

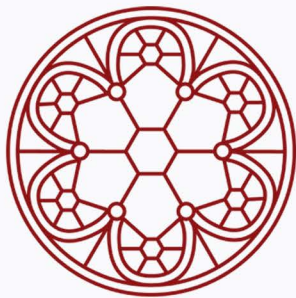


Elder of Apocalypse Window, c. 1240 – 45  
Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

# *The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage*

**NetMAR International Conference**

**01 - 02 December 2022**



**NetMAR**

Network for Medieval Arts & Rituals



**University  
of Cyprus**



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NetMAR International Conference is a hybrid conference. Register here:

<https://ucy.zoom.us/j/99088560825?pwd=WnpNYlpDN3Exa09sL0IzdkZQMllrQT09>

### Thursday, 01 December 2022

- 09.10-09.20 Welcome Speech  
Marilena Karyolemou, Chair, Dept. of Byzantine & Modern Greek Studies
- 09.20-09.30 Introduction  
Stavroula Constantinou, NetMAR Project Coordinator
- 09.30-11.00 **PLACES I**  
Chair: Maria Parani
- 09.30-09.50 *Sinai Pilgrimage: Rituals and Arts in Dialogue*  
Georgia Foukaneli
- 09.50-10.10 *Georgia Attracts Pilgrimages: Sites that Echo Jerusalem's Loca Sancta*  
Erga Shneurson
- 10.10-10.30 *The Pilgrimage of Saint John Lampadistes: Architecture, Art, and Sacred Landscape*  
Ourania Perdiki
- 10.30-11.00 *Discussion*
- 11.00-11.30 *Coffee Break*
- 11.30-12.30 **PLACES II**  
Chair: Marina Toumpouri
- 11.30-11.50 *Chalcedon, Constantinople, Rovinj, Atlit, Rhodes, Venice: Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Evidence on the Lives and Afterlives of Saint Euphemia's Pilgrimage Sites*  
Vesna Šćepanović and Sofia Zoitou
- 11.50-12.10 *Postmortem Proxy Pilgrimages from Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages: The Examples of Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava)*  
Gerhard Jaritz
- 12.10-12.30 *Discussion*
- 12.30-13.15 **KEYNOTE LECTURE**  
Chair: Stavroula Constantinou
- Eventum, Kairos, and the Arrested Moment: Time in Medieval Narrative*  
C. Stephen Jaeger
- 13.15-14.30 *Lunch Break*

- 14.30-16.00    **STRUCTURES I**  
Chair: Nils Holger Petersen
- 14.30-14.50    *Pilgrims in the Holy Land and the Iconography of the Infancy of Christ: Holy Sites, Cults, and Images (4th-8th c.)*  
Caterina Lubrano
- 14.50-15.10    *Pilgrimage as Storytelling in Early Byzantine Collective Biographies*  
Andria Andreou
- 15.10-15.30    *The Eschatological Programme in the Decoration of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta*  
Konrad Waniewski
- 15.30-16.00    *Discussion*
- 16.00-16.30    *Coffee Break*
- 16.30-17.30    **STRUCTURES II**  
Chair: Cornelia Bernadette Horn
- 16.30-16.50    *Travelling with the Book: Greek Manuscripts as Pilgrims' Companions, Memorabilia, and Objects of Donations by Orthodox Proskynetai*  
Marina Toumpouri
- 16.50-17.10    *The Scala Paradisi of John Climacus as Ascetic Pilgrimage: Late Medieval Figurative Sources*  
Teodoro De Giorgio
- 17.10-17.30    *Discussion*
- 17.30-18.30    **EXPERIENCES I**  
Chair: Andria Andreou
- 17.30-17.50    *Egeria's "Panoramic Now": Time and Temporality in Late Antique Pilgrimage*  
Georgia Frank
- 17.50-18.10    *The Emergence and Development of the Cult of the Mother of God as a Lens on the Experience of Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land during Byzantine Times*  
Cornelia Bernadette Horn
- 18.10-18.30    *Discussion*
- 19.00            *Dinner*

**Friday, 02 December 2022**

- 09.00-10.00    **EXPERIENCES II**  
Chair: Aspasia Skouroumouni-Stavrinou
- 09.00-09.20    *The Sacred Space of Conques as an Experience: Past Testimonies Present Experiments*  
Ivan Foletti

- 09.20-09.40 *Pilgrimage as Ritualised Penance: Two Peculiar Cases from the Registers of Innocent III*  
Klaus van Eickels
- 09.40-10.00 *Discussion*
- 10.00-10.30 *Coffee Break*
- 10.30-12.30 **INFLUENCES I**  
Chair: Christos Hadjiyiannis
- 10.30-10.50 “Sancte Sinai miserere mei”, *Georgian Pilgrimage to Sinai: Continuity and Practices*  
Nikolaos Fyssas
- 10.50-11.10 *Russian Orthodox Pilgrimages to the Holy Land: A Medieval Phenomenon in the Modern World?*  
Lora Gerd
- 11.10-11.30 *Litaniae lauretanae Compositions and the “Loreto” Pilgrimage*  
Nils Holger Petersen
- 11.30-11.50 *Sacred Salience?: Afterlives of Archaeology in the Restoration of Medieval Shrines*  
Simon Michael Coleman and Evgenia Mesaritou
- 11.50-12.30 *Discussion*
- 12.30-14.00 *Lunch Break*
- 14.00-15.30 **INFLUENCES II**  
Chair: Evgenia Mesaritou
- 14.00-14.20 *A New, Old Tomb: The Afterlife of Bamberg’s Stations of the Cross*  
Florian Abe
- 14.20-14.40 *The Inverted Pilgrimages of the Panagia Amirou Icon: Medieval Connections and the Formation of Community Identity*  
Dorota Zaprzalska
- 14.40-15.00 *Pilgrimage in the Work of Nikos Kazantzakis*  
Stavroula Constantinou
- 15.00-15.30 *Discussion*
- 15.30-16.00 *Coffee Break*
- 16.00-16.30 *Round Table Discussion*
- 19.00 *Dinner*

**Florian Abe*****A New, Old Tomb: The Afterlife of Bamberg's Stations of the Cross***

Topomimetic Stations of the Cross allowed for an ersatz pilgrimage to the *terra sancta* in many European cities of the Pre-Reformation period. One of the most sophisticated and best-preserved ensembles are the Bamberg Stations of the Cross that were completed around 1500. Its afterlife, however, during which the final ninth Station of the Lamentation in the Church of Saint Getreu has undergone some significant alterations, has received limited scholarly attention. This paper will shed light on the changing, yet surprisingly consistent, media concept of the elaborately composed lamentation group and the respective echoes of its original, late medieval context. Based on my assessment of archival records and historic images, I will present the group's three major design phases: its installation around 1500, the Baroque period, and the 1898/99 Art Nouveau reframing of the original sculptures in a roughly executed grotto in front of a stained-glass window displaying the Jerusalem cityscape where the group is visible until today. Comparing the observed artistic strategies with similar, originally preserved ensembles, I will argue that the ostentatiously contemporary artistic modifications of Bamberg's Lamentation drew heavily from late medieval approaches. By intentionally exploiting the specific representational potential of each of its integrated media – architecture, sculpture, and (glass) painting – the Station was consistently staged as an authentic, yet artistically elevated, *locus sacrum* of the Passion topography.

**Andria Andreou*****Pilgrimage as Storytelling in Early Byzantine Collective Biographies***

In the Byzantine world, pilgrimage acquired many forms: travelling to the Holy Land, visiting sacred sites and shrines, or meeting holy men. This last form of pilgrimage is the subject of two early Byzantine collective biographies, the anonymous *History of the Monks in Egypt* (4th c.), and the *Lausiac History* of Palladios of Hellenopolis (5th c.). In these texts, a group of monks (*History of the Monks*) or one monk (*Lausiac History*) embark on a journey to the monastic centres of the Egyptian desert (*History of the Monks*), to Palestine, Galatia, and upper Egypt (*Lausiac History*) to meet the most pious and renowned ascetic Fathers (and some Mothers) and receive their beneficial lessons. These holy individuals recount their own stories and those of other ascetics. Both pious Fathers and pilgrims act as storytellers. Thus, an important benefit of this pilgrimage is the acquisition of good stories. This paper will examine the rituals that surround pilgrims' efforts to gain access to beneficial stories. How is the stage for recounting and listening to such stories prepared? In what manner do the stories' structures acquire a ritualistic character to support the experience of storytelling? What is the impact of the storytelling function on textual pilgrims and – by extension – the audiences of the texts? Dealing with such questions will allow for a better understanding of the literary workings of two understudied Byzantine texts.

**Simon Michael Coleman and Evgenia Mesaritou**

***Sacred Saliences?: Afterlives of Archaeology in the Restoration of Medieval Shrines***

Our paper will explore the differing afterlives of medieval shrines in two Christian contexts in Europe. The Anglican and Roman Catholic pilgrimage site of Walsingham in Norfolk (England) is a contemporary site of pilgrimage constituted, to a large degree, by highlighting multiple signs of medieval presence in the landscape: connections with the past are invoked by ritual performances, archaeological ruins, and architectural restorations where liturgical links with the Pre-Reformation history of the site are repeatedly asserted and reenacted. Even the carrying out of archaeological investigation has at times been given a theological dimension, lending the practice of unearthing the past a sacralised dimension. The Orthodox monastery of Apostolos Andreas in Turkish-occupied Karpasia (Cyprus) contains a church from 1867 that is situated just above the wall of a medieval chapel most probably constructed, along with its surrounding additions, during the Frankish rule in the fifteenth century. The chapel was excavated during the monastery's restoration, but while it forms a significant archaeological background to the contemporary monastery, it has not been translated into significant signs of medieval presence or performance in the present. Our juxtaposition of these two sites prompts us to ask about the afterlives and affordances of archaeology in pilgrimage shrines: whether and how the medieval becomes active medium for contemporary sacred performances or rather background signs of a venerable, but distant, past.

**Stavroula Constantinou**

***Pilgrimage in the Work of Nikos Kazantzakis***

Like pilgrimage in other traditions, Byzantine pilgrimage constitutes a clear example of what Victor and Edith Turner have called "liminality": a situation in which participants find themselves in a "between-world", outside their normal physical location and their relation to time and social identity. As a ritual process, Byzantine pilgrimage expresses the spiritual yearning, interior journey, and physical enactment of the pilgrim actor, who is chiefly a male traveller seeking a sacred destination and, through that journey, an experience of the spiritual and the divine. The renown Greek writer Nikos Kazantzakis (1883-1957) employs the characteristics of Byzantine pilgrimage and its sacred topography, investing them with his own spiritual struggles and transformations, as well as with the author's quest. By briefly discussing pilgrimage in Kazantzakis' work, this paper will show that it operates as an essential literary device determining the author's (religious) ethics and poetics.

**Teodoro De Giorgio*****The Scala Paradisi of John Climacus as Ascetic Pilgrimage: Late Medieval Figurative Sources***

Composed around the middle of the seventh century, John Climacus' *Scala Paradisi* aimed to outline a true pilgrimage itinerary leading the monk to an encounter with God: a journey, like pilgrimages to holy places, fraught with difficulties and obstacles, dangers, and pitfalls, both material and spiritual. Through its thirty steps reflecting the thirty chapters of the treatise, the monk's difficult asceticism is described. With the monastic oath, the monk takes the commitment to take up his personal cross and to climb the long and narrow ladder of virtues, as instructed by Christ ("If anyone wishes to come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me", Lk 9.23). Starting from the author's many years of research, this paper will investigate, through an interdisciplinary approach and the use of unpublished sources, how late medieval images represented John Climacus' ascetic pilgrimage and what messages they convey to the different types of faithful observers. On closer inspection, the images (mostly miniatures) represent not only monks, but also bishops, clerics, and lay people intending to climb the ladder in order to show that everyone is invited to undertake the ascetic pilgrimage. In some miniatures, datable to the second half of the eleventh century, the monk is presented while he tries to climb the ladder, carrying on his shoulders a pilgrim's bag, and in the act of following the personification of the Pilgrimage Virtue.

**Ivan Foletti*****The Sacred Space of Conques as an Experience: Past Testimonies Present Experiments***

Conques is one of the major pilgrimage sites of pre-modern Europe. Built in a deep valley, a Concha, it is the site of worship of Fides, a fourth-century martyr from Agen. This paper will try to reconstruct the pilgrims' perception of this holy place in its ideal state between the eleventh and the early twelfth century. A brief reflection on the nineteenth-century restoration of the site will be followed by an examination of the relationship between landscape and built environment. Further, the way in which Fides' power was staged and enhanced by her setting will be analysed. Finally, on the basis of the results of a medical experiment performed on modern pilgrims' bodies which involved measuring the changing levels of bodily stress during a prolonged pilgrimage, the question of the impact of bodily physiology on the perception of the sacred space will be addressed.

**Georgia Foukaneli*****Sinai Pilgrimage: Rituals and Arts in Dialogue***

The connection of Mount Sinai to the history of Israel and the identification of its top as the place of the Giving of Law (*Exodus* 32.15) determined the history of Sinai as a prominent monastic and pilgrimage centre. Since the fourth century, biblical shrines have formed the core of a pilgrim itinerary through the Sinai desert. In the apse mosaic of the Sinai Monastery's *Katholikon* (565/6), the archetype of the Sinai pilgrim iconography was depicted for the first time, combining the Sinai Divine

Revelations in a meaningful synthesis. In the late Middle Ages, the veneration of Saint Catherine, attested in Sinai since ca. 800 AD, as well as of monastic saints, former members of the Sinai community, further enriched Sinai pilgrim spirituality and its artistic expression. Works of art mentioned in pilgrim accounts have dictated the perception of the *loca sancta* by visitors and they have developed the rubrics for the veneration of shrines, thus refining the pilgrim experience. Furthermore, pilgrim experience itself has produced art; from the first schematic pilgrim sketches to the engravings of the later travellers, an evolution can be detected. Since the middle of the fifteenth century, the impact of Sinai pilgrimage has led to high-level artistic representations.

### **Georgia Frank**

#### ***Egeria's "Panoramic Now": Time and Temporality in Late Antique Pilgrimage***

This paper will explore how pilgrims described experiences of time in their travel writings. Focusing on a late-fourth-century travel account by a woman known today as Egeria, I will compare how time is experienced in both parts of her diary: her descriptions of travells to holy places and people in Palestine, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, followed by a detailed description of Jerusalem's Lenten, Holy Week, and Easter rites. When taken together, both parts of Egeria's travel diary reveal diverse ways of measuring and feeling time. She describes some experiences in chronometric terms: days spent in one place, travelling between places, and even the number of hours spent climbing to a panoramic view. In addition to attending to the passing of time, she also notes how time stands still in some liturgical moments. Attentive to the vocabularies and logics of time in Egeria's account, this paper will draw on recent studies of time in pre-modern settings (e.g. C. Dinshaw, S. Kattan Gribetz, L. Kaye) to deepen current understandings of pilgrims' ritual experiences.

### **Nikolaos Fyssas**

#### ***"Sancte Sinai miserere mei", Georgian Pilgrimage to Sinai: Continuity and Practices***

The relations between Georgia and the Holy Land, in the framework of liturgical practices, spiritual ideals, monasticism, and pilgrimage arts, are early and well-attested in hagiographical, epigraphical, and archaeological sources. Especially for Sinai, the presence of Georgian monks ("Iberians") dating back to the sixth century, reached its peak in the ninth and tenth centuries. The activity of the then numerous Sinai-Georgian Fathers is strongly reflected in the Sinai Library. Moreover, icons with Georgian inscriptions, documents of privileges issued by Georgian rulers, grants of land for the establishment of Sinai dependencies in Georgia, testify to a broad interaction between Georgia and Sinai. Furthermore, as far as pilgrimage *per se* is concerned, Georgian graffiti at the pilgrims' routes, along with other sources indicate that the pilgrimage to Sinai was a deeply rooted Georgian practice, a movement that faced ups and downs according to historical circumstances, but never ceased to exist. By studying relevant material with the addition of as-yet-unpublished references in Sinai manuscripts from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, this paper will mainly focus on: (a) the continuity of



Georgian pilgrimage from the sixth to the seventeenth centuries; (b) its imprint on the Sinai sacristy; and (c) a form of “distance-pilgrimage” by sending names to Sinai for perpetual commemoration or by receiving Sinai monks in Georgia.

### **Lora Gerd**

#### ***Russian Orthodox Pilgrimages to the Holy Land: A Medieval Phenomenon in the Modern World?***

Russian Orthodox pilgrimages to the Holy Land started soon after the Christianisation of Russia. The first written itineraries are dated to the twelfth century. Since then, it became a regular practice that continued in the post Byzantine period. In the nineteenth century, after a long period of Russo-Ottoman wars, the tradition was revived; it found support in the imperial policy of Russia and became an element of the competition between the great powers in the frame of the Eastern question. In the second half of the nineteenth century several organisations were founded to promote pilgrimage. By the 1910s, around 6000 Russian pilgrims visited Palestine annually. Apart from its political side, the pilgrimage preserved its medieval character. Ninety percent of Russian pilgrims were peasants who were walking to the Holy Places during several months, realising their messianic dream, visiting the spiritual Motherland and the center of the Oikumene. Male pilgrims often spent some time on Mount Athos. The mentality of the peasant pilgrims remained conservative; they were resistant to any innovations in the medieval pilgrimage tradition. The vast documentation preserved in Russian archives, numerous narratives, photos, material objects, and art objects represent quite vividly the folklore of Russian pilgrims, their traditions, and the role they played in the political and cultural atmosphere of Palestine and in the religious life of Russia.

### **Cornelia Bernadette Horn**

#### ***The Emergence and Development of the Cult of the Mother of God as a Lens on the Experience of Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land during Byzantine Times***

Christian Jerusalem is known and primarily valued as the city where Jesus Christ lived, taught, preached, died, and rose from the dead. Many Christian pilgrims, one might think, would have travelled there to visit the sites that bear witness to the various stations of Christ’s life. This paper will argue that paying careful attention to the emerging and developing cult of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, at the *loca sancta* of Byzantine Palestine, and especially at Jerusalem and its environs, offers a formidable window into the experience of pilgrimage. For the paper’s purposes, a variety of media and sources will be examined including pilgrimage artifacts (e.g. lamps and tokens), monuments, topography, evidence on processions, inscriptions, travel and ascetic literature, biography, hagiography, homiletics, theological treatises, hymns, and prayers. As will be shown, the approach of Byzantine pilgrimage to Jerusalem through Marian lens provides a better understanding of pilgrimage experience and interreligious relations in the Byzantine era.

**Stephen Jaeger*****Eventum, Kairos, and the Arrested Moment: Time in Medieval Narrative***

Time as a concept must be understood within a division between cosmic, measured time, and human, experienced time. So says Augustine in Confessions, Bk. 11. Human time can only be explained, analysed, ordered, as narrative. So says Paul Ricoeur: “Temporal experience is refigured as emplotment”. Time concepts (I focus on “event”, “now”, “moment”, “the present”, and “*kairos*” [Lat. *discrimen*]) are not accessible as natural phenomena; they are rescued from the chaos of the immeasurable by human discourse: “Time becomes human to the extent that it is articulated through a narrative mode” (Ricoeur). The relation of time in flux and in stasis is adversarial, illustrated in the terms that Goethe’s *Faust* imposes on the pact he is about to sign with Mephistopheles: “If ever I say to the present moment, ‘Stay as you are/stand still/linger – you are so beautiful,’ then you can clap me in chains”. This concession to the devil shows both the attractions of the present moment (beautiful) and its perversity (stopping it violates its law of order). “Event” is restless activity, as in Faustian striving; the arrested moment suspends the flow of time. The forward motion of human action operates on one narrative logic, the arrested moment on another. Narrative time moves towards an anticipated event, operates on a “prophetic” dynamic. Medieval narrative lends itself well to understanding as the narrative emplotment of time. I will look closely at heroic epic, the Lais of Marie de France, and the saint’s Life.

**Gerhard Jaritz*****Postmortem Proxy Pilgrimages from Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages: The Examples of Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava)***

The surviving Viennese town books of around 1400 (1395-1430) contain about 5000 entries, more than 2000 of them being last wills. The latter mention quite regularly the bequest of postmortem proxy pilgrimages to be undertaken for the deceased to local and regional places of pilgrimage, like Mariazell or Saint Wolfgang, as well as to long-distance and costly pilgrimage sites of “international” importance, like Rome or Aachen. These pilgrimages met one of the main goals of a last will: to contribute to the salvation of the deceased’s soul. This paper will analyse postmortem proxy pilgrimages in a quantitative and qualitative way, with regard to chronological, financial, and gendered aspects and patterns, and it will also compare them with those found in in another city of the area, Pressburg (today Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia). Pressburg is an important, kind of neighbouring city to Vienna, in about 55 km distance. In the fifteenth century and later, German-speaking inhabitants played a remarkable role in the city’s life and culture, a fact that led to similar characteristics and developments in both Vienna and Pressburg. For this reason, it is also important to compare the role of proxy pilgrimages in the two cities, particularly from 1420s onwards, when rich collections of last wills have survived for Pressburg. These exhibit both similarities with and differences from the Viennese proxy pilgrimages.

**Caterina Lubrano*****Pilgrims in the Holy Land and the Iconography of the Infancy of Christ: Holy Sites, Cults, and Images (4th-8th c.)***

Pilgrims' journey diaries, such as the Anonymous from Bordeaux, Egeria, and the Anonymous from Piacenza, together with liturgical sources, such as the Armenian Calendar, allow us to reconstruct the sacred and devotional landscapes of the Holy Land that are linked to the evangelical episodes of Christ's Infancy. The holy sites related to the Infancy, which attracted large crowds of worshippers, constituted a topographical network of pilgrimage around the main core of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem that was built by emperor Constantine in the fourth century. During their journeys, pilgrims used to visit the *Poimnion*, the field in which the shepherds were thought to have received the announcement of the Birth of Christ; the shrine of *Kathisma*, where the Virgin stopped to rest on her way to Bethlehem; and the collective sepulchre of the Holy Innocents. References to these events appear in iconographic cycles of the most ancient Palestinian artworks and especially on the *ampullae* that pilgrims brought with them on their way back home. Moreover, images could also be influenced by devotional and cult practices, causing the appearance of new iconographic motives. For example, the worship of miraculous wells, such as the Star Well and the water of the first bath of Christ in the Nativity Church were mentioned in sources of the same period (4th-8th c.).

**Ourania Perdiki*****The Pilgrimage of Saint John Lampadistes: Architecture, Art, and Sacred Landscape***

This paper will explore the pilgrimage to Saint John Lampadistes in Kalopanagiotis (Cyprus) during the Middle Ages. John Lampadistes, a local saint of the late eleventh century, was buried near Saint Herakleidios' Church, in the *Katholikon* of Saint John Lampadistes' Monastery. A *parekklession*, which was erected in the northeast side of the *katholikon* in the twelfth century, housed his tomb. Within the framework of this paper, I will investigate the spatial and architectural context of the site, its mural decoration and two vita-icons with the intention of describing the medieval pilgrimage of Saint John Lampadistes and of achieving a better understanding of the pilgrims' experience. In an attempt to enlighten the cultural networks that sustained the flow of pilgrims, I will also discuss the paths that they may have followed to reach the chapel of Saint John.

**Nils Holger Petersen*****Litaniae lauretanae Compositions and the "Loreto" Pilgrimage***

According to late medieval and early modern narratives, the Virgin Mary's house in Nazareth miraculously arrived in Loreto (in North-Eastern Italy) in 1295. The House of Loreto became a major (Roman Catholic) pilgrimage site, at least from the sixteenth century onwards, receiving also papal recognition. The *litaniae lauretanae* (the Litany of Loreto), a Marian litany with medieval roots, was used in liturgical contexts at the pilgrimage site. It has been set numerous times in polyphony, as well

as in grand settings with soloists and orchestra by early modern composers, to be performed at Marian devotions, not normally in Loreto, but all over Catholic Europe. Furthermore, physical representations of the house of Loreto were erected in many places. Frequent performances of Marian ceremonies with the litany of Loreto (in various musical settings) in symbolic Loreto houses came to constitute a popular tradition of spiritual, symbolic “Loreto” pilgrimages all over early modern Catholicism. Among the many who composed musical settings of the litany of Loreto for such ceremonies were also famous names such as Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Claudio Monteverdi, Heinrich Biber and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. During their Italian journeys, the young W. A. Mozart and his father used to stop over at Loreto. On one occasion, we know of their participation in a Marian devotion at Loreto (on 16 July 1770). Today, settings of the *litaniae lauretanae* feature as musical art works within the broad, not entirely well-defined area of “classical music”. They are accessible in audio recordings, especially through streaming services, although they are rarely performed in concert. In this paper, I will discuss selected settings of the *litaniae lauretanae* from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a focus on W. A. Mozart’s two settings (1771 and 1774). The paper’s main purpose will be to examine if and how these compositions reflect their original ritual and symbolic pilgrimage purpose. This will involve also a discussion of what may count as “ritual markers” in a musical setting.

### **Erga Shneurson**

#### ***Georgia Attracts Pilgrimages: Sites that Echo Jerusalem’s Loca Sancta***

Georgian ties to the Holy Land are long and robust. According to Tamila Megaloblishvili, they began as early as the time of Nebuchadnezzar the Great. These relations were further enhanced after Christianisation, as they were described in the Georgian chronicles *The Conversion of Kartli* and *The Life of Georgia*. The chronicles provided details on the attitudes that developed towards Jerusalem and they initiated pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On the other hand, a pilgrimage movement emerged within Georgia including sites that carry the name of Jerusalem and sites following in the footsteps of Jesus. The internal movement of pilgrims is reflected through several pathways. This paper will focus on three case studies representing internal focal points that attracted pilgrims. The first is the cross on the south façades of Jvari Church. The second case concerns two stylite saints sculpted on the façades of Oshki Church. The third is the Usaneti Pillar that displays scenes following the path of Jerusalem’s *loca sancta* that attracted local pilgrimage, especially during the feast day of Saint Kivike. Each of the above presents different forms of pilgrimage attraction and different social groups within Georgian society. Jvari Church attracted pilgrims from Caucasus, turning into a central model of architecture for the church edifices. Nonetheless, the cross, which is depicted on the entrance tympanum, was a focal attraction of the cult of crosses that developed from the fifth century onwards. The stylites at Oshki Church, sculpted on the west and south façades, express the adoration of these figures in Georgian society. The Usaneti Pillar declares the centrality of Jerusalem in the local society’s perception of faith and liturgy.

**Vesna Šćepanović and Sofia Zoitou*****Chalcedon, Constantinople, Rovinj, Atlit, Rhodes, Venice: Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Evidence on the Lives and Afterlives of Saint Euphemia's Pilgrimage Sites***

The cult of Saint Euphemia, a young virgin who was martyred and buried in Chalcedon in 303, was widespread. During the Persian attacks of the seventh century, Heraclius transferred her relics to Constantinople, but when iconoclasm broke out the relics were casted into the sea, ending up at the island of Limnos, only to be restored by the Empress Irene in 796. The account of throwing the relics into the sea is possibly connected with a tradition according to which a marble sarcophagus containing the body of Euphemia floated to the coast of Rovinj, Croatia, at the dawn of 13 July 800. Another version narrates that the relic was miraculously translated to Palestine and was to be found at the chapel of the Templars' Castle Pilgrim at Atlit. From there, both the body and the head of saint Euphemia came in the hands of the Hospitallers in Rhodes, along with the rest of the Templars' possessions after 1313. This paper will investigate the cultic phenomena of the latter two pilgrimage sites (Rovinj and Rhodes) at the time of the intensification of European pilgrimage to the Holy land in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The systematic reading of travelogue accounts will allow a cross-examination of the rituals in which pilgrims were involved locally.

**Marina Toumpouri*****Travelling with the Book: Greek Manuscripts as Pilgrims' Companions, Memorabilia, and Objects of Donations by Orthodox Proskynetai***

Important monastic and ecclesiastical centres of the Byzantine world, as well as venerated sites which became hubs of Orthodox pilgrimage, often benefited from the patronage of local nobility, wealthy lay individuals or high-ranked ecclesiastics who were frequently responsible for the sites' maintenance, embellishment, and endowments, both monetary and in the form of precious gifts (i.e. liturgical vessels, books, embroideries, icons, priestly vestments). The books donated by pilgrims, which could have been in their possession already prior to the planning of their journey or were acquired for accompanying them during the journey, enriched the transformative experience of pilgrimage. There were even cases in which pilgrims acquired books at the places they visited. Pilgrims could have used these books during common prayer, private meditation, and rituals. Considered indispensable for their owners' spiritual transformation and because they could also meet a variety of practical needs, the books were included in the necessary items that pilgrims had with them. The results of an ongoing research, which will be presented in the framework of this paper, concern the mobility of books and their use as means of external expression of the inner journey of transformation occurring during pilgrimage. My focus will be on Greek manuscripts and Orthodox pilgrims visiting – in the medieval and early modern periods – sacred sites that were important to all Christians, as well as sites significant for Orthodox pilgrims. My paper will seek to assess the content and materiality of books connected with the religious practice of pilgrimage, pilgrimage rituals, and motivations for offering manuscripts to holy places in association with the donors' identities and their

socioeconomic status. This will be the first study offering in a diachronic perspective the available evidence regarding the uses, acquisition, and donations of Greek manuscripts along pilgrimage routes and at holy sites.

### **Klaus van Eickels**

#### ***Pilgrimage as Ritualised Penance: Two Peculiar Cases from the Registers of Innocent III***

The registers of pope Innocent III contain two peculiar cases of imposed pilgrimage with detailed instructions for rituals of penance for particularly severe crimes (i.e. killing and eating the flesh of relatives during a famine in Egypt while in captivity; maiming of a bishop in Scotland). In both cases, the circumstances of the alleged misdemeanour are translated into specific rituals of penance that make publicly visible the sinner's monstrous guilt, albeit recommending him to the supportive compassion of those whom he meets on his way by showing ostensibly his true contrition, repentance, and remorse.

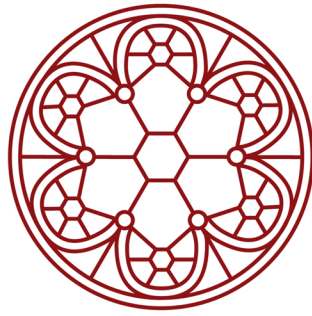
### **Konrad Waniewski**

#### ***The Eschatological Programme in the Decoration of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta***

It is commonly known that pilgrims travelling to and from the Holy Land in the Middle Ages often stopped in Cyprus. The city from which they usually departed for Syro-Palestine was the largest port of the island – Famagusta. The pilgrims frequently visited the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, something that can be proved by the small ship graffiti visible on the west wall of the building. Such decorations, preserved in many Cypriot churches, were often associated with the presence of pilgrims. Although the decoration of the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta has survived to our times only fragmentarily, based these remains, one can try to recreate the original iconographic programme of the building. The sculptures depicting angels located within the northern portal of the church could not have a connection with the theological disputes, as has been proposed so far. Perhaps they were presented in an eschatological context as an element of the overall design of the building, which could be wholly or partially devoted to this subject. The church's eschatological programme could also include the remains of paintings preserved on the walls of the building. This could be related to the hypothetical funeral function of the church. Such an interpretation can also be evidenced by the tombstones, which according to the sources were present in the church.

**Dorota Zaprzalska*****The Inverted Pilgrimages of the Panagia Amirou Icon: Medieval Connections and the Formation of Community Identity***

This paper will focus on a sixteenth-century icon of the Virgin Mary with Child at the monastery of Panagia Amirou, near Apsiou (Cyprus). The icon, called *Panagia Amirou* after the monastery, has a smaller, separate icon with the same depiction inserted at the central part of the composition. The inset is believed to have been painted in the fifteenth century and it is surrounded by legends connecting it to the foundation of the monastery. Applying the theoretical perspective of Assemblage Theory and the concept of the cultural biography of things, I will show how this medieval image became part of various assemblages of humans and non-humans throughout time. The icon, in fact an assemblage of two works of art, clearly influences its current use and veneration. The dating of the inset to the Middle Ages is crucial for the creation of a shared identity by giving the community the feeling of continuity to the monastic tradition and a connection to the past. I will focus on the procession that takes place on the Friday after Easter, during which the image is taken to sites where it is alleged to have miraculously appeared. In comparing this contemporary procession to religious rituals which involve other Cypriot composite icons, I will reinterpret it as an inverted pilgrimage – a pilgrimage of the image itself – arguing that it constitutes a visual way of raising the status of the inset image by keeping the memory of its medieval origin and thus of the claimed origin of the monastery itself.



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