, так и в Сербской Церкви.

Третий вариант акафиста св. Трифону был написан Л.И. Денисовым в 1893 г., когда акафист В.А. Богданова уже находился в Синоде. Видимо поэтому он не был одобрен.

С середины XX в. известен еще один акафист, вошедший в обиход Знаменской церкви в Переяславской слободе в Москве. Его авторство приписывают протоиерею А. Ветелеву — клирику этого храма в 1955-1966 гг. и профессору МДА.

Текст этого акафиста составлен на основе богдановского акафиста, даже припев проимия (рефрен) такой же. Хайретизмы оставлены тоже почти без изменений, но частью переставлены. Число их сокращено в каждом икосе вдвое. Однако тексты кондаков и икосов, большей частью, написаны заново. Кроме того, в акафист добавлена вторая молитва «О, великий мучениче Божий и преславный чудотворец...», упоминающая, в отличие от первой, чудо св. Трифона о соколе.

Таким образом, православная гимнография св. Трифона Апамейского, в основном, сформировалась в Византии в IX в., а в XIX-XX вв. была дополнена в России.



Milica Križanac

Byzantine Kotor. Researches 1982-1999

From the period of the Byzantine rule in Kotor, which, like in the rest of Dalmatia, was long with varying intensity, in the researchers conducted after the last earthquake (1979), was found not such a large number of objects, but in a wide time range.

Although Kotor, as well as the whole Bay of Kotor, after the formation of the province Praevalitana (in the late 3rd century), remained in the province of Dalmatia, from the reign of Constantius II (337-361), which ruled in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, in the church of St. Tryphon was found one coin.

The border between the provinces of Dalmatia and Praevalitana, which ranged slightly south of the Bay of Kotor, after the Theodosius division of the Empire (396) became the border between the Western and Eastern Roman Empire. From the time when Dalmatia was within the framework of the Ostrogoth state (after 493), in the Cathedral of St. Tryphon was found one almost illegible coin, probably smaller half-follis of the Anastasius I (491-518).

Mentioned border is lost after the Justinian's conquer and incorporation the province of Dalmatia to the Byzantine Empire (535), when Kotor became the most important trading center of Bay of Kotor, which will remain during the long Byzantine rule (up to 1185). From the early Byzantine period were discovered the remains of the early Christian basilicas found under the Romanesque churches of St. Mary and St. Michael, as well as the most likely buildings below the Cathedral of St. Tryphon and the pre-Romanesque church complex from the 9th century.

From the time when Kotor was already within the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia and when it were ruled by emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, in the church of St. Tryphon, were found three folles of Constantine VII (913-959) and five anonymous folles from the Emperor Basil II (976-1025) to the Empress Theodora (1055-1056). From the time of Duka (1059-1078) and Komnenos dynasties (1081-1185) were found four more anonymous folles. Of the other coins of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) were discovered two more histamenon and eleven tetarteron.

In the Cathedral of St. Tryphon, in the altar area, at the bottom of the tomb 13, was discovered a reverse side of the reliquary cast in bronze. In the central part of the cross was carved completely schematized figure of the Virgin. Production of such crosses was linked to the eastern Mediterranean part of the Byzantine empires, mainly Palestine, and especially Jerusalem, from the 10th of the 12th century. Based on analogies items, the reliquary from Kotor has been dated to the 12th century.

From the period of the 12th and 13th centuries in Kotor's cathedral appears the Scent bottles, which were used for keeping and storing fragrant oils and ointment balms and may have been used in the cult of St. Tryphon, or during church ceremonies. The seven small glass bottles had a long cylindrical body with a greater or lesser narrowed part at the bottom. The decorations on these fine bottles are diverse, with colored enamel and perhaps gilding, up to the ones with applied thread or without any decoration. The scent bottles from Kotor may have been made in some Eastern-Mediterranean glassmaking center – on Byzantine soil, Egypt (Fustat) or the Levant. The earliest possible period when they were likely to have been brought over to the Cathedral in Kotor was in the year 1166 when the church was consecrated, i.e. during the second half of the 12th century.



Mikhail V. Fomin

The Churches of Chersonese in the 4th Century

The issue of the early Christian community formation in late antique Chersonese remains disputable despite more than a hundred years of research. That is why construction activity of religious buildings in this most early period of Christianity in the city is of significant interest now.

The materials of archaeological diggings indicate that Christian temples were raised there as early as at the late 4th century. Two churches are mentioned in *The Lives of Holy Bishops of Cherson*. The first one was created by the bishop Aetherius. He was a founder of the Chersonese see (eparchy) and his name was mentioned among the participants of the Second Ecumenical Council (the First Council of Constantinople) in 381. Presumably the church was located in site of the so-called “The 1935 Basilica”. Some authors suggest that a late antique synagogue had been there before which is confirmed by the archaeological finds and the text of *The Lives of Holy Bishops of Cherson*. With the rise of Christianity the synagogue was reconstructed into a church. It could happen before 393 – the date of the act forbidding deconstruction of synagogues.

As a result of the reconstruction a five-sided apse was added to the rectangular building, the walls were decorated with frescos similar to decorations of early Christian crypts of Chersonese, the floor was ornamented with mosaic. Moreover a sculpture could stand in the church. The fragment of the composition “Good shepherd” was discovered near the basilica.

Also the Saint Peter’s church raised by the saint bishop Capiton on the site of the pagan temple of the Virgin – Parthenos is mentioned in the text of *The Lives*. Some experts suggest the church preceded the later East basilica. During the excavations that were carried out here since 1876 the strata was moved away up to the rock. The eastern part of the building descended in the sea.

The architectural details that could be parts of the Saint Peter’s church were excavated in Chersonese. Among them there are three panels that once formed a single construction. The front of the first one reveals the image of Christ as a beardless youth with the nimbus reaching out a hand to drowning Peter. There is a sail on the right and the frame and the remains of the cross on the back. The text says “The Lord Jesus giving his hand to Peter”. The panel is stored in Saint-Petersburg. The second panel, known as the “Paris panel” is stored in Louvre. It displays the image of Jesus as a beardless youth with a nimbus reaching out his right hand as a gesture of blessing. The text says “The Lord Jesus saying to Peter and his companions: cast the net on the right side of the boat, and you will find some”. The third panel of Chersonese was found beside the East basilica. It displays the part of a frame and the traces of the image of a head under it. The text is “The Lord Jesus...”. The panels are dated 4–5th centuries. The positions of Jesus figure indicate a reflective symmetry of the whole composition.

There is one more artefact: “Dedication of Martyrios”. The ktitor inscription was revealed during the excavations of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities in 1876 and obviously relates to the Saint Peter’s church. There are also two pieces of altar screen with the relief wide-ended cross and the text “For the prayer of Martyrios and all his near and dear”. They are dated to the end

of the 4th – early 5th centuries, too. One can assume the church was a basilica with an attached or located nearby baptistery in which Chersonesitans were baptized.

Thus, it is possible to affirm that two Christian churches of late antique Chersonese are known as for today and presumably they were raised in late 80^s – early 90^s years of the 4th century.



Mikhail V. Fomin

*The Early Christian Art of Late Antique Chersonese.
The Origin of the Art Tradition*

The unique monuments of early Christian art were discovered on the site of antique Chersonese. To them belong decorated crypts, frescos and mosaics of the 1335 Basilica. They are dated from the middle of the 4th to the 5th centuries. The monuments make possible to trace the origin of the art tradition and its development in the late antique, or early byzantine center.

In the 3rd – 4th centuries Chersonese kept its bonds with the north regions of Asia Minor: Heraclea Pontica, Synop, Amisos. The trading channels were also the ways of spreading new ideas and trends, the means of cultural dialogue.

The Lives of Holy Bishops of Cherson indicate the bond between Chersonese Christians and the ones of Syria and Palestine. Worship of the Saint Phocas of Synop (died 117), Warrior Saint – Theodore Stratelates who suffered in Heraclea (died 319) also submit the fact. Obviously that influenced the formation of the art tradition of Chersonese.

The wall paintings include the images of geometric figures, plant-based ornaments, garlands and birds; imitation and incrustation are the common styles here. Some images of people occur; and traces of the Chi Ro are found in eight of thirteen crypts.

The composition with a peacock (crypts on “the earth of N.I. Tur”, 1912, #1 1998-1999) is of special interest. It is close to the 1335 Basilica and mosaics of the northern Syria by its subjects and technics.

The style and art technics of the 1335 Basilica mosaics is similar to the mosaic of more late temples. There are elements of imitation in the fragments of wall painting, marbling in particular, and the images of geometric figures, garlands, birds (peacocks among them) that are close by their technic and subjects to the painted crypts of Chersonese.

The mosaics of Chersonese have many similarities to the ones of the Christian buildings of Syria. The study of technics and subjects indicate the semantic and aesthetic closeness. In some cases it is possible to say the paintings are identical.

Thus may be stated that early Christian art tradition of Chersonese could have been brought from Syria and Palestine and developed under the influence of their art tradition. And that is quite natural taking into account how Christianity was brought to the city.

The art system imported to the Chersonese soil in the Late Antique period developed in crypt decoration art, frescos and floor mosaics in the early Christian environment. The tradition is traced in more late mosaics, too. The similarity of the compositions elements could indicate the existence of a certain art school in which graphic sketches, or line drawings were used and they could have been brought from the Middle East area. The early Christian plots of the 1335 Basilica crypts were developed in the more late mosaics. That make it possible to suggest an art school that emerged and developed in this region.



Panagiotis Theodoropoulos

The Last Eparch of Italy: An Interpretation of the Sigillographic Evidence

In this paper I will discuss the seal DO 55.2.2768 which belongs to a certain John ὑπατος καὶ ἑπαρχος Ἰταλίας. This intriguing piece of evidence is dated to the first half of the eighth century, almost a century after the last mention of an eparch of Italy in 639. The absence of any reference to the office in written sources, the non-existence of any seal attested it, and our knowledge of the political developments in early eighth century Italy indicate that the seal in question shows a reintroduction of the office, rather than its continuous survival to that date. I will, therefore, explain this occurrence by placing this seal into the framework of the Italian policy of Leo III, who was the last emperor to attempt bringing central Italy under actual imperial control. Early in his reign he levied taxes upon Italy provoking the intense reaction of Pope Gregory II. As I will suggest, it is possible that Leo III reintroduced the office of the eparch of Italy, whose duties involved fiscal administration and supervising tax collection, in order to take direct control of the province revenue from the Pope, who until this period seems to have been in charge of the aforementioned functions. The failure of Leo III to control central Italy signaled a change in Byzantium's priorities and triggered a process of re-orientation for the Papacy, which led to its gradual estrangement from the empire and its turn towards the Franks.



Paul M. Pasquesi

The Experience of Uncreated Light from Isaac Qatraye to Simeon the New Theologian; Narsai and Shenoute on the Council of Chalcedon: Comparative Reactions

This paper seeks to demonstrate the continuity and similarity of visionary praxis between Middle Eastern Christians and Byzantine Christians from Isaac Qatraye (of Nineveh/ the Syrian) in the late seventh century and John Dalyatha (late eighth century) to Simeon the New Theologian (late tenth, early eleventh century). The focus will be on those passages on the “uncreated light” and the balancing of cataphatic and apophatic language used by each author to describe and explain their experience. The transmission of Middle Eastern Christian language and practice was transmitted through Palestine in those monasteries that translated these works both for a “Melkite” or Chalcedonian Syriac-speaking audience, as well as for a Byzantine Greek-speaking audience passing on the works of Isaac with some of John’s writings as well. Even with this process of transmission, it will be demonstrated that the underlying practices of encounter with the light without form and its interpretation is remarkably stable. After briefly detailing the transmission of texts and their echoes in Symeon, their articulation of both the practices of prayer and the experience of divine encounter will be compared, laying the groundwork for both later monastic practice and the defense of those practices.



Spiro Nika

Byzantine Heritage in the Valley of Drinos (Hadrianapolis), Gjirokastra

The historical sources of the late antiquity that mention the region of the Drinos valley, inform us about a strong structure of the church, organized on the basis of the administrative provinces of the Diocletian period (245-313). In the center of each province was the metropolitan church, together with the bishopric see, having under his jurisdiction the bishops of the suffragan bishoprics. The archbishop of Nicopolis (Epirus Vetus) had 9 bishoprics under his jurisdiction, among those, Hadrianopolis. In 458, in the letter of the Synod of Epirus Vetus directed to Emperor Leon I, the name of bishop Hypatius of Hadrianopolis is present; on year 516, on the letters sent to Pope Hormisdas, among the signatures is present that of bishop Constantine (of Hadrianopolis).

On 625, when Pope directs a letter to the synod of the Epirus Vetus, namely, to the four left bishops of the region, discussing the question of the Metropolitan of Nicopolis, chances are that the bishop of Hadrianopolis was among the addressees.

During the years 610-649, which were marked by massive movements of people and ethnic changes, a serious phenomenon hit the Byzantine Empire, the religious conflict, which was caused due to different interpretations of the role of icons for the Christian faith. Due to the lack of evidences, it is unknown the degree that iconoclasm had in the Albanian milieu. It is known only the fact that Emperor Leon III (717-741) disconnected the local church from the jurisdiction of Rome, placing it under the Patriarchate of Constantinople on 732.

When the Council of the year 869 was held, among the participants was also the bishop of Hadrianopolis. According to the Notitia 8 and 10, published by J. Darruze, dating between 886-912, Hadrianopolis is part of the bishopric of Naupactus (Nikopolis). The Archbishopric of Ohrid, in the time of the Bulgarian tzars, enlarged its territories by involving under its jurisdiction the bishopric of Hadrianopolis, detaching it from Naupactus; the latter continued to exist even after the year 1018, as it is proven by the sigil of Basil II. After the official Schism of the churches (1054), Hadrianopolis was under the strong influence of the byzantine orthodoxy. During the 14th century, according to *Notitiae Graecorum Episcopatum*, Hadrianopolis belongs to Naupactus.

The city of Hadrianopolis has been built on an earlier settlement of the late classic – early Hellenistic period, being a center of services along the Drinos valley. During the period of Hadrian (117-138) the antique settlement gained the features of a city. After a period of crisis, the urban Hadrianopolis experienced a temporary revival during the period of Justinian (527-565). Eventhough the city started to be abandoned by the people during the 7th century, latter it became a bishopric named *Drinopolis*.

From the 16th century and on, a large number of monasteries were built on the Eastern side of the Mali i Gjerë, 8 of which have survived until nowadays. Amongst those, the most distinguished is the Monastery of Driano, build on the height of the Mali i Gjerë, above Zervat village.



Dimitrios Skrekas

*The Prestige of Manuscripts: From Venetian Crete to Holkham Hall and Beyond.
A Descriptive Online Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts from Holkham Hall
Now in the Bodleian Library*

With this project, the Holkham Hall collection of Greek manuscripts, now in Oxford's Bodleian Library, is thoroughly explored and analytically described in an electronic catalogue whose preparation began in October 2015. Holkham Hall (UK) houses a renowned library built up mainly between the years 1712 and 1718, when on his Grand Tour of Europe, by Thomas Coke, later first Earl of Leicester. Coke was primarily interested in printed books, but he purchased over 700 manuscripts, of which 118 were in Greek. As the result of transactions in 1954, 1956 and 1981 all but one of these are now kept in Oxford.

Ranging in date from the 10th to the 17th century, included are patristic and Byzantine as well as classical texts. Some of them are adorned with beautiful illustrations. A major drawback to their wider use is the lack of a proper, analytical catalogue, since the existing hand-lists make no pretensions to completeness. The new catalogue conforms to current bibliographic standards with use of TEI and xml mark up, and it will be presented on-line on the Bodleian Libraries' website.

Examination of the dynamics of the collection and the reason for the creation of its several strands fall within the project. Manuscripts are examined in their pre-1954 context as a 'country' house collection. Questions are asked concerning their contribution to English cultural and intellectual life from their first appearance in England to the present day, and also on Coke's motives in acquiring manuscripts in addition to printed books. More interesting results are likely to come from examination of the antecedents of the collection before it came into Coke's possession.

Most of the Greek manuscripts derive, via an official on the staff of San Marco in Venice, from a sixteenth-century library formed in Venetian Crete by the Orthodox priest Ioannes Morezenos (d. 1613) and his family. This aspect of the collection has barely been noticed by modern Greek scholars and totally ignored by other specialists. It is obvious from a cursory glance that the manuscripts will in themselves reveal much about intellectual networks in Venice and Crete in the years immediately before Crete's fall to the Turks. There one can see various ownership marks, miscellaneous notes with some scribal signatures too.

Crete had a vibrant intellectual culture and the bilingual Venetian-Greek symbiosis of the Cretan Renaissance generated literary masterpieces such as Kornaros' *Erotokritos*. This spirit did not survive into the Turkish period (1669-1913) and its libraries are now uniquely represented by two manuscript collections, both in the Bodleian, those of Holkham Hall and of Francesco Barocci (acquired in 1629). Investigation of the role of the Holkham Hall material in its English and Venetian contexts will be examined in the project.

Further, a collected volume will be published, presenting conclusions on the nature, origins, material evidence, purposes and reception of the Holkham Hall Greek manuscripts, with reference to analogies from the Barocci manuscripts.

The conclusions will be more immediately available to the public with exhibitions of selected manuscripts and ancillary material in the Bodleian, in Crete and Holkham Hall itself.