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**On the merchant routes. The diffusion of the cult of
the Madonna of Bonaria in the Mediterranean
(15th-16th Centuries)**

**Sulla rotta dei mercanti. La diffusione del culto della
Madonna di Bonaria nel Mediterraneo
(secoli XV-XVI)**

Maria Giuseppina Meloni

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Special Issue

**‘Santi che viaggiano’. Mobilità e circolazione
di culti religiosi nel Mediterraneo tra
Medioevo ed Età Moderna**

**‘Saints who travel’. Mobility and movement of religious
cults in the Mediterranean between the Middle Ages and
the Modern Age**

A cura di
Maria Giuseppina Meloni

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On the Merchant Routes: The Diffusion of the Cult of the Madonna of Bonaria in the Mediterranean (15th-16th Centuries)

Sulla rotta dei mercanti. La diffusione del culto della Madonna di Bonaria nel
Mediterraneo (secoli XV-XVI)

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Abstract

The article examines the diffusion of the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria in the Mediterranean area between the late medieval and early modern periods. The Virgin of Bonaria was venerated in the shrine built outside the walls of Cagliari by Prince Alfonso of Aragon at the time of the conquest of the city. It analyses the methods, tools and people responsible for the diffusion of the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria, considered the protectress of sailors, and the fame of her miracles. Attention will be paid to the oral tradition, written texts, iconography and propagandistic activity conducted by the religious guardians of the shrine, the Mercedarians.

Keywords

Mediterranean; Crown of Aragon; Cagliari;
Marian cult; Bonaria.

Riassunto

L'articolo prende in esame la diffusione in area mediterranea, tra tardo Medio Evo e prima età moderna, del culto della Madonna di Bonaria, venerata nel santuario edificato fuori le mura di Cagliari dall'infante Alfonso d'Aragona contestualmente alla conquista della città. In particolare, vengono esaminate le modalità, gli strumenti e gli artefici della diffusione del culto e della fama miracolosa della Vergine, considerata protettrice dei naviganti: la tradizione orale, i testi scritti, l'iconografia e l'attività propagandistica svolta dall'ordine religioso titolare del santuario, i Mercedari.

Parole chiave

Mediterraneo; Corona d'Aragona; Cagliari;
culto mariano; Bonaria.

1. Bibliography.- 2. Curriculum vitae.

By their very nature, cults in the name of a saint or a Marian title considered 'specialised' in the protection of sailors from the dangers of the sea were

destined to travel. They travelled with ships, goods and men, and spread in the geographic and maritime areas where these ships and men operated¹.

This is what happened to the cult that grew in the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity built between 1324 and 1325 by Prince Alfonso of Aragon, the future King Alfonso IV the Kind. The church was built on a hill with a sea view and that was named *Bonaire* by the Catalan-Aragonese conquerors². Located outside the walls of Castel di Castro (Cagliari), which belonged to the Pisans at the time, the hill acted as base camp for the Catalan armed forces laying siege to the city and the religious building served as a parish church in the first Catalan-Aragonese settlement in Sardinia.

After the conquest of Cagliari and the expulsion of its inhabitants, who were replaced by subjects of the Crown of Aragon (Conde y Delgado de Molina – Aragó Cabañas, 1984), the settlement at *Bonaire* was abandoned, but the church continued to be served by rectors of royal nomination. Its royal foundation at the time of the conquest of the city gave the shrine a symbolic value that influenced the unbroken continuity of devotion within its walls. The shrine was the devotional reference point for all those who arrived on the island following its new rulers: merchants, artisans and soldiers who settled in Cagliari; the new political and economic elites of the city; and the Catalan-Aragonese who temporarily resided in the Kingdom of Sardinia for political, military or commercial reasons³.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, the original name of the church was changed to its Marian name. The shrine then became “Sancte Marie de Bonayre vulgariter appellate”⁴ (Costa, 1973, doc. 36, p. 60). The fundamental stage in the development of the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria was Aragonese sovereigns’ concession of the church to the Order of Merced, a Catalan religious order closely connected to the Crown and that settled permanently in the convent annexed to the shrine in 1401 (Costa, 1973, doc. 63, p. 89; Meloni, 2011, pp. 23-24).

Two factors supported the association of the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria with the protection of those at sea. The first factor was the shrine’s location a few metres from the sea in an elevated position that was clearly visible to ships passing through the Gulf of Cagliari. The second factor was the dynamic

¹ On the topic of the circulation and dissemination of cults, see, among others, Vitolo (ed.), 1999; Calò Mariani (ed.), 1999; Pellegrino (ed.), 1999; Meloni – Schena (eds.), 2006; Aulisa (ed.), 2014.

² On the building of the shrine and its early years, see Costa, 1973. On the shrine and the development of the cult, see also Leo – Melchionna, 1970; Porrà, 2011; Meloni, 2011.

³ One of the first attestations of the cult is found in the offer of an *ex-voto* by Queen Eleanor of Aragon, wife of Peter IV the Ceremonious: Meloni, 2014.

⁴ [Saint Mary of Bonaire of common name, N. d. T.]

movement of the new Catalan-Aragonese inhabitants of the city between Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula. Above all, the Madonna of Bonaria was invoked by those who faced the perils of maritime crossings.

It is likely that this devotion to the Virgin originated spontaneously among people who led their lives at sea: the captains, the sailors and the merchants of Catalan origin who had settled in Cagliari as the main economic and political hub of the Kingdom of Sardinia, but who had maintained constant business and personal relations with their homeland. The increasing use of travel and trade routes across the Mediterranean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries worked in favour of the growth of the cult and its specific connotation. The port of Cagliari played a key role as an almost mandatory stop on the routes between the Iberian Peninsula, the Italian peninsula and the ports of the East⁵. The increase in the activities of Barbary pirates, with the subsequent risks of physical and spiritual capture and reduction into slavery contributed to the need for a powerful heavenly intercessor to protect sailors from the hidden dangers inherent in sea voyages.

Ratification of the close connection between the Madonna of Bonaria and the maritime world came in the form of the legend of the miraculous arrival of a Marian simulacrum from the sea, ostensibly conceived in a Mercedarian environment and referred to in late-sixteenth century literary sources. This was a rather widespread *topos* in the founding legends of coastal churches⁶.

Sources from the first half of the fifteenth century attest the fame and diffusion of the cult among the seafaring people of the Mediterranean, first among sailors from the different kingdoms making up the Catalan-Aragonese confederation. The oldest of these sources known to date is the account of the travels of a French pilgrim in the Holy Land in 1418 (Marquis de la Grange, ed., 1858, pp. 122, 126). From the account of the Lord of Caumont, who stopped in Palermo on his return journey to embark on a Catalan ship sailing directly to Barcelona, we learn that the fame of the Madonna of Bonaria and her miracles was well-known among the sailors on that ship. These sailors knew that “il y a près de Caille, sur la mer, une eglise de Notre Dame qui fait des gran miracles, que l’on appelle Sainte Marie de Bonayre”⁷. At a difficult time on their journey, caused by strong winds off the Sardinian coast, the crew and the passengers

⁵ On the commercial role of Cagliari and its port in the medieval and early modern periods, see Zedda, 2001; Simbula, 2004, pp. 27-42; Simbula, 2012; Mattone, 2004, pp. 43-61; on the mercantile movement in the years immediately after the Catalan conquest, see Soldani, 2017.

⁶ On the legends on the foundation of sanctuaries, see *Le leggende*, 2000, pp. 391-677. For Sardinia, in particular, see Diana, 2003; Strinna, 2012, pp. 247-277.

⁷ [“near Cagliari, on the sea, there is a church dedicated to Our Lady who carries out great miracles, and that is called Saint Mary of Bonaire”, N. d. T.].

voted to take a large church candle decorated with the insignia of Caumont to the shrine, if they managed to reach the port of Cagliari city alive, which was exactly what happened (Marquis de la Grange, 1858, pp. 122, 126).

Knowledge of the shrine in the Mediterranean basin is also confirmed by its inclusion in a type of sacred geography of the seafaring world, a network of coastal places of worship that functioned simultaneously as devotional and nautical landmarks. The sighting of these churches, which were well-known to late-medieval sailors, allowed the captain of a ship who had lost his route to recognise a stretch of coast and to navigate through it. This network of places of worship was the subject of the 'sante parole'⁸, a prayer in the form of a litany that was chorally recited at the critical moments in a journey by the whole crew, who invoked the protection of the saints venerated in these coastal churches (Bacci, 2004)⁹. Among these places of worship, which were located on the Iberian, French, Italian, Greek and Middle Eastern coasts, was the Cagliari's Shrine of Bonaria.

"Il termometro del successo di un culto si misura in termini di frequentazione del luogo sacro votato a quel culto, dalla durata nel tempo e dalla continuità nella devozione"¹⁰ (Rossetti, 1999, p. 7): this affirmation is perfectly suited to the cult of the Madonna of Cagliari. Almost a century after the first attestations in the Iberian and Mediterranean world of the fame of the Madonna of Bonaria's intercessory powers at sea, further evidence emerges in the form of a chronicle recounting the conquest of Tripoli and the North African military campaigns of the Spanish troops under the command of Count Pedro Navarro in 1510-1511. Even in this case, caught in a violent storm in African waters, the crew of one of the ships in the Spanish fleet invoked the Virgin. Begging for salvation from the fury of the elements and the dangers represented by the Barbary pirates, they promised in return to send a representative on a pilgrimage to the two shrines on the closest Christian lands of Sardinia and Sicily, known at sea for their special devotion to Mary: the Sanctuary of Annunziata of Trapani and the Shrine of the Madonna of Bonaria. The author states "que es en la cibdad de Callar, en la isla de Cerdeña, que es una Señora muy devota y de muchos milagros"¹¹. The Aragonese nobleman

⁸ ['holy words', N. d. T.]

⁹ The prayer was published by Bacci, 2004 – who defined it as a 'sacred pilot book' – in a Florentine version dating back to the second half of the fifteenth century. A Genoese version was published by Ruzzin, 2013. On the sacred geography of sailors and these kinds of texts, see also Bellomo, 2008; Aulisa 2014; Galdi, 2014; Bacci - Rohde (eds.), 2014.

¹⁰ ["The success of a cult is measured in terms of its longevity, the continuity of devotion to it and the frequency with which its shrine is visited", N. d. T.]

¹¹ ["that it is in the city of Cagliari, on the island of Sardinia, that she is a very devote Lady of many miracles", N. d. T.]

and scholar, Don Pedro Manuel de Urrea, further confirmed the popularity of the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria in the Iberian and seafaring world in his pilgrimage report. He classes the shrine and the fame of the miracles associated with it among the most noteworthy aspects of the city of Cagliari, having visited the city and the church in 1517 in a stage of his journey to the Holy Land¹².

The size of church's area of influence and the spread of the cult among seafaring people in the sixteenth century emerges from two sources: first, the references to the miracles attributed to the cult and lists of people cured by such miracles in the volume printed in 1595 by Antioco Brondo, prior of the Mercedarian convent; and second, from the hundreds of ex-voto painted tablets that covered the walls of the shrine. These are dated from 1520, however, many of the ex-votos are considered much older. Although all the ex-votos have been lost, a detailed description of these objects has come down to us through the so-called 'canonical trial', an investigation carried out in 1592. This investigation was called by the Mercedarians and was undertaken in the presence of a delegate of the archbishop, a notary and twenty-five witnesses who gave testimony. Through the investigation, the Mercedarians sought public acknowledgement of the truth of the miracles associated with the shrine and confirmation of the longstanding devotion to the Madonna of Bonaria¹³.

Most of the miracles and painted tablets recalled dramatic episodes at sea: storms, shipwrecks and pirate attacks. It was not uncommon for the ex-voto to refer to the date of the event, the name and provenance of the person who offered it. Those cured by such miracles came from various places: from Alassio to Trapani, from Naples to Dubrovnik, from Messina to Genoa, from the Iberian Peninsula to France, in accordance with the most frequently travelled trade routes in the western Mediterranean at the time. The cult of the Madonna of Bonaria was one that originated in Catalan Cagliari and radiated outwards, in contrast to the majority of cults on the island which were welcomed and adopted from overseas¹⁴. Due to its specific characteristics, the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria spread, at least initially, more towards the Iberian Peninsula and the Tyrrhenian coastline than inland. The cult thereby reflected the commercial vocation and the maritime outlook of the city of Cagliari after

¹² On the work of Pedro Manuel de Urrea on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, in particular, on his stay in Cagliari, see Seche, 2017, pp. 7-33.

¹³ The complete transcription of the 'canonical trial' is found in Meloni, 2011, pp. 107-167 (see this text, especially, for the description of the ex-voto paintings, pp. 113-129). On these *ex-voto*, see also Alziator, 1958.

¹⁴ On the diffusion of outside religious cults in Sardinia from the early centuries of Christianity to the medieval period, see Martorelli, 2012 and 2015.

the Catalan conquest. This contrasted with the growing fear of the sea, perceived by other Sardinian coastal inhabitants as a harbinger of dramatic events rather than a resource to be exploited, and caused the general depopulation of coast areas in the late medieval and early modern periods.

As has often been highlighted, merchants (and to this category we could also include working people defined more broadly as 'seafarers'), were "il principale mezzo di comunicazione delle società locali con il mondo esterno (...) la piattaforma naturale per le migrazioni di un santo, della sua leggenda agiografica, della sua fama"¹⁵ (Petràlia, 2000, p. 90). The stories of miraculous events circulated on ships, in ports, on commercial squares and on the streets of maritime districts. Passing from one mouth to another, these tales were enriched with new and more intriguing details. Likewise, oral communication was the first and most effective means of diffusion of knowledge about the figure of the Madonna of Bonaria and her intercessory virtues¹⁶. Texts written at the turn of the sixteenth century note a solid "fama publica y voz comun"¹⁷ (Guimerà, 1591; Brondo, 1595). These texts were the first to collect the oral tradition with the aim of systematising it and setting it in writing "ad futuram rei memoriam"¹⁸. Serving as proof of this oral tradition are the testimonies of the witnesses in the investigation conducted by the Curia and archbishops of Cagliari in 1592. Many sailors noted the fame and devotion to the Madonna of Bonaria in the ports that they had visited in their many years of navigating the seas: Majorca, Messina, Palermo, Naples and Barcelona (Meloni, 2011, pp. 131-167). Of further significance would have been the role of pilgrims, such as those mentioned by Nompert de Caumont and Pedro Manuel de Urrea, who, either by chance or design, stayed in the port of Cagliari on their way to the Holy Land and visited the Shrine of the Madonna, protectress of sailors.

The Mercedarians, the religious Order responsible for overseeing the care of the shrine, played a fundamental role in the propagation of the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria¹⁹. The popularity of the cult was spread throughout the city and its surrounding area through their preaching and their constant

¹⁵ ["the main means a local population had of communicating with the outside world (...) they were the natural platform for the diffusion of knowledge about saints, about their hagiographic legend and their fame", N. d. T.]

¹⁶ The merchants of Alassio played a particularly effective role in the spread of the cult. These were actively involved in the trade between Sardinia and western Liguria between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. This is demonstrated by traces of devotion to the cult still present in the territory of Alassio, such as altars dedicated to the Madonna of Bonaria. On the important presence of Ligurian merchants in Sardinia in the modern period, see Mele, 2011.

¹⁷ ["public fame and common voice", N. d. T.]

¹⁸ ["for the future record", N. d. T.]

¹⁹ On the foundation and diffusion of the Order of Mercy in Sardinia, see Rubino, 2000.

presence in the streets of the city, in which they would often collect funds for the redemption of Christian prisoners captured by the Barbary pirates. In the testimonies of witnesses in the 'canonical trial', it was not uncommon for the friars to be cited as sources of knowledge about the miraculous arrival of a chest from the sea that contained the simulacrum of the Madonna and other miracles accomplished by the Virgin. Through the relationship with their motherhouse in Barcelona and with other important convents of the Iberian Peninsula, the Mercedarians were able to spread the cult the Madonna of Bonaria and the fame of her miracles beyond the coasts of the island. The prior of the convent of Santa Maria del Puig in Valencia, Felip Guimerà, is, in fact, responsible for the inclusion of the Shrine of Bonaria in a volume on the history of the Order and its main convents located in the Iberian Peninsula, in Italy and in the New World. In this book, we find the first written and detailed account of the discovery of the Marian simulacrum and its miracles (Guimerà, 1591).

After the Council of Trent, the Mercedarians, like other religious orders of medieval origin, systematically renewed and revamped themselves to compete for new religious congregations. For the papacy the Order became "un buen brazo ejecutor de las directrices tridentinas"²⁰ and its convents became "centros didácticos en cuyas paredes se plasma la dogmática tridentina"²¹ (Zuriaga Senent, 2005, p. 206). The acts of Mercedarian saints and martyrs, their specific Marian devotion, the history of Order and its long-standing ties with the monarchy were exalted in a series of works of a chronicling nature, hagiographies, prints and pictorial works²². In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Guimerà's book was followed by other works written in the same tenor, which gave ample space to the history of the Shrine of Bonaria and of its miraculous Madonna (Remón, 1618; De Vargas, 1619-1622; Ribera, 1725).

The Mercedarians of Cagliari also participated in this programme of renewal and promotion through a series of initiatives aimed at publicised the shrine and its Marian cult, thereby expanding the order throughout the island²³ and gaining greater prestige and visibility. To reach the widest possible audience, the Sardinian Mercedarians employed a variety of methods, with importance given to the diffusion of printed works.

From the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, a series of works dedicated to the Shrine of Bonaria and its cult were published in Cagliari,

²⁰ ["a good arm through which to accomplish Tridentine orders", N. d. T.]

²¹ ["didactic centres in which the Tridentine dogma was expressed", N. d. T.]

²² On the Order's activity in redeeming christian slaves after the Council of Trent, see De Bunes Ibarra, 2010, pp. 790-802

²³ The Convent of Cagliari remained the only convent of the Mercedarians on the island until the early seventeenth century. See Rubino, 2000.

Madrid and Naples. These also circulated extensively in the Iberian Peninsula and were generally written by Mercedarians of the Convent of Cagliari (Brondo, 1595; Coco y Manca, 1683; Contini, 1704; Puddu, 1750). However, among these works we find the important exception of the volume, published in Madrid in 1696 by the lexicographer, scholar and the bibliophile, Vicencio Squarzafigo y Arriola, one of the founders of Real Academia Española and the first secretary of this historic institution, a fact that implies knowledge of the cult and its devotional tradition in secular as well as high society (Squarzafigo, 1696).

Although temporally spaced apart, these works formed part of a coherent project of transmitting information aimed at extending the cult and maintaining lively interest in the Madonna of Bonaria. The first work in chronological order, the *Historia y milagros de Nuestra S. de Bonayre de la ciudad and Caller*, published by the prior of the convent, Antioco Brondo, served as a model for later texts. In each of these works the historical and chronicling elements, maintained to be based on authentic sources, are interwoven with supernatural elements consisting of miracle tales. The works were written with the intention of celebrating and informing the reader of the shrine, the miraculous Madonna and the Order of the Merced²⁴. By their very nature, these works were mainly intended for an upper-middle class audience.

Poetic texts set to music composed in Mercedarian circles were, on the other hand, a useful method of spreading the cult among the less educated. These *goigs* (or *gozos* in Castilian Spanish), were learnt by worshippers and sung during the liturgical celebrations²⁵. Originating in the Iberian Peninsula and spreading to Sardinia with the Catalan-Aragonese, the *gozos* were characterised by a simple and immediate language that praised a saint or the Virgin and his or her virtues, thereby disseminating this knowledge and encouraging devotion among popular classes. Due to their simultaneous didactic and devotional aims, they are considered sorts of “*agiografia in miniatura*”²⁶ (Viridis, 2011).

The *gozos* of the Madonna of Bonaria, published in Castilian language in the appendix to the book by Antioco Brondo are one of the oldest attestations of the diffusion of this kind of liturgical-devotional song in Sardinia. The text celebrates the virtues of the Madonna of Bonaria as a protectress against dangers of the sea, understood as a metaphor for life and its troubles, as well as

²⁴ On these works, which have been assimilated to the popular literary genre of the ‘*relaciones de sucesos*’ due to their structure and narrative intention, see Paba, 2012, pp. 13-38: 26-31. See also Zuriaga Senent, 2005.

²⁵ On this form of Catalan religious expression, rooted strongly in Sardinia, where it is attested from the sixteenth century, see Mele, 2004, pp. 11-33.

²⁶ [“*miniature hagiographies*”, N. d. T.]

in a literal sense. As was generally the case across the Hispanic world, some of these *gozos* were printed on loose leaves that circulated widely. The *gozos* of the Madonna of Bonaria published in Barcelona in 1655 for Vilanova i la Geltrù, a Catalan coastal town south of the capital are proof of this wide circulation. In the original text published by Antioco Brondo, the Madonna is invoked as protectress of Cagliari and Sardinia. In the Iberian version, the original text has been modified and adapted to the local context. The Virgin of Bonaria is no longer entrusted with the protection of Cagliari and Sardinia, but with that of Vilanova and Catalonia²⁷.

Further evidence of the spread of the cult to a vast audience is also found in the circulation of images, which were, once again, predominately created by the Mercedarians. Although there are no specimens of these images, testimonials state that in the sixteenth century, devotional images representing the Virgin circulated widely and were carried aboard ships or affixed to the walls of houses to implore protection²⁸.

In the post-Tridentine era, the Order of the Merced promoted the production of devotional images that exalted the history and values of the order. They commissioned artists who took inspiration from chronicling texts of the Mercedarians. In Marian images, the Virgin is represented with the characteristic attributes of the order: its scapular, gown and shield (Zuriaga Senent, 2005, p. 250).

The iconographic project carried out by the Mercedarians of Cagliari in 1595 fits into this cultural and religious climate. In 1595, they commissioned a Flemish artist, identified as the painter Martin Valkenborg III (Scano, 1993), to create a large format copper engraving, of which there is only one known exemplar printed on paper (Fig. 1). This image sums up the iconographic programme of the order perfectly, in which the evocation of the power of the Marian cult in the form of the Madonna of the Merced is accompanied by the local history of Cagliari and of the glories of the Mercedarians.

The Madonna is depicted at the centre of the engraving with the white robes and mantle of the Order. She is flanked by St. Eulalia, patron of Barcelona, and St. Cecilia, to whom the cathedral of Cagliari is dedicated. Arranged around the central image are forty panels depicting the history of the Shrine of Bonaria and the Order of the Merced. These consist of depictions of the Mercedarian saints, the redemptive mission of the Christian prisoners captured by the infidels, the

²⁷ This text was published in the *Enciclopedia universal*, 1925, p. 842. The Mediterranean circulation of the *gozos* dedicated to the Madonna of Bonaria are also attested in Cremoux, 2010, pp. 113-130.

²⁸ On the iconographic typologies of the Madonna of the Merced before and after the Council of Trent, see Zuriaga Senent, 2005, pp. 238-256.

relations of the shrine with the Aragonese sovereigns, the events of the miraculous arrival of the chest containing the simulacrum and the miracles performed by the Virgin. The city of Cagliari, the sea, the shrine and the pilgrims are also represented. A scroll over the central unit recalls the origins of settlement at Bonaria of the Mercedarians dating back to 1336²⁹. It is a complex composition, rich in symbolic meaning, but which would also have had a strong impact on middle and lower class audiences, since it aptly conveyed the deep bond between the miraculous Virgin and the religious order chosen as her guardian. It constituted a sophisticated advertising campaign that responded to the Order's policy to increase and promote the cult with which it was associated. Although only one exemplar of this image is known, it is likely that more copies would have been made and that they would have circulated beyond the coasts of the island.

In conclusion, we can state that initially the cult of the Madonna of Bonaria travelled along and spread via the Mediterranean routes used by the Catalan-Aragonese merchants, commercial traders, sailors, pilgrims and travellers. From the sixteenth century onwards, it was above all the Mercedarians who undertook a programme promoting the expansion of the order and increased its prestige by supporting and diffusing devotion to the shrine.

This work has characterised the religious Order over the centuries and still characterises it today. For almost six hundred unbroken years, the Order of Merced have overseen the care of the shrine. It is predominately the Order that has kept alive the tradition of the longest journey of the Madonna of Bonaria, her journey across the Atlantic to Argentina, where the cult came together with the ships of the *conquistadors* and may have given name to Argentina's future capital, Buenos Aires³⁰.

(Traduzione dall'italiano di Beatrice Priest)

²⁹ In fact, known sources attest that the Order permanently settled in Cagliari in 1401.

³⁰On the history of the debate on the toponym of Buenos Aires originating from devotion to the Madonna of Cagliari, see Porrà, 2011.

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2. Curriculum vitae

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