

Freiburger Colloquium 2013 / Colloque Fribourgeois 2013  
« Heilige Portulane. Die Sakralgeographie der Seefahrt im Mittelalter / Le  
Portulan sacré. La géographie religieuse de la navigation au Moyen Âge /  
The Holy Portolano. The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle  
Ages »

Abstracts

Prof. Dr. Patrick Gautier Dalché (Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes Paris)

« Éléments religieux dans les représentations textuelles et figurées de la méditerranée au moyen âge »

Les portulans et les cartes marines sont souvent considérés exclusivement comme exprimant l'« expérience » des marins et relevant de la « pratique ». Cette opinion doit être nuancée, notamment en prenant en compte la place des éléments religieux dans ces objets. La communication examine d'abord les effets sur les voyageurs de la présence multiple du sacré dans la toponymie littorale ainsi que le rôle concret des édifices ecclésiastiques dans les recueils d'instructions nautiques. Elle montre ensuite que les cartes dites marines ou nautiques comportent nombre de réalités de nature religieuse, dont certaines ont moins à voir avec la mer qu'avec l'intérieur des terres. L'imprégnation religieuse de leurs auteurs et de leur public y apparaît. Enfin, on tente d'approcher les réactions des marins et des terriens qu'ils transportent, face aux dangers des tempêtes méditerranéennes, à l'aide de formules apotropaiques ou de prières

Prof. Michel Balard (Université de Paris I-Sorbonne)

«A bord et à l'escale: démarches religieuses des pèlerins et sanctuaires sur les routes de Terre sainte »

A partir d'une quarantaine de récits de voyages et de pèlerinages, nous avons cherché à déterminer quelles étaient les dévotions des marins et des passagers, sur leur route vers la Terre sainte: au départ (signe de croix, chant du Salve Regina et autres cantiques), à bord (oraisons du matin et du soir, « messe sèche »), en temps de tempête (invocations à la Vierge et aux saints, vœux de messes et de pèlerinages, jet de reliques à la mer), à l'arrivée (chants du Salve Regina et du Te Deum). Une liste des sanctuaires fréquentés sur le parcours des pèlerins montre l'importance de Venise comme « pèlerinage secondaire », de Rhodes et de Chypre, riches de reliques. Enfin on a cherché à déterminer quels saints sont les plus invoqués par les

Pèlerins : saint Georges, saint Nicolas, saint Jean chez les hommes (57 saints cités), la Vierge, sainte Catherine, sainte Hélène et sainte Lucie chez les femmes (17 saintes citées). On s'interrogera en conclusion sur l'originalité des dévotions en milieu maritime.

Prof. David Jacoby (Department of History The Hebrew University Jerusalem)

“Ports of Pilgrimage in the Medieval Levant, Eleventh-fourteenth century:  
Jaffa, Acre, Alexandria ”

Maritime pilgrimage from the Christian West to the Holy Land was common for pilgrims residing in the regions extending along the northern Mediterranean shore. It became the rule for all western pilgrims in the thirteenth century.

Pilgrims disembarked in Jaffa, the coastal city closest to Jerusalem, until the first decade of the twelfth century. After its conquest by the crusaders in 1104, Acre became the only port of destination for pilgrims until its fall to the Mamluks in 1291. Jaffa resumed then its former role. Alexandria became yet another pilgrimage port from the 1320s.

The three ports opened the way to the major shrines of the Holy Land, yet differed in their own contribution to the spiritual experience of the pilgrims. Jaffa and its vicinity preserved some biblical connections, Alexandria also exhibited some and, in addition, sites related to St Catherine. On the other hand, there were no holy sites or shrines in Acre. However, in the second half of the thirteenth century the city was transformed from a mere transit station into a unique holy space dispensing indulgences unknown elsewhere in the Holy Land. In that period Acre's new role as pilgrimage center, only pilgrimage port of the Holy Land, and major emporium, combined with a massive flow of pilgrims that promoted the production, sale and export of votive objects on a large scale. In turn the diffusion of these objects in the West extended the spatial dimension of spiritual benefits experienced by the pilgrims in the Holy Land.

Dr. Nada Hélou (Université libanaise, Beirut)

« Les églises de Beyrouth au Moyen Âge »

Dans la litanie « Sante Parole » que les marins et voyageurs italiens récitaient quand ils prenaient le large, le sanctuaire de Saint-Georges de Beyrouth y est invoqué. Parmi les églises qui existaient à Beyrouth au Moyen Âge, la chapelle Saint-Georges possédait une importance particulière : d'une part parce qu'elle était l'église la plus proche de la côte et, d'autre part parce qu'elle se situait sur l'emplacement où le saint héros tua le dragon. Par ailleurs Beyrouth abrite depuis le Moyen Âge une autre église portant le même vocable et où les récentes fouilles archéologiques ont mis au jour des vestiges intéressants, qui sont encore inédits et que cette étude traite.

Les chrétiens locaux jouissent sous les Croisés de la période la plus prospère de leur histoire. Ceci est surtout visible à travers le nombre considérable d'églises qui fut érigé et dans le comté de Tripoli et dans les villes de la côte phénicienne qui étaient rattachées au Royaume de Jérusalem. L'on sait qu'il existait à Beyrouth une quinzaine d'églises desquelles il ne subsiste aucune, hormis l'église de Saint-Jean. Celle-ci, bien que convertie en mosquée, a gardé son aspect originel d'architecture religieuse chrétienne. Les autres, soit n'existent plus, soit sont converties en mosquées, soit reconstruites complètement comme Saint-Georges des Orthodoxes. Son aspect originel, celui du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle est conservé jusqu'à la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle quand elle fut détruite puis reconstruite sous une nouvelle allure.

Il s'agit dans cette étude de trouver la distinction entre les deux églises de Saint-Georges puis de déterminer l'attribution de chacune d'elles.

Dr. Rafał Quirini-Popławski (University Kraków )

## □Coastal Shrines in the Late Mediaeval Black Sea Basin. Topography and Selected Historical and Art-historical problems□

The late Middle Ages were a period of dynamic changes that occurred in the entire Black Sea Basin, both as regards the political as well as ethnic and religious aspects. Originally mainly of Byzantine and Orthodox character it changed its image into a more one, with strong Latin and Islamic presence. But it was chiefly the Genoese and Venetian ships that dominated its waterways. Among the shrines which were mentioned in Holy Portolano (*Sante Parole*), only one is really situated at the Black Sea – namely San Francesco in Caffa, but we know relatively little about this unfortunately no longer existent church. It is to Caffa that one can also trace one of a few examples of cult image associated with the late-mediaeval Black Sea Basin – namely: the so called Madonna di Caffa.

Among the shrines mentioned in *Sante Parole*, one also finds the church of St Phokas in Constantinople, which patron should in all probability become the major guardian of sailors travelling across the Black Sea, but searching for traces of his cult in the late mediaeval Black Sea, does not appear to be particularly fruitful, apart from the Trebizond itself.

The most impressive symbols of “marine” cult on the coastal churches of the Black Sea, are the graffiti preserved on the walls of at least two late-mediaeval churches: St John Aliturgetos in Messembria (Nesebar) and Hagia Sophia in Trebizond.

The presentation includes also following selected problems:

- modern examples of marine cults on the southern coast;
- monastery towers as lighthouses;
- major Black Sea urban cults (St Eugene in Trebizond, St Theodor Tyron in Heraclia Pontica, St Clement in Chersonesus, St John the New in Moncastro);
- Islamic cult centers (succession of cults, religious syncretism).

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Review of sites – an inventory.

The greatest number of seaside shrines situated along the late-mediaeval Black Sea coast was made up of Orthodox monasteries with churches. Quite many of them were situated on capes or islands. The most popular patron saint was St Nicholas, followed by St George, St John the Baptist and St Phokas.

The greatest concentration of Latin churches was to be found in the bigger port towns, especially in the Genoese *Gazaria* in the Crimea. The centers of the Muslim cult appeared towards the end of this period, particularly along the north-western and northern coasts.

Prof. Dr. Chryssa Maltezou, (Accademia di Atene)

«I monaci dell' isola dell'Apocalisse tra preghiera, spionaggio e navigazione (XV–XVIII sec.)»

Si esamina, tramite alcune informazioni relative ai sacri luoghi, la visione dello spazio del mar Egeo, denominato *Arcipelago* dai Latini, da parte dei terzi, pellegrini, viaggiatori, mercanti, pirati e avventurieri, che operavano ognuno di essi secondo le proprie aspirazioni, approfittando dei vantaggi del pelago Greco. L'attenzione si focalizza in particolare sul modo con cui concepivano quello stesso spazio marino i monaci del monastero di San Giovanni Theologo a Patmos, l'isola dove l'amato discepolo di Cristo ha scritto l'Apocalisse. L'attività dei monaci di San Giovanni di Patmos mette in luce il clima generale in vigore nell'isola nel periodo postbizantino. I sacromonaci facevano risalire la loro identità originaria alla comunità Cristiana formata da San Giovanni Teologo. Si consideravano i custodi del sacro luogo dell'Apocalisse e come tali avevano il dovere di allearsi con le potenze cristiane che combattevano gli infedeli. Il mare era da un lato la risorsa dell'indipendenza economica e della sopravvivenza del monastero, ma dall'altro uno spazio che nascondeva pericoli dovuti ai fenomeni naturali o all'aggressività dell'uomo. La tradizione religiosa prevalente all'isola, legata ad uno dei più rilevanti capitoli della storia del cristianesimo, non era incompatibile con l'opera spionistica, nondimeno incompatibile era la qualità monacale nel contesto di commercio e di navigazione. Protettore dell'isola contro il mare era San Giovanni. Se visti in un contesto più ampio, i rapporti dei monaci con il mare furono sempre connessi con il luogo sacro dell'Apocalisse.

Prof. Dr. Maria Georgopoulou (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

### □The Holy Sites of Candia□

Combining the information of pilgrims accounts, archaeology, and historical archives my essay explores the holy landscape of Crete during the Venetian period (1211–1669). Despite the fact that portolans or navigational charts do not single out the maritime churches of Crete, the numerous Latin churches of the capital city of Crete, Candia, figure prominently in pilgrims' accounts and probably were showcased as important religious attractions when the pilgrim galleys made their regular stop in Candia. The unusual combination of Latin and Byzantine practices, in church decoration and veneration practices, stands out. The large Latin churches were obviously shown to the overseas visitors, their relics were brought out, and the paintings admired. In Candia, the harbor had always been the gateway into the city and the colony; every new officer was to be greeted solemnly there. We can surmise that a similar, if much less elaborate ceremony would have been reserved for the arrival of the pilgrim galleys to the port. Nevertheless, what strikes us the most is the relatively little interest that pilgrims paid to Crete, which seems to have been an island apart. The reasons for this unusual phenomenon are explored.

Prof. Vinni Lucherini, (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II)

«Strategie di visibilità del sacro a Napoli e sulle coste campane»

In questo intervento si propone una nuova lettura di alcune testimonianze testuali e figurative relative alla città di Napoli e alla sua percezione da mare da parte dei viaggiatori e dei naviganti medievali. A partire dalla celebre Tavola Strozzi quattrocentesca, conservata nel Museo di San Martino a Napoli, nella quale si riconoscono perfettamente, nella fedele riproduzione del fitto tessuto urbanistico, le fondazioni religiose tardo-antiche e altomedievali, così come gli ambiziosi impianti tardo-duecenteschi e trecenteschi del periodo angioino, e da una precoce descrizione corografica di Napoli redatta in un'agiografia IX secolo, mai presa in esame in tal senso e sorprendente per la quantità di informazioni fornite, si avvia un'indagine sulla visibilità del sacro da mare sulle coste napoletane, nella quale sono chiamate in causa ed esaminate attestazioni archivistiche, letterarie e architettoniche che sembrano dimostrare come il concetto di visione da mare fosse, nel caso di Napoli, strettamente connesso con quello della sacralità delle architetture religiose, luoghi di culto e di liturgia delegati alla trasmissione della memoria di culti che proprio dal mare erano giunti a Napoli nei secoli della tarda Antichità o destinati a rappresentare la magnificenza della nuova dinastia francese salita al potere nel 1266.



Prof. Dr. Valeria Polonio (Università di Genova )

«La postazione ligure e la sua originalità »

L'originalità della Liguria sta in una nuova, finora ignota versione del « Portolano sacro », reperita presso l'Archivio di Stato di Genova da una giovane studiosa, la dottoressa Valentina Ruzzin, che ne ha curato l'edizione e l'identificazione dei luoghi, oltre ad alcune note di carattere generale; il lavoro è in corso di stampa.

Attribuibile alla seconda metà del '400, la variante ligure è denominata « la bonna parolla », è completa di parte iniziale e finale e, pur in armonia con l'andamento generale del testo finora noto, presenta netti aspetti propri: il più evidente, subito dichiarato e divergente rispetto a ciò che finora si sapeva, è il suo uso all'inizio del viaggio. In effetti la recita della salmodia al principio di una spedizione importante è già praticata a Genova almeno a metà '300, come attestano fonti diverse, finché all'alba del secolo XV la normativa locale fissa proprio in tale cerimonia l'inizio legale degli arruolamenti su di una galea.

Tutto ciò lascia intuire il valore della « bonna parolla » su più fronti. In questa sede intendo soffermarmi su alcuni di essi. Prima di tutto desidero presentare i caratteri tra loro molto diversi dei luoghi sacri di Liguria menzionati nel nuovo testo (ben 26 di fronte ai 12 ricordati in quello già noto). In seconda battuta propongo alcune ipotesi sulle diverse pulsioni sottese alla formulazione del testo stesso e sui suoi possibili rapporti con la versione della Biblioteca Magliabechiana.

Prof. Tit. Amadeo Serra Desfilis (Universitat de València)

“A brave new kingdom: images coming from the sea and seaside sanctuaries in valencia (XIII-XV centuries)”

After its conquest by James I of Aragon in 1232–1244, Valencia was a brave new kingdom, called to be Christian by royal decision and geopolitical consistency. Since then, kingdom of Valencia would be oriented to Western Christianity and Mediterranean trade routes. However, the lack of either relics or images posed a tricky problem to the new settlers and their governors.

Relics had to be donated later on, as was the case of the piece of the Crown of Thorns offered by King Louis IX of France to Valencia cathedral or, at the end of the period, of the Holy Grail offered as warrant of a loan by King Alfonso V of Aragon to the same church treasure.

Images, instead, could be produced on Valencian soil or easily imported from northern Christian territories or across the Mediterranean. Both pathways were arguably open and explored having into account legal measures taken by King James I to control image making in the new kingdom and especially what is known about the origin of a significant number of paintings and sculptures well documented and some of them still preserved as cult images (Our Lady of El Puig, Our Lady of Grace in the ex-convent of Saint Agustin and the image of Christ crucified from el Saviour parish church). Legends about the origin of these icons seldom tell us the historical truth, since they generally claim an Eastern provenance.

An interesting group of these images were venerated in seaside shrines, spite of the marshy and unprotected coastal environment. Sites like the church of Saint Mary of the Sea near Valencia harbour or sanctuaries such as Saint Mary of El Puig and the shrine devoted to the Virgin in Cullera castle functioned both as a reference point for those travelling along the Mediterranean coast and places of worship. They probably served as a landmark of the new Christian kingdom not only for local settlers but also to merchants, sailors and all kind of travellers coming from the sea. On the other hand, stories about their origins were part of a narrative of the Christian conquest, including miraculous events and punishment of Muslim or Jewish foes. Virgin's icons were linked to James I as conqueror and founder of the new Christian kingdom of Valencia and monarchy held a particular attachment to these shrines fostering their role as local pilgrimage centres.

Prof. Dr. Adeline Rucquoi (Centre de Recherches Historiques, Paris)

« Saint-Jacques de Compostelle sur les rives de la Mer Ténébreuse »

Le sanctuaire de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle est situé au nord-ouest de la Galice, à quelque vingt-cinq kilomètres de la côte atlantique. Il est cependant intimement lié à la mer puisque la tradition, répandue dès le milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle aux lendemains de la découverte du tombeau, veut que le corps martyrisé de l'apôtre saint Jacques le Majeur y soit parvenu dans une barque miraculeusement gouvernée par Dieu. En 906, le roi Alphonse III répondant aux chanoines de Tours leur indiquait à quelle distance se trouvait le lieu saint de la côte et comment y parvenir. Bien que le *Codex Calixtinus* ait indissolublement lié un chemin terrestre au sanctuaire au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le pèlerinage par voie maritime y fut au moins aussi important jusqu'au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle que celui qui traversait la France et le nord de l'Espagne; les chiffres offerts par les archives anglaises en témoignent amplement pour la fin du Moyen Âge. Diverses légendes reliées à l'évangélisation de l'Espagne par l'apôtre Jacques ou à la translation de son corps apparurent en outre au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle afin d'attirer les pèlerins de Saint-Jacques dans des églises situées, elles, au bord de la côte: Padrón, Muxía, Finisterre. Éclipsé par la vogue actuelle du pèlerinage à pied, Saint-Jacques de Compostelle occupe néanmoins une place primordiale au sein de la géographie religieuse de la navigation médiévale.