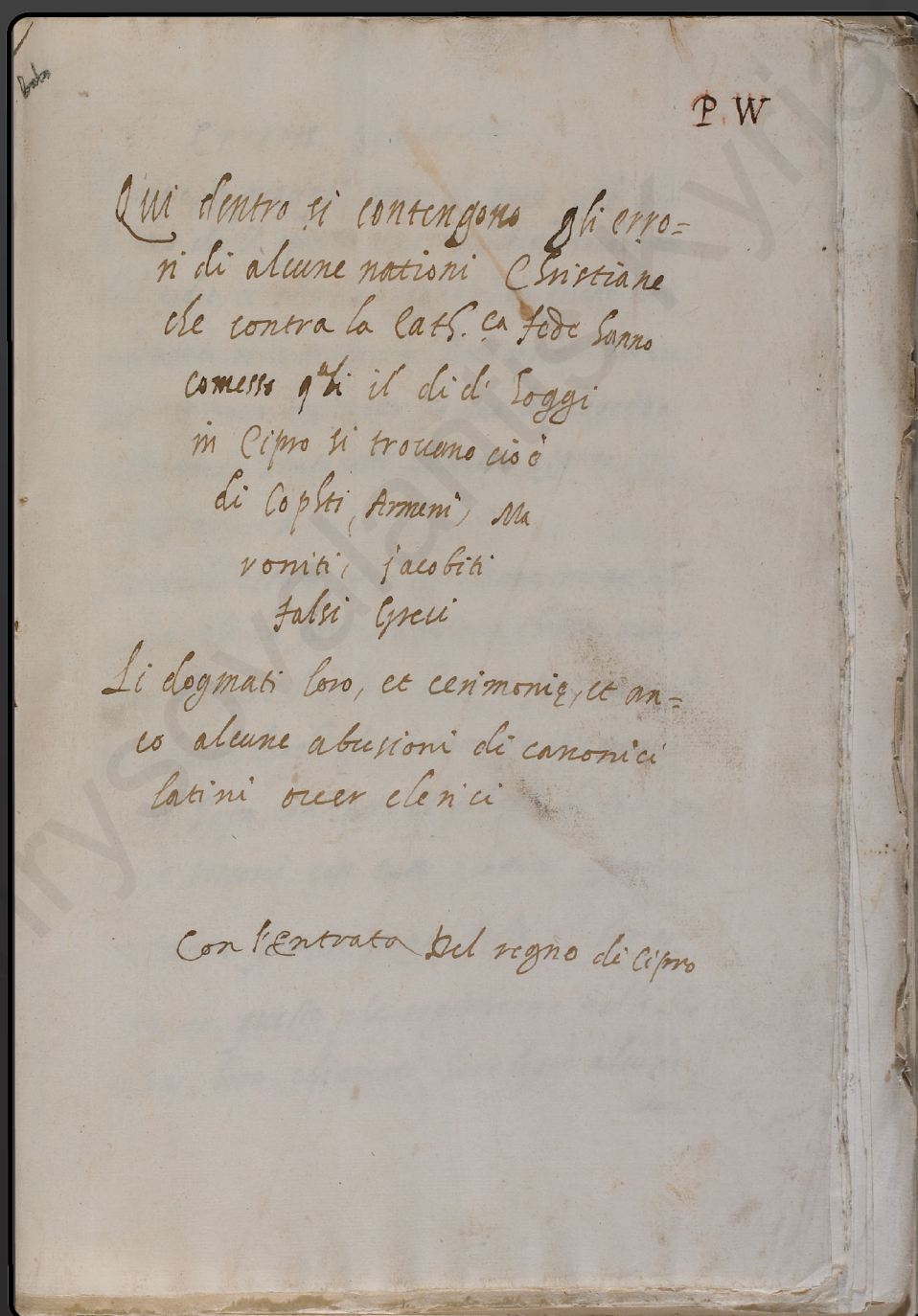


Chrysovalantis Kyriacou

# Christian Diversity in Late Venetian Cyprus

A Study and English Translation of Codex B-030 from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation







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CyChrist

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BANK OF CYPRUS CULTURAL FOUNDATION  
LEFKOSIA 2020



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Chrysovalantis Kyriacou





# Preface

The optimism of some Catholic clergy about the prospects of “reforming” the religious life of Cyprus was short-lived and misplaced. Even before Ottoman expansion swept aside Catholic ambitions, one obstacle was the pragmatic approach taken by the island’s Venetian rulers. Wary of likely Orthodox clerical and popular reactions to Catholic demands for changes to doctrines and rituals, the Venetian authorities remained concerned above all to maintain their political authority over the island. The intent behind the Report in manuscript Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation B-030, detailing the practices and customs of diverse religious communities in Cyprus, seems in part to have aimed to persuade a Venetian audience of the urgent need for religious reform. Whatever the intentions of the Report’s author or authors, this source nevertheless provides us with an intriguing glimpse into the different religious traditions of multiconfessional Cyprus (the text covers the alleged “errors” of communities described as Greeks, Copts, Armenians, Jacobites and Maronites).

This invaluable manuscript thus testifies to a particular moment in the entangled histories of Venice and Cyprus and of the Roman, Orthodox and other Christian traditions in the Eastern Mediterranean. It speaks to Latin domination of Cyprus but also to the preservation and adaptation of Orthodox religious practices. It provides significant insight into the diverse religious beliefs of sixteenth-century Cyprus and into how this diversity affected the identities of religious communities. The manuscript also reveals much about the Catholic Church during the era of Reformation, and about how the profound challenge posed by Protestants to Roman power in turn affected relations between Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Patterns of coexistence and tensions between Orthodox and Catholic Churches affected not only Cyprus but were a key dynamic of changing cultural and political relations in many parts of Europe. The history of Orthodox-Catholic interactions has only recently begun to become integrated into broader accounts of the religious life of early modern Europe. This neglect was in part the result of the limited perspectives adopted by many historians from North-Western Europe and in part the result of the limited horizons of nationalist and confessional historiographies in a variety of contexts. Chrysovalantis Kyriacou’s translation of this manuscript “on the errors of Cypriot Christians” is therefore both timely and important. His exemplary work gives wider access to this remarkable source. Through his introduction to this manuscript, Kyriacou also acts as a faithful guide to the religious history of Cyprus during the sixteenth century. Kyriacou’s introduction explores the context and character of the “report” and engages with a range of methodological and historiographical perspectives as he analyses key features of the text. In producing

this edition, Kyriacou's scholarship both draws attention to the fascinating and complex character of religious diversity in early modern Cyprus and highlights how the history of Cyprus significantly contributes to our understanding of early modern European religious cultures.

**Graeme Murdock, Trinity College Dublin**

Chrysovalantis Kyriacou

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The English translation and study of codex B-030 is dedicated in memory of four people who have been an inspiration in my life and work: Benediktos Englezakis (1947 – 1992), Julian Chrysostomides (1928 – 2008), Theodoros Papadopoulos (1921 – 2016) and my grandfather, Barnabas Zachariou (1932 – 2019).

# A note on terminology

The study on codex B-030 involves a number of terms concerning religious group identities that require further clarification. “Eastern” and “Byzantine Orthodox”, or simply “Orthodox”, refers to Byzantine-rite Christians who were mainly ethnically Greeks (*Greci* in Latin and Italian). “Latins” refers to Latin-rite, Roman Catholic Christians. “Oriental Christians” is used as an umbrella term for non-Byzantine-rite groups (e.g., Armenians, Copts, Jacobites and Maronites). “Chalcedonian” refers to Christian groups adhering to the doctrine of Christ’s two natures (the human and the divine), sanctioned by the Council of Chalcedon in 451: Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians are Chalcedonian. “Non-Chalcedonian” (“Monophysite”) refers to Christian groups rejecting the “two-nature” doctrines, as defined in Chalcedon, and emphasising Christ’s single nature; these were mainly the Armenians, Copts and Jacobites). The Maronites were Chalcedonian Arab Christians from Lebanon.

# HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

## 1. Cypriot Christians in an early modern perspective

### 1.1. Prolegomena

“It was very hot, and a great thirst oppressed us, so that our monk led us to the house of a Cypriot priest to drink water from his fountain. Seeing which the owner politely offered us wine, asking my guide if I was one of the Lutheran English lately arrived at the port. The monk told him that I was a Frenchman. Upon this the poor man embraced me for joy, saying in Italian much in praise of the French, and how since they had lost the Kingdom of Cyprus, the Cypriots had never been well treated, and had lost their liberty”(B-166:185-186; trans. Cobham 1908:174). This is how the Lord of Villamont, on his way to the Holy Land in 1589, describes his experience of Christian diversity in early modern Cyprus. The enthusiasm of Villamont’s Greek Cypriot host, some twenty years after the island’s Ottoman conquest (1570/71), was the result of a long symbiosis between Greek and Latin Cypriots, creating a complex web of religious and cultural ties (Nicolaou-Konnari 2005:62). In the shadow of Ottoman expansionism and conquest (Kyriacou 2018:159-222), these ties became for some strong bonds, leading many Orthodox and Catholics in Cyprus to a mutual rapprochement, regardless of confessional divisions. “Despite a constant flow of polemical literature from either side – but especially from the Greeks”, Kallistos Ware writes, “in actual practice relations between Catholics and Orthodox often continued to be extraordinarily amicable, above all during the years 1600 – 1700” (Ware 1972:262). As the Franciscan Giovanni Battista da Todi reported in 1655, Greek pro-Catholics on the island included a bishop and five priests (Tsirpanlis 1973:156, 240), not mentioning (perhaps because it was well known among Catholic circles) that Archbishop Nikephoros (1640/41 – 1674) was also a Catholic sympathiser (Mitsides 1993:141-148).

But this is only part of the story: interconfessional tension did exist, both before and after the Ottoman conquest of 1570/71. In 1667, Salvatore da Giove, who succeeded Giovanni Battista da Todi in the leadership of the Catholic mission in Cyprus, pointed out that Nikephoros (mentioned as “our archbishop of Nicosia!”) issued marriage licences to divorced people, ordained clerics under the age of 25, permitted burials shortly after one’s death, and tolerated the veneration of St Gregory Palamas, who (according to many Catholic theologians of the time) was a heretic (Tsirpanlis 1973:189-190, 248). A few years later, Hilarion Kigalas (a former Catholic missionary) would become archbishop of Cyprus, deposing the pro-Latin Nikephoros and advocating an Orthodox line, which shows that age-long confessional dichotomies were far from healed (Tsirpanlis 1996:121-145; Tsirpanlis 2006:128-136, 171-184).

Christian diversity in early modern Cyprus was, clearly, “a world in which coexistence did not imply tolerance and in which hostility never fully precluded forms of comprehension” (Roberts 2013:13). Or, to paraphrase David Nirenberg, Cyprus was neither “a rose-tinted haven of tolerance”, nor “a darkening valley of tears”, but a grey zone in-between (Nirenberg 1996:9). While Cyprus has been examined (e.g., Coureas 1997; Arbel 2000; Schabel 2001; Coureas 2010; Coureas 2014; Kaffa 2014; Duba-Schabel 2015; Kyriacou 2018) in a comparative perspective with other areas inhabited by Greeks and Latins in the Middle Ages (e.g., Southern Italy, Sicily, Greece, Constantinople, and the Crusader States), there is still work to be done concerning the island’s position in the broader map of Christian pluralism in post-Reformation Europe.

## 1.2. The codex

Codex B-030 from the Collections of the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation provides exciting new information on Cypriot multiconfessionalism during the last decade of Venetian rule on the island (1560s). This important Venetian manuscript comprises a report on the religious errors, ceremonies and customs of Cypriot Christian ethnoreligious communities (= *Report* in §§I-XVII, XVIII.2). It also includes a compilation of economic and administrative documents and notes (§§XVIII.1, XIX- XXIII.6), and miscellaneous notes on the Oriental Christians of Cyprus, entitled “The Copts” (§§XXIV.1-32). There is no reference to the author, whose possible identity is discussed below. According to Leonora Navari, the codex is a fair copy of the original manuscript, composed sometime between 1563 and 1570. The Bank of Cyprus codex was copied, probably in Venice, sometime between 1580 and 1595 (Navari 2010:166-169). The *editio princeps* of B-030 is published (with Modern Greek translation and historical commentary) in Kyriacou 2019.

B-030 consists of 37 unnumbered leaves (288 x 225mm), bound in three gatherings; these contain 14, 10 and 14 paper leaves respectively and are uncut on the upper and outer edges. The first leaf (f. 1r) bears on its right-hand corner the hitherto unidentified initials P.W. by a later hand (Navari 2010:166). Each folio contains approximately 15 lines of text. The scribe divided the text into 24 sections and subdivided it into paragraphs, all of which are numbered in the *editio princeps* (§§I.1-XXIV.32). The contents are listed below, using the section numbering of the edition:

- I. Errors of the Greeks.
- II. Some other ceremonies and abuses of the said Greeks.
- III. Customs or regulations of the Greeks.
- IV. Errors of the Copts.
- V. Ceremonies and customs of the Copts.

- VI. Errors of the Armenians.
- VII. Some customs and ceremonies of the said Armenians.
- VIII. Errors of the Jacobites.
- IX. Errors of the Maronites.
- X. Ceremonies and customs of the Maronites.
- XI. Several Latin churches or chapels which have been poorly appreciated and even ruined and are now converted in the Greek style in Cyprus and Nicosia.
- XII. Christian monuments, which became cesspits or sewers.
- XIII. Very ancient Greek books, which have never been printed or come to light.
- XIV. Some abuses of the Latin clergy and laity.
- XV. The most ancient noble families.
- XVI. Noble families, which came [to Cyprus] during the reign of James.
- XVII. In the service of the Knights [of the Hospital] are the following:[names follow].
- XVIII. Villages held in lease from the State.
- XIX. Foreigners who have revenues from Cyprus.
- XX. The Salt Lakes.
- XXI. Expenses of the State.
- XXII. Feudal lords of the Kingdom.
- XXIII. The community.
- XXIV. The Copts.

### 1.3. The author and his times

So far, nothing is known with certainty about the author or compiler of B-030. Since there is no reference to the island's Ottoman conquest, Navari has suggested (2010: 166) that the composition or compilation of the original material dates from after 1563 and before 1570/71. The name of the last Latin archbishop of Nicosia, Philippo Mozenigo (1560 – 1586), is mentioned twice in B-030 (§§I.28, XIX.1), suggesting that the Report must have been composed during the first decade of his archiepiscopacy, namely sometime between his appointment as archbishop of Nicosia in 1560 and his retirement to Italy in 1568. The compilation of documents and notes on the Oriental Christians includes material from various phases, mainly between 1560 and 1567,

with the exception of §XVIII.1, which probably dates from before 1560 (Kyriacou 2019).

The Report's reference (§I.28) to the reestablishment of provincial synods under Mozenigo could perhaps be considered as further indication that the Report was composed sometime after the dramatic Synod of St Sophia in 1567, which led to a clash between Mozenigo and the Greek bishop of Solea, Neophytos Logaras (1543 – 1568). To understand the reasons behind this conflict, we should turn to the wider context of Greek-Latin relations in Cyprus during the Middle Ages.

Cyprus had been ruled by the Frankish Crusader dynasty of the Lusignan kings of Jerusalem for almost three centuries (1191 – 1473) and by the Venetian Republic of St Mark for almost a century (1473/74 – 1489: the protectorate period; and 1489 – 1571: the colony period). The founding of a Latin Church in 1196 led to the establishment of a new order on the island: the Eastern Orthodox clergy and flock (that is, the Greek majority of the island's population, which also included Latins/Franks, Armenians, Maronites, Copts, Syrians, Jews, and other ethno-religious groups) were gradually placed under papal spiritual authority and jurisdiction, although they were generally permitted to follow their distinct liturgical tradition and to maintain doctrines that did not offend Western definitions of orthodoxy. It is true that the religious hostility between Greeks and Latins should not be exaggerated; yet, the political alienation of Cyprus from the Byzantine Empire, which had ruled the island for nearly nine centuries, as well as occasional outbreaks of tension, led to the renegotiation and adaptation of Orthodox Cypriot identity and the development of covert mechanisms of anti-Latinism. Consequently, crypto-religious resistance was expressed in non-violent and non-coercive ways, permitting the preservation of Eastern Orthodox identity as a vehicle of both religious and ethnic awareness. Since 1260, ecclesiastical affairs in Cyprus were regulated by the *Bulla Cypria* constitution, which sanctioned the coexistence of different rites under the Papacy and the local Latin Church, but left room for the Western supervision and correction of non-Latin doctrines, practices and customs perceived as heretical or erroneous. The policy of rapprochement pursued by the Lusignans in the mid-fourteenth century, the emergence of non-Latin elites and the crisis experienced by the Kingdom of Cyprus around the same period, led to the relaxation of the *Bulla Cypria*'s rulings and intensified the interaction between Latins and non-Latins. Moreover, the Western Great Schism (1378 – 1417) enhanced the indigenisation of Cypriot Latins. Rapprochement was further facilitated by the Council of Florence (1438 – 1439) and the unionist line pursued by Renaissance popes, particularly after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 (Papadopoulos 1995b; Coureas 1997; Schabel 2005; Coureas 2010; Schabel 2010; Kyriacou 2018).



By the 1560s, “the three centuries-long process of cultural interpenetration between the Greeks and Franks towards the formation of an inclusive kypriotike identity develops into a gradual italianisation of the upper classes” (Nicolaou-Konnari 2014: 66). Yet, the redefinition of an inclusive Cypriot identity that embraced the island’s classical past, together with the periods of Lusignan and Venetian rule, but marginalised its Byzantine heritage, is largely an ideological construct of Renaissance Cypriot scholarship (cf. Grivaud 1995a:105-116) and should not be seen as representative of more complex dynamics within the island’s society. As Benjamin Arbel correctly notes, conversions to the Latin rite only occurred among those Greeks “who came into close contact not only with the centre of power but also with the dominant culture” (Arbel 1989:190). Moreover, the anti-Venetian revolutionary activities of James Diasorenos (d. 1563), who seems to have maintained links with the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, as well as the Orthodox spiritual and cultural revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are strong indications that “being Cypriot” was only one layer in the web of overlapping identities developed by the island’s non-Latin populations under foreign rule (Kyriacou 2018:187-222).

A key personage in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Late Venetian period was Filippo Mozenigo. An eminent member of the patrician elite of Venice, Mozenigo had served St Mark’s Republic as a diplomat, before pursuing an ecclesiastical career as archbishop of Nicosia (Bonora 2006: 214). Mozenigo’s appointment by Pope Pius IV (1560) coincided with Roman Catholic spiritual, canonical and institutional renovation, as a response to the threat of the Protestant Reformation. The Council of Trent (1543 – 1563), which became a banner for the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation, was officially accepted by the Venetian Patriarchate and government in 1564 (Cristellon-Menchi 2013:387). At the same time, the colonial authorities of Cyprus continued to pursue the Republic’s traditional Realpolitik, which was highlighted by tolerance in matters of faith and aimed at uniting the island’s ethnoreligious communities under Venice’s political and administrative control (Kyriacou 2018:194-196). This confirms Michael Walzer’s argument (1997:14-15) that imperial bureaucrats tend to not “interfere in the internal life of the autonomous communities for the sake of fairness or anything else so long as taxes are paid and peace maintained. Hence they can be said to tolerate the different ways of life, and the imperial regime can be called a regime of toleration, whether or not the members of the different communities are tolerant of one another”. Upon Mozenigo’s arrival in Cyprus, however, it became clear that he was determined to restore the Latin Church of Cyprus to its former power, following a long period of episcopal absenteeism, cultural indigenisation and canonical relaxation. According to Elena Bonora, the archbishop “attempted to implement the Tridentine decrees in a heterogeneous religious setting” (Bonora 2006:215), inevitably affecting the

relationship between the local Venetian authorities and the indigenous Greek and Oriental Christian communities.

Soon after Trent (1564), Mozenigo, who had been present during the last phase of the synodal proceedings, was appointed commissary general of the Holy Inquisition in Cyprus. The archbishop expressed his intention to create a committee of six investigators who would investigate and reform the errors of the island's non-Latin Christians (Dokos 2002:213; Skoufari 2012:212, 223). Sometime between January and February 1567, Mozenigo convened a provincial synod in the cathedral of St Sophia, calling for the participation of the Latin, Greek, Maronite, Armenian and Jacobite clergy. During the synod, Mozenigo and Logaras quarrelled over the function of Orthodox ecclesiastical courts, the indissolubility of marriage and the practice of simony, leading to Logaras being summoned by Mozenigo to the papal court in Rome. The growing distrust between Greeks and Latins sparked a fierce popular riot in Nicosia, forcing the Venetians (on the eve of the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus) to intervene in support of Logaras: rather than travelling to Rome, the Greek bishop was ordered to present his case before the Council of Ten in Venice (February 1568). The Venetians vindicated Logaras, covered his travel expenses and ignored papal cries to punish heresy, while Mozenigo was recalled to Venice to answer for his activities in May 1568. Although he was not punished, the last Latin archbishop of Nicosia was reproached by his countrymen for having disturbed religious peace in Cyprus (Kyriacou 2018:196-199, with additional bibliography). It is rather ironic that in 1573, Mozenigo was himself accused of heresy by the Inquisition on the basis of possessing prohibited books and having employed the vernacular in one of his philosophical treatises. Psychologically devastated and impoverished (since he had lost his main source of income due to the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus), Mozenigo was not absolved from charges until 1583, three years before his death in the desert of Mount Rua (Bonora 2006; Voza 2014).

The *Report* is a product of Catholic investigation in Cyprus, recording the “errors”, “abuses” and religious customs of Cypriot Christians (particularly the non-Latins). We shall return later to this important aspect of B-030, discussing its semi-inquisitorial viewpoint. Reference is also made to manuscripts preserved in Greek monastic libraries, which “are very useful and necessary for our times but they [i.e., the Greek monks] do not let us see them” (§XIII.3). B-030 provides specific eyewitness information on the existence of “a volume on the Council of Florence or Ferrara [...] written in golden capital letters” in the hands of Lord Abbot Podachataro (§XIII.4). Similarly, the anonymous author notes that “in the hands of the illustrious Lord Alesandro Lascari, governor of the light cavalry force (*stradiotti*), there is a volume written on old parchment and containing all the councils, both ecumenical and provincial, together with some epistles by St Basil and many other Greek theologians” (§XIII.5). The detailed and vivid depiction of Eastern Orthodox Easter

celebrations is another strong indication of eyewitness testimony in the *Report* (§§III.4, III.21). The description of Maronite Eucharistic practices is underlined by an explicit statement of eyewitness testimony on the part of the anonymous author: “most of these things we have seen and learned from their own mouths and touched with our own hands and the rest we have learned from respectable believers of their faith, who come from their own community and lead them” (§X.2).

Although it is not clear whether the *Report* was prepared by the six-member committee of Mozenigo’s inquisitors, its scope clearly reflects the archbishop’s attempts to impose the Tridentine decrees on the island. The author’s intellectual profile (the unity of style in the *Report* suggests that it was written by a single author) seems to have been that of an educated member of the Latin clergy in Mozenigo’s service. That the author was dedicated to the Tridentine cause is further confirmed by the brief prayer in §XVIII.2: “O God, by Thy infinite goodness and mercy, may only one pastor and only one flock shall glorify Thy name in the world, forever and ever, amen”. The author appears to have been fluent in Italian and to have had a good (although not perfect) written knowledge of Latin and Greek, despite occasional mistakes and scribal errors. The survey of unpublished Greek manuscripts in monastic libraries (§XIII) could be interpreted as an indication that he was sharing the bibliophile interests of Mozenigo (cf. Constantinides 1985). It remains, however, unclear whether the compiler of non-ecclesiastical documents in B-030 was the same as the *Report*’s author.

Dr Nasa Patapiou has suggested to me some time ago that a possible candidate for the *Report*’s authorship could have been no other than Giulio Stavriano, a well-known Cypriot Armenian Dominican of the sixteenth century. Stavriano served the Papacy as bishop of the Cypriot Armenian and Maronite communities between 1561 and 1571, and later became bishop of Bova in Calabria (1571 – 1577), where he imposed the Latin rite over the local Greek community (Longo 1988). Stavriano participated in the Synod of St Sophia in 1567 as bishop of Megara and Mozenigo’s vicar (Dedeyan 2009:69-70; Skoufari 2011:121).

The Cypriot Dominican historian Stephen of Lusignan (d. ca. 1590) mentions in the French version of his historical treatise on Cyprus that Stavriano had been his teacher or spiritual mentor (*maistre*) and that upon his election and confirmation by Pope Pius IV (1561), he worked for the reaffirmation of Cypriot Armenian obedience to the Roman pontiff, rather than to the Armenian patriarch. According to Lusignan, Stavriano spoke the Greek-Cypriot dialect fluently. In 1556, Stavriano and Lusignan travelled to Europe; this was Lusignan’s first journey outside his native island. In 1570, the year of the island’s Ottoman invasion, the two men were in Rome, visiting the pope for certain affairs (Lusignan 1573:34v; Lusignan 1580:72r-72v). More importantly, Lusignan describes how Stavriano had reformed the liturgical practices

of his fellow Armenians, which he perceived as being heretical and inconsistent with Catholic definitions of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. In the following passages (my translation) from Lusignan's Italian and French works, we can perhaps trace a possible link between the triad of Mozenigo-Stavriano-Lusignan and B-030:

“Lord Giulio of the same nation [i.e., of the Armenians] recalled them from their custom of eating the Easter meal on Holy Saturday evening, on the appearance of the first star, and instructed them to do so on Sunday morning, following the divine offices” (Lusignan 1573:34v: *Il Monsignor Giulio della istessa natione questo Monsignor rivocò esse natione de non far o mangnar la Pascha, il sabbato Santo la sera nel apparir la prima stella, ma Domenica da mattina dipoi li divini officii*).

“Moreover, he [i.e., Stavriano] made them [i.e., the Armenians] abandon their various heresies and superstitions, such as the one associated with their celebration of Easter Sunday, on the appearance of the first star [i.e., on Holy Saturday]; because they misinterpret the passage from St Matthew [Matthew 28:1]: *late on the Sabbath, as the new day began*, etc. Thus, they consider that our Lord was resurrected on this hour and they have their custom to gather in their church and to begin celebrating Easter, eating only eggs, milk and cheese. On the following day [i.e., on Easter Sunday], they take around their church a roasted lamb. As soon as their bishop dresses with his episcopal vestments, they run together (both clergymen and laypeople), until the bishop takes a bite from the lamb and everyone imitates him in an orderly way. And they call this ‘Paschal Lamb’. [Stavriano] is also responsible for correcting them in mixing water with wine in the chalice, as is done by the Roman Church” (Lusignan 1580:72r-72v: *Davantage, il leur fit laisser plusieurs heresies & superstitions, comme celle, de laquelle ils usoint le Samedy de Pasques, apparissant la premiere estoille: pource que interpretant mal ce passage de S. Mathieu, où il dict, Le vespre du Sabbat estant venu, & c. & estimant nostre Seigneur estre resuscité à ceste heure-là, ils avoient de coustume d’aller tous à leur temple, & commençoient à y celebrer leurs Pasques, mangeant seulement des oeufs, du laict, & du fourmage, & le lendemain pendoient au milieu de leur Eglise un Agneau tout entiere rosty: & lors l’Evesque habillé de ses habits Episcopaux, couroit avec tout le Clergé & le people, & mordoit le premier un morceau de l’Agneau, comme aussi faisoient tous les autres en leur ordre: & cella faict, disoient, Agneau Paschal. Il fit aussi en sorte, qu’ils mirent depuis del’eau dans le Calice avec le vin, comme faict l’Eglise Romaine*).

“The first error of the Armenians is that they are of the same opinion and mind with the said Copts in accepting no other council apart from the first three ecumenical councils. Moreover, some of them consider as theological authorities the aforementioned heresiarchs (e.g., Dioscoros), who have been condemned by the aforesaid council [of Chalcedon]. However, they are different in celebrating the liturgy with unleavened bread and pure wine without water, against the canonical order of the Holy Roman Church in East and West” (B-030, §VI.1: *Il primo error di*

*Armeni si è che sono di commune opinione con logia detti Cofiti in cio che non accettano altro concilio se non li tre primi Universali; similmente hanno ancor costoro per lor dottori li sudetti heresiarchi, cioè Dioscoro, annathematezati nel Concilio ante detto, ma sono discrepanti in questo che nel celebrar messa consacrano con pan' azimo, ma con vino puro senza aqua, contra la determination della Santa Chiesa Romana Oriental et Occidentale).*

“Their second error is that they celebrate Easter on Holy Saturday, following the *Hail Mary* and the appearance of the first star” (B-030, §VI.2: *Il secondo lor error si è che la Pasqua della Santa Resurrettione la fanno il Sabbato Santo all'Ave Maria, apparita la prima stella*).

“Again, they imitate the Jews in what is their fifth error: they sacrifice the paschal lamb of the Ancient Law in a special ceremony. They take a lamb and dress it with many ornaments and go with it around the great altar, chanting their blessings. Later, they bless the salt and sacrifice the lamb. When everything is prepared on the day of the Holy Sunday, they eat it hung inside the church and everyone is formally dressed according to the Old Testament. All take a piece from it; however, this does not happen in Cyprus” (B-030, §VI.5: *Item judaizzano in questo ch'è il quinto errore, percioche fanno l'agnel pasquale della Antica Legge, con questa cerimonia pigliano un agnello et lo vestono di molti adornamenti, et vanno girando con esso ritorno l'altar grande cantando le lor beneditioni, et poi santificano il sale, et lo mactano, et preparato ogni cosa, fatto il giorno della Santa Domenica, il mangiano applicato in chiesa, ornati tutti secondo il Vechio Testamento et ogn'uno gli da un morso, ma questo non si fa in Cipro*).

“They celebrate Easter on Holy Saturday, eating cheese and eggs, and on Sunday the [paschal] lamb” (B-030, §XXIV.21: *Fanno la Pasqua di Sabbato Santo con cascio et ova e la Domenica l'agnello*).

“They eat the paschal lamb grilled and hung in the church, *having girded up the loins* [1 Peter 1:13], etc.” (B-030, §XXIV.23: *L'agnel pasquale mangiano arosto apiccato in chiesa succinti lumbos, et cetera*).

Stavriano, Mozenigo's vicar and Lusignan's teacher or mentor, became known in Cyprus as the reformer of Armenian practices described in both B-030 and Lusignan's works. But B-030 mentions neither Stavriano nor the Catholic reform of the ancient Armenian custom of Easter animal sacrifice. Could this suggest that the *Report* was composed sometime before Stavriano's reforming activities? The enigmatic ending line of §VI.5 (“all take a piece from it; however, this does not happen in Cyprus”) could perhaps be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the anonymous author (Stavriano?) to minimise the degree of Cypriot Armenian participation in this ritual (cf. Lusignan's description of the same practice, as well as §XXIV.21 and §XXIV.23 in B-030, which seem to support the opposite). Moreover, the dates for the Armenian feasts of Candlemass, the Transfiguration and the beginning of the Nativity fast (§§VI.6, VII.1) are erroneous: could this be a scribal

error (or even a memory error on the author's part), or should this be interpreted as betraying the author's lack of familiarity with the Armenian calendar? These questions remain open for future examination. Overall, while it is true that Stavriano's identification as the *Report's* author cannot be ascertained, the "Stavriano hypothesis" remains so far, an exciting possibility. This is strengthened by various passages from Lusignan that seem to be echoing the *Report* and are noted in the apparatus of the text's edition (Kyriacou 2019), suggesting that Lusignan might have depended on the contents of the original manuscript to compose his own historical works. Perhaps future research brings to light other writings attributed to Stavriano, which could be comparatively examined with the *Report*.

## 1.4. Confessionalism

Despite being an encyclopaedic piece of work, the *Report* was not written for the sake of gathering and transmitting knowledge on the Christian nations of Cyprus; its primary aim was apologetic and polemical. As already pointed out, the *Report's* main argument is reflected in §XVIII.2: "O God, by Thy infinite goodness and mercy, may only one pastor and only one flock shall glorify Thy name in the world, forever and ever, amen". One pastor, one flock: the vision of unity under the Papacy, which (in the spirit of Catholic regeneration after Trent) called for the definition of Catholic identity in stricter and more precise terms, challenging the transgression of boundaries in the multiconfessional society of Cyprus and struggling to recover the lost ground, against the arithmetic and cultural superiority of the Byzantine Orthodox and Oriental Christian rites. The tension between Mozenigo and Logaras is representative of the rising tides of interconfessional opposition, resulting from the disturbance of religious peace in the 1560s. It should be noted that Lutheranism and Calvinism were not posing a serious threat on the island's mixed Catholic-Orthodox-Oriental Christian society: sympathisers of the Protestant Reformation seem to have had a rather limited presence in Cyprus and their activities appear to have been covert, due to hostility caused among the Orthodox population by the (pro-Calvinist) public sermons of Ambrogio Cavalli in 1544 (Kyriacou 2018:190-193, with additional bibliography). What was, clearly, at stake was the preservation or renegotiation of the existing state of religious affairs on the island, defined by the *Bulla Cypria*, Venetian interests and long experience of forced multiethnic coexistence.

Cyprus was not alone: religious conflict was also spreading across Europe, although the main currents of opposition were not Catholics and Orthodox but Catholics and Protestants. The battle between rival truths gave rise to confessionalism. "As church began to define its identity in terms of its unique teachings", Benjamin J. Kaplan explains, "doctrine took on an unprecedented importance, and the expectation [...] began to build that church members know what their church taught and how it differed from other churches. For Protestants, this expectation was built into the very

definition of their religion, which taught that salvation is 'by faith alone'. [...] At the same time, a more general dynamic operated: the very existence of alternatives, created pressure for Christians to be better informed and more self-conscious in their commitments. Catholic reformers too began to demand that ordinary church members internalize the teachings of their church. Religion itself thus came increasingly to mean belief in a particular creed, and a life lived in accordance with it" (Kaplan 2007:30-31). Orthodox voices for renewal, being both endogenous and in response to the exogenous shock of the Protestant/Catholic Reformation, were also raised throughout the Orthodox world, from Moldavia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to Cyril Loukaris' Constantinople, and even Cyprus (Crăciun-Gitta-Murdock 2002; Sharipova 2015:223-253; Nosilia-Prandoni 2015; Falkowski 2018). The impact of these intra-Orthodox developments in the multiconfessional society of Cyprus after 1571 will be the subject of a future study.

Confessional divisions and boundaries had long been important in medieval Cyprus. Like the Irish peasants who stubbornly resisted the Protestant Reformation, the Greek Cypriot peasantry were largely unwilling to take a step back from their ancestral doctrines and practices. "Nothing appealed to the Irish as profoundly as their traditions", notes Samantha A. Meigs (1997:141). The same could be said of the Orthodox Christians of Cyprus: despite their ecclesiastical submission to the Latins, they followed their traditions with all their heart (so says Marin Sanudo Torsello in the 1300s), seeking the opportunity to freely express their true convictions and feelings (Torsello 2000:167-169). There was also another point of contact between Ireland and Cyprus; for, like the Catholics in Ireland, the Orthodox in Cyprus enjoyed the enduring presence and long-term historical continuity of their institutional Church (Meigs 1997:141), possessing a fixed focal point: Rome (in the case of Irish Catholics) and Constantinople and the other Orthodox Patriarchates (for the Cypriots) (Kyriacou 2018:8-14, 81-129).

Boundary building remained a serious concern in Late Venetian Cyprus. Mozenigo fought for the spiritual resurgence of the island's Latin Church: his plans for the founding of a Jesuit College were not fulfilled (Skoufari 2012:210-211), but he did restore, according to B-030, the institution of annual councils that had been inactive for many years (§I.28) and, as Bernardo Sagredo reports (1562), there were again frequent liturgies in the cathedral of St Sophia in Nicosia, while even the ruined and filthy cathedral of distant Paphos was cleaned and put in order (Mas Latrie 1855:542-543; Skoufari 2012:214, n. 27; Zorzi 2013:96). At the same time, the Orthodox experienced their own spiritual revival, strengthening their contacts with other Orthodox centres in Constantinople, the Aegean, Mount Athos, the Holy Land and Sinai, cultivating the ascetic practices of Palamite Hesychasm, and blending the fruits of Renaissance culture with the forms and values of the Byzantine tradition in a dynamic cultural synthesis (Kyriacou 2018:199-204). These distinct (although not

entirely parallel) processes of identity redefinition enhanced the already-existing need for boundary maintenance. The *Report* should be read in the context of ongoing confessionalisation in Cyprus after Trent, a period highlighted by the Orthodox and Catholic revivals, which ended in the smoke and ruins of the Ottoman invasion of 1570. Not surprisingly, nearly 70% of the Catholic *Report* in B-030 deals with the “errors”, customs and ceremonies of the Greeks (the arithmetically stronger community and the one with the deepest historical roots), who posed the greatest threat for the survival of an autonomous, self-sufficient and dominant Latin community.

The Oriental Christians were not immune to these broader developments. Although we possess less information on these confessions, the picture emerging from B-030 is that the Armenians, Copts, Jacobites and Maronites of Cyprus were religiously, socially (and in some cases economically) vibrant communities (see, e.g., §§VIII.1, XXIV.3-4, XXIV.29-32 on the Jacobites, Copts and Maronites). Confessional identities were strong and the “one pastor, one flock” vision proved to be no more than a pious chimera. “In the beginning, there were five nations sharing the same faith”, writes the anonymous author mentioning the Copts, Jacobites, Armenians, Abyssinians and Nubians. “Now the Armenians publicly broke communion with them, but they privately share their faith, for they follow Dioscoros and marry themselves with the aforementioned nations. The other nations do not marry with Maronites, Greeks, Franks and Nestorians” (§XXIV.6). Doctrinal professions and liturgical practices were at the heart of confessional fragmentation and differentiation. “The first and primary error of the Maronites is that they deny the existence of the two wills of Christ and also the existence of the two activities. The second [error] is that they do not accept any other council, apart from the first four ecumenical councils” (§§IX.1-2). The *Report* continues, noting that although the Maronites (presumably under Latin influence and/or pressure) use unleavened bread for the Eucharist and baptise according to the Roman rite (§X.1), they sometimes “take small leavened breads, which they make, and use them to consecrate the Eucharist. They justify themselves by saying that during the Last Supper, Christ had unleavened bread, according to the Ancient Law; however, due to the institution of the new Christian Law, the bread changed at that moment into leavened” (§X.2).

The Copts, Armenians and Jacobites are accused of rejecting (§§IV.1, VI.1, VIII.1) the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451), namely the doctrine of Christ’s full divine and human natures, which was accepted by both Latins and Greeks. Yet, despite Chalcedonism being a bond of unity between Catholics and Orthodox, the *Report* offers insights into their mutual dislike. “What goes beyond the aforementioned heresies [of the Greeks] and encompasses them all and is even worse is that they charge the Latins with seventy-two errors. These do not deserve to be mentioned here, because they are more ridiculous than everything else” (§I.30).



During the Ottoman siege of Nicosia in 1570, Angelo Calepio, the Dominican vicar general, was shocked to discover that some Greeks refused to give alms for the building of a Latin church dedicated to St Mary of Victory (Lusignan 1573:103r; Lusignan 1580:256r-257r). Confessional divisions remained bitter to the very end.

## 1.5. Tolerance and interaction

Religious conflict was only one side of the coin. We have seen how doctrinal pronouncements, liturgical practices and customs were, in the words of Keith P. Luria, “sacred boundaries” for all Christian communities on the island. Luria’s examination of boundary building in early modern France has shown that there were both Catholics and Protestants who “sought to construct the strictest form of division between the faiths to keep each religion distinct, concretize the confessional identity of church members, and limit interactions”. The enemy, on both sides, was “religious indeterminacy and pliable confessional identities, which, as in mixed marriages, made boundary crossing possible”. Luria makes an interesting point concerning the confessional interpretation of gender categories, “since early-modern gender attitudes often figured malleability and inconstancy as feminine characteristics” (Luria 2005:193; on boundaries and confessionalisation in Aquitaine see also Hanlon 1993). Although the *Report* does not explicitly employ gender language to describe boundary crossing in early modern Cyprus, it does however claim that “the Latin nobles insidiously allow themselves, due to the influence of their Greek confessors, to go astray and alienate themselves from the rules and customs of the Roman Church; having become Greeks, they lose their own sacraments” (§I.21). We may trace here an allusion to the biblical deception of Eve by the Serpent: some Latin nobles go astray due to the deception of Greek confessors! The *Report* also records Latin churches and chapels converted in the Greek style (§§I.21, XI.1-4), notes (with obvious disapproval) that the clerics and canons of the Latin cathedral at Nicosia (influenced by their non-Latin counterparts) take women as concubines and wives, and criticises the practice of the Latin clergy and nobles to eat meat on Saturday (§§XIV.1-2). As Stephen Lusignan writes, there were nobles who followed the Latin rite, others who followed the Byzantine Orthodox rite, and many others who mixed both rites, living in a way that was neither Greek nor Latin (Lusignan 1573:85r). The Latin and Greek clergy of Cyprus is said to have tolerated religious pluralism and even some of the popes had given permission to Latin Christians in Venice “to live in the Greek way” (Lusignan 1580:78v). What seems to be suggested by Lusignan and the *Report* is that social standing and economic power in sixteenth-century Cyprus strengthened religious coexistence and weakened “sacred boundaries”.

In the age of confessionalisation, tolerance was quite often, as Kaplan (2007:8) reminds us, “a pragmatic move, a grudging acceptance of unpleasant realities, not a

positive virtue. In its very enactment the people doing the tolerating made powerful, if implicit, claims about the truth of their own religion and the false, deviant character of others”. Writing about the English Reformation, Adam Morton and Nadine Lewycky (2012:11-12) carefully observe that “to recognise the importance of social and economic pragmatism is not to note that for such men religion was second tier in the hierarchy of forces motivating action, or to suggest that they were cool in their faith. It is rather to highlight that life was a series of moral dilemmas in need of resolution. At parish level ties of kinship, family and fraternity created bonds of identity which had to be weighed alongside those of religious confession. [...] Pragmatism was not necessarily the enemy of piety, and adaptation was not a tacit admission that faith was adiaphora”. Scholars examining the negotiation of confessional conflicts in early modern Europe argue that deliberate acts of confessional oblivion “were an integral part of political, cultural and economic action in the context of a high degree of social reflexivity concerning religion” and should not be taken as expressions of “unconscious putting aside of religious practice” (Karremann-Zwierlein-Groote 2012:4).

All the above, illuminate the nature of religious coexistence reflected in the contents of B-030, in the context of broader phenomena and developments in early modern Europe. When the anonymous author of the *Report* describes the Armenian ritual of the Kiss of Peace (“while celebrating the liturgy in their churches, the priest performs a beautiful and holy ceremony at the moment of consecration: as soon as he pronounces *Peace to all!*, the people outside lovingly embrace and kiss one another; the women, too, kiss one another, and even the greatest enemies in the world make peace at that moment”, §VII.2), he deliberately sets aside (but does not denounce!) his earlier criticism of Armenian “errors” (§§VI.1-6, VII.1). In the same vein (and despite the *Report’s* negative depiction of several Coptic traditions in §§IV.1-V.2), the Coptic Eucharistic bread is said to be “perfect and beautiful, like a Host, but bigger in size” (§XXIV.4). The Greeks, too, are treated in a similar way. While the *Report* presents a detailed picture of the Byzantine Orthodox rite in Cyprus in the context of criticising Greek “errors”, the author has a good word to say about the Greek Easter ceremony (§III.4) and Greek manuscripts preserved in Orthodox monastic libraries (§§XIII.1-3).

The mixed feelings of the *Report’s* author towards the non-Latins of Cyprus are similarly reflected in §IV.3, discussing Coptic perceptions of Christ’s Incarnation. “Their third error”, he writes with pious horror, “is that they say that Christ never used the necessity of nature, claiming that (and I report these words with immense reverence) He never defecated or urinated”. But he quickly adds that “not everyone says this and [especially] in places where there are many of them, but only in places where there are few, [and those say so] out of fear of the Muslims”. This last statement expresses sympathy in respect to Coptic Christians under Islam, wishing

to emphasise Christ's divine nature against Muslim claims that Christ was not truly the Son of God (cf. Ebied-Thomas 2005; Davies 2008:216, 218). The common Muslim enemy appears to have strengthened Christian identity on the island, despite the maintenance of confessional boundaries. A similar phenomenon could be detected in East-Central Europe: in 1595, Prince Zsigmond Báthori of Transylvania (a Roman Catholic) forged an anti-Ottoman alliance with Mihai Viteazul, the Orthodox prince of Wallachia, which improved the condition of the Orthodox Church in Romanian lands vis-à-vis the Ottoman threat. Parenthetically, we should mention that Calvinism posed another threat for Catholics and Orthodox in East-Central Europe, especially since the Orthodox churches of Transylvania were under Calvinist jurisdiction. Wishing to limit (and even eliminate) Calvinist pressure, István Báthori, Zsigmond's uncle, took action against Calvinist proselytism and elevated the status of Orthodox Christians in Transylvania (1571 – 1573) (Murdock 2000:134 ff.; Keul 2009:143-147; Murdock 2011:397, 399, 403-405). As noted above, the Protestant Reformation did not become a serious threat for Catholic, Orthodox and Oriental Christians in Late Venetian Cyprus; Catholic-Orthodox collaboration on the island against Calvinism would take place later in the seventeenth century, during the anti-Calvinist Synod of Nicosia in 1688 (Mitsides 1996).

Let us return to B-030. Tesserae of confessional openness towards other groups could, perhaps, indicate that the anonymous author was a Cypriot, familiar with the map of religious panspermy in early modern Cyprus. This was in accordance with the traditional Latin policy of *una fide, diverso ritu*, which tolerated the existence of non-Latin traditions within the limits of submission to papal spiritual authority and jurisdiction, leaving room for the preservation of non-Latin (particularly Greek) customs, traditions and practices under Latin political and ecclesiastical rule (Avvakumov 2002; Schabel-Tsougarakis 2016; Coureas 2016). Venice, too, exercised a tolerant policy in matters of doctrine and religious practice, despite voices calling for the suppression of the Byzantine Orthodox rite (Kyriacou 2018:188-189, 199). B-030 emerges from this context as the amalgam of both Christian tolerance and Catholic commitment. The *Report's* leitmotif is Mozenigo's zeal for a general reform; a reform that would ultimately unite the Christian nations of Cyprus into one flock, under one and only pastor.

## 2. Christian diversity and representation

### 2.1. Inquisitors and anthropologists

Parts of B-030, for example the *Report*, might have been presented by Mozenigo before the doge and the Senate (cf. Bonora 2006:215; Skoufari 2012:227) to justify his attempted implementation of the Tridentine decrees on the island. This hypothesis is based on the author's personal examination of non-Latin deviations from Latin perceptions of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Thus, §I.30 states that this is "the thirtieth

and last error which we have managed to investigate among the said Greeks”. §II.4 notes that the Greeks “preserve in their monasteries, churches and rooms prohibited books, with false and apocryphal stories, which they study, read and preach; for example, the *Revelation of Our Lady*, the *Revelation of St Macarios the Egyptian*, the *Infancy [Gospels] of Christ*, and other similar texts”. §VII.1 mentions that one of the Armenian priests informed the author (or the author’s informants) “that all non-Cypriot Armenians continuously practise the said fast in this order, or [better say] disorder, for the whole year”. §X.2, discussing the Maronite ceremonies and customs, points out that “most of these things we have seen and learned from their own mouths and touched with our own hands and the rest we have learned from respectable believers of their faith, who come from their own community and lead them”. The lists of Latin churches and chapels converted into the Greek style (§§XI.1-4) and unpublished Greek manuscripts in the possession of Orthodox monks were probably the result of investigation (§§XIII.1-3). The same could be said concerning the custom of Latin clerics and nobles of eating meat on Saturday “apart from the most illustrious house of Di Nores, the illustrious house of the Podachatari and some other noble families” (§XVI.2). Although the *Report* is not an inquisitorial record *sensu stricto*, its scope, tone and methodology would have been familiar to the views, perceptions and practices of the Holy Office.

Carlo Ginzburg makes some useful suggestions in how to read inquisitorial documents. By drawing an analogy between inquisitors and anthropologists, Ginzburg focuses on the dialogic structure of both inquisitorial records and anthropological surveys. Following Roman Jakobson and Mikhail Bakhtin, Ginzburg remarks that the quoter appropriates any reported speech and that the conflicting historical actors “who speak in these texts were not on an equal footing. (The same can be said, in a different way, also about anthropologists and their informants)”. This inequality (cf. Papadopoulos 1995a) is crucial for understanding the conflicting dynamics of inquisitorial records, explaining “why the pressure exerted by inquisitors on the defendants in order to elicit the truth they were seeking was usually successful” (Ginzburg 2013:144). At the same time, the underlying tension between inquisitor and informant unveils deeper cultural layers that were foreign to the inquisitors. “It cannot be claimed”, Ginzburg explains, “either that these documents are neutral or that they convey to us ‘objective’ information. They must be read as the product of a peculiar, utterly unbalanced interrelationship. In order to decipher them, we must learn to catch, behind the smooth surface of the text, a subtle interplay of threats and fears, of attacks and withdrawals. We must learn to disentangle the different threads which form the textual fabric of these dialogues” (Ginzburg 2013:145).

The *Report* is not a “neutral” document. Catholic bias against deeper cultural layers is at its very heart. The Greeks, for example, are said to “appoint in their ecclesiastical

offices (for example, as bishops, abbots, preachers and confessors) idiots, whose great ignorance leads them to neither know, nor wish to know, the quality and quantity of the sacraments of the Church; similarly, they know nothing about the form or substance of each of these sacraments, the articles of faith and the commandments of God” (§I.20). Similar expressions of bias come from the Orthodox side as well: “they [i.e., the Greeks] claim that it is not a sin to cheat or steal from the Latins or Franks, but rather it is a good thing. For this reason, they usurp the jurisdiction of Latin churches with the greatest impudence” (§I.19).

Orthodox Christians are often accused by the anonymous author of liturgical ignorance and disorder. In §II.13 the *Report* claims that the Greeks are in “great confusion regarding the celebration of their holy feasts, because they do not celebrate some of the major feasts; however, do so in the case of minor saints who have not been canonised. Celebrations are made without any uniformity or order. They even celebrate in this way some of the apostles”. The solemn veneration of (“minor”) local saints in Cyprus clearly challenges the author’s vision of an organised hierarchy of veneration and devotions, which explains why it is presented as ritually anarchical. In §II.2 we read that “in their solemn feasts and vespers they [i.e., the Greeks] have meals inside their churches, in the middle of the office, when certain prophecies are recited”. Again, the Orthodox ceremony of the blessing of breads during vespers is pictured by the *Report* as an act of disorder (“eating inside their churches, in the middle of the office”). In §II.1 the thorny question on the proper moment of Eucharistic adoration, namely before or after the consecration (transubstantiation in Catholic theology) of the blessed bread and wine, comes to the fore, the Greeks being implicitly attacked for their ignorance and lack of orderly veneration. “First of all, in their liturgical celebration of the Offertory (called by them Second Entrance), the priest comes out of the Holy of Holies or Tabernacle, always carrying in his hands the chalice, which contains blessed bread and pure wine that has not yet been consecrated; this is venerated by the people with devotion (*Latria*). However, they say the words of consecration afterwards and when the blessed bread and wine have fully and perfectly become the Body of Christ in the hands of the priest they show no sign of veneration” (cf. Kyriacou 2018:56-57, 66, with additional bibliography).

Another element in interpreting inquisitorial material is the inquisitors’ act of translating beliefs into familiar codes. According to Ginzburg, this was a “customary projection of inquisitorial stereotypes on popular beliefs”, so as to better clarify and classify the “errors”, “heresies” and “abuses” of the informants. “In a sense”, Ginzburg adds, “our task is much easier when the inquisitors did not understand [what they described]. When they were more perceptive, the trial lost to some extent its dialogic elements, and we must regard the evidence as less valuable” (Ginzburg 2013:146-147).

Despite the *Report* not being dialogically structured (as would have been the case in trial records), it is still a polyphonic text, opening a window into the minds and hearts of both Latin and non-Latin Christians through the description and interpretation (accurate or not) of their views, customs, practices and doctrines. The alleged imitation of Jewish practices and rites was a rather popular (if not convenient) category, employed for the translation of less familiar beliefs and practices. The Armenians “imitate the Jews in what is their fifth error: they sacrifice the paschal lamb of the Ancient Law in a special ceremony” (§VI.5) and preserve in their faith “twelve Judaising articles” (§VI.6). The Greeks deny the validity of unleavened bread in the Eucharist (as was the Latin practice) “and say that those who do so are Judaisers” (§I.3).

Throughout the *Report*, the anonymous author seems to have been quite familiar with the religious traditions of Cypriot Christians, meaning that our inquisitorial text has been “contaminated” (as Ginzburg would have put it) by what the author, presumably a priest himself, already knew. But it is still possible to trace fragments of a reality that was less familiar to the author: these moments of religious life were sketched at length or enriched with vivid details. Take, for instance, the ritual of distributing blessed bread after the Orthodox liturgy. “If it happens that someone even drinks a drop of water, he is not allowed to receive Communion on that day. Furthermore, not only do they prevent him from receiving Communion, but do not even permit that he receives a piece of that blessed bread, which they have a custom of giving to those attending the liturgy and is called by them *antiocron* [read: *antidoron*]. When the liturgy is over, the priest takes portions from the offered bread, cuts them into pieces and distributes them, in order for the people to have a bite, which they call in their language *antideron*, namely ‘retribution’ or ‘a gift for a gift’; some of them consider it as a kind of second Communion and thus they value it” (§III.33). In this, somewhat lengthy, description of the Greek custom, we lack the theological interpretation of the distribution of blessed bread (a symbol of the Virgin); the author simply observes and records what he sees — even the Greek word *antidoron* is recorded in its Cypriot, idiomatic form (*antideron*). Likewise, Coptic fasting periods and customs are described at length, culminating into an attack on Coptic (and Greek!) “confusion” (§V.1). The ritual sacrifice of the lamb during the Armenian Easter is also outlined with accuracy (§VI.5); the author mentions that the Armenians “celebrate Easter on Holy Saturday, following the Hail Mary and the appearance of the first star” (§VI.2), but seems to be ignorant of the connection between the Virgin Mary and “Arsha-luis, the goddess of the dawn, mother of the visible sun and ‘a holy and immaculate virgin’ (*surb kuys anarat*)” (Stopka 2016:39).

## 2.2. Dissimulation

The conflicting voices detected by Ginzburg in his exploration of inquisitorial records direct our attention to what James C. Scott (1985) calls “weapons of the weak”, referring to everyday forms of peasant resistance. For the “weak”, namely the non-Latin members of the universal Roman Church who were (so to speak) “second-class” Christians, dissimulation was a major form of covert resistance, in terms of maintaining their ancestral doctrines and practices in less open, nonprovocative and cryptoreligious ways (cf. Reinkowski 2007; Kyriacou 2018:38-43). This is not to argue that Latin ecclesiastical policy on the island was characterised by massive waves of forced conversion of the non-Latins; on the contrary, submission to the Papacy guaranteed (at least in theory) freedom in liturgical practice and cultural expression. This was the traditional papal policy towards non-Latins. It should be recognised, however, that non-Latin Christians were coerced to abandon doctrines and practices considered by the Latins as “erroneous” and “insulting”. §I.2 quotes a Greek prayer (translated into Latin) that attacks the doctrine of the *Filioque* using hard and aggressive language, which is considered blasphemy by the anonymous author. Yet, the primary aim of the Greeks was the setting of bounds: boundary maintenance could safeguard the purity of faith and a distinct Byzantine Orthodox identity in a multiethnic and multiconfessional milieu.

As a strategy of nonviolent resistance, dissimulation was employed to dress these expressions of defiance with a cloak of conformity to the Catholic Church. Again, the case of Cypriot Christians was not unique. Perez Zagorin’s seminal study on dissimulation, persecution and conformity in early modern Europe demonstrates that “dissimulation was a significant reality in the culture of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. [...] The phenomenon of dissimulation rationalized by doctrine was so extensive that it was like a submerged continent in the religious, intellectual, and social life” (Zagorin 1900:13-14; for Venice’s “hidden enemies”, see Martin 1993).

The realities of long-term coexistence with the Latins forced the non-Latin Christians of Cyprus to incorporate dissimulation mechanisms in their religious daily lives. The relaxation of Latin ecclesiastical control over the non-Latins in the later medieval and early modern period signified a more open expression of confessional pluralism. Catholic regeneration under Mozenigo must have called for a return to a more discreet line. The Maronites are reported to hold as doctors of faith “Maron and their other heresiarchs, whom they hide” (§IX.3). This does not seem to reflect a spontaneous act of dissimulation; more likely, it was motivated by the Maronites being aware of Catholic hostility towards St Maron, a fourth-century ascetic erroneously associated by the Latins with the later doctrine of Monothelism. In the face of opposition, the Maronites had no other choice but to hide their veneration and deep affection for St Maron, the founder of their own confessional group. In addition, Orthodox Christians are said (§I.9) to “condemn the Florentine Ecumenical

Council [and claim that] the Roman faith is incorrect, while theirs is true and holy. This, however, does not [openly] happen in Cyprus and other areas, which are dominated by [Latin] Christians, where they [oppose the Latin faith] tacitly”. Interestingly, B-030 provides no indication of physical boundaries that would have made non-Latin communities less visible and more tolerable (examples from Western Europe in Te Brake 2009:53-79), which attests their high integration into the traditional Latin framework dictated by the *una fide, diverso ritu* principle.

Religious zeal and mutual distrust could inspire suspicions of dissimulation. In B-030 the Copts are accused of tacitly reaching blasphemy “by claiming that the divine nature suffered with the human nature; this is manifested in their chanting of God is holy, holy and powerful, holy and immortal, to which they add who was crucified for us, have mercy on us!” (§IV.1). Here the *Report* (echoing the traditional Chalcedonian perspective) reads the so-called “theopaschite” addition to the Thrice-Holy Hymn as a statement of non-Chalcedonian faith, despite the addition not being per se a rejection of Christ’s two natures (cf. Brock 1985).

### 2.3. Human geography and Orientalism

It is now the moment to examine the contents of B-030 as a whole. The synthesis of documents and notes following the *Report* raises questions concerning the date of the compilation and the compiler’s intentions. As mentioned earlier, B-030 was copied (probably in Venice) sometime between 1580 and 1595, which provides a terminus ante for the compilation. The earliest document in the compilation (§XVIII.1) probably dates before 1560. The compiler seems to have flourished around the same period with Mozenigo, Stavriano and Lusignan.

Although we cannot know whether the author of the *Report* and the compiler were a single person, the miscellaneous contents of B-030 could be seen as different parts of a whole. This could mean that the compilation aimed at bringing together diverse materials on Late Venetian Cyprus, its people, economy, administration and religious cultures, perhaps in the aftermath of the island’s loss to the Ottomans. Stephen of Lusignan, a member of Mozenigo’s circle, undertook a similar project, producing Italian and French versions of the history, human geography, culture, economy and natural resources of Cyprus, at a time when the Kingdom was no longer part of the Venetian Maritime State (Grivaud 1995b:1189-1204). Lusignan’s valuable treatment of the subject makes his two works (1573; 1580) one of the classics of Cypriot historiography (Schabel 2002 – 2003). But Catholic commitment in his presentation of the island’s confessional mosaic, particularly the Greeks, has been later criticised by Archimandrite Kyprianos (an Orthodox Cypriot historian of the eighteenth century) as “incompatible with the task of serious history writing” (Kitromilides 2013:84; cf. Archimandrite Kyprianos 1788:ε´-θ´). Lusignan, like the author of the *Report* and the compiler of B-030, read the history and religious cultures



of Cyprus from the Catholic viewpoint, addressing Catholic audiences in post-Tridentine Italy (and France, as far as Lusignan is concerned). This is further confirmed by both writers' concern to shield the Catholic faith from Protestantism. In 1581, a year after the publication of his French history of Cyprus, Lusignan published in Paris a small book on the defense of monastics, *Against* (as the title says) *those claiming that the monastic habit is simply for the poor, the useless and the lazy, and not for the rich and the noble*. Being a fervent Catholic, Lusignan (at the time based in Paris) responded to Protestant attacks against the value and ideals of monasticism, even employing examples from Crusader Cyprus to strengthen his arguments (B-465). In a similar vein, the *Report* in B-030 turns to manuscripts preserved in Greek monastic libraries, said to be "very useful and necessary for our times" (§XIII.3), an implicit reference to the Catholic struggle against the Protestant Reformation.

The threads of connection between B-030 and Lusignan seem to confirm the hypothesis that the Bank of Cyprus manuscript was a product of Mozenigo's circle. To remember Ginzburg: our source is not "neutral" but echoes, primarily, the voice of the powerful. And it is the sound of Orientalism (fused with the spirit of Catholic reform) that we hear when the voice of the powerful is translated into a description of the religious mores of Cypriot Christians. For Edward W. Said, Orientalism is "a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of 'interests' which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot do or understand as 'we' do)" (Said 1979:12, emphasis in the original).

Cypriot or not, the Catholic author of the *Report* describes, analyses, explores and criticises non-Latin traditions and practices in what is, essentially, a process of "Othering", a process of setting bounds between "us" and "them". A deeper understanding, inspired by mutual respect in what is common, is not absent from the *Report* (see, e.g., the description of Orthodox Easter ceremony in §III.4); but what prevails, is the kind of self-sufficient superiority reflected in §IV.6 on the Copts.

“Some of them”, we read, “due to their great and zealous ignorance, do not even know their own doctrines and say that the Virgin Mary did not give birth like all other women, namely from the common place, but from her ribs”. The author is not concerned as to whether the Coptic belief might be associated with the symbolic status of the Virgin Mary as the “New Eve”, mother of Christ, the “New Adam” (the Eve of old was created from Adam’s rib in Genesis 2:22-23). Stereotypes are also employed to categorise and criticise, both in the *Report* and the notes. The title of B-030 indicates that the codex contains the errors of “the Copts, Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites and the deceived Greeks”. In §I.8 the Orthodox are even deprived of their Christian name, while the Latins are called “Christians” without further clarification, as if they were the only Christian group in the Eastern Mediterranean! In §XXIV.5 the reader is informed that “the language of Jacobites, Nestorians and Maronites was spoken by Adam; they also have the same mentality [like him]”. Ethnographic stereotypes are also given in §XXIV.18: “the Nestorians live further east, near the countries of the wise men where there are no Christians”. The East is exotic, foreign, perennial, home of the “wise men”; the place where Adam’s children live.

The relationship between Orientalism and power in B-030 is clear and exact. The author of the *Report* has Crusader law, discriminating between Latin-rite conquerors and non-Latin-rite subjects (cf. Bartlett 1994:204-211; Konnari 2005:22-23), on his side. In §I.21 we read about Latin nobles imitating the Greek religious mores. “This is against the Greek Law, or the Frankish Assizes of the King of Jerusalem and Cyprus”, points out the anonymous author, “regulating that the feudal lords should live according to the rite of the Holy Roman Church”. In §I.7 the Greeks are criticised for receiving the Holy Chrism from the Patriarchate of Antioch; instead “they should have received it from St Sophia of the [Latin] archbishopric, according to the provincial council of the fourteen bishops of the time of the king”. Mozenigo, the protagonist of Catholic resurgence in Cyprus during the 1560s, is mentioned to have restored annual councils in Nicosia, after a long period of canonical disorder (§I.28). The Latin archbishop is placed at the top of the list of foreigners who have revenues from Cyprus (§XIX.1), followed by the Latin bishops of Paphos, Famagusta and Limassol; the only non-Latins recorded on the list are the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem and a monastic community of Iberians (Georgians). In this document of economic interest, the realities of social, political and ecclesiastical power are eloquently outlined: despite the de facto strengthening of non-Latins in the last decade of Venetian rule, the symbolic and institutional structures of power were in Catholic hands. This is the social and religious order that B-030 defends; its imprint is traceable in the Orientalist perspective of the *Report* and the manuscript’s other contents.

## 3. Emotions and multiconfessionalism

### 3.1. Emotional regimes, emotional communities

So far, we have seen that religious, political and social inequality are pivotal elements in understanding the scope and aims of B-030, especially the *Report*. If semi-inquisitorial examination is the pen used to decipher the dynamics of Christian diversity in Late Venetian Cyprus, then emotions are the ink. Let us turn to the pioneering study of William M. Reddy proposing a theoretical framework for the historical exploration of emotions. “If there is to be any unity of purpose or ethos in social life”, writes Reddy, “then emotions must play a central role in its maintenance. To this extent, there is a strict limit to the range of possible emotional ‘cultures’ — or perhaps one should say emotional ‘regimes’ — that can be successfully elaborated” (Reddy 2004:55). Although “emotional regimes” may vary, they share two basic features. First, as Reddy explains, they determine communal ability “to provide a coherent set of prescriptions about emotions”, consolidating group unity. Secondly, emotions (being cognitive habits) can be intentionally cultivated, meaning that “a community’s emotional order must take the form of ideals to strive toward and strategies to guide individual effort” (Reddy 2004:61-62). Reddy’s remarks are helpful in understanding how the *Report* aims at establishing a specific emotional regime (that of the Tridentine Roman Catholic Church), correcting or totally suppressing the emotional regimes of the non-Latin communities in Cyprus. All these are relevant to Barbara H. Rosenwein’s notion of “emotional communities”, namely social communities providing information on systems, definitions and expressions of feeling (including valuable, harmful and ignored emotions) (Rosenwein 2010:11).

Examining the vocabulary employed to describe non-Latin doctrines, customs and rituals is necessary for uncovering the emotions of the author (and his circle) and the religious communities pictured in the *Report* (cf. Rosenwein 2010:15-19). The Greeks, for example, “insolently excommunicate the pope with all the college of cardinals and bishops, with all Latins”. Their liturgical books contain “blasphemies”, including a prayer to God and the Virgin “to liberate them from the heresy of the Italians”. The author provides a Latin translation of the Greek prayer: “It is an insane and foolish doctrine that the Paraclete proceeds from the Son; it is dreadful and against the teachings of Christ. This utterance is horrible for us Orthodox; wherefore you destroy the evil, O blessed Mother of God! Blessed [Mother], save us, who praise you with the true sayings and words of your God! Christ, confuse the vanities of the Italian tongues and repress these insolences into the deep sea of heresies! Disperse their defeated and pestiferous tongues and redeem your flock from their victory! Confuse them when we invoke against them your servant Lazarus, and annihilate the new error of Italian temerity” (§I.2).

The anatomy of emotional language in this passage reveals two subjective and conflicting realities. On the one hand, the author of the *Report* finds himself in a

defensive position: the Greeks reject the papal supremacy, excommunicate the Latins and attack the *Filioque* doctrine reaching blasphemy. Resentment and anger are the main colours in the author's emotional palette, which could justify Mozenigo's attempts at reforming the "errors" of Orthodox and Oriental Christians on the island. On the other hand, the Greeks (as seen through the eyes of the Report's author) pursue a rather aggressive (although non-violent and non-coercive) line. The *Filioque* is "insanity" and "foolishness"; it is "dreadful" and "against the teachings of Christ"; it causes horror to all Orthodox, leading them to pray for the confusion of Italian tongues and the repression of "Italian" insolences "into the deep sea of heresies". The "Italians" are defeated, pestiferous and temerarious. It is as if the Greek prayer quoted by the author uses the hardest language possible to reject what was perceived by the Orthodox to be insulting and completely unacceptable. The pious revulsion of the Greeks praying that God, the Virgin and St Lazarus would liberate them from the *Filioque*, is coupled with the silent anger of the centuries-oppressed Orthodox in Cyprus. Verbs like "destroy", "save", "confuse", "repress", "disperse" and "annihilate" could be expressing not simply religious but also political and social emotions, against a regime that was not simply religious but also political and social. Thus, when the Greeks are reported to pray that Christ would "redeem His flock from their victory", their prayer might be having both religious and political implications.

## 3.2. Emotional habitus

Emotions, as Reddy points out, can be intentionally cultivated ("habitus"). This seems to be the case with emotional responses to eating practices and food prohibitions mentioned or described throughout B-030. To give an example: in §I.16 we read that "the sixteenth [error of the Greeks] is that they claim that it is a great sin to eat the meat of strangled animals, dead animals from natural causes, or hunted prey. Those confessing this sin receive the penance of homicide, as appears in some of their canonical collections or confession books". We shall not examine the biblical roots of these prohibitions and their Byzantine afterlife (Kolbaba 2000:35-37); what is of particular interest for our discussion is the concept of uncleanness and pollution at the antipode of holiness and acceptable social practice (Douglas 1966). There is also the question of who eats what. "The fifteenth [error of the Greeks] is that they say that the monk who eats meat cannot be saved" (§I.15). Andrew Jotischky notes that "animal flesh was forbidden in most monastic rules and customaries, except for the sick, and eschewed by most solitaries. The Rule of Benedict forbade eating the flesh of four-footed animals, and in doing so it summed up the ideals and practices of most earlier monastic rules" (2011:51). Although meat prohibition constituted a shared monastic ideal in East and West, some Byzantine Orthodox guardians of tradition condemned the Latin monastic habit of eating lard instead of olive oil (Kolbaba 2000:46-47). In addition, there were acceptable and unacceptable fasting practices

and periods. “If one eats fish during the Holy Lent [as the Latins did]”, says the *Report* (§II.12), “they [i.e., the Greeks] do not absolve him from his sin and he cannot be absolved [in any way], to the extent that he cannot receive Communion on the day of the Holy Resurrection; eating fish is only permissible on the day of the Annunciation and Palm Sunday”. The anonymous author complains that “the majority of [Latin] clerics eat meat on Saturday; the same happens with the noble houses of Nicosia, apart from the most illustrious house of Di Nores, the illustrious house of the Podachatari and some other noble families” (§XIV.2). The strictness and length of the Armenian Nativity/Epiphany fast is scorned by the people of Nicosia, who label the Armenian vigils “Black Nights” (§VII.1). During the Great Lent, the Copts “fast and abstain from food more than the Greeks and every other Christian nation; they also differ in their food prohibitions and times of relaxation. They primarily abstain from meat, dairy products, fish and legumes, because they say that one should not eat, when fasting, any food or legume and fruit that might contain little worms, called in the Greek language *sarachia*” (§V.1).

Purity and pollution, exaltation and disdain: these emotional states became the object of religious training for the believers and were tied to specific communal traditions and customs. Emotions were experienced as long as they were practised. “From the perspective of practice theory”, argues Monique Scheer, “emotional arousals that seem to be purely physical are actually deeply socialized. The body’s capacities and functions change, not only in evolutionary time but also in human history, which is to say that societies shape brain structures and organic functions”. If we are to understand in a deeper, more precise and meaningful way the historical realities of religious coexistence and conflict (globally and in different historical periods), we cannot afford to ignore the significance of the body and its psychosomatic functions “as a locus for innate and learned capacities deeply shaped by habitual practices”. After all, as Scheer observes, “the history of emotions can only be a history of changing emotional norms and expectations” (2012:220). It is exactly these norms and expectations that B-030 maps in constructing the mosaic of Cypriot multiconfessionalism during the 1560s.

### 3.3. Rituals

Rituals are the backbone of emotional habitus and the building-block of borders and boundaries. “Rituals are used to bind individuals, families and nations together, reaffirming wider norms, values and political processes, contributing to social stability as well as the preservation of established power relations”, write Merridee L. Bailey and Katie Barclay. “Yet, ritual actors can also resist or reframe ritual to allow for new forms of expression and thus new power relationships in society” (2017:10-11). Naturally, this affects emotional development, management and expression, with emotions becoming “politically important” and “powerful” (Bailey-

Barclay 2017:12). Another significant observation is that the degree of emotional arousal (high or low) determines the ritual's efficacy and the degree of social cohesion within a group (Bailey-Barclay 2017:7-9). In other words, rituals spark emotions and these emotions shape social relationships.

B-030 is full of ritual descriptions and corrective instruction for the “proper” performance of non-Latin rituals. It would be wrong to assume that the *Report's* author condemns ritual diversity in itself; he is targeting ritual aspects perceived to have been “erroneous” and “unacceptable” by Roman Catholic standards. Sometimes B-030 shares the emotional arousal of non-Latin groups: the Armenian “Kiss of Peace” ceremony is “beautiful and holy” (§VII.2); the Greeks are not criticised for celebrating Easter “with great solemnity for a whole week” and for “having many litanies in a spirit of joy”, chanting glorious hymns of spiritual exaltation (§III.4); the Coptic bread for the Eucharist “is perfect and beautiful, like a Host, but bigger in size” (§XXIV.4). These expressions of tolerance, openness and positive emotional response towards religious groups viewed by Mozenigo's circle as schismatic or heretical is indeed striking, attesting the enduring bonds of common Christian identity despite cultural, dogmatic and ritual differences.

B-030 also provides some negative examples of ritual presentation. One of the first on the list is the Orthodox veneration of the blessed bread and wine during the Second or Great Entrance procession (§II.1, see above), perceived by the Latins as idolatry due to the “incorrect” moment of Eucharistic adoration. Here we have an example of a ritual that triggers high levels of emotional arousal for one group (the Greeks) and displeasure (if not irritation and anger) for the other group (the Latins). This is also the case with the aforementioned Armenian custom of the Easter animal sacrifice (§VI.5, see above), which sparked euphoria and spiritual exaltation to the Armenians, but is firmly rejected by the *Report's* author as a Judaising practice. In both cases emotions play a political, as well as religious role. By defying Roman Catholic definitions of ritual orthopraxy the Greeks and Armenians preserved their religious, cultural, and ethnic identities against the attempts of the Latin Church, the dominant ecclesiastical power on the island, to modify and alter their liturgical traditions. Emotions were, clearly, linked to habitus, revealing how difficult it was for Roman Catholic reformers to promote a greater degree of homogenisation in a multiconfessional society with deeply-rooted traditions and customs.

## **4. Conclusion: codex B-030 and Christian polyphony**

The Historical Introduction has attempted to reconcile, in a brief and substantial way, two parallel perspectives on the phenomenon of early modern Christian multiconfessionalism. On the one hand, the examination of Cypriot Christian communities under Venetian colonial rule has been studied by scholars (Byzantinists, Medievalists, Venetianists and Ottomanists) interested in the

geographical area of Cyprus and the broader Eastern Mediterranean world. Scholarship on Late Venetian Cyprus pays little attention to the island being part of a bigger picture of Christian diversity in post-Reformation Europe. On the other hand, scholarship on Christian coexistence and conflict in early modern Europe is largely Eurocentric, in the sense that it seems to ignore the case of “peripheral” multiconfessional societies in the Eastern Mediterranean (East-Central Europe being an exception). Late Venetian Cyprus emerges as an important case study of Christian polyphony on (as Graeme Murdock writes about Transylvania) “the frontier of Christian Europe” (Murdock 2000:1). Successively governed by the Byzantines, Frankish Crusaders and Venetians for more than a thousand years, the island was justly viewed as an *antemurale Christianitatis*, “a forewall of Christianity” in an increasingly Muslim-controlled Eastern Mediterranean (cf. Srodecki 2016). But Cyprus was also a microcosm of Christian and non-Christian (e.g., Jewish and Muslim) religious traditions and cultures, with different versions of Christianity weaving the tapestry of ancient devotional practices and rituals, subjective perceptions and rhetorical constructions of the Other, and sometimes heated emotional reactions to the realities of everyday symbiosis.

B-030 captures the dynamics of Christian polyphony on the eve of the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus, inviting historical readings that enrich its Cyprocentric viewpoint with insights from early modern multiconfessional societies in Northern, Western, Central and Eastern Europe. The interdisciplinary analysis of B-030 enables us to move deeper into the heart of the historical experiences of past people and societies facing the currents of political, social, religious and cultural developments. We have seen that similar (although not completely identical) cases of religious coexistence and conflict in early modern times required similar responses from historical actors in Cyprus and the broader European world. In addition, we have analysed the perceptions of dominant religious groups towards other religious communities, while also shedding light on the resistance mechanisms employed by less privileged Christian confessions. Lastly, we have stressed the significance of emotions, habitus and rituals in the formation and expression of Christian identities in the context of religious domination, tension, interaction, and peaceful coexistence.

But let us speak no more; the voices echoed in the contents of codex B-030 should now take the floor: the final word is theirs.

**English translation of codex B-030**

Chrysovalantis Kyriacou



## A note on the English translation

This is the first comprehensive translation of codex B-030 in English. Paragraph division follows the *editio princeps* of the codex (Kyriacou 2019), which is accompanied by a translation into Modern Greek and extensive historical commentary. The English text seeks to balance the literal meaning of the original (with all its syntactical complexities and use of specialised terminology) and the need for an accurate and fluent translation. I have largely maintained the structure of the Italian/Venetian text, particularly in relation to the miscellaneous documents following the *Report*. I have also preserved the format of numerals, keeping both the Hindu-Arabic numeral system (e.g., 1, 2, 3, etc.) and the verbal representation of numbers (e.g., one, two, three, etc.). In the case of personal names, I have Anglicised non-Italian names but preserved Italian ones. Toponyms largely appear as in the original, with the exception of geographical names that have passed into common English usage (e.g., Nicosia, Limassol and Paphos). I have tacitly corrected toponyms that have been altered by the scribe's lack of familiarity with things Cypriot. The transliteration of Greek terms and geographical names is far from consistent, following the peculiarities of the original. *Lacunae* and empty space left by the scribe(s) and/or author have been marked with three dots enclosed by square brackets: [...]. Square brackets containing text indicate my own additions for the sake of clarity: [and those say so]. The English translation is lightly annotated, providing brief historical notes on less-known ecclesiastical personae and terms, as well as editorial clarifications on the original text. For a fuller historical commentary, one should refer to the Historical Introduction of this volume and to Kyriacou 2019.



Below are recorded the errors of certain Christian nations, which have been committed in our days against the Catholic faith in Cyprus; namely the Copts, Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites and the deceived Greeks: their doctrines and ceremonies, together with some abuses of the Latin clergy and the revenues of the Kingdom of Cyprus

## I. Errors of the Greeks

**I.1.** The first and primary error of the Greeks is their claim that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, and not from the Father and the Son. Not only does this happen in the four ecumenical patriarchates, but it is also recorded in one of their legends on the Holy Pentecost, called by them *sinexari*.<sup>1</sup>

**I.2.** Their second error is that they universally claim that the Holy Roman Church is not the head of all other Churches. Moreover, in some places they insolently excommunicate the pope with all the college of cardinals and bishops, with all Latins. Moreover, their error is reflected in what is written in their Greek books, which they call *horologii* and contain various verses and hymns in the form of orations. They pray to God and the Virgin Mary to liberate them from the heresy of the Italians, or Latins, with these same words faithfully translated from Greek into Latin: *It is an insane and foolish doctrine that the Paraclete proceeds from the Son; it is dreadful and against the teachings of Christ. This utterance is horrible for us Orthodox; wherefore you destroy the evil, O blessed Mother of God! Blessed [Mother], save us, who praise you with the true sayings and words of your God! Christ, confuse the vanities of the Italian tongues and repress these insolences into the deep sea of heresies! Disperse their defeated and pestiferous tongues and redeem your flock from their victory! Confuse them when we invoke against them your servant Lazarus, and annihilate the new error of Italian temerity,*<sup>2</sup> and other similar blasphemies.

**I.3.** The third error is that they argue that one cannot celebrate the Eucharist with unleavened bread and say that those who do so are Judaisers, because they show no reverence to the Latin sacraments, neither in Cyprus, nor elsewhere; and this is recorded in one of their legends, recited on Holy Thursday, which says that *perplexed are those who sacrifice in unleavened bread!*<sup>3</sup>

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1 Correction: *sinaxari*.

2 Source not identified.

3 Source not identified.

**I.4.** The fourth error is that, on the one hand, they hold that the souls of the departed, following their separation from the body, do not experience any penance (either in Purgatory, or in Hell). On the other hand, the souls of the righteous and saints do not experience any joy in Paradise before the Last Judgement. This is because they deny the Particular Judgement and say that no one can descend into Hell (or even go to Paradise) before the Last Judgement, except for the Virgin Mary and the soul of the Good Thief. The inventor of this heresy was Andrew, archbishop of Caesarea.<sup>4</sup>

**I.5.** The fifth [error] is that they deny the existence of Holy Purgatory. They claim that the prayers of the Church for the dead have no value and are only good for the universal Last Judgement, although some of them would have wanted them to be useful.

**I.6.** The sixth [error] is that they believe that the Body of Christ, which they consecrate on Holy Thursday and preserve for the whole year in order to administer Communion to the sick, is of greater value and power than the ordinary Eucharist.

**I.7.** The seventh [error] is that the Holy Chrism, which they make with seventy-two fragrant and odoriferous ingredients, is considered by them to be improved as it becomes older. For this reason, they preserve it for a long time and some of them, particularly in Cyprus, send notice to Syria and request a portion from their patriarch. However, they should have received it from St Sophia of the [Latin] archbishopric, according to the provincial council of the fourteen bishops of the time of the king.<sup>5</sup> They use it to anoint their children; confirmations are made by priests, not bishops, and this is the only confirmation they have.

**I.8.** The eighth [error] is that they condemn the Florentine Ecumenical Council [and claim that] the Roman faith is incorrect, while theirs is true and holy. This, however, does not [openly] happen in Cyprus and other areas, which are dominated by [Latin] Christians, where they [oppose the Latin faith] tacitly.

**I.9.** The ninth [error] is that they rebaptise or reanoint a number of Latins and insidiously draw them to their sins, saying that without the baptism of the Greeks one cannot be redeemed; they do the same for ecclesiastical orders.

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<sup>4</sup> Andrew of Caesarea flourished around the late sixth and early seventh century and composed a commentary on the Revelation.

<sup>5</sup> Namely, before 1489, when Cyprus officially became a Venetian colony.

**I.10.** Their tenth error is that they hold that their secular lords can deprive priests and monks of their offices and benefices and replace them with others, without excommunication.

**I.11.** The eleventh [error] is that they separate husbands from wives and wives from husbands for reasons of fornication or adultery and for other similar reasons. They also let husbands to take new wives and wives to take new husbands.

**I.12.** The twelfth [error] is that they allow the purchase of episcopate and funerals and confessions and other ecclesiastical offices and sacraments, without any remorse for practising simony (neither do they know what simony is). Their bishops ordain a priest for eight or ten ducats without any hesitation and make a senior priest for thirty or forty ducats and, sometimes, for fifty ducats.

**I.13.** The thirteenth [error] is that they give the Body of Christ to small children, still nursing at the breast and sleeping in the cradle. In contrast, they prohibit adult penitents from receiving Communion for many years; for some this prohibition lasts until their last breath and, thus, they reach the moment of their death, receiving Communion without the sacrament of the Holy Confession. For they believe that in such cases the Eucharist alone is sufficient for their salvation.

**I.14.** The fourteenth [error] is that they maintain that it is a great sin to shave the beard and cut the hair of priests or monks.

**I.15.** The fifteenth [error] is that they say that the monk who eats meat cannot be saved.

**I.16.** The sixteenth [error] is that they claim that it is a great sin to eat the meat of strangled animals, dead animals from natural causes, or hunted prey. Those confessing this sin receive the penance of homicide, as appears in some of their canonical collections or confession books.

**I.17.** The seventeenth [error] is that they hold that the Extreme Unction does not heal people from the illness of sin. However, they have it as a custom to give it in place of penance to grave sinners. They prepare it in the following way: seven priests bless common oil, while reciting seven readings from the Gospel and seven from the Apostle; with it they anoint the senses of the sinner and absolve him from his sins, and this is their sacrament of the Extreme Unction.

**I.18.** The eighteenth [error] is that they do not allow the Latins to celebrate the liturgy in their churches and on their altars. In case a Latin priest, without any violation or

adverse intention, celebrates the liturgy in their churches, they consider it a sacrilege and immediately correct the accident with holy water, which they make with odoriferous ingredients. Thus, they sprinkle the holy water throughout the church and purify the altar in a way of reconsecration or reconciliation [with God].

**I.19.** The nineteenth [error] is that they claim that it is not a sin to cheat or steal from the Latins or Franks, but rather it is a good thing. For this reason, they usurp the jurisdiction of Latin churches with the greatest impudence.

**I.20.** The twentieth error is that they appoint in their ecclesiastical offices (for example, as bishops, abbots, preachers and confessors) idiots, whose great ignorance leads them to neither know, nor wish to know, the quality and quantity of the sacraments of the Church; similarly, they know nothing about the form or substance of each of these sacraments, the articles of faith and the commandments of God.

**I.21.** The twenty-first [error] is that, particularly in Cyprus, the Latin nobles insidiously allow themselves, due to the influence of their Greek confessors, to go astray and alienate themselves from the rules and customs of the Roman Church; having become Greeks, they lose their own sacraments. This is against the Greek Law, or the Frankish Assizes of the King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, regulating that the feudal lords should live according to the rite of the Holy Roman Church. Similarly, they destroy the Latin chapels and rebuild them in the Greek style.

**I.22.** The twenty-second [error] is that they deny the virginity of St Joseph, husband of Our Lady, and say that he was a widower who had seven children: four sons and three daughters. This is based on a homily by St John Chrysostom on the Annunciation of Our Lady, which is perhaps erroneously entitled so.

**I.23.** The twenty-third [error] is that they claim that there had been three Marias who anointed the Saviour's feet, and not one. This legend is found in a book, called *ecyodion*,<sup>6</sup> which is read in their churches during the Holy Week.

**I.24.** The twenty-fourth [error] is that, according to the Canons of the Holy Apostles, they consider those fasting on Saturday excommunicated.

**I.25.** The twenty-fifth [error] is that neither do they have the Jubilee, nor do they admit that they have no knowledge of what the Jubilee is.

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<sup>6</sup> Correction: *triodion*.

**I.26.** The twenty-sixth [error] is that their priests continuously celebrate the liturgy without confession; they only confess once a year and keep this habit until their death.

In contrast, in Cyprus they hold that St Helen left in the Mountain of the Cross, between Tochni [and...],<sup>7</sup> the relic which they later transferred from Tochni and they now exhibit in Leukara.<sup>8</sup>

**I.27.** The twenty-seventh [error] is that they claim that the venerable wood of the Holy Cross ascended to heaven, like Christ. On the day of the Holy Exaltation of the Cross they read in their churches a false and apocryphal account, which supports what they say. [According to this story,] when St Helen held the Cross in her hand, on the day of the Invention, it left her hand and went into heaven. Resorting to the mediation of the Holy Cross, they show to the Jews this same wood on which they crucified Him.

**I.28.** The twenty-eighth [error] is that in their ecclesiastical or sacred orders they have no more than four grades, namely lector, subdeacon, deacon<sup>9</sup> and priest. However, this is against the council of the fourteen bishops in Cyprus, which is convened in [the cathedral of] St Sophia at Nicosia, twice a year, namely on St Anthony's day and on the eve of the Corpus Domini. For many years, the said annual council was not convened, but it has now been restored by Lord Philippo Mozenigo,<sup>10</sup> the archbishop.

**I.29.** The twenty-ninth [error] is that, when one confesses the sins of usury, theft and plunder, their confessors do not impose penances, but give the confessants the Extreme Unction, which they call *euchiifleon*,<sup>11</sup> in place of penance. Thus, they anoint them with common oil, which is sanctified by the recitation of certain orations. They also oblige the confessants to give alms to one of their churches; and this is how they absolve them, telling them to build churches, bridges and roads and absolving [sinners] for similar reasons.

**I.30.** The thirtieth and last error which we have managed to investigate among the said Greeks, is that so many are their errors, as shown by their beliefs in matters of

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<sup>7</sup> There is no *lacuna* in B-030, although text has been omitted.

<sup>8</sup> This passage, the first part of which seems to be missing, should be read in relation to paragraph I.27.

<sup>9</sup> *Pecodiacon* should probably be translated as deacon.

<sup>10</sup> On Mozenigo, see the Historical Introduction.

<sup>11</sup> Correction: *eucheleon*.

faith, that they even deny the existence of the guardian angel and claim that the free will belongs to the human body and not to the soul. Lastly, they deny the existence of devils in Hell. However, what goes beyond the aforementioned heresies and encompasses them all and is even worse is that they charge the Latins with seventy-two errors. These do not deserve to be mentioned here, because they are more ridiculous than everything else.

## II. Some other ceremonies and abuses of the said Greeks

II.1. First of all, in their liturgical celebration of the Offertory (called by them Second Entrance), the priest comes out of the Holy of Holies or Tabernacle, always carrying in his hands the chalice, which contains blessed bread and pure wine that has not yet been consecrated; this is venerated by the people with devotion (*Latria*). However, they say the words of consecration afterwards and when the blessed bread and wine have fully and perfectly become the Body of Christ in the hands of the priest they show no sign of veneration.

II.2. Again, in their solemn feasts and vespers they have meals inside their churches, in the middle of the office, when certain prophecies are recited.

II.3. Again, apart from the day of the Holy Pentecost, they never kneel down in prayer (either inside or outside their churches); for they consider it a sin to kneel down in prayer.

II.4. Again, they preserve in their monasteries, churches and rooms prohibited books, with false and apocryphal stories, which they study, read and preach; for example, the *Revelation of Our Lady*, the *Revelation of St Macarios the Egyptian*, the *Infancy [Gospels] of Christ*, and other similar texts.

II.5. Again, they allow the addition of various verses from profane songs in their spiritual canticles and psalmodies.<sup>12</sup> These are contrary to the Catholic faith and can be composed by anyone, even by moderns who are ignorant and heretics. However, they mutilate and cut off a number of salutary readings, which are necessary for instructing the believers, such as the oration of St John Damascene on the departed, which is recited by the Eastern Church on All Souls' Day. Moreover, they change the words of hymns according to their wishes; this is happening, for example, in the case

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<sup>12</sup> *Salmadre* in the original, probably meaning *salmodie*.



of the verse or *ecopario*<sup>13</sup> chanted among them at the beginning of every month, namely Lord, save your people, etc.<sup>14</sup>

**II.6.** Again, in the christening of their children they permit the participation of many *anadochii* or godfathers, without any restriction; this is simony, against the promulgations of the annual provincial council convened among them on the Friday before the beginning of the Great Lent. These regulations do not permit more than two or three witnesses, excommunicating whoever [exceeds this number]. However, these rulings are not put into effect.

**II.7.** Again, during the Great Lent they celebrate weddings against the aforementioned councils. They do so on the Holy Sunday of the Resurrection, even on that same day.

**II.8.** Again, they eat meat on some Fridays of the year, saying that they do so in order to scorn various heretics; for example, the Armenians, Jacobites and others. They are instructed to act in this way by a certain vulgar and apocryphal tradition. Moreover, they continuously eat meat for eight days after Easter.

**II.9.** Again, they bless clandestine marriages, which they consider to have value before God; they also give the sacrament of marriage to Latin canons or laypeople and do the same for the other nations.

**II.10.** Moreover, they allow their monks to bless marriages and do so without any prohibition.

**II.11.** In order for their bishops to give permission and licence for the conduct of marriages, they charge two and a half bezants; for the bigamous they charge one ducat and for the trigamous two ducats. They condemn the trigamous, saying that although the first matrimony is blessed, the second remissible and the third irremissible, they permit it due to the offering.

**II.12.** Again, if one eats fish during the Holy Lent, they do not absolve him from his sin and he cannot be absolved [in any way], to the extent that he cannot receive Communion on the day of the Holy Resurrection; eating fish is only permissible on the day of the Annunciation and Palm Sunday.

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13 Correction: *tropario*.

14 *Apolytikion* of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; also chanted on the Sunday of the Holy Cross (third Sunday of the Great Lent).

**II.13.** Again, there is great confusion regarding the celebration of their holy feasts, because they do not celebrate some of the major feasts; however, do so in the case of minor saints who have not been canonised. Celebrations are made without any uniformity or order. They even celebrate in this way some of the apostles.

**II.14.** Again, it should be noted that from the Seventh Ecumenical Council<sup>15</sup> until this very day, no saint of Latin descent is mentioned in their martyrologies or legends.

**II.15.** Again, some of their priests practise commerce and publicly negotiate, without any remorse or prohibition.

### III. Customs or regulations of the Greeks

**III.1.** First of all, their calendar (or the first day of their ecclesiastical year) begins on the first day of September. They celebrate the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady on 9 September and the feast of St Catherine one day before [its proper date], namely on 20 November;<sup>16</sup> they also celebrate the feast of St Thomas on the first Sunday after the Holy Resurrection.

**III.2.** Again, they celebrate the feast of All Saints on the second Sunday after the Pentecost.

**III.3.** They commemorate the departed twice a year, namely on the eve of their Carnival (which is on the Saturday preceding the Great Lent) and on the eve of the Pentecost.

**III.4.** It is their custom and regulation to celebrate most solemnly the Holy Pascha of the Resurrection and Christmas Day. Thus, they celebrate with great solemnity for a whole week, namely from Holy Sunday until the following Sunday, which they call the Sunday of St Thomas the Apostle. All these days they are having many litanies in a spirit of joy and always chant (with no interruption) several hymns of glory and spiritual exaltation towards God, namely *Christ has risen, having suffered death and*

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<sup>15</sup> Seventh Ecumenical Council or Second Council of Nicaea: 787.

<sup>16</sup> Until the eighteenth century, the Orthodox celebrated the feast of St Catherine on 24 November, on the eve of the Latin feast (25 November). St Catherine's feast was later transferred to 25 November, in order to coincide with the Afterfeast (Apodosis) of the Presentation of our Lady in the Orthodox tradition. The date recorded by B-030 (20 November) is not correct.

*having mortified death and having decorated with life those who had been in the tombs!*<sup>17</sup> They also chant several *antifona*, including *This is the day which had been prepared by the Lord*, etc.<sup>18</sup> They relax for a whole week, continuously eating meat and beginning their liturgies with the following Gospel reading, namely *On the first day of the Sabbath, Mary Magdalene*, etc.<sup>19</sup> Although they feast for a whole week, they only feast for three days at Christmas. Likewise, they feast on the day of Epiphany and on the two following days. On Epiphany they baptise the cross twice: first during vespers on the day before, and afterwards in the morning, at the end of the liturgy. They keep this blessed water for a whole year and give it to sinners who have confessed, but who are not permitted to receive Communion for a period of many years or months.

**III.5.** The tenth Sunday before Easter is called by the Greeks “Sunday of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector”, because they recite the said Gospel on this day.

**III.6.** The ninth Sunday before Easter is called by them “Sunday of the Prodigal Son”, because they recite his Gospel.

**III.7.** The eighth Sunday before Easter is dedicated to the Second Coming of Christ, namely the feast of the Advent.

**III.8.** The following Sunday, which is the last day of their Carnival, commemorates the Transgression of the First Humans of Blessed Memory. Between the seventh and sixth Sunday before Easter [...] (which is also the last day of their general Carnival),<sup>20</sup> they only eat dairy products and no meat for a whole week; for this reason, they call it “Cheese Week”.

**III.9.** They call the first Sunday of Lent “Sunday of Orthodoxy”, because the Eastern Church commemorates on that day the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea against the iconoclasts and denounces all heretics who opposed the Catholic faith until that time. They publicly anathematise them thrice in their churches with popular exclamation. Moreover, they bless all the holy fathers who opposed these heresies and specifically commemorate a miracle that happened during the reign of

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<sup>17</sup> Paschal *troparion* (slightly modified here).

<sup>18</sup> Psalm 117:24 (LXX).

<sup>19</sup> John 20:1.

<sup>20</sup> General Carnival: this is a reference to the pre-Lent period in general; the last day of the Carnival (or “Meat Week”) is the seventh Sunday before Easter, namely the Sunday of Forgiveness, in which the Transgression of Adam and Eve is remembered.

Emperor Theophilos of Constantinople, when his wife, Theodora Augusta,<sup>21</sup> saved him from death and helped him escape Hell by her prayers and the liturgies of the saints who were living at that time.

**III.10.** On the second Sunday of Lent they commemorate a certain Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica,<sup>22</sup> who was suspected [of heresy] and was condemned in the Eighth Ecumenical Council of Florence (or Ferrara),<sup>23</sup> and who wrote many treatises against the Latins.

**III.11.** The third Sunday of Lent is called “Sunday of the Holy Cross”, because on that day they present the cross in the middle of their churches, in order for everyone to venerate and kiss it for a whole week, drawing strength from Christ’s Passion; for this happens in the middle of the Lent, when they are tired from fasting. They do not step back, but remain under the shade of this standard, as if under a shadowy and leafy tree, and thus take a rest.

**III.12.** The fourth Sunday they recite the life of St John of the Ladder, also known as “the Scholastic”, who had a great knowledge of the regulations and struggles of monks and was abbot of Raithim.<sup>24</sup>

**III.13.** The fifth Sunday of Lent they read the life and miraculous conversion of St Mary of Egypt.<sup>25</sup>

**III.14.** The sixth Sunday they celebrate the feast of the Holy and Divine Palms in the same way as everyone else, apart from the fact that on the previous day they commemorate the resurrection of St Lazarus.

**III.15.** On Holy Monday they begin reading the Holy Gospels in their churches from beginning to end at the third hour; this continues for the three following days as well.

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21 Theophilos, last of the iconoclast emperors, reigned between 829 and 842. Theodora, who is venerated as a saint in the Orthodox Church, received the title of Augusta in 830.

22 St Gregory Palamas, the main apologist of hesychasm and the doctrine of uncreated light, was archbishop of Thessalonica between 1347 and 1359.

23 Council of Ferrara-Florence: 1438 – 1439. The claim that Palamas was condemned during the council is erroneous.

24 Correction: Raithu. St John of the Ladder flourished during the first half of the seventh century. He was abbot of the Sinai monastery (not of Raithu).

25 St Mary of Egypt, formerly a prostitute, was a fifth/sixth-century ascetic.

**III.16.** On Holy Tuesday they recite the parable of the Ten Virgins and read the said Gospel.

**III.17.** On Holy Wednesday they commemorate the sinful woman called Magdalene, considering that there were three Maries and not one.<sup>26</sup>

**III.18.** On Holy Thursday they commemorate four things: the Holy Washing of Feet, the Last Supper, the Prayer at the Garden and the Betrayal of Judas.

**III.19.** On Holy Friday [they commemorate] the Holy Passion of Christ.

**III.20.** On Holy Saturday they stay quiet without reading the Hours and without chanting until the ninth hour; then, they celebrate the liturgy of St Basil, mixed with vespers and twelve prophecies. This liturgy is celebrated on every Sunday of the said Lent.

**III.21.** On the Holy Sunday of the Resurrection, before sunrise and without other ceremonies, there is a triumphal procession which they perform at midnight. Everyone gathers at the cathedral<sup>27</sup> with litanies and a spirit of great joy; they are accompanied by the sound of trumpets and shawms, singing a victorious hymn and announcing that *Christ has risen from the dead, etc.*,<sup>28</sup> which is called in the Greek idiom *Calos Logos*, namely “Good Sermon”. Afterwards, they celebrate a very brief liturgy of St [John] Chrysostom and joyfully send the people home to eat meat.

**III.22.** During the whole period of the said Lent they abstain from fish, apart from the day of the Annunciation of Our Lady and Olive Day, namely Palm Sunday. Again, on the feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, on 24 June, they completely abstain from meat, dairy products and fish, because they say that they want to imitate the disciples of St John the Baptist; so great is their affection of him.

**III.23.** On Sundays, throughout the year, they commemorate the Passion of Christ.

**III.24.** On Mondays the Incorporeal Angels.

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<sup>26</sup> In the Orthodox tradition, St Mary Magdalene is not the repentant prostitute of the Gospel (who remains anonymous in the evangelical account).

<sup>27</sup> *Al vescovado* in the original. A reference to the Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia, dedicated to the Virgin Hodegetria.

<sup>28</sup> Paschal *troparion*.

III.25. On Tuesdays St John the Baptist.

III.26. On Wednesdays Our Lady.

III.27. On Thursdays the apostles and all holy bishops, including St Nicholas.

III.28. On Fridays the Crucifixion.

III.29. On Saturdays all saints and the departed.

III.30. According to their customs, whoever (namely both foreigners and relatives) is found in a house where the woman has recently given birth is not allowed to come out before receiving the blessing of the parish priest, who consecrates or sanctifies water with an olive branch and then sprinkles with it the whole house and everyone present.

III.31. Similarly, if it happens that some animal, like a cat or a dog or a bird, has fallen inside a well, they take it out alive or dead; however, no one dares to drink from that water before the parish priest gives his blessing to do so.

III.32. Women in menstruation cannot receive Communion in cases of necessity; neither can they enter the church. Seven days have to pass before they are allowed to do so. Women who have recently given birth are unclean and cannot enter the church before the passing of forty days.

III.33. If it happens that someone even drinks a drop of water, he is not allowed to receive Communion on that day. Furthermore, not only do they prevent him from receiving Communion, but do not even permit that he receives a piece of that blessed bread, which they have a custom of giving to those attending the liturgy and is called by them *antiocron*.<sup>29</sup> When the liturgy is over, the priest takes portions from the offered bread, cuts them into pieces and distributes them, in order for the people to have a bite, which they call in their language *antideron*,<sup>30</sup> namely “retribution” or “a gift for a gift”; some of them consider it as a kind of second Communion and thus they value it.

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<sup>29</sup> Correction: *antidoron*.

<sup>30</sup> The word survives in the Cypriot dialect.

## IV. Errors of the Copts

**IV.1.** The first and principal error of the Copts, or Dioscoritans, is that they openly deny the double nature of Christ and want Him to have only one nature. Thus, they tacitly reach blasphemy by claiming that the divine nature suffered with the human nature; this is manifested in their chanting of *God is holy, holy and powerful, holy and immortal*, to which they add *who was crucified for us, have mercy on us!*<sup>31</sup> They also consider the inventors of this heresy (namely Dioscoros<sup>32</sup> and other theologians condemned by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon) as instructors in matters of faith.

**IV.2.** The second error is that they say that the Incarnation of Christ was not perfect, but imaginary, because he did not eat or drink due to the necessity of nature, but only in appearance.

**IV.3.** Their third error is that they say that Christ never used the necessity of nature, claiming that (and I report these words with immense reverence) He never defecated or urinated. However, not everyone says this and [especially] in places where there are many of them, but only in places where there are few, [and those say so] out of fear of the Muslims.

**IV.4.** The fourth error is that all the Copts coming from distant countries or living in their homelands (namely Egypt, Alexandria, Ethiopia, Nubia, Africa, Arabia and Pentapolis) are circumcised and maintain that circumcision is necessary for their salvation. However, those who have been born in Cyprus and discuss with the Greeks and Latins are exempted.

**IV.5.** The fifth error is that they do not accept other councils or synods, apart from the first three ecumenical councils, namely the Nicene, Constantinopolitan and Ephesine I.<sup>33</sup>

**IV.6.** The sixth error is that some of them, due to their great and zealous ignorance, do not even know their own doctrines and say that the Virgin Mary did not give birth like all other women, namely from the common place, but from her ribs.<sup>34</sup>

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31 Thrice-Holy Hymn or *Trisagion*.

32 St Dioscoros (for the Copts): Alexandrian pope between 444 and 454, deposed and exiled after the Fourth Council of Chalcedon (451).

33 First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea: 325; Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople or First Council of Constantinople: 381; Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus or First Council of Ephesus: 431.

34 Perhaps an allusion to the Virgin's symbolic status as the "New Eve".

IV.7. The seventh error is that all babies who are baptised receive Communion, namely they give them the sacrament of the Eucharist on that very moment. They claim that the sacrament of Baptism has no power without the Eucharist and, thus, they only put on their lips some drops of consecrated wine, but no bread; the wine is mixed with water and they recite and profess exactly the same Creed as we do.

## V. Ceremonies and customs of the Copts

V.1. First of all, their fasting customs, abstinences, food prohibitions and ecclesiastical offices are largely similar to those of the Greeks. However, they make some additional abuses; for example, from the Sunday of the Holy Resurrection to the Holy Ascension of Christ they continuously eat meat on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday. Some of them observe four fasting periods per year, like the aforementioned Greeks: the first is that of Christmas or Advent; the second and principal is Lent, which they call the “Great-one”; the third is that of the Apostles in June, which has a variable number of days; the last one is that of Our Lady in August. During the Great Lent they fast and abstain from food more than the Greeks and every other Christian nation; they also differ in their food prohibitions and times of relaxation. They primarily abstain from meat, dairy products, fish and legumes, because they say that one should not eat, when fasting, any food or legume and fruit that might contain little worms, called in the Greek language *sarachia*. Secondly, during the same period they do not eat more than once a day and this they do after having finished the office called ninth hour and vespers, namely from sunset to sunset. This does not happen on Saturday and Sunday, when they eat twice a day, like the Greeks. However, some of them abstain from the said types of food for fifty days until the Resurrection, which makes their Lent last for eight weeks. Since they want to fast for forty full days, they make the following calculation: they subtract from these weeks two days, namely Saturdays and Sundays, during which they do not fast because this is the time of relaxation and is called “Meadow of Monks”. Thus, remain five [days]: five [days] multiplied by eight [weeks] give forty complete [days]. The Greeks, too, make this calculation, but leave out the seventh of the said days, because they do not find in their calculations more than thirty-six days and thus, they subtract days from the week. The two aforementioned days, called “Meadow of Monks” (namely Let us rejoice!), are five; they multiply the number five by the number eight, which are the weeks of Lent, and find thirty-five. They later add to this number Holy Saturday and find thirty-six complete days. Therefore, they



are in a state of confusion and do not find the correct number of forty days, according to their calculation, but they wander and search and examine to discover the remaining four days. They do so in order to find the complete number of days in Lent and, according to what their common people say, they gain these four days from other weeks, which have nothing to do with the Holy Lent and make their calculation in the way they like.

**V.2.** The sacraments of the Copts are largely similar (if not completely identical) with those of the Greeks. However, a few ceremonies are different: some of them celebrate the liturgy with leavened bread and baptise according to the Greek rite and say *the servant of God is baptised* and not *I baptise you*, according to the Roman rite; and they baptise babies between their sixth and eighth day; if they pass the fortieth day they cannot receive the Eucharist. They make the Holy Chrism like the Greeks, using seventy-two fragrant ingredients, but in their ecclesiastical offices, namely in the ordination of priests, they appoint by force married men, like the said Greeks. In their prayers they invoke the saints as mediators, including a certain Peter the Fuller, inventor of the aforementioned addition in the *God is holy*;<sup>35</sup> he was condemned by the Holy Church in the Fourth Council of Chalcedon, with another two heretics mentioned above (e.g., Dioscoros).

## VI. Errors of the Armenians

**VI.1.** The first error of the Armenians is that they are of the same opinion and mind<sup>36</sup> with the said Copts in accepting no other council apart from the first three ecumenical councils. Moreover, some of them consider as theological authorities the aforementioned heresiarchs (e.g., Dioscoros), who have been condemned by the aforesaid council [of Chalcedon]. However, they are different in celebrating the liturgy with unleavened bread and pure wine without water, against the canonical order of the Holy Roman Church in the East and West.

**VI.2.** Their second error is that they celebrate Easter on Holy Saturday, following the *Hail Mary* and the appearance of the first star.

**VI.3.** The third error is that they make the Holy Chrism using sesame oil; however, some of them receive it from their patriarch.

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<sup>35</sup> A reference to the Thrice-Holy Hymn. Peter the Fuller was patriarch of Antioch between 471 and 488 (three episcopates).

<sup>36</sup> *Logia* in the original.

VI.4. The fourth [error] is that they celebrate all sacraments and feasts on Saturday, for which reason they are called by the Greeks *Sabbatini*.

VI.5. Again, they imitate the Jews in what is their fifth error: they sacrifice the paschal lamb of the Ancient Law <sup>37</sup> in a special ceremony. They take a lamb and dress it with many ornaments and go with it around the great altar, chanting their blessings. Later, they bless the salt and sacrifice the lamb. When everything is prepared on the day of the Holy Sunday, they eat it hung inside the church and everyone is formally dressed according to the Old Testament. All take a piece from it; however, this does not happen in Cyprus.

VI.6. Again, they do not celebrate the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady on 25 March but on 6 April, because they celebrate Christmas together with Epiphany on 6 January, Candlemass on 24 February and the Transfiguration on 18 August.<sup>38</sup> They always add twelve more days [to the customary dates of the feasts]; this happens because they once followed a Jew who later became their patriarch, considering him a Christian, and who introduced to their faith twelve Judaising articles.

## VII. Some customs and ceremonies of the said Armenians

VII.1. The majority of their fasting customs is similar to those of the Greeks, but their Great Lent is similar to that of the Copts because they practise great abstinences. During their forty-day fasting period of the Advent, which is called by the Greeks the Nativity fast, they observe the following custom: for five continuous days they fast strictly; immediately after they are relaxed for fifteen days and eat whatever they like or may find; following this fifteen-day period of relaxation, they begin fasting once again. Their fasting period begins on 14 November<sup>39</sup> and lasts until Epiphany, on which day they celebrate together Epiphany and Christmas: they celebrate Christmas on the eve and Epiphany on the following day. However, they fast during the feast week before Epiphany and perform vigils every day with much strictness. This period is impulsively called by the people of Nicosia “Black Nights”. The Greeks say that some of the Armenians fast very strictly during the week before their

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<sup>37</sup> Or the Old Testament.

<sup>38</sup> The Armenians celebrate Candlemass on 14 February, while the Orthodox and Latins on 2 February. The correct date for the Armenian feast is given at paragraph XXIV.26. The celebration of the Transfiguration depends on the date of Easter; it seems that 18 August should be considered as erroneous.

<sup>39</sup> The Armenian Nativity fast begins on 18 November.

Carnival; however, one of their priests has mentioned that all non-Cypriot Armenians continuously practise the said fast in this order, or [better say] disorder, for the whole year.

**VII.2.** Again, while celebrating the liturgy in their churches, the priest performs a beautiful and holy ceremony at the moment of consecration: as soon as he pronounces *Peace to all!*, the people outside lovingly embrace and kiss one another; the women, too, kiss one another, and even the greatest enemies in the world make peace at that moment. It is indeed a custom to embrace everyone, particularly the orthodox.<sup>40</sup>

## VIII. Errors of the Jacobites

**VIII.1.** There are in Cyprus, Nicosia, fifty Jacobite families, without bishop and only two priests. The first error of the Jacobites, namely their first heresy, is that they deny the two natures of Christ and can, thus, be considered as friends and companions of the aforesaid Copts.

**VIII.2.** Their second error is also similar to the beliefs of the Copts: they say that Christ did not really assume the human flesh, but did so only in an imaginary way, because He never used the necessity of nature, since He never ate or drank, in order to make the human nature perfect, neither did He ever defecate or urinate, etc.

**VIII.3.** Again, they consider as fathers and illuminators of the faith (though they are, in fact, instructors of heresy) all the heresiarchs of the said Copts, but they also have one more of their own: Jacob the Syrian,<sup>41</sup> and this is their third error.

**VIII.4.** The fourth [error] is that they consecrate the Eucharist with leavened bread, like the Greeks, but theirs contains common oil.

**VIII.5.** Again, they claim that the souls of the saints do not rest in Paradise, apart from the Blessed Virgin and the soul of the Good Thief.

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40 Probably referring to Catholics, rather than followers of the Byzantine Orthodox tradition.

41 Jacob bar Addai (Baradaeus), non-Chalcedonian bishop of Edessa from 543/544 to 578. Being one of the key founders of the Syriac Orthodox Church, he is venerated as a saint by the non-Chalcedonians.

## **IX. Errors of the Maronites**

**IX.1.** The first and primary error of the Maronites is that they deny the existence of the two wills of Christ and also the existence of the two activities.

**IX.2** The second [error] is that they do not accept any other council, apart from the first four ecumenical councils.

**IX.3.** The third [error] is that they consider as theological authorities Maron<sup>42</sup> and their other heresiarchs, whom they hide.

## **X. Ceremonies of the Maronites and their customs**

**X.1.** Some of them observe fasting customs which are similar to those of the said Greeks, but their sacraments differ on some points because they [used to] consecrate the Eucharist with leavened bread, though now they have the Host and baptise according to the Roman rite, as the Latins do.

**X.2.** Again, when they sometimes do not find Hosts to consecrate, they take small leavened breads, which they make, and use them to consecrate the Eucharist. They justify themselves by saying that during the Last Supper, Christ had unleavened bread, according to the Ancient Law; however, due to the institution of the new Christian Law, the bread changed at that moment into leavened. Most of these things we have seen and learned from their own mouths and touched with our own hands<sup>43</sup> and the rest we have learned from respectable believers of their faith, who come from their own community and lead them.

## **XI. Several Latin churches or chapels which have been poorly appreciated and even ruined and are now converted in the Greek style in Cyprus and Nicosia**

**XI.1.** The chapel in the house of the illustrious grand seneschal of the Kingdom.

**XI.2.** The chapel in the house of the illustrious Lord Costanzo, great admiral of the Kingdom.

**XI.3.** The [chapel] in the house of the Lord Pallol de Lucimburgo has been completely destroyed and paved.

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<sup>42</sup> St Maron, who flourished in the fourth century, is here associated with Monothelism, a doctrine of the seventh century.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. 1 John 1:1.

XI.4. The chapel of St Catherine in the house of the magnificent Lord Philippo Podachataro.

XII. Christian monuments, which became cesspits or sewers.

XII.1. At the cemetery or sacred camp of St John the Baptist of the Hospital of the Commandry. The ancient house called Templos or Chrysoprasini.<sup>44</sup>

### XIII. Very ancient Greeks books, which have never been printed or come to light

XIII.1. In the monastery of Bibi one can find the *Treasures* of St Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria,<sup>45</sup> which accurately discuss the procession of the Holy Spirit, pontifical authority and the papal primacy; one can also find a most ancient and highly valuable volume with sermons of various authors, called *panagyricon*.<sup>46</sup>

XIII.2. In the monastery of Andrio[u] there are four volumes containing the *Dialogues* of St Gregory, the Roman theologian,<sup>47</sup> treating Purgatory and other beautiful things.

XIII.3. In the monastery of Agros there is a most ancient volume containing the works of St Maximus<sup>48</sup> against various heretics. Many other volumes are preserved in the aforementioned monasteries; these are very useful and necessary for our times, but they do not let us see them.

XIII.4. In the hands of the illustrious reverend Lord Abbot Podachataro there is a volume on the Council of Florence or Ferrara, containing all the arguments of the holy fathers and written in golden capital letters. For this book, the most reverend Lord Archbishop Podachataro paid around thirty ducats to acquire it from a city called Mytelini.

XIII.5. In the hands of the illustrious Lord Alesandro Lascari, governor of the light cavalry force (*stradiotti*), there is a volume written on old parchment and containing

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44 *Auso* (perhaps from *auro*) *prasini* in the original.

45 The dates of his episcopate are 412 – 444.

46 Correction: *panygyricon*.

47 Pope Gregory I (Gregory the Great or Gregory the Dialogue): 590 – 604.

48 St Maximus the Confessor (d. 662).

all the councils, both ecumenical and provincial, together with some epistles by St Basil and many other Greek theologians.

## XIV. Some abuses of the Latin clergy and laity

XIV.1. The clerics and canons of St Sophia publicly take concubines and some of them have clandestine marriages.

XIV.2. Again, the majority of the said clerics eat meat on Saturday; the same happens with the noble houses of Nicosia, apart from the most illustrious house of Di Nores, the illustrious house of the Podachatari and some other noble families.

## XV. The most ancient noble families

XV.1. Di Nores. Gilber.<sup>49</sup> Zappo. Mistachil, Lassi. Vernia. Prevesto.

## XVI. Noble families, which came [to Cyprus] during the reign of James<sup>50</sup>

XVI.1. Davila. Benedetti. Costanzo. Caraffa.

## XVII. In the service of the Knights [of the Hospital] are the following:

XVII.1. Lord Pietro di Nores. Auder<sup>51</sup> di Nores Sasson.

## XVIII. Villages held in lease from the State

XVIII.1.

	Morphou	}	for 40,000 ducats
	Alona		
Zegno Sindico <sup>52</sup>	Potamia		
	Margo		
	Aradippou		
	Larnaca		
Zuan di Nores	Aschia	}	for 2,000 ducats
	Stefani		
	Vatili		

<sup>49</sup> Correction: Giblet.

<sup>50</sup> James II, the last Lusignan king of Cyprus between 1463 and 1473.

<sup>51</sup> Or Audet.

<sup>52</sup> Or Singlittico.

Benedetti	Peristerona and environs	} for 6,000 ducats
Zuani il Lascorno <sup>53</sup>	Polemida and environs	} for 6,000 ducats
Hieronimo Bragadin	Palecithro Voni Sicca Exo Metochi Monastiri	} for [...] ducats
Hercol Podachataro	Chiti <sup>54</sup> Chier Stefano <sup>55</sup> San Zorzi Menegon <sup>56</sup>	} for [...] ducats
	Jolin <sup>57</sup> Bristan <sup>58</sup> Condomeno di Levante <sup>59</sup>	
	Paluro campo Prastio in Nicosia Lacadamia	} for 2,400 ducats

**XVIII.2.** O God, by your infinite goodness and mercy, may only one pastor and only one flock shall glorify your name in the world, forever and ever, amen.

## **XIX. Foreigners who have revenues from Cyprus**

**XIX.1.** Archbishop [...] Mozenigo

Bishop [...] Contarini of Paphos

Bishop Ragazzoni of Famagusta

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53 Correction: Muscorno.

54 Or Kiti.

55 Or Tersefanou.

56 Or Mene(v)ou.

57 Possibly Jolou or Jeri.

58 Perhaps Prastio.

59 Or Condemenos.

Bishop Mozenigo of Limassol

*Comendator*<sup>60</sup> Cornaro

The grand master of Rhodes<sup>61</sup>

The count of Jaffa, Contarini

The count of Carpass, Giustinian

Lord Zorzon Corner

Lord Zorzi Corner

The fraternity<sup>62</sup> of Cardinal Cornaro

The Corneri of Piscopia

Lord Hieronimo and Zuanne Giustiniani

Lord Giovan Bragadin

Lord Luca and Giulio da Pesaro

Lord Orsato Giustinian

Lord Andrea Quirini

Lady Mariëtta Corner

Lady [...] Bembo

Lady Adrianna Corner

The Greek and Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem

A monastery of Iberian<sup>63</sup> brothers

**XIX.2.** The revenues of the aforementioned foreigners and locals are estimated around 120,000 ducats. Half of this is partly received from the two thirds of the villages; the State holds one third of the villages but does not receive in cash more than 120,000 ducats, excluding cereal offerings.

## **XX. The Salt Lakes**

**XX.1.** In Cyprus, the State's profit from [the trade with] Syria is [...] ducats.

**XX.2.** At least 15 ships per year [set sail] for Venice, carrying a maximum load of 1,500 carts of salt; in total 22,500 carts, valued in Venice [...] ducats per load.

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60 The holder of benefice.

61 The Knights Hospitaller

62 *La fraterna* in the original

63 Georgian.



**XX.3.** For every cart to be loaded to the ship the price is 2 ducats, which costs 45,000 ducats per year.

**XX.4.** Every year, the island produces some 5,600 [*cantari*]<sup>64</sup> of cotton; to be loaded the cost is 4 [ducats] per [*cantaro*], which makes 24,000 ducats. **XX.5.** Same and greater is the profit from the import of robes from Syria. Various goods come from there: alkali ashes, galls, leather, raw cotton, cotton threads, animal hair, drugs, cinnamon, spices, and other goods.

**XX.6.** Those entering the ports of Cyprus pay the ship masters 150,000 ducats per year.

**XX.7.** [The State] feeds 30 Venetian nobles, 60 sailors under the command of sea masters, boatswains, helmsmen, councillors, 60 gunners, 30 scribes, and more than 900 seamen.

**XX.8.** Year after year, the price of cotton is estimated 35 ducats per *cantaro*, which gives 210,000 ducats in total. If the profit is 10 ducats per *cantaro*, the harvest is 60,000 per year, which exclusively goes to Venice, together with 100,000 ducats from Syria.

**XX.9.** The State also earns 40,000 ducats from duties and customs in Venice.

**XX.10.** For the year 1563, the State estimates its revenues from Cyprus to 555,000 ducats, earned by its control of seafaring activities; if we add to this amount the profit from the trading of salt in Venice, the earnings of the State reach one million golden ducats.

## XXI. Expenses of the State

<b>XXI.1.</b> Deputy <sup>65</sup> of Nicosia	1,000 ducats
Two councillors	1,400 ducats
General supervisor <sup>66</sup>	1,600 ducats
Two chamberlains <sup>67</sup>	400 ducats

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<sup>64</sup> *Cantaro* = 339,5 g.

<sup>65</sup> *Luogotenente di Nicosia* in the original.

<sup>66</sup> *Provveditor generale* in the original

<sup>67</sup> Responsible for the Kingdom's Treasury.

Captain of Famagusta	1,000 ducats
Captain of Kerynia	200 ducats
Captain of Salt Lakes	200 ducats
Captain of Paphos	200 ducats
Castellan of Famagusta	570 ducats
Governor of Famagusta	500 ducats
Governor of meat <sup>68</sup>	400 ducats
Lord Giulio, governor of Nicosia	1,500 ducats
Governor of Kerynia	200 ducats
15 captains of the <i>ordinanze</i> <sup>69</sup> per 15 ducats	1,800 ducats
Five captains in Famagusta per 25 ducats	1,000 ducats
Two captains in Kerynia	400 ducats
Seven captains in Nicosia	1,400 ducats
2,100 infantrymen	56,448 ducats
Bonus fund of 20 ducats per company	470 ducats
<i>Stratia</i> -tax paid to the governors <sup>70</sup>	210 ducats
2 captains of 50 [men] per 100 ducats	1,100 ducats
800 horsemen	32,000 ducats
Two accountants	310 ducats
66 auxiliary horsemen for 48 ducats per year	3,168 ducats
Two guard galleys	12,000 ducats
Guard boats	90 ducats
Two clerks	120 ducats
Two counters	80 ducats
Overseer <sup>71</sup>	36 ducats
Feudal lords of the Chamber <sup>72</sup>	6,000 ducats

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68 Probably responsible for the slaughterhouses.

69 A kind of militia force.

70 A special tax (of Byzantine origin) paid in lieu of military service.

71 Of the Kingdom's Treasury; *massaro* in the original.

72 Members of the lower nobility, who received land from the *Camera* (= the Kingdom's Treasury).

	126, 668 <sup>73</sup>
Total revenues of the Kingdom	130,000 ducats
Total expenses (apart from what is paid to Venice)	23,000 ducats

## XXII. Feudal lords of the Kingdom

### XXII.1. The count of Jaffa

The count of Carpass

The count of Roccas

The count of Tripoli

The admiral, Lord Costanzo

The constable, Lord Andonio Davelle

Pietro di Nores, knight<sup>74</sup>

Auder di Nores, knight<sup>75</sup>

Giovan di Nores

Gianotto di Nores

Giason di Nores

Phebo Benedetti

Pietro Singlittico

Bernardin Benedetti

Tomasso Singlittico

Zuan Benedetti

Nicolò Singlittico

Zuan Flattro

Hieronimo Singlittico

Hettor Flattro

Livio Singlittico

Pier Flattro

Vico Singlittico

Ballian Flattro

Flattro Flattro

Pier Antonio Singlittico

a certain Zuan Flattro

Philippo Podachataro

Bernardo Bustron

Ludovico Podachataro

Giason Bustoron

Hettor Podachataro

[...] Bustron

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73 Correction: 125,802.

74 Of the Knights Hospitaller.

75 Of the Knights Hospitaller.

Eugenio Podachataro	Giacomo Filippo Milano
Livio Podachataro	Giacomo Bergantino
Jacomo Strambali	Giovan Scella <sup>76</sup>
Hettor Strambali	Bernardo della Gridia
Piero Strambali	Marco Zaccaria
[...] Strambali	Aloise Zaccaria
Giacomo Strambali Rosso	Paris di Looron <sup>77</sup>
Diomede Villaraut	Paris Sannson
Nicoló Benedetti	
Zuan Benedetti	Pier Martinengo
Hieronimo Circasso	
Mutio Zibler <sup>78</sup>	Alesandro Prevosto
Tristan Zibler	Bellisario da Lion
Phebo Zibler	Hettor Zappo
Tristan Zerbas	Anniballo Babin
Zuan Sosomeno	
Januccio Muscornò	Tomaso Ficardo
Marchio Frasenghi	Pier Gierusalem
Francisco Antar	Gasparro Impallol
Olivier Guerra	Pier Antonio Lusignan
Zuan di Tores	Marco Cadit
Zuan Zerbrin	Ugo Flattro
Piero Lase	Giuffre Corner
	Aluise Leforia <sup>79</sup>
	Anibal de San Zuanne

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76 Correction: Scebba.

77 Correction: Lodron.

78 Correction: Ziblet.

79 Correction: Lefara.

## XXIII. The community

XXIII.1. The following administrators are elected by ballot vote:

the captain of Limassol  
the governor<sup>80</sup> of Pendaia  
the governor of Chrysochou  
the governor of Avdimou  
the governor of Massotto

all recipients of provision in exchange for cavalry service

Among the eight candidates who receive the majority of votes,<sup>81</sup> the three governors<sup>82</sup> choose four (in order of priority) by ballot vote.

XXIII.2. The scribes, [...] in number, do not receive salary but live from their earnings; the same happens with the supervisors of professions,<sup>83</sup> who are paid by the governors, vice-governors and standard bearers<sup>84</sup> in every village.

XXIII.3. For every wound<sup>85</sup> there is a penalty of 85 [ducats].

XXIII.4. Royalties, capons, hens, chicken, cereals, carobs and other offerings of wild goats.<sup>86</sup>

XIII.5. The viscount is directly appointed by the governors and exercises his powers over the city and viscounty, dealing with the storage of cereals, all provisions and bread.

XIII.6. The scribes obey to the governors alone, as do the two Chanceries of the Kingdom.

## XXIV. The Copts

XXIV.1. They are called so after an ancient city in Egypt (now called *Cofth*), from where sand is brought to Venice and is made shiny like crystal.

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80 The governors mentioned here are all *civitani* in the original.

81 By the town assembly of Nicosia.

82 *Rettori* in the original.

83 *Giusdicenti* in the original.

84 *Civitani, paricivitani, bagneri* in the original.

85 *I sanguì che si fanno* in the original.

86 These seem to have been collected and paid by the local magistrates to the Venetian colonial government.

**XXIV.2.** They use the Greek alphabet, but add seven characters of their own, namely *sciai, phai, chai, chiuri, chienchia, chiema, di*:

Ϡ ϣ ϥ ϧ Ϩ ϩ †

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω γ.

**XXIV.3.** The families of Copts in Cyprus are: 200 in Nicosia, 900 families.<sup>87</sup>

In Palecithro, 12 families.

In San Demeri,<sup>88</sup> 10 families.

In Famagusta, 30 families.

They wear the priestly vestments of Syria.

Their bishop receives 10 or 20 bezants as marriage royalties.

From Gnochorio 20 bezants.

From Lansa<sup>89</sup> they bring with them 360 bezants.

For the ordination of priests, they receive nothing.

**XXIV.4.** In Nicosia they have two priests; they receive from the Lansa of the Copts 26 ducats for each one, from Gnochorio 120 bezants and from appeals to the governors<sup>90</sup> 12 [bezants]. They consecrate the Eucharist using leavened bread. During their ordinary liturgy, the celebrants, namely priests and deacons, [are the first to] receive Communion; when they do so, the priests administer the sacrament to everyone. Their Eucharistic bread is perfect and beautiful, like a Host, but bigger in size.

**XXIV.5.** The language of Jacobites, Nestorians and Maronites was spoken by Adam; they also have the same mentality [like him].

**XXIV.6.** In the beginning, there were five nations sharing the same faith: Copts, Jacobites, Armenians, Abyssinians and Nubians. Now the Armenians publicly broke communion with them, but they privately share their faith, for they follow Dioscoros and marry themselves with the aforementioned nations. The other nations do not marry with Maronites, Greeks, Franks and Nestorians.

**XXIV.7.** The Nubians are dispersed.

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87 Unclear meaning.

88 St Demetrios or St Dometios.

89 Place not identified. Perhaps Lasa or Lachia?

90 *Rettori* in the original.

**XXIV.8.** The Abyssinians obey the Coptic patriarch of Egypt, who appoints their bishops; he is based in Cairo, exercising jurisdiction all over Egypt to Ethiopia. The priest John<sup>91</sup> was made deacon by a bishop appointed by the [said] patriarch, who was [elected] by the synod of bishops in Alexandria.

**XXIV.9.** They have four monasteries in the desert: St Anthony, St Macarios, Our Lady and St Bichianos.

**XXIV.10.** The Jacobites have a patriarch in Antioch and a metropolitan, who is like an archbishop and vicar of their patriarch.

**XXIV.11.** The Armenians have their lord.<sup>92</sup>

**XXIV.12.** The Maronites [have a patriarch] in Mt Lebanon.

**XXIV.13.** The “Christians of the Belt”<sup>93</sup> are the Abyssinians.

**XXIV.14.** The Greeks have [patriarchs] in Jerusalem, Beirut,<sup>94</sup> Cairo and Constantinople.

**XXIV.15.** In Cairo the Greeks are few, but in Syria there are many.

**XXIV.16.** The Maronites live from Beirut to Tripoli and Aleppo.

**XXIV.17.** In Aleppo there are Armenians and Jacobites; they also inhabit the lands further east, etc.

**XXIV.18.** The Nestorians live further east, near the countries of the wise men where there are no Christians.

**XXIV.19.** The Armenians are Judaizing in nineteen articles, written above.

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91 Giovanni Battista Abissino/Indiano, bishop of the Abyssinians (1564) and papal nuncio of Armenia and All East (1565). An important figure in the relations between Rome and Oriental Christians, he died in Cyprus (his native island) in 1566.

92 Or catholicos.

93 They wore wide belts. There was also a medieval tradition that St Thomas, who introduced Christianity in Abyssinia, had been entrusted by the Virgin with her belt.

94 For the Patriarchate of Antioch.

**XXIV.20.** They celebrate the feast of Our Lady not on 25 March but on 6 April; they also baptise using sesame oil.

**XXIV.21.** They celebrate Easter on Holy Saturday, eating cheese and eggs, and on Sunday the [paschal] lamb.

**XXIV.22.** They marry and baptise on Saturday.

**XXIV.23.** They eat the paschal lamb grilled and hung in the church, *having girded up [their] loins*,<sup>95</sup> etc.

**XXIV.24.** They consecrate the Eucharist using unleavened bread.

**XXIV.25.** They celebrate Christmas on Saturday,<sup>96</sup> namely before the vigil of Epiphany.

**XXIV.26.** They celebrate Candlemass on 14 February.

**XXIV.27.** Their priests [and] deacons consecrate by anointing [people's] hands with the Holy Chrism.<sup>97</sup>

**XXIV.28.** At Christmas, they stand by the fire like the shepherds of the Gospel.

**XXIV.29.** In Cyprus, the Maronites live in Cithrea, Attalu, Ornusa, Clepini, Casal Pifani, Carpascia, Condomeno, Metochi, Vuno, Sichari and Piscopia. There are more than 1,000 families: 96 are under the jurisdiction of the bishop; around the same number is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch.<sup>98</sup>

**XXIV.30.** In Nicosia they have the monastery of San Fosi<sup>99</sup> with two other families; their bishop (other than the Latin) lives there.

**XXIV.31.** There are around seventy families of Armenians in Spatarico, San Vasili, Cornochipo and Platani.

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95 1 Peter 1:13. Meaning: having prepared themselves.

96 More precisely: Friday night (the new day begins on the eve of the previous one).

97 The original has *Nel sacrar i preti i diaconi l'ungano di Cresma nelle mani*. The meaning of the phrase is probably that anointments were made by priests and deacons (and not by bishops).

98 The division of jurisdiction probably reflects the controversy between the Maronites of Cyprus and Patriarch Mikhail al-Ruzzi in 1567.

99 Place not identified.



**XXIV.32.** In Nicosia there are nearly 100 families; they are well-established [...]. At the first liturgy of their [new] bishop, they give him [...] a fistful of ducats; he also possesses around 400 small animals and receives alms every Easter.

Chrysovalantis Kyriacou



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