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THE EMERGENCE OF THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN MARY AS THE PATRON SAINT OF SEAFARERS¹

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The veneration of the Virgin in the Mediterranean in association with matters to do with the sea has been widespread since the early modern period. The churches and the feasts dedicated to her and the naming of vessels after her by people who make their living from the sea or who live in close proximity to it are very evident demonstrations of this devotion. This paper, which sets out the preliminary findings of a work-in-progress, will look at the origin and evolution of this phenomenon up to the sixteenth century, map its distribution in the Mediterranean, and seek to establish the extent to which the emergence of this phenomenon was intentional.

Introduction

The various facets of Saint Mary as Virgin, Queen, Bride, Mother, and Intercessor have been the subject of a number of studies.² There is, however, an aspect which may have not received the attention which it deserves, namely, the Blessed Virgin as patron saint of seafarers and seafaring communities, although this aspect of the Blessed Virgin, with its origins probably in the Hellenistic *Isis Pelagia* and other preceding Sea Goddesses, had been venerated in the Mediterranean since at least the late Middle Ages and has since become widespread.

Through the ages, Christian seafarers have had recourse to a number of saints in search of protection against the many perils of the sea. Some were intercessors whom seafarers shared with other, non-seafaring, members of the community, as was the case on the island of Malta where votive offerings from seamen constitute only part of the rich collections that can be found adorning churches dedicated to, amongst others, Our Lady of Victories, Our Lady of Light, Our Lady of Mercy, and Our Lady of Graces.³ Other patron saint have been specifically identified with matters maritime across time and space. Saint Peter, for example, has often been associated with fishermen, while Saint Elmo has been associated with seafarers. Saint Nicholas, on the other hand, has been identified with both fishermen and seafarers. In overall terms, it is nevertheless, probable that in the epoch

under consideration the Blessed Virgin was as important as any of the aforementioned saints as a patron of those whose livelihood was dependent on the sea or who lived in close proximity to it.⁴

In the Aegean, for example, many of the vessels sailing between the islands bear the name *Panaghià Thalassini* as a form of protection against the hazards of the sea. In the same area, fishermen revere the Madonna of the Fishermen, *Panaghià Psarioni*.

In Chioggia, Venice's southernmost fishing community in the Adriatic, the *Beata Vergine della Navicella* is venerated primarily as the patron saint of fishermen and has her feast in June. The role of the Virgin as a protector of vessels and seamen there is clearly illustrated by the rich nineteenth-century ex-voto evidence.⁵

In Ringo, a location outside the ancient walls of Messina along the north-east coast of the island of Sicily, there is a church dedicated to Jesus and *Maria del Buon Viaggio*, which is also known as the 'Church of the Seamen'. In the twentieth century it was still frequented by local sailors before sailing from Messina. A seventeenth-century interpretation of the late sixteenth-century icon of the Madonna holding the infant Jesus in her left arm, with a strong gesture of her other hand and with angels in attendance, attributes to the Virgin the power to becalm the waters of the Straits and of the anchorage of Messina, and the promise of a safe journey. This icon, painted on canvas, can still be seen on the eighteenth-century altar in the church. On their return, seamen visited the church of the *Madonna di Portosalvo*, half a kilometre away from the previously mentioned church, before tying up in Messina, to thank the Virgin for granting them the grace of successfully completing their voyage. The *Madonna di Portosalvo* is the famous patron of Messina, known as *La Madonna della Lettera*—her statue was placed at the entrance of the present port in 1902.⁶

In Spain, at the western end of the Mediterranean, the devotion to *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, is a long-established one among fishermen. Its association with the Navy, on the other hand, only dates to the Civil War (1936-1939) and displaced previous devotions to Saint Peter, Saint Elmo, and others that had been common in the past.⁷

The veneration of the Virgin Mary as a patron of those associated with the sea has even been 'exported' from the Mediterranean to the Americas. As we shall see further on, Spanish seafarers and explorers took her with them in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries while Boston's historic North End has, since 1911, been the venue for a Fishermen's Feast held in August that is based on the tradition of devotion to the *Madonna del Soccorso* (Our Lady of Succour) of the fishermen of Sciacca, Sicily, which originated in the sixteenth century.⁸

The aim of this essay is to set out a preliminary assessment of the evolution of the cult of the Virgin as a patron of seafarers since its apparent inception in the sixteenth century, and its spatial distribution.

From West to East: The Spread of the Cult

Barcelona

The earliest formal evidence of a veneration of the Virgin in a maritime context that we have encountered is in Catalonia. In Barcelona, the capital of the Crown of Aragon, a church dedicated to the Virgin and named *Santa Maria del Mar*, was built in what is at present the trendy Gothic quarter of the city. Until the end of the early modern period this area was adjacent to the sea and outside the city walls, so it is possible that the name was not unrelated to its physical location. The present church is from the late fourteenth century, although the first mention of a church there is to be found in documentation dating back to the year 998, when it was known as *Santa Maria de las Arenas*, or St. Mary of the Sands. The first reference to *Santa Maria del Mar* is in 1102. In 1106 it appears as part of the diocese of Barcelona.

From the second century BCE until the eleventh century CE, Barcelona's port facilities had been located in the area between Montjuïc and the mouth of the Llobregat River, south-west of the city, but as a consequence of silting they were relocated in the area around the Church of *Santa Maria de Mar* from the middle of the eleventh century onwards. As this area grew it became known as the *villa nova maris*, an *urbus* inhabited by noble families as well as by merchants, ship-owners, sea-related workers and others. During the twelfth but, especially, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the area grew in line with the city's commerce. This evolution prompted the cathedral chapter of Barcelona to replace the south-east facing tenth-century Romanesque church with the present south-west facing Gothic basilica. Started in 1329, it was finally consecrated in 1384. The money for the construction came from the wealth accrued from overseas ventures by the rich merchants living in the district and from the craftsmen and workers belonging to specific guilds, especially seamen and the huge numbers of haulers and porters who worked in the port.⁹ The two bronze figures of porters bearing their loads depicted on the large oak doors of the church attest to the contribution of this sector of the population to the building of the church. There are several other such references to be found inside the church in the form of stone reliefs and it is, therefore, possible that the qualifier 'del Mar', which had in the first instance probably been a reference

to a spatial location, eventually came to acquire a more ‘actively’ maritime role with the Virgin chosen as a patron saint by those involved in various maritime activities. It is interesting to note that this happened some forty to a hundred years after the compilation of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, in which the Virgin intercedes on behalf of both merchant and naval galleys.¹⁰

Palermo

In the first half of the twelfth century, George of Antioch, chief minister to Roger II, the Norman king of Sicily, initiated the building of a church in Palermo, the capital of the island since the Middle Ages. After its completion in 1143, George of Antioch dedicated the church to the Virgin as an expression of his gratitude for the protection and support she had given him in peace and war throughout his long and eventful career. The church is known by two names: *S. Maria dell’ Ammiraglio* and *La Martorana*.¹¹ The first name had to do with one of George of Antioch’s official roles, namely that of raising funds for military campaigns, but he also took an active part in warfare, including naval expeditions. In 1132–1133 he was given the title of Emir of Emirs, or Grand Commander, of the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Norman Kingdom.¹² However, the name of the church, St. Mary of the Admiral, was not popular in the late twelfth century, and in December 1184, when the traveller Ibn Jubair visited Palermo and the church on his way back to Andalusia from the Levant, he referred to the church as ‘the one of the man of Antioch’. It is interesting that when referring to George of Antioch, Ibn Jubair ignored his title of ‘emir’, and only indicated that ‘he was the minister of the great-father (Roger II) of the present king (William I)’.¹³

The first references we have encountered to the church built by George of Antioch are in documents from the late thirteenth century (1295) and the first half of the fourteenth century (1305 and 1330) which refer to it as ‘S. Maria de Admirato’.¹⁴ In this period it served as a meeting place for the Assembly which offered the realm to King Peter of Aragon. This particular use to which the church had been put is mentioned in the anonymous *Chronicon Siculum ab anno 1320 usque ad MCCCXXVIII*, which also referred to the church as ‘S. Maria de Admirato’. The other documents referred to previously indicate that the Royal Curia of the city of Palermo held court proceedings in the atrium and that notaries had their offices there.¹⁵

Santa Maria dell’ Ammiraglio, in Palermo, has also been commonly referred to as *La Martorana*. This, however, dates only from the fifteenth century. The name is derived from Goffridus Marturana, an official of the

Royal Curia who in 1193–1194, together with his wife, established a Benedictine nunnery right next door also called *Santa Maria del Admirato*, which was also dedicated to the Virgin but which was called *S. Maria Nova* to distinguish it from the previously-mentioned one. In 1433–1434, the church of St. Mary of the Admiral was ceded to the convent of *S. Maria de Marturana* by Alfonso, the Aragonese King of Sicily. In this way the Greek orthodox rite of the original *S. Maria del Admirato* was replaced by the Latin rite.¹⁶ Up to the fifteenth century, however, the church retained its previous name which is also the one that is used at present, namely, *Santa Maria del' Ammiraglio*.

In the late fifteenth century another church dedicated to the Virgin as a patron of seafarers and seafaring communities was constructed at the eastern end of the port of Palermo. This church, dedicated to *S. Maria della Catena*, has a clear Catalan-Gothic influence. It was named after the chain that closed the entrance to the port during the night or in times of war. It was hoped that the Virgin and her church would add to the protection given by the chain.

Catania

Further information concerning the cult of the Virgin as a patron of seafarers also comes from Sicily. Ludolf of Suchem, who went through the Sicilian Channel in 1350 on his way to the Holy Land from the Western Mediterranean, informed his readers that in the city of Catania, on the eastern coast of Sicily, there was a Dominican church of Saint Mary in which there was an icon of the Virgin which had been made by the friars and which was revered by both the people of the town and by passing mariners. He further claimed that, ‘. . . no ship passes within a certain distance thereof without greeting and visiting this picture, and they tell one and firmly believe that if any ship were to pass by without greeting or visiting the picture, it would not reach home without meeting with a storm’.¹⁷

Catania lies on the sea route leading from the western Mediterranean to the East via the Straits of Messina and the Ionian. Leaving the Messina Channel, vessels headed South West along the eastern Sicilian coast, as did Richard the Lionheart's fleet on its way to the Holy Land in 1190. The vessels subsequently headed North West towards Calabria. Richard's fleet spent the night anchored between Calabria and Mount Etna but the wind—probably a north-easterly from the Straits of Otranto—then changed to the opposite direction and hit the fleet near Cape Spartivento, dispersing it.¹⁸ It should be pointed out that Richard the Lionheart visited Catania and the

church of St. Agatha, the patron of the city, on the eve on his departure from Sicily to the Holy Land in 1190, but he did not mention the church of St. Mary, probably because it was still to be built.¹⁹ The year 1190 should be, therefore, regarded as the earliest possible date for the existence of the church. By the late thirteenth century or the opening years of the fourteenth century the Virgin in Catania took on the association with the sea.

Cagliari

After their conquest of Sardinia in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Catalans built their houses, a church and a monastery run by the Mercedarian Order, on a hill in Cagliari which they called Bonayre, because it was healthier than the lower-lying areas in the vicinity.²⁰ In 1370, a Catalan merchant ship found itself in difficulties as a consequence of a storm and the crew were obliged to jettison the cargo. All the goods sank except for a box which when thrown overboard remained afloat and becalmed the sea and following it the ship arrived at Bonaria. Monks belonging to the Mercedarian Order took the box to their church and opened it on the 25 March, the feast day of the Annunciation, and within they found a statue of the Virgin and Child which they placed in a chapel to one side of the main altar. The next morning they found that the statue had miraculously moved to the main altar. They took it back to the side chapel but the next morning they again found that it had shifted back to the main altar where, after a number of other attempts to put it back in the side chapel had failed, it finally remained. In recognition of these portents, the church, which had been dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was rededicated to the Virgin of Bonayre and soon became the Protector and Patron of seafarers. Via the monks of the Mercedarian Order and Spanish seafarers the devotion eventually spread to Spain itself during the course of the fifteenth century. In Seville there was a chapel belonging to the Seafarers Guild at Triana, on the banks of the river Guadalquivir, dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Buen Aire and ships setting out to explore the Americas were reputed to carry with them an image of Nuestra Señora del Buen Aire. In 1536, Don Pedro de Mendoza founded a city with that name in the estuary of the River Plate and several places of worship were eventually established there dedicated to the protection of seafarers.²¹ The city subsequently became known as Buenos Aires.

Corfu

As we proceed further East, information concerning the establishment of the cult of the Virgin as a patron of seafarers and seafaring communities becomes dependent on the reports of travellers as formal evidence of the establishment of a church or its dedication to Saint Mary is often not available. The earliest information we have refers to a church dedicated to Our Lady of Cassiopi, recorded at the Bay of Cassiopi in north-eastern Corfu, in the Ionian. It was devoted to a Virgin which was considered by sailors as their patron and they frequented it whenever possible.²² It is not clear when the church was built but in 1395 Le Seigneur d'Anglure claimed that he found a lamp full of oil in the church. The author of *La Sainte Cytè de Hierusalem* stated in 1480 that a fire burned constantly in the lamp without the need for oil to be added.²³ Both travellers were presumably referring to a light house or some other signalling device used to warn mariners and ships of the presence of dangerous reefs in the vicinity and directing the vessels to a safe anchorage at the eastern end of the bay.

In 1418, Le Seigneur de Caumont said that the Virgin with Christ twice saved the Catalan *nef* on which he was sailing from a shipwreck, after its master and mariners had made vows: the first time was in Zonchio (Navarino), along the western coast of the Peloponnese, and the other was in the Gulf of Messina. In Navarino, the master's vow, that he subsequently fulfilled, was that he would donate the profits from the sale of the merchandise there to the building of a church by the sea dedicated to *Sainte Marie de Pitiè*.²⁷

Cape Saint Mary, Turkey

The next mention of the Virgin being associated with the sea refers to a toponym rather than an actual place of worship. On his way to Samarkand in 1403, Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo reported the existence of a 'Cape of St. Mary' in Ottoman territory between Lesbos and the island of Tenedos in the north-eastern Aegean, at the very spot where the vessel he was on, on his way to the Dardanelles, met a storm.²⁴ This cape, known currently as Baba Burun in Turkish, is dotted with shoals and reefs and is, therefore, a hazardous crossing during the prevailing north-easterlies.²⁵ Naming it after the Virgin must have been a way of protecting against the risk of distress while crossing the Cape or as an expression of gratitude after someone had been saved from shipwreck, although the actual origin of the toponym is not known.

The Black Sea

The aforementioned ambassador, namely Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, also declared that the vessel on which he was sailing in the south-western part of the Black Sea was saved from shipwreck by Christ and the Virgin.²⁶

Rhodes

There is also mention of the Virgin as a saviour from the perils of the sea in *La Sainte Cyté de Hierusalem* in 1480. The author reports that on his way back from the Holy Land he joined a pilgrimage to a church dedicated to *Nostre Dame de Philarme*, the Virgin of Philaremos (Filermo), on the Turkish coast between Cyprus and Rhodes, five miles away from Rhodes. She performed miracles on both land and sea. The author and his companions needed her intercession, because they had been sailing for four days and nights with contrary winds or calms, and were in some difficulty because their provisions had become considerably depleted and their water had gone bad.²⁸ It should be noted that in 1395 Le Seigneur d'Anglure referred to the same icon but omitted to mention the attribution to it of miracles at sea, so its association with the sea must have been a subsequent development. He said that the church was on a high mountain and only performed miracles for the whole population of the Island of Rhodes.²⁹

Apulia

In his late fifteenth-century *Itinerary to the Holy Land*, Anselme Adorno reported that on the coastline of Molfetta, in Apulia, there was a church dedicated to the Madonna called *Notre-Dame des Martyres*, after several martyrs buried there.³⁰ The church contained an icon of the Virgin that according to local tradition had been brought there from Constantinople in 1188. The icon was credited with many miracles at sea, although it is not clear whether these had happened before or after its arrival in Italy, or both. A priest from Barletta, another town on the coast of Apulia, told Anselme that he had personally experienced one of the miracles attributed to the icon. The tempest that had hit the ship on which he was sailing broke its mast, rudder and other gear. The master of the ship made a vow to the Virgin promising half of the ship if it was saved. The Virgin appeared on the prow in front of a Jew with leprosy and promised to cure him and save the ship if he would accept to be baptized. Immediately after this had happened, she led the ship to safety into the channel of Corfu. Due to such miracles, many pilgrims visited the church of *Notre-Dame des Martyres* in

Molfetta.³¹ The only other information we have about the church is that it was constructed by William II, the Norman king of Sicily and Southern Italy, in 1162.

Dalmatia

In 1494, a pilgrim named Casola reported that on the island of Lesina, off the coast of Dalmatia, there was a Franciscan monastery with a church dedicated to *S. Maria delle Grazie*, both built by Don Giovanni Soranzo in gratitude for a great miracle brought about by the intercession of the Virgin: One night he had found himself at sea in a great storm and the ship's rudder had broken. He commended himself to the Virgin and found himself safe on the island. 'That was the origin of the building, which was extended and maintained along with the friary by the offerings of sailors'.³²

Was the Diffusion of the Cult of the Virgin as a Patron Saint of Seafarers and Seafaring Communities Circumstantial or Premeditated?

The data we have in hand at the moment would seem to suggest that diffusion of the cult was partly circumstantial and partly premeditated. From the thirteenth century onwards, the Catalano-Aragonese Crown conquered a number of islands in the Western Mediterranean that would constitute a chain of veritable stepping stones to Sicily and beyond. Subsequently, during the latter half of the thirteenth century, the Catalans even penetrated into the eastern Mediterranean in a variety of ways. There were acquisitions by way of matrimony, as happened with Cyprus in the fourteenth century, but there was also conquest. In the early fourteenth century, a group of Catalan mercenaries conquered the Latin-ruled Duchy of Athens after falling out with their employer. Catalan was made the official language in both it and other territories which were subsequently added.³³ It is probable that this expansion must have favoured the implantation of the cult.

Another factor that may have helped extend the cult to the Virgin was trade. In the late thirteenth century the naming of vessels after the Virgin was a common phenomenon in the Western Mediterranean. However, it should be noted in this context that the naming of ships after other saints preceded the use of the name of the Virgin for this purpose. Ships had been given the names of other saints since the second decade of the thirteenth century in Pisa, Genoa and Venice.³⁴

Conclusions

The material we have at present points towards the possibility that the cult of the Virgin as the patron of seafarers and seafaring communities may have started at the far end of the Western Mediterranean in Catalano-Aragonese Spain in the late thirteenth century. What is unquestionable is the fact that by the fifteenth century the Virgin was venerated as a patron by mariners and their communities in both basins of the Mediterranean.

Veneration which started off as a personal or local matter, whereby merchants, seafarers, and seafaring communities demonstrated their devotion or gratitude by either constructing new places of worship in honour of the Blessed Virgin, or re-dedicating existing churches to her, would acquire renown beyond the original locality and attract visits by outsiders.

Establishing how this veneration of the Virgin actually spread to other parts of the Mediterranean and beyond is more problematic. We have suggested that the political expansion of the Crown of Aragon may have had much to do with the spread of the cult beyond Barcelona, the probable epicentre, although trade and navigation may also have had an important role. Catania in Sicily and Cassiopi in Corfu were two essential ports of call connecting both basins of the Mediterranean. In fact, Corfu was also a focal point of two other coastal routes to the Eastern Mediterranean. A second originated in Brindisi or Otranto in Apulia while a third route went down the east coast of the Adriatic and along the Dalmatian coast and its islands. Does the fact that the Bay of Cassiopi was frequented by sailors from all over the Mediterranean mean that it may have acted as a sort of cultural clearing house where onward transmission could have taken place? There is no doubt that considerably more work will have to be done in order to establish whether what we see before us is indeed a process of cultural diffusion or whether these various phenomenon developed independently of one another.

Notes

1. I wish to thank Dr. Carmel Vassallo for his considerable assistance.
2. Refer Winston-Allen Anne, *Stories of the Rose: The making of the rosary in the Middle Ages*, (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997) for relevant bibliography.
3. Refer A. H. J. Prins, *In Peril of the Sea*, (Malta 1989) and Joseph Muscat, *Il-Kwadri Marittimi Maltin*, (Malta, 2003).
4. Antoni Sella and Enric Garcia, *Creences de la Mar*, (Barcelona 2003), 33–36.
5. Marcato, U., *Il bragozzo, nella marineria tipica dell'alto adriatico e nell'arte religiosa degli ex-voto (tolèle)*, catalogo di mostra (Chioggia 1979)

6. I would like to thank Prof. Maria Teresa Di Paola of Messina University for this information and the relevant bibliography: Giovanni Molonia, 'La Chiesa di Gesù e Maria del Buon viaggio' in Molonia, *La Chiesa di Gesù e Maria del Buon viaggio al Ringo* (Messina 2000), 51 n. 18; F. Chillemi, *I borghi di Messina. strutture urbane e patrimonio artistico* (Messina 1994), 102–105; P. Samperi, *Iconologia della gloriosa Vergine madre di Dio protettrice di Messina . . . , Messina 1644, oggi disponibile in ristampa anastatica con introduzioni di G. Lipari, E. Pispisa e G. Molonia* (Messina 1990) 583–584.
7. I would like to thank Enric Garcia Domingo, Head of the Maritime Documentation Centre at the Maritime Museum of Barcelona for this information.
8. Stephan. Claesson *et al.*, 'Fishing Heritage Festivals, Tourism and Community Development in the Gulf of Maine', in John G. Peden, *et al.*, *Proceedings of the 2005 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium; 2005 April 10–12*; (New York 2005), 423–424. It should, however, be stressed that the Madonna had originally been venerated in Sciacca since at least the fourteenth century as a result of miracles involving the curing of people suffering from various ailments or freeing them from possession by the devil. Indeed, the *Madonna del Soccorso* the patron saint of the town. None of the miracles were connected to the sea or to fishing folk. Realizing how lucky they were to be in the good graces of the Mother of God, the people of Sciacca decided to show their gratitude and devotion to her by commissioning a statue to be built in her honour. In 1492, two local artists went to Palermo and sculpted the statue out of solid marble. Upon completion of the statue in 1503, the people of Sciacca were confronted with the daunting task of transporting the very heavy statue from Palermo to Sciacca. The fishermen of Sciacca therefore decided to send their fleet of fishing boats to Palermo and to bring the statue to Sciacca. Over two hundred fishermen were needed to carry it to the docks to be loaded on the largest fishing boat available. With such a heavy weight on board, the fishing boat was barely able to stay afloat let alone move along the seas under its own power. Using their fishing nets and drop lines the fishermen secured their other boats to the vessel carrying the statue and tug boat fashion carefully escorted the statue of the Madonna out of Palermo, across the seas and back home to Sciacca. Upon entry into the harbour of Sciacca, the fishermen were given a tumultuous welcome. In recognition of their feat and as a sign of gratitude, the town of Sciacca gave the fishermen in perpetuity the exclusive right to carry the statue of the Madonna. When the fishermen migrated to America in the early 1900s, they took their traditions with them to Boston <<http://www.fishermansfeast.com/What%20is%20the%20FF.html>>
9. Orvietani-Busch, S. *Medieval Mediterranean Ports; The Catalan and Tuscan Coasts, 1100 to 1235* (Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001), 43, 45–46 and 45, n. 67; 122–123; 137–138; 141–142 and 141, n. 98.
10. In the late thirteenth century King Alfonso X of Castile, 'the Wise', initiated the compiling of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, comprising 420 narrative and lyric poems, in praise of the Virgin Mary, almost all accompanied by music.

- Among other miracles attributed to the Virgin, Chant no. 36 deals with miracles made by her at sea, saving merchants as well as war galleys under the command of the admiral (*The Songs of Holy Mary by Alfonso X, the Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Translated by Kathleen Kulphill. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Tempe 2000).
11. E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of St. Mary's of the Admiral in Palermo* (Washington 1990), 21. In fact, the church lost its original function after the Sicilian Vespers in summer 1282.
 12. When at sea his title was 'emir el bahr', or commander of the sea, which gradually evolved and became *admirato* in Latin, *ammiraglio* in Italian, or 'admiral' in English. Nevertheless, the title *admirato* relating directly, but not exclusively, to naval commander became prevalent only after 1177. Lawrence. V. Mott, *Sea Power in the Medieval Mediterranean, The Catalan-Aragonese Fleet in the War of Sicilian Vespers* (Florida 2003), 81–84, 87–95.
 13. Ibn Jubair, *Voyages*, M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (trans.) (Paris 1949), vol. VI, 390–391.
 14. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics*, 22.
 15. E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics*, 22 and n. 49 and 50.
 16. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics*, 21–23.
 17. 'Ludolph of Suchem, Description of the holy Land and of the way thither. Written in the year A.D. 1350', trans. A. Stewart in *Palestine Pilgrimage Text Society*, vol. 12.C (London 1895), P. 23 & 14.
 18. Ruthy. Gertwagen, 'Harbours and Facilities along the eastern Mediterranean Sea Lanes to *Outremer*', John Pryor, *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (Ashgate 2006), 104 and n. 39.
 19. 'Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene', W. Stubbs (ed.), in *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores*, 51 (London 1964), III, (rep.), 93.
 20. In the thirteenth century, the Mercedarian Order was variously designated as the Order of Captives, reflecting its original purpose as an institution to ransom captives, the Brothers of Ransom (or Mercy), the Order of Santa Eulàlia, and the Order of Santa Maria of Ransom (or Mercy).
 21. Angelo Montonati, 'La Madonna di Bonaria; Da Cagliari all'Argentina' *Attualità* (August, 2006), 66–69. I would like to thank Professor Sergio Di Giacomo, of the University of Messina, for this information.
 22. *Fratri Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, C. D. Hassler (ed.), (Stuttgart 18430, vol., III, 352; *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia* (BNMV) Cristoforis Buondelmonti, *Isolario*, Ital. Class. VI. Cod. XIX, (=6087), secolo XVI, f. 2r; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (New York 1908), 545 and n.2.
 23. *Le Saint Voyage de Jhérusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure*, F: Bonnardot and Q. Longnon (eds) (Paris 1878), 7; *Le voyage de la Sainte Cyté de Hierusalem Hierusalem avec la description des lieux, portz, vilees, citez et aultres passaiges fait l'an 1480*, Ch.Schefer (ed.), (Amsterdam 1970), 44.

24. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand A.D. 1403–6*, Clements R. Markham (trans. and ed.) (New York 1970), 22, 25.
25. Great Britain, Admiralty, hydrographic Office, *Mediterranean Pilot* (London 1941), vol. IV, (seventh edition), 279, 381–382.
26. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo*, 52.
27. *Voyaige d'outremer en Jerusalem par le seigneur de Caumont l'n MCCCCXVIII*, Marquis de la Grange (ed.) (Paris 1858), 89, 96–96.
28. *Le voyage de La Sainte Cyté de Hierusalem*, 110–111.
29. *Le Saint Voyage de Jhérusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure*, 91–93.
30. It was a characteristic of the early Christians to establish places of worship in the places where martyrs were known to repose. Refer Peter Robert Lamont Brown, *The cult of the saints: its rise and function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, 1982.
31. *Itinéraire d' Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte 1470*, J. Heers and G. de Groer (eds.) (Paris 1978) 391.
32. Newett, M. M. *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, (Manchester 1907), 330.
33. Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, 'The Mediterranean from the 13th to the 15th Centuries: The Catalan Expansion', Guedea E. *Mediterraneum Splendour of the Medieval Mediterranean. 13th–15th Centuries*, (Barcelona 2004), 143–160.
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